HP3425

A Garland Series

AMERICAN INDIAN ETHNOHISTORY

Indians of the Southwest

compiled and edited by

DAVID AGEE HORR
Brandeis University

HP3426

Navajo Indians I

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY
OF THE NAVAJO INDIANS

Florence H. Ellis

Garland Publishing Inc., New York & London
1974

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E99
N3
N338
v.1

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Ellis, Florence Hawley.
An anthropological study of the Navajo Indians.

(Navajo Indians, 1) (American Indian ethnohistory: Indians of the Southwest)
Bibliography: p.
1. Navaho Indians. I. Title. II. Series.
III. Series: American Indian ethnohistory: Indians of the Southwest.
E99.N3N338 no. 1 970.3s [970.3] 74-2382
ISBN 0-8240-0703-4

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AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY

OF THE

NAVAJO INDIANS

Florence H. Ellis

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NAVAHO REPORT

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I

THE NAVAHO:

Anthropology, Movements, and Provenience

Introduction

The Athapascans, northern and southern, make up numerous tribes which together are computed to have covered an area equal to that of the British Isles, France, Spain, Italy, and two or three minor European countries (Fr. Leopold Ostermann, OFM, "The Navajo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona", Anthropos, Vol. III, 1908, 857-869). Osgood, in trying to make a serviceable map of the Northern Athapascans, complained that there were many groups of many names (sometimes two or three apiece) but the groups were not clearly divided into tribes as "neat political or cultural units, even in their own thinking." The units overlapped when depicted geographically, but most of them were directly associated with rivers or lakes which served as routes of travel and from which they obtained the fish which were so important in their food supply. Considering them collectively, these "very fluid bands" appear to fall into two divisions, the Pacific Drainage culture and the Arctic Drainage culture. The Pacific division, with dependence upon salmon, marked development of stable forms of architecture, more sedentary social life, a unilateral kinship system, and a ceremonial life which includes arts and games, stands out as

relatively rich in comparison with the Arctic division, in which most of these traits are absent and the culture very simple. Moreover, the Pacific Athapascans (like the Southern Athapascans--the Apaches and Navaho) make up one linguistic unit, whereas the Arctic Athapascans seem to represent several linguistic units, some of these languages showing as much difference between each other as between one of them and Navaho (Osgood, Cornelius, "The Distribution of the Northern Athapascan Indians", Yale Univ. Pubs. in Anth., No. 7, 1936). Why those who became the Southern Athapascans chose to leave their relatives and their homeland in Canada is totally unknown. In the historic period, those in the south have been more numerous than those in the north: Northern Athapascans (1938) - 15,000-17,000; Pacific Athapascans - many fewer; and Southern Athapascans - 57,000 (Goodwin, Grenville, "The Southern Athapascans", The Kiva, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1938).

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The northern Athapascans or Athapaskawans consisted of four divisions: (Harrington, J. P., "Southern Peripheral Athapaskawan Origins, Divisions, and Migrations," Smith. Misc. Rpt., Vol. 100, 1940, pp. 503-532

1. Pacific Coast people (Eyak, Haida, Tlingit)
2. Northern Interior Plateau people (including those of Yukon valley)
3. Northern Great Plains people
4. Northwestern Laurentian Upland people

The Carrier, Chilcotin, and Nicola are the most southern of the Northern Interior Plateau people. These and the Sarcee, of the Great Plains, are just north of the United States line. The Chipewyan, just north of the Churchill River which flows eastward into Hudson Bay, are next in distance (Op. cit., pp. 506, 507).

The southern peripheral bands broke from the northern nucleus and moved southward in a two-pronged division, the western group extending down the Coastal Range to a little north of San Francisco, California, and the other "extending down the plains at the eastern foot of the Rocky Mountains and terminating in a great area of country held by Athapaskawans in the Southwest. These prongs perhaps mark migration routes, but both have gaps, the eastern prong being broken to the extent of making the route uncertain." (Op. cit., pp. 508, 509). The western prong peoples are the Tlatskanai and Kwalhioqua, near the mouth of the Columbia River, and related Hoopan tribes who occupy much of the coast of Oregon and northern California. The Hoopas on the Trinity River, a southern branch of the Klamath River, are the best known of these peoples. The eastern prong consists of the Lipano-Apacheans, made up of the Lipanans and the Apacheans. Lipanans are the "Prairie Apaches": Kiowas, Palomas, Jicarillas, Querechos, Teyas, and Lipans, all of Plains culture. (Various authors have gone into the matter of identity of the Querechos; it is the consensus that the term was used by the Spaniards for non-sedentary Indians regardless of actual identity.) The Apacheans comprised the Navahos and Apaches of the Southwest. Mooney hinted at Navaho migration from Oregon or

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California, possibly by way of the Great Salt Lake (Mooney, J., "The Jicarilla Genesis," A.A., XI, 197-209, 1898.) A second suggested route was by way of the Columbia Plateau and the Great Basin or from the buffalo country of Wyoming southward through eastern Utah and Colorado, including the Uintah mountains. A more recent suggestion brings the people in by way of Kansas and Nebraska. The Apache and the Navaho called themselves the Diné, meaning "The People". They were given various names by the different tribes which came to know them. Although the Navaho and the Apache were closely related, they never existed as one or even as two large political entities. Each people was organized into numerous bands, and each band was a unit to itself, with a leader, although in most characteristics sharing a common culture with several other bands who might be said to make up a tribe. Tribal organization on a large scale, as we see it today, came only as a result of various groups being confined within a reservation in the American period. It is generally thought that the Southern Athapascan ancestors appeared in the Southwest as numerous small family groups or informal bands, over a period of time.

A. Linguistic Evidence of Navaho Origin and Time of Arrival in the Southwest:

When the Athapascan influx began or ended is not certainly known, though estimates have been made on various bases. The approximate time at which they broke away from the Canadian homeland has been computed in a recent study using the new method known as

Glottochronology or Lexico-statistics (Hoijer, Harry, "The Chronology of the Athapascan Languages", Int. Jr. of Am. Linguistics, Vol. XXII, No. 4, 1956, pp. 219-222).

"The method is based upon the discovery that languages apparently change at a uniform rate, and that this rate can be quantified by an examination of that portion of the vocabulary (or lexicon) of a language which expresses universal and essentially non-cultural meanings. Lexico-statistic methodology assumes that all languages must of necessity express certain items of meaning (indicative of culture universals) and that all languages will express those items (or most of them) by simple words or morphemes which are part of the common, everyday vocabulary." Studies on thirteen known languages have indicated that different stages of simple languages, such as Old and Modern English separated by 1000 years, show an average of about 81 words or morphemes retained per 100. This system of dating has been used on a number of American Indian languages and the results checked against archaeological evidence of movements of people. The results have been convincingly consistent.

Hoijer, using fifteen Athapascan languages from Canada, Northern California, and the Southwest in his comparisons, presents the following conclusions on time of separation:

"Table VI reveals clearly that the Pacific Coast languages broke off from the common Athapascan body some time before the proto-Apachean groups began their move to the south. A majority (13 out of 21) of Pacific Coast-Northern divergencies occur between 1000 and 1200

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years ago, while the bulk of the Apachean-Northern divergences (27 out of 35) took place between 700 and 1000 years ago. Note, too, that all the Pacific Coast Apachean occurred in the same time period that witnessed the divergences of the Pacific Coast and Northern languages.

"It is somewhat surprising to find how little time is involved in the break-up of the Athapascan languages - the earliest time of divergence is only about 1300 years ago. The movement of the Pacific Coast languages to the south apparently begins almost at once and is essentially complete at a date roughly 1000 years ago. The movement of the Apachean languages southward appears to have begun somewhat later, about 1000 years ago and, if our dating is accurate, was not entirely complete until about 600 years ago. This seems to indicate that the residence of the Apachean speaking peoples in the Southwest is not of any great duration, although it is difficult to estimate the time it may have taken for these peoples to move the distance involved."

This gives us then an approximate time of about 700 to 900 A.D., when the Coast Athapascans broke from the main group, though the Apachean peoples still were in Canada. The Apachean group began splitting off by some moving southward about 900 A.D., but others continued to make the break and start for the South until about 1300 A.D. Harrington suggests that the peoples may have followed an easy line of southward movement along the High Plains just east of the Rockies, a route which Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Apaches used

in historic times (Harrington, Op. cit., p. 521). From the border of Canada to that of Mexico, the distance is only 1400 miles; if one walked 25 miles per day, the trip would require no more than 55 days. How long it actually took the migrants to reach the Southwest is unknown; they probably moved somewhat faster than peoples accustomed to support themselves by agriculture and hence prone to stop periodically to raise crops. But even hunting and gathering groups made up of men, women, and children of all ages would not move rapidly, especially when probably looking over new territory for a home and perhaps pausing for a number of years here or there to try out an environment. The drifting may have covered generations. It has been suggested that some may have reached the Southwest by 1000 (Kluckhohn, Clyde, and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho, 1946, p. 4), or 1100 A.D., to be followed by others during the next three or more centuries. But no actual evidence that the Apaches entered the Southwest at an early period has been found, and the studies of the last few years have tended to controvert the concept of the Navaho reaching the San Juan much before the Spaniards reached the upper Rio Grande, though they were preceded by some of the western and more southern Apache.

Navaho pottery has been the basis for much of the controversy re. Navaho origins. The culinary ware is characterized as made by the Pueblo coil and scrape technique, the exterior was finished by scraping with a corn cob and hence often - but not always - shows striations, the paste is gray and tempered with sand until about 1800,

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after which, at least in some areas, ground sherd temper was employed. Mica is present in much of the ware. The shape is conical, with a large mouth and, usually, a rather pointed base which fits nicely down into the fire, a trait which made the vessel a desired article of gift or trade by (at least) Laguna and Acoma people. Some vessels, however, were made with a round bottom. When new, the vessels usually were coated with pinyon gum or other plant juice, which later burned off in the open fires. Detailed description of Navaho pottery manufacture is given by Hill, 1937, and Tschopik, 1941; the appearance of Navaho cooking vessels is carefully described by Douglas, 1935, p. 78, and Douglas, 1937.

Jenness has stated that Canadian Athapascan groups did not make pottery (Jenness, 1934, p. 395) and Gifford notes the same fact (Gifford, 1928, 371). But Wintemberg opens his article with the sentence: "Practically all the aboriginal inhabitants of Canada, including the Eskimo, made and used pottery. The only ones who did not seem to have used it are the Indians of the coast and interior of British Columbia..." (Wintemberg, 1942, p. 129). He goes on to point out that outside of the Eskimo, there were two major aboriginal culture manifestations in Canada, the Woodland and the Mississippi. Although no Canadian site has shown a deposit of one pattern stratigraphically deposited over the other, Woodland is considered to be, probably, the older. Woodland pottery has been found "from south central Alberta to the Labrador boundary and from Reindeer Lake in northern Saskatchewan to the international border, extending southward in

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Ontario, to Elgin County. It has an equally wide distribution in the United States....Reindeer Lake, the present most northerly limit of pottery occurrence in Canada, although possibly originally Algonkian territory, is within the area inhabited by Athapascans, among whom there is not even a tradition of making and use of pottery." (Op. cit., p. 131.)

"Woodland" is a term used by archaeologists to designate a certain type of broad culture carried by many tribes in the United States, chiefly in the East and Mid-west, as well as in Canada. One of its most outstanding characteristics is the gray cooking vessel of conical shape, often with pointed base, and showing a surface usually textured by scraping with a rough implement, patting it while damp with a cord wrapped paddle, etc.

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Navaho and the closely related Jicarilla pottery are of Woodland type, but it seems unlikely that a group which had made pottery would completely lose all memory of that accomplishment. Pueblo pottery definitely is not of Woodland affiliation, except in the single case of the culinary Gallina ware, to be discussed later. Of course, it is conceivable that a pottery-making group of Athapascans did live around Reindeer Lake and disappeared - by migrating southward. If the migrants did not bring knowledge of pottery-making with them, then they learned ceramics in route or after reaching the Southwest. Most Anthropologists now consider the former suggestion to be the more tenable and point out that the Central Plains equivalent of the Late-Woodland-

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Mississippi transition in the Eastern United States is represented by several semi-sedentary pottery-making cultures found in Kansas and Nebraska and extending at least as far west as Colorado and Wyoming. (Wedel, 1959, p. 557.) Migration via the Rockies would bring them near or through this region.

B. Probable Relationship between Navaho-Apache and Dismal River Culture:

Dittert, Schroeder, Wedel, Gunnerson, and others consider that the Navaho are an Apachean group which drifted into the Southwest late, probably entering the San Juan Basin from a northeastern source and only recently separated from the Apache when they entered the area, about 1550 to 1600 (Dittert, Hester, Eddy, 1961, p. 247). Wedel (Wedel, Waldo, An Introduction to Kansas Archaeology, B.A.E., 174, 1959)

characterizes the sites of the Dismal River Aspect in western Nebraska, western Kansas, eastern Colorado, southeast Wyoming, and possibly southwest South Dakota as a high plains manifestation probably representing Apache occupation at about 1700, plus or minus twenty-five years. The people were primarily hunters and only secondarily agriculturists, as indicated by proportions in types of various stone artifacts. In this period the Spaniards repeatedly came into contact with Plains Apache in this area. Champe and Secoy agree with Wedel's identification of the Dismal River aspect sites as old Apache (Champe, John L., "White Cat Village", Amer. Antiq., Vol. 14, No. 4, pt. 1, pp. 285-292, 1949; Secoy, Frank R., "The Identity of the 'Paduca'; an Ethnohistorical

Analysis", Am. Anth., Vol. 53, No. 4, pt. 1, pp. 521-542, 1951). Gunnerson, who lists 41 Dismal River Aspect sites in Nebraska, 35 in Colorado, 3 in Wyoming, 2 in South Dakota, and one in Kansas (Gunnerson, 1960, Appendix A, pp. 255-257), states, "The identification of the Dismal River people as Plains Apache brings with it explanations for many of the problems presented by Dismal River Archaeology. First, it permits us to identify the Dismal River Aspect as a final phase of Apache domination of the High Plains. It explains the fact that both Plains and Southwestern influences are detectable in the Dismal River Complex, for, since circa 1525, the Plains Apache had been familiars of both Pueblo and Plains agricultural villages. It is generally agreed that the Athabascans in the Southwest originated in the north, and it seems probable that they came via the High Plains

circa 1525. The next major problem concerning these Apache groups is the identification of their earlier manifestations" (Gunnerson, James H., An Introduction to Plains Apache Archaeology - The Dismal River Aspect, B.A.E. Bull, 173, 1960, p. 252). If the Navaho are an Apache group which came into the Southwest from a pre-Dismal River background, a clustering of sites of which are found as far west as near Denver on the upper South Platte, they knew agriculture and pottery making before they ever met the Pueblos. The appearance of a number of Dismal River culture items in late stages of Upper Rio Grande Pueblo sequences, as at Pecos, indicates contact between the two peoples. The most common Dismal River house had the floor on or just below the ground surface. At from 5 to

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7-1/2 feet from the central hearth, five posts were erected. Stringers between them supported sloping sides and a flat roof. There were no inside cache pits. Undercut roasting pits are known for three sites. Pottery was "lump modeled," rather than coiled and finished by the paddle and anvil process. Jars had bases which ranged from rounded to subconoidal, and the surface was plain or roughened by stamping.

Except for the house, roasting pits, and much of the ceramic complex, the traits are those of Plains cultures, and much of the pottery decoration is Plains. Navaho culture is largely Apache Plains-like culture with a heavy overlay of borrowed Pueblo traits. The Dismal River house type is not Navaho, although reminiscent, broadly speaking, of some of the later hogan styles. It certainly has no relationship to the old forked-stick hogan. The pottery shows decided resemblance

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to Navaho ware, though the Navahos formed their vessels by the coil-scrape method typical of all Pueblos and undoubtedly borrowed from them. But when making these comparisons, one must remember that the Dismal River Aspect dates two centuries later than our earliest known southwestern Navahos. The culture ancestral to Dismal River would have been less specialized and may well have looked more like that of old southwestern Apache and Navaho type.

Sterns Creek gray ware (older than Dismal River) with grit and mica temper and, often, conical bottoms, and without the marks of paddle and anvil finish seen on Dismal River and other later types, seems to have much in common with Navaho culinary ware (Strong, 1935, p. 186).

In 1932 Amsden spoke of Navaho pottery as "utterly un-Southwestern" (Amsden, 1932, p. 197). In 1935 Kidder (Unpublished ms., 1935, noted by Reichard, 1936, p. 169) commented that Navaho pottery was like none from the Southwest but showed a resemblance to that of Western Nebraska and therefore he concluded that the Navaho brought the knowledge and technique of their pottery-making into the Southwest when they arrived. Keur (1941, p. 11) was interested in the idea that the form of the Navaho cooking vessel might show Promontory or Dismal River connections, but emphasized the Puebloan technique of Navaho manufacture. Martin, Quimby, and Collier (1947, p. 158) believe that the Navaho may have brought their pottery-making into the Southwest from elsewhere. The Dismal River culture area of western Nebraska and Kansas and eastern Colorado at present is our best location for that "elsewhere".

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Dittert, Hester and Eddy carefully point out that their hypothesis of the Navaho having entered the upper San Juan in the 16th century, shortly after having split from Apache on the high plains of eastern Colorado, where both "may have practiced a migratory hunting economy similar to that of the historic Jicarilla" (Wedel, 1959, pp. 324-326) is in contrast to those who propose a Largo-Gallina origin of the Navaho (Hall, 1944; Underhill, 1954: 38, 39) or an intermontane migration along the west slope of the Rockies by the Navaho entering the Southwest (Huscher and Huscher, 1942). (Dittert, Hester, Eddy, 1961, p. 248.)

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C. Possible Relationship between Navaho and Gallina Culture:

The similarity between the cooking ware characteristically used by the Navaho and that typical of the Gallina Culture (ca. late 1000's to mid-1200's) has been noted by various authors (Hibben, Frank C., "The Pottery of the Gallina Complex", Am. Anth., Vol. 14, No. 3, 1949, pp. 190-200; Mera, H. P., Ceramic Clues to the Prehistory of North Central New Mexico, Lab. of Anth. Tech. Series, Bull. No. 8, 1935; etc.). Whereas most of the culinary ware of the prehistoric Pueblo people, wherever found, is a gray ware with rounded base, and very rarely with pointed base, that of the Gallina complex and that of the Navaho (Dinetah Utility ware and later Navaho Culinary) is gray with pointed base, and rarely a rounded base. The cooking pots are almost duplicates in general form, and the shape of both has been likened to the Woodland culture pottery found mostly to the east and north of the Southwest, but also elsewhere.

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In recent excavations and surveys in the Navaho Reservoir area, however, Dittert (personal communication, 1961) has found new evidence of increasing use of the pointed base from Rosa phase (BM III-PI) through the following Pueblo phases. This type of base, of practical use in making a vessel fit down into a cooking fire, was produced in small coiled baskets, becoming smaller as time passed (baskets have been found, are in Lab., of Anth., Santa Fe) which were used to hold the basal portion of the vessel, and turned, to enable the potter to keep the sides even as she worked upward. Impressions of the coiled baskets are seen on some

of the vessel bases so clearly that reconstruction of the baskets can be produced, such reconstructions matching basketry remains found. The Rosa and succeeding phases were ancestral to the Gallina culture, which is ancestral to the modern Jemez, as evidence increasingly illustrates. The Navaho were not present in the area until some 200 years after the Gallinas moved out.

Goodwin, who wrote before the Gallina culture had been discovered, outlined the distribution of Navaho-like pottery: "It has no parallel in the Southwest except among the Ute, Southern Paiute, and Taos and Picuris Pueblos. It was made fairly commonly by the Navajo, slightly less so by Jicarilla, decidedly less frequently by Western Apache, and to a slight extent by Chiricahua and Mescalero. So far as is known the Lipan and Kiowa-Apache made no pottery. The Navajo were the only ones who made decorated ware similar to the Pueblo. This they did to a limited extent." (Goodwin, 1938, p. 7) The modern Navaho-like pottery of Taos and Picuris pueblos, commonly thought to be a late introduction from the Plains or from Navaho and Apache contacts (Gunnerson, J. H., 1960, p. 152) supplanted the old painted pottery of these two pueblos at about the time of the Pueblo rebellion of 1680 (Stubbs, 1953, p. 30). Navaho ware may have considerable mica or very little, but that of Taos and Picuris - and the old Jicarilla jars - shows this as a major trait. Actually, much of the culinary ware from northern Rio Grande pueblos of late prehistoric and historic period (17th century and earlier) is of semi-rough

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exterior, heavily tempered with mica and sand, and blackened through the wall from use in a fire; much of it was textured on the surface by partly smoothed indentations, etc., but some was left plain. The culinary ware from the Middle Rio Grande and pueblos farther west was black, with little or no mica, and a smooth to rough surface. (Excavations in dumps at Yunque, a part of San Juan pueblo, and at Laguna, Acoma, and Zia, and surface deposits in late Jemez sites and elsewhere, as well as old specimens from Pueblo storerooms show this type of utility ware, not yet described in the literature.)

Pueblo and Navaho cooking jars, like most of those throughout the world, have wide mouths, a matter of convenience in use. Taos and Picuris ware (and that from the other late pueblos) does not have the pointed bottom so typical of Navaho ware - although round bottoms also

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were used - nor the decorative neck fillet which was added by the Navaho in 1775 but was not universally applied by them even in the first years of the next century (Vivian, G., 1957, p. 154; Hurt, W., 1942, p. 93). Navaho gray ware and Jicarilla ware (Gifford, 1940, p. 142) often is somewhat striated on the surface, the result of the vessel having been scraped with a corn cob or other rough material while still damp, and this trait often is given as decidedly distinctive of Navaho ware, though some Navaho gray is smooth, like most of the Gallina culinary. Until recently it was not known that in the past the culinary ware of the New Mexico pueblos characteristically was finished by being scraped with a corn cob while damp; it sometimes was left with the

resulting striations and sometimes further smoothed with gourd rind or hand. (Data from Acoma and Laguna informants: FHE, checked by description and photograph of pottery-finishing implements, including corn cobs, bent and straight, from Picuris. See El Palacio, Gunnerson, J. H., 1959, p. 152 and plate on p. 151.)

It becomes apparent that it is impossible at present to positively separate Pueblo, Navaho, and Apache utility ware, although sherds with obvious surface striations - or plain sherds associated with others of obvious surface striations and perhaps other evidences of a Navaho camp - commonly are considered to be Navaho. Gunnerson examined two old striated Jicarilla pots which had been obtained by two different Taos families in trade with Jicarillas before the latter were placed on reservations; the vessels had been kept as heirlooms. They

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could not be distinguished from Taos ware (Ibid.). I have a similar vessel (Navaho or Jicarilla) from an old storeroom in San Juan Pueblo, distinguishable from some of the old San Juan culinary ware only by its conical base. The 19th century Jicarilla are known to have peddled their pottery among the pueblos and in the Spanish American villages (Gunnerson, op.cit., pp. 150-151, quoting Greiner and Abel).

Some Navaho sherds show a glistening gummy appearance in cross section, presumably the result of burning of the pinyon gum or yucca leaf juice used in construction of the vessel or wiped over the surface after firing to prevent cracking. But all old Navaho vessels - and sherds - do not show either the gummy interior or a black exterior, the

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carbonaceous matter presumably having disappeared through oxidation, and some Pueblo sherds do show interior gumminess, possibly from food matter having been burned into the walls. Mrs. Colton reports that at Hopi "Water storage jars are coated with hot pinon gum to render them waterproof", and it is known that some early San Juan pueblos and probably late Rio Grandes did the same. (Colton, MRF, 1938, p. 10.)

To summarize: mica tempering throws Navaho culinary ware into close relationship with Jicarilla and northern Rio Grande culinary wares and, if light, with pueblos of the Middle Rio Grande. The striated surface throws Navaho, Jicarilla, and some New Mexico Pueblo utility wares together, but neither the Navaho nor the Pueblos were consistent in use of striated surface. The pointed base throws Navaho, Jicarilla, and Gallina together. The Gallina ware customarily is not striated (though some striated sherds are found) nor tempered with mica.

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Goodwin's note that besides showing a parallel to Taos and Picuris ware, Navaho ware parallels that of the Ute and Southern Paiute has been substantiated by more recent studies. Baldwin provides an excellent summary of the data with specific references and explanations re lack of early published data for the area. (Baldwin, 1950, pp. 50-56) As he explains, notations on the Southern Paiute after mid-19th century made little or no mention of pottery, probably because pottery disappeared after white people made metal containers available (post 1868 Trading Posts, almost entirely). Contact with Spanish traders

and travelers had begun at least by the opening of the 19th century. Escalante, Smith, and Pattie did not mention pottery, though it must have been made and used in some areas during their period. Negative references may indicate nothing more than lack of interest on the part of the observer. In 1844 Fremont mentioned large earthen vessels on the fire. (Op.cit., p. 50.) Palmer in 1875 and 1877 did not mention pottery but he collected three vessels from the southern Paiute. A fourth was purchased from an Indian in 1908. Lowie, in his study of 1914-15 says the Paiutes had made pottery earlier. Steward in his 1937-38 studies on four Southern Paiute bands credits only the Shivwits with pottery. In 1938 Wissler stated that the Southern Ute made a little pottery, but said nothing of the Southern Paiute. Steward in 1940 says that pottery was known to the Southern Paiute but was not of great importance. (Op. cit., p. 51.)

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In 1935 Douglas compiled a resumé of what was known of Ute and Paiute pottery; his conclusion was that little could be said of it except that "rather crude cooking pots with conical bottoms were made. They were brownish-black and undecorated." (Op.cit., p. 51.)

In 1926 M. R. Harrington had published a brief account of Southern Paiute pottery from campsites in the Moapa or Muddy River valley, in southeastern Nevada. Such sherds were found either on campsites entirely without traces of dwellings or on the surface of pueblo sites; they were "dark brown or black in color, coarse, granular, and rather soft in texture, and irregular as to thickness and surface." Those which were decorated showed only fingernail impressions. Many

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vessels were of conical form, with pointed bottoms. He was told by the Indians that this ware was made by the Moapa band of Southern Paiute as late as 1890 (Harrington, M. R., "Western Extensions of Early Pueblo Culture," Indian Notes, Mus. of Am. Ind., Heye Foundation, Vol. 3, p. 17), and in his 1927, 1930, and 1937 publications, he gave similar descriptions of Southern Paiute ware.

Baldwin was the first to do a considerable study, archaeological and ethnological, on Southern Paiute pottery. In 1942 he published a short note on the subject and later in the same year he covered the matter in somewhat more detail (Baldwin, G. C., "Archaeological Field Work in the Boulder Dam Area", Clearing House for Southwestern Museums News-Letter, No. 51, p. 187), stating that the Paiute formerly made a good deal of pottery, sherds of which now were to be found on most Paiute campsites and on neighboring Pueblo ruins. The ware is rather coarsely tempered with sand and "minute flakes of mica are generally conspicuous on the surface." The exterior surfaces are rough, often showing small fingernail indentations. The shape was characterized by a thick pointed base, a wide mouth with slightly outcurving rim, and medium to tall globular body. "Paiute pottery thus falls within the general Woodland type, closely related to Ute, Navaho, and Western Apache utility wares" (Baldwin, 1942, p. 187).

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Baldwin's later work covered 130 Southern Paiute sites recorded, 120 visited and surface collections made, and 15 tested or partly excavated, scattered over an area ranging from southwestern Utah near St. George south

as far as Needles, California, east to Whitmore Wash and western Grand Canyon, west as far as Ash Meadows and the Pahrump Valley in Southern Nevada. Thirty-five of the 120 sites had been occupied earlier by Pueblo peoples. The bands represented in this area (half or more of the Southern Paiute of Nevada, California, and Utah) - and by this pottery - were the larger and more sedentary groups, the Moapa, Las Vegas, and Shivwits, and in part the Pahrump or Ash Meadows group, the St. George, and the northern fringe of Chemehuevi (Baldwin, 1950, pp. 50, 52).

In 1928 Spier had described Havasupai pottery (which had been used more commonly than basketry for cooking but disappeared when replaced by metal products about 1870) as tempered with sand from ant hills, an unslipped, undecorated, coarse brown ware "of the type common to all the nomadic tribes of the Southwest and adjacent sections of California." (Spier, 1928, p. 138.) Vessels were globular, with a slightly constricted neck and flared lip, constructed by coiling and finished by paddle and anvil method used by tribes all the way from the lower Colorado River area up into the Great Basin and east into Colorado. Although general appearance of this ware resembled Navaho, the shape was not as similar to that of the Gallina or Navaho wares as were the shapes of the vessels used by neighboring Paiute groups and the Utes farther to the east, and sherds should be distinguishable on the basis of temper.

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When one discovers that Southern Paiute and Ute pottery appears to be quite as Navaho-like in shape as the Gallina utility ware and somewhat more similar in composition, similarities between Nevada and Gallina ware become much less impressive. In other words, this general type of pottery spreads westward from the Plains to the Paiutes, and Navahos and Gallinas both may have learned their ware from groups living outside the Pueblo area.

Hall, impressed with the similarity between Navaho and Gallina pottery in the Largo-Gallina (Gobernador) area, suggested that nomads carrying scored pottery might have come into that section and brought about a change in surface of wares made by San Juan-like BM III-P I people there about 1000 A.D., the beginning of the Gallina culture. The Navahos were a second set of immigrants of later date who
52 introduced the pointed bottom (Hall, 1944, p. 103). Hibben thought Woodland culture was suggested by the Gallina utility ware and adds "Navaho admixture is not particularly indicated but deserves careful consideration" (Hibben, 1938, p. 136). Farmer comments on the possibility of the Navaho receiving Plains traits, including the pointed-bottom pot, after they arrived in the Southwest, "as a part of a general Plains influence that came west and was felt by the Pueblo people as well as the Navahos (Farmer, 1942, p. 79). Linton suggested that "The Gallina people also may have been migrants with a tradition of cooking-pots of the northern type (conical-bottomed), or may have come into contact with northern migrants, possibly the ancestors of the Navaho, from whom they borrowed this sort of pottery" (Linton, 1944, p. 379).

Considering Hoijer's estimate of the date when Navaho ancestors broke off from their Canadian relatives, it is possible that the Navaho acquired the concept of pottery in western Kansas or Nebraska or eastern Colorado and brought it into the southwest early enough for the Gallina people to have picked up the idea, but no evidence for this has been found.

The Gallina culture also shows some other scattered items suggesting early Plains contact, and it seems that the most tenable theory regarding similarities between Gallina and Navaho culinary ware is that Plains influence is responsible for both, but at two different periods. A last possibility is that Navahos, or Gallinas, or both, borrowed the item from one of the other non-Plains groups which carried this Woodland-like trait. Much remains unknown on the problem of origin and distribution of the pointed bottom cooking vessel, but its wider 53
distribution is being discovered by archaeologists, year by year, a major blow to old theories of Gallina-Navaho relationships.

Hall's chart "Occupation of the Gobernador" (Hall, 1944b, p. 7) indicates relative periods of occupation of the area by the various groups recognized through the gap between Gallina culture and Navaho archaeological remains. This gap has been cut somewhat by knowledge that the Gallina culture lasted into the 13th century.

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Remains	Dates
Fairly dense pit house	pre-700-900
Few Pueblo remains	900-1000
No dated remains, possibly nomads	1000-1500
Dated Navajo	ca.1540-1700
Dated Navajo and Refugee Pueblo	1700-1770
Sporadic Ute or other nomadic population	1770-1900
Spanish-American and Anglo-American	1900-

The recent work of Dittert, Hester, and Eddy in the Navaho Basin (see Chap. VI) gives an approximation of the same picture; a gap of some 550 years in the Lower Reservoir and 450 years in the Upper separates the old Pueblo cultures from that of the Navaho. (Dittert, Hester, Eddy, 1961, Fig. 79.)

There is no such gap between the Sterns Creek and Dismal River and Navaho wares, nor between Navaho ware and that of the Ute, Paiute and Shoshone, their near neighbors to the north.

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The comment of Dittert, Hester, and Eddy indicating objections to the hypothesis of a Largo-Gallina origin of the Navaho ("Largo" and "Gallina" being two terms for the same culture) is succinct and to the point:

> Specific traits present in Largo-Gallina culture and not found in Navaho culture include: the pottery elbow pipes with support knobs; T-shaped arrow straightener; poll-notched axes; elk antler implements; adobe bin plugs; and sandstone and baked adobe cylinders (Lange, 1956, pp. 79-80). Specific similarities of Largo-Gallina with Navaho traits are limited to the pointed-bottom pottery. The architectural similarities of the Largo-Gallina are essentially Puebloan and evidence presented herein suggests that Puebloan traits were introduced to the Navaho after the Pueblo Revolt. (Dittert, Hester, Eddy, 1961, p. 248.)

D. Possibilities of Navaho Relationship to the Promontory Culture:

In 1940 Steward suggested that the culture found in Promontory Point caves in Utah might be of northern Plains origin and represent early Athapascan arrivals. The Promontory culture existed in the Salt Lake region at the time early (prehistoric) Pueblo people were living there and remained when the latter had left about 1000 A.D. (Steward, Julian, Native Cultures of the Intermontane (Great Basin) Area, Smiths. Misc. Coll., Vol. 100, 1940, pp. 472-474). The sudden disappearance of the Pueblos, who had been in the area for only about 100 years, might indicate fear of the newcomers.

The Promontory culture (named from a large cave site on the north shore of Great Salt Lake) is that of a people with no trace of horticulture. They relied principally upon hunting. Bison and deer were important in their larder. "The culture appears to have been abruptly intrusive in the area, and one gets the impression that it is of northern origin. It has four-piece skin moccasins (nearly 200 specimens were found) of a type known only in extreme northeastern and northwestern Canada, fur mittens, a peculiar pottery which is totally unlike that of the Anasazi but remotely similar to some northern Plains types and may belong to the general Woodland class of ceramics, hand-game bones (?) somewhat like those of the Plains, beaver-teeth dice like those of the Northwest, and the sinew-back bow which came originally, at least, from the north" (Steward, Op.cit., pp. 472, 473). The pottery had been described in detail four years earlier (Steward, 1936, p. 18).

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As time passed, Wedel and others made comparative studies of Promontory and Plains traits: "Other Plains-Promontory similarities have been noted by Hill and Metcalf (1942) and more recently by J. H. Gunnerson (1956), these including such items as end scrapers (including the tanged or graver-point variant), tubular steatite or schist pipes, bone punches, sandstone arrowshaft smoothers, bison metapodial fleshers, etc. BothSteward and Gunnerson emphasize the fact that the Promontory peoples were apparently primarily bison hunters rather than seed gatherers, like the Shoshoneans of the Utah region; and Gunnerson (1956, p. 72) suggests that the Promontory material may represent 'an early proto-historic thrust by a buffalo-hunting Athapascan group into the Great Basin from the Plains'". (Wedel, 1959, p. 597.)

Gunnerson gives some suggestive data on regional variation (Nebraska and Coloredo) of Dismal River pottery, the artifact most diagnostic of the Aspect and of most prominence in Dismal River-Promontory comparisons: Its most diagnostic traits are "gray-black color, smooth or simple stamped surface, gritty paste, tendency toward straight square breaks, small sherd size, tempering (usually fine to medium sand or occasionally mica) and scarcity of decoration, which, when present, is always confined to the lips and consists of punctates and incised or impressed lines." Vessels are globular to somewhat elongated; "The smooth, thicker pottery found at Ash Hollow Cave in western Nebraska becomes the predominant type in Colorado where simple stamped pottery is rare. Furthermore, at some of the Colorado sites, pottery very

similar to Dismal River pottery, but with coarse tempering, occurs associated with what is probably Dismal River ware. This occurrence of coarse-and fine-tempered Dismal River-like pottery is reminiscent of Promontory ware and may be related to it." Percentage of decorated rims and variety of lip decorations varies in different sites. "A portion of a vessel with a flat bottom and flaring walls, suggestive of Shoshone influence but with a mica-tempered paste, was found in Hooker County." Some of the Lovitt Mica Tempered sherds (a variant type) have been identified as Rio Grande micaceous culinary ware and would be considered as trade pieces except for the fact that some show simple stamping, not a Pueblo trait (Gunnerson, 1960, pp. 247, 248).

"At present there is no accurate date for the Promontory culture. Its similarities to the Dismal River Aspect suggest that it is contemporaneous with that Plains complex. The presence at Promontory of the toothed bison metapodial flesher, a protohistoric time marker in the Plains, strengthens the probability that the Promontory people were Dismal River buffalo hunters who followed bison herds up the North Platte River and into the Great Basin, where bison survived in the Promontory area until early historic times" (Gunnerson, 1960, p. 245).

The culture shared a number of traits which Pueblo culture and several others also carried and which, hence, are of little use in illustrating relationships: twined mats, twined tule bags, cane arrows, grooved arrowshaft-smoothers, side-notched triangular arrow points, hafted flint knives, scrapers, digging sticks, straight bone awls,

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compound fire drills, skin and fur bags, and the hoop-and-dart game. Other Promontory traits which are not so wide-spread and may have been borrowed from the local Pueblo culture are fur and bird-skin twined cloth, simple rod and rod-and-bundle coiled basketry, tubular stone pipes, cedar-bark rings, pottery disks, and cane dice and wooden tubes for the hidden-ball game. But the Promontory people certainly did not borrow Pueblo horticulture, metates, house types, or pottery characteristics. The one almost unique Promontory item is the small stone or bone tablet finely etched or painted with geometric designs, which may be related to the etched slabs which occur near Klamath Lake in Oregon (Steward, 1940, p. 473).

A find of some pottery very similar to Promontory ware from near Cisco in southeastern Utah was one basis for suggestions that the Promontory people were Athapascans en route to the southwest. If

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Promontory people were Dismal River people and Dismal River people were early Athapascans, then the Promontory people must have been Athapascan. Proof that the Promontory people were Athapascan has not resulted from Promontory-Navaho comparisons, but the Promontory group may have been closer to the Plains Apache side of the family. Early Navaho sites in the Southwest (Dinetah phase) differ from the Promontory sites in that the Navaho used forked stick hogans and had but little typical stone work, their arrow points being of such diverse types as to be thought to have been picked up from old Basketmaker-Pueblo ruins. Whether they did more stone work earlier, especially in points, as might be expected (See Gunnerson, D., 1959) or used wooden points, is still unknown. We have no evidence of Navahos using a four-piece

moccasin or fur mittens in any period. They themselves disclaim the sinew-backed bow until late times. Metates were used to grind pinons and wild seeds as well as corn.

Steward, after examining two skulls found at Grantsville and Kanab, suggested that the Promontory people (supposedly dating 1200-1400 AD) were Athapascans. These two skulls fall into the very round headed class, with low vaults, whereas crania of the modern Shoshoneans of the Basin are basically mesocephalic (medium headed) with somewhat low vaults. (Kennedy, K.A.R., The Aboriginal Population of the Great Basin, U.C. Arch. Survey, No. 45, 1959, p. 18). Kennedy goes on to point out that although the Great Basin Shoshoneans do average mesocephalic, the heads become narrower as one goes eastward and northward and the vault is lower toward the east. The proportions in the total face show the greatest variability, showing an index of broadness in the west, being narrower in the heart of the Basin, and broader again in the east. Stature decreases from west to east and southward (Ibid., p. 19). The questionable validity of Steward's suggestion when his data came from only two samples is pointed up by Kennedy's comments that his own sample of 233 adult male crania and 83 female, living and dead, is too small and that until larger samples are used, analysis must remain superficial.

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The great variation observable in Navaho physical type presumably as the result of admixture with the various other peoples taken as captives, met in trade, or simply incorporated into the tribal whole, has been noted by many observers. Such a degree of variation may not have existed when the Navaho ancestors first came

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into the Southwest, but even in relatively homogeneous populations so much variation occurs that one could not possibly identify a group from only two skulls.

In the historic period, as Steward points out (Steward, op. cit., p. 474), the Intermontane or Great Basin was occupied principally by three Shoshonean-speaking groups: the Northern Paiute or Mono-Bannock, the Shoshoni, and the Ute-Chemehuevi (Ute and Southern Paiute). The eastern and western sub-areas differed the most widely from each other in basic economy and associated cultural features but otherwise showed much similarity. Some of the Basin groups lived totally in the open and some used shelters, and the Navaho hogan duplicates the "hogan" of the southern Ute and Kaibab Paiute, and appears even among the Shoshoni. The similarity of Promontory, southeastern Ute, Navaho, Gallina area

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(Pueblo variant), and all Woodland type pottery - which is found here and there from the central United States to Alaska - leaves the question of derivation of any one of them in question. It is possible that the Navaho and Apache ancestors in coming from the north, all came via the corridor on the east side of the Rockies. It also is possible that some arrived by this route and others directly through the Basin or by the west coast into Oregon or northern California and then across the Basin into the Southwest. This is the route suggested by Harrington's map (Harrington, J.P., 1940, "Navaho limits at different dates", Fig. 32). He shows addition of a Navaho group from the La Plata area, as given by the Navaho creation legend. But as we shall point out in the chapter dealing with this legend and evaluation of what it may indicate of early Navaho locations through data on traits borrowed from Pueblos as well as from additions from Pueblos and other outside groups to the Navaho nucleus, that portion involving creation of part of the Navaho in the

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La Plata area is a direct borrowing of the Pueblo creation legend. It probably refers to the large Pueblo increment which brought blood and culture into the Navaho tribe about 1700.

E. Possibilities of Navaho Intermontane Migration:

In southern Colorado, southwestern Colorado, the Uncompaghre Plateau, and southern Montrose county, twenty-six sites, comprising 175 individual structures on canyon rims, the tips or sides of promontories, and talus slopes were located by the Huschers (Huscher, H. and B., 1942, pp. 80-88). They are suggested to represent ancestral Athapascan sites and to substantiate a theory of Navaho migration southward via the Intermontane region, earlier discussed by Steward (1936, p. 62; 1937, p. 87) and Harrington (1940, p. 523). The structures are described as

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ovals or circles of masonry, without mortar, occurring "singly, in adjoining pairs, with a common wall, or in planless villages of up to twenty buildings" (Huscher and Huscher, 1942, pp. 81, 82). Wide variation in quality of stone work is admitted but attributed to difference in quality of stone available in different localities (Op.cit., p. 83). Others who had reported structures of this type are Woodbury and Woodbury, 1932 (pp. 11, 14, 17); Morss, 1931, p. 28; Reagan, 1935 (pp. 5, 6); Renaud, 1935 (p. 7); Gillin, 1937 (p. 218); and Wormington, 1939 and 1940. The total area covered stretches from the Plains across New Mexico and Arizona as far as California; the survey of the Colorado Museum of Natural History was said to show occurrence of the "hogan-like"

structures in the Rockies from the San Luis Valley on the south across the Gunnison and Colorado drainages and as far north as the headwaters of the White River (Huscher and Huscher, 1939, 1940, 1942). Often the structures have been built against a rock ledge, which produces a "D" shape, or were dug into a hillside, with only front and parts of side walls built of masonry. Evidence for roof type is unsatisfactory but roofs are suggested to have been steeply conical, with covers of skin, brush, or mats held in place on top of the walls by leaning slabs of stone against the bases of pole rafters. "No heavy timbered roof covered with earth or adobe is admissible." (Huscher and Huscher, 1942, p. 84.) Several of the thin sandstone slabs, possibly once associated with roofs, were found leaning against the outer wall bases of some structures. Doorways were to the east. The comment that

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occupancy of the Uncompaghre Plateau structures must have been brief presumably is based on scantiness of accompanying debris.

Pottery was very rare. In the San Luis Valley, sherds are of a coarse, poorly smoothed, black culinary ware with fine sand or ground rock temper and little or no mica. Shapes are unknown. In west central Colorado, a few black on white, some plain gray, and some corrugated gray sherds "are known definitely to occur with the hogan-type rings" (Huscher and Huscher, 1942, p. 85). Parts of four vessels resembling Promontory ware in paste and one showing the typical Promontory bottom and thickened rim (see Sec. D., this chapter) were found on a surface site without masonry or wood, in Mesa County, Colorado (Ibid., p. 86).

Stone artifacts consisted of one hand manos, slab and deep oval bowl metates, small hammerstones, flake choppers, knives and scrapers, and projectile points. The latter were stemmed with convex base and "various degrees of barb development."

This stone complex is nonlistinctive. Except for the points, it could be duplicated in sites representing ancient man in the Great Basin or the Southwest or even in the sites of historic and prehistoric Pueblo tribes. The points have not been "tied down" for cultural affiliation; being of arrowhead rather than spearhead size, they presumably belonged to someone later than the Paleo Indian. But who?

The few black on white sherds (type unstated) quite certainly are Pueblo possibly brought by trade and possibly representing another people of another period of occupation on the same site, as Baldwin found farther to the west in Paiute sites. The pointed bottom vessel suggests Navaho, Apache, Southern Paiute, Gallina, or Woodland culture.

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The house type conceivably could be a variant of the Navaho hogan, although none of this type has been reported for definitely identifiable Navaho sites. If Navaho, it would appear to be late rather than early, as the earliest definitely dated Navaho structures are the forked-stick hogans. The black on white pottery customarily is associated with prehistoric sites of Pueblo provenience and was not made after Pueblo IV (1300-1700), but it may represent an occupation preceding that of the hogan-like rings on the same site (as Baldwin found in the Southern Paiute area) or at a nearby location from which

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the sherds might have been brought to the hogan-like site by its occupants.

In checking descriptions of Hibben's "lodge sites" in the Chama area (Hibben, 1937, pp. 13-14) which the Huschers mention as possibly Navaho, one finds that he states them to be "more hogans than lodges...built entirely or in part of posts and split beams set vertically on end and coming together at an apex in the center." The Huschers point to these as showing some similarity to their Colorado finds in that sandstone slabs were leaned against the sides of the structures to cover up some of the larger cracks. "The base of the posts was further supported by a pile of boulders laid around them..." The only actual parallel here is the use of slabs, though the manner in which they are postulated to have been used differs

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in the two areas. The northern structure was of stone with, presumably, a roof of other material, whereas the Chama structure was a conical dwelling totally of wood, although stones were piled outside the ring of posts. Some of the Chama structures were built in twos, with a common wall, and this shape is known for some Navaho hogans of the 18th century on Chacra Mesa, but this trait alone does not identify either the Chama or the Colorado ruins as Navaho. The Chacra sites are abundantly accompanied by Navaho pottery and some contemporary trade Pueblo sherds, as well as a scattering of the Chaco sherds from pre-historic sites of the area. The Chama Valley sites have no sherds and no stone artifacts. Hibben speaks of these as Ute sites and inhabitants of

the Chama area today say that these lodges are those of the Utes who are known to have occupied the Chama during the 18th and 19th centuries, after driving the Navaho from the area. (Ibid.) The parallel between these Chama structures and those of the historic Spring Valley Shoshones, as well as some reported from the Uintah and Fremont River regions of Utah and from Moffat County, Colorado (Jeancon, 1927), make a strong point for these Chama sites actually being Ute, of the period when they were obtaining metal vessels from their Spanish and Mexican friends rather than making pottery, never a favorite craft of these people. (See discussion later in this chapter.) Whether the stone "tepee rings" described as "probably remains of lodges similar to those just described" (ibid.), likewise found throughout the Chama could be of Navaho origin also is very questionable. Some trade sherds of Tewa polychrome and of polished black ware from upper Rio Grande Pueblos,

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and a few crudely made metates and manos are found with the rings, but neither of these and, unfortunately, nothing else definitely identifies them. Local people say they are Ute structures and recall Ute and Jicarilla raids and sojourns in their family tales, but insist that Navaho never lived in the Chama but only came to raid.

Colton years ago aroused curiosity with an article, "Did the So-called Cliff Dwellers of Central Arizona also Build 'Hogans'?" Colton, 1920, pp. 298-301) in which he described "boulder sites", which he said were similar to those described by Mindeleff in the neighboring Verde Valley. The boulders enclosed squares from 15 to 20 feet on a

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side; the doorway was represented by an opening 6 feet wide on the south or southeast side, and two lines of stones extended outward to outline an entranceway, a vestibule which was rectangular except for two circular ones found on Deadman's Flat. The rooms usually were single structures but sometimes two were built with a common wall between them. As interiors appeared to be sunken, it was thought they had been built in pits, and the single one trenched at the time of this publication showed ashes but no clear evidence of a firepit location. Houses usually were in groups.

At the time he wrote, archaeology of the Flagstaff region was very little known. Colton appears to satisfy himself at the end of the article that these were not the hogan or lodge sites of Navahos or Havasupai because "Scattered over the sites of the earth-lodges are potsherds no different than those found in the pueblo ruins - that particular kind of pottery complex of the cliff dweller culture. One can not help but conclude that the earth-lodges and the pueblos were built by the same people."

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Since that time, a great deal of archaeology has been done in the Flagstaff area by the Museum of Northern Arizona, directed by Dr. Colton during most of its history. A summary of the excavations, studies of pottery and other artifacts, and dendrochronology, resulted in recognition of the former existence of several culture "branches" in the area, with a series of stages of cultural development of each. (See Colton, The Sinagua, 1946.) The boulder-outlined structures first

mentioned by Colton in 1920 have been excavated and now are known as "alcove houses," in which the floor was in a pit (NA 408 A and B, 409, 1295 A and B, etc.) (Colton, 1946, pp. 63, 103) and "platform houses," in which a platform took the place of a pit as basis for the house construction because of location in boggy areas where a pit would fill with mud in winter and spring. An example of this type is NA 151 on the Colton Ranch (Colton, 1946, p. 46). Both types are classified as of the Rio de Flag focus of the Sinagua Branch, dating between 900 and 1100 A. D. Whether this cultural group was related to ancestral Yumans or to a branch of the Pueblos, or even had ties to the Hohokam has been discussed, but no one suggests that they were early Athapascans. Neither the houses, when excavated, or the pottery shows any Athapascan relationships. A second group, the Southern Sinagua, is recognized for the Verde Valley. (Op. cit., pp. 301-305) (Discussion of the Sinagua Branch in general: Op. cit., pp. 305-309; reconstruction of alcove house shown, Fig. 153, p. 269.) What Colton tentatively referred to as "hogans," then, before even a single one of these Flagstaff sites had been excavated, since have been proved - by thorough excavations and other studies - not to be "hogans" in any sense, but to represent a prehistoric non-Athapascan cultural group with relatives to the south.

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In considering relationships between the various sites proposed to possibly represent early Navahos, a survey of related pottery and house types is necessary.

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Steward obtained descriptions of an unpainted ware from Shoshoni throughout Nevada, Idaho, and northern Utah, and saw Shoshoni from a campsite in the mountains east of Austin, Nevada. He reports: "Shoshoni pottery as known at present...differs sharply from the cave ware (Promontory ware) in its lack of the thickened, punched rim and the coarse quartz temper." (Steward, 1937, p. 43.) He goes on to explain that Promontory ware may be early Shoshonean - or it may derive from other sources - by which we may judge that the known early Shoshonean ware was a plain gray and rather coarse product. Lowie found plain gray sherds on the Whiterocks Ute reservation in northeastern Utah. (Lowie, 1924, pp. 225, 226.) Steward thinks these are probably Pueblоan rather than Shoshonean, but states that Lowie gives other evidence that the Ute, Southern Paiute, and probably the northern
68 Shoshoni made undecorated plain ware in early historic times. In footnote 28, p. 43, he says that Lowie's "Black earthen vessels with decorated rim" excavated from time to time on the Uintah Ute reservation may correspond to his cave (Promontory) ware.

In 1933 Steward described the pottery of the Owens Valley Paiute, the southernmost of the Northern Paiute, who occupy most of Northern Nevada (Steward, 1933, pp. 267, 268) as coiled, coated with a thick syrup of Desert Mallow, and fired by being covered with coals in an open sagebrush fire, which would produce a gray to black color. Archaeological sherds from the area show vessels to have been large round-bottomed, thinner walled, smoother, and more regular in shape, though he goes on to say that parallel scratches inside and out

indicate smoothing with sticks or stones. Some decoration of finger nail indentations was used. His informants thought that Fish Lake Valley Shoshoni had made pottery, and the type Steward found in his Owens Valley archaeological sites is found likewise in the Fish Lake Valley area (op. cit., pp. 267-268). In 1941 he pointed out that fingernail decoration and stick incising was used on similar ware by the Southern Paiute, and that the typical shape in Owens Valley and Northern Death Valley was with flat bottom and straight walls and that in Southern Death Valley and the Southern Paiute-Ash Territory in southern Nevada, the bottom was pointed (Steward, 1941, p. 242). As indicated in Sec. C (this chapter), Baldwin and others have shown that this type of ware was widely made by the Southern Paiute, and is related to that of the Ute, much less plentiful and not as well known, described by Douglas as "rather crude cooking pots with conical bottoms. 69
brownish-black and undecorated" (Douglas, 1935, p. 79) and further discussed by the Huschers (Huscher and Huscher, 1940).

The latter report a Ute pot found on the south slope of the Uncompaghre Plateau, Montrose County, the "lonely mesas Northwest of the Tabeguache basin, old winter home of the Utes." (Op. cit., p. 137.) [In a footnote they explain that the term "Tabeguache" still is used by whites to designate the Ute band formerly living along the San Miguel River in southwestern Colorado, the present Weminuche of the Towaoc subagency in southwestern Colorado. The Escalante map shows the "Yutas Tabeguaches" just to the north of the Dolores river.] This

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vessel, which had been broken but was restorable, was of coarse, crumbly, slightly micaceous paste, sand tempered, grayish brown in color, and irregular in thickness. It had been finished by the paddle and anvil process and the exterior was "crudely scored, as with a handful of rabbit-brush twigs, leaving haphazard criss-cross markings, quite distinct from the even diagonal corncob scoring noticeable on Navaho utility ware" (Ibid., pp. 138-139). The photograph (p. 138) shows a pointed but rather short base, reminiscent of Navaho and Apache ware, but detailed study indicates this piece (and its relatives) differs from Navaho, Jicarilla, and Upper Rio Grande Pueblo pieces in paste and temper, as well as in having been finished by the paddle and anvil process. Another vessel, found almost complete, from Garfield County, Colorado, 120 miles northeast and well within the former range of the
70 White River band of Northern Ute, was very similar to the first in shape, paste, temper, color, firing, the interior paddle and anvil marks, and the surface finish of "light scratchings, rather consistently vertical, possibly produced by rubbing with grass or very fine sage twigs...." (Ibid., p. 140). Sherds found in the area match the vessels.

Two good accounts of Ute pottery making are referred to by the Huschers; one obtained from living Southern Ute informants by Marvin Opler (see Masterkey, 1939), and one given by Capt. John H. Moss, who had lived among the Weminuche Ute and guided Wm. H. Jackson and E. A. Barber on the first photographic exploration of the Mesa Verde for the Hayden Survey in 1874. He reported that these Utes, who were still

making pottery at the time, ground marl into powder, dampened and kneaded the paste, rolled out a clay rope and coiled it into shape, and finished the vessel by use of a wooden paddle and a smooth oval stone used as an anvil. In the finishing process the tools were dipped in salt water, a point reminiscent of the system of Havasupai and other potters. Opler's account varies somewhat from that of Moss, a point which the Huschers attribute to regional variation in Ute pottery, Opler's more southern group being that which had had the most contact with Pueblos and Navahos for the last 300 years (Ibid., p. 141, footnote 7). It is interesting to note that Malcolm Rogers felt the second Ute pot described by the Huschers might fall within the range of Paiute examples with which he was familiar, but Dr. Isabel Kelly felt that it did not fit descriptions obtained from the Shivwits and Kaibab Paiute, who had the conical wide-mouthed olla and also the straight-sided, flat-
71 bottomed form, this latter representing a southern extension of the Yokuts-Northern Paiute types described by Gayton and Steward (Ibid., p. 142).

We see, then, a wide band of plain black or gray ware stretching from Nevada on the west, through Ute and Paiute occupation areas of Utah, encompassing the Huschers' area of southern and southwestern Colorado, the Uncompaghre Plateau and southern Montrose county, and east to the Dismal River area of the western Plains. To the south it picks up the Navaho and the Gallina area. To the north it picks up the Promontory culture. The Utes and some of the Paiutes likewise,

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used the pointed bottom shape and finished the exterior in such a manner that striations often were left, as well as sometimes adding simple fingernail or stick decorations. The Navaho used sand temper, as did all the others, until about 1800, after which some of the eastern Navaho used sherd temper. The Navaho at times used fingernail or stick decorations on the necks of their vessels, often left them plain, and not until the late 1700's began to add a neck filet, which itself sometimes received fingernail or stick incisions. Paiutes and Navaho and Pueblos all left surfaces of some culinary vessels striated and others smoothed.

The problem of early house types is complicated by the known fact that after the horse was obtained by the Ute, Ute culture was greatly changed as the result of their augmented contact with Plains

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Indians. One of these changes was use of the skin-covered tipi. We know more of Paiute houses. The Owens Valley (northern) Paiute used three types, a ridge pole mountain house with sloping side walls of poles, a winter valley house consisting of a cone of poles nine to ten feet high and fifteen to twenty feet in diameter, built around a pit two feet deep (winter cook houses had no pit), and a summer house which was nothing but a dome-shaped willow sunshade 8 to 10 feet in diameter. The sweat house was almost circular, about 25 feet across, built over a 2-foot pit and with two posts to hold a ridgepole against which the sloping side poles rested (Steward, 1933, pp. 264-265).

The Central Nevada Shoshoni, who had no direct contact with neighboring tribes and hence had a culture little affected by outside areas and thus presumably closer to their native aboriginal type (Steward, 1941, p. 216), lived in caves, shelters, and three types of houses, gabled, conical, and domed. The gabled and the domed willow structures were like those of the Owens Valley Paiute. The most common winter dwelling of the Shoshoni, at times also used as a summer house and as a sweat house, was the conical pole lodge, built with or without a pit. Its foundation consisted of two, three, or four interlocking poles, which supported additional poles arranged with a circular ground plan. Explains Steward: "Covered with bark, brush, or grass and earth, it is the type found in parts of California, among Uintah Ute (prior to the introduction of the tipi...), Southern Ute, Navaho, Moapa, Shivwits and Kaibab Southern Paiute, much of Canada, and some Eskimo. With a

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covering of mats or thatch, it is common in the Plateau, where it preceded the tipi, and in the western Great Basin. Covered with skin, it is a tipi." (Op.cit., p. 233.) When tipis could not be built or were deemed unnecessary, a conical house similar to those of the Paiute and Shoshoni but larger and better was erected.

The habitations of the Kaibab (southern) Paiute were quite variable. Because the people moved often, summer structures were flimsy affairs, but winter habitations were conical or semiconical structures erected upon interlocking poles (forked stick type) or consisted of poles planted in the ground and covered with willows or boughs. (Steward, 1939, p. 5, based on Hiller's 1873 photographs.)

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Doorways of all the houses mentioned, including those of the Navaho, were to the east.

The sweathouse of the southern Nevada people was like a small dwelling. To the statement that the Southern Ute and Paiute conical pole lodge supported by "interlocking poles" is the forked stick Navaho hogan, as made by Steward, one could add the correlated statements that sites of ruins of the former must duplicate Navaho house site ruins, and the ruins of their sweathouses likewise.

Spier discusses the "dome-shaped house" of the Havasupai, a structure based upon four sticks interlocked for basic support, and the areas between these four filled in with poles, which were covered with thatch or brush, usually topped with a layer of earth. Some had entryways like those of the typical Navaho hogan (Spier, 1928, p. 175, and Fig. 31 a, p. 176). He also pictures (op. cit., Fig. 33) "A log house of the Navaho type with shade added", and describes this house as "a polygonal structure of horizontally laid logs (Fig. 33). The roof is formed of lesser beams which are laid so that each consecutive tier cuts the angles formed by that above, this drawing the walls into a very flat dome. This is covered with brush and dirt. Some houses are about 5 m. in diameter and about 2.5 m. high." (Op. cit., p. 178.) The fireplace was in the center. He also described a roofless brush shelter which is duplicated by those of the Apache and the Navaho, the Acoma and Laguna, and probably other eastern pueblos. "A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out

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animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apaches have a similar usage." (Op.cit., p. 179.) The Havasupai also use the "Mohave" gabled roof rectangular house much resembling some of the late period Navaho structures.

In his comparative notes, Spier outlines the wide distribution of the conical house and the close relationship of Navaho structures to those of other tribes:

> As a matter of fact most of the dome shapes are sub-conical, and "conical" probably serves Lowie only for a descriptive epithet, for his few illustrations show sub-conical forms. The houses of the western Apache are perhaps the only truly hemispherical ones.
>
> Taking these together we have this form among the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, White Mountain Apache, Papago, Kaibab, Moapa, and the neighboring Tointesa, Washo, Paviotso, Uintah and Shoshonean Ute, and it was found by Stansbury west of Great Salt Lake. The Yuma use it for their summer residence. The Navaho hogan is the same structure, perhaps a little more substantially built, but bark roofed like the Southern Ute house and dirt covered like the Havasupai. This brush lodge is used by the Mescalero and Jicarilla, but both groups prefer the tipi. The Lipan do not build this form at all. The San Carlos Apache house is hemispherical, but the poles are arched rather than locked together.
>
> ...The covered entrance-way of the Havasupai is also found in the Navaho hogan.
>
> ...The Havasupai erect the lodge on a four-pole foundation. This is also the case with the Southern Ute and it is true of the tipis of the same people and the Wind River...The Navaho at least use a three-pole foundation for the hogan. This is analagous to the usual Plains tipi.
>
> ...The Navaho log cabin of polygonal ground plan is copied by the Havasupai. (Op.cit., pp. 190-192.)

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Spier's separation of Navaho forked stick hogans from the others on the basis of the Navahos using only three-forked poles does not hold,

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as we know from studies in Navaho archaeology made since his paper was written. Vivian found the basic framework on Chacra Mesa to be three forked sticks, but Keur (1941, p. 23) reported use of both three and four forked sticks in framework at Big Bead Mesa and Farmer (1942, p. 68) found instances of hogan framework having consisted of five and six forked sticks in Largo and Blanco Canyons. Farmer (1947, p. 18) reports Largo forked stick structures as using "three or four logs with forked ends ... set in a circle about 10 feet in diameter ...."

It is apparent that the dry masonry structures described by the Huschers do not completely duplicate anything definitely known for Utes or Paiutes. Neither do they duplicate known Navaho structures. Early Navaho structures, as far as definite evidence has indicated so far, were of the forked stick type; no cutting dates for wood from
76 hogans of stone wall bases have equaled or preceded early dates from the forked stick structures, although some overlap between the two types is obvious. Against the possibility of Navaho origin of these ruins is the matter of the thin sandstone slabs described as used in holding roof poles in place in Colorado. The structures said by local inhabitants of the Chama Valley to have been old Ute sites, and showing none of the pottery which might be expected if they were Navaho, had sandstone slabs, though apparently not for use on roofs. The Spring Valley Shoshoni (Steward, 1941, p. 334, trait 636) used slabs "laid flat over earth covering to height of 5 feet from ground; probably possible because of peculiar local rocks. This is post-Caucasian." So said the

one informant, but Reagan's finding of them in the Uintah region of Utah (Reagan, 1933, p. 5), Morss' report of the same from a Fremont River Cave (Morss, 1931, p. 19), and Jeancon's report of them in a Moffat County, Colorado, cave structure associated with "a Basketmaker-like masonry" (Jeancon, 1927, p. 26 and Fig. III, no. 1), suggests that the slabs may have been used earlier by some Shoshonean-speaking groups, any of whom, as well as Navahos and Apaches, might have left traces of black culinary ware.

Vivian found small stone slabs had been placed around the base of the covering of Chacra forked stick hogan 11 in the CM 4 group, one in the CM 8 group and the single hogans at CM 139 and 142. In all cases these structures were located on sandy soil and the slabs apparently were intended to protect the base area from erosion. (Vivian, 1960, p. 14; Fig. Vb, p. 15.) As they are not reported for other hogan sites, one would surmise this use of stone by four families was a feature borrowed from northern neighbors or developed by the four Chacra families to fulfill a specific and simple need. We have no pattern of such Navaho use. The use of stones at structure bases is vague and widespread. 77

The question of the occupants and the date of the sites described by the Huschers can not be definitely settled at present, but the evidence appears to fall strongly on the side of Utes or other Shoshoneans rather than on Navahos. Whether the open site on which the parts of four Promontory vessels were found is contemporaneous with

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others showing dry-laid masonry and scarce, small sherds of coarse black culinary ware is difficult to prove. Where is there evidence? On the basis of the pottery and lack of structure, one must guess the site with Promontory ware to represent the camping spot of early Apaches who were not there long enough to feel the urge to construct a dwelling, but whether at the time the dry masonry and slab sites were occupied or not, no one could say. The use of the black Woodland-like ware and of the forked stick habitations is shown to have characterized more than one tribe, speaking more than one language. The widespread dry-laid masonry rings likewise were used by more than one tribe, and when one attempts to discover their makers by comparisons of the total known culture complex rather than by the risky system of working with a single trait, no thoroughly convincing relationships are yet apparent. That
78 Athapascans migrated into the Southwest by way of the Intermontane (Great Basin) area is possible, but unproven, and the Huscher data offers nothing definite for or against such a hypothesis at this time.

Again, Dittert's comments are succinct.

> An intermontane migration is proposed by Huscher and Huscher (1942). Sites discussed in that paper are characterized by a hunting economy; circular stone houses of dry laid masonry; sandstone slabs laid on rafters for roofs; an emphasis on percussion flaking; lack of the stone axe or maul; lack of specialized metate and mano; and coarse sand or pebble tempered pointed-bottom pottery. The correspondence in traits between the material found by Huscher and Huscher and early Navajo, as defined above, is no closer than between early Navajo and the Largo-Gallina material. The greatest similarities are in the pointed-bottom pottery and the circular houses. Pointed-bottom pottery is a widespread

> form common to many cultures and is related ultimately to Woodland cultures. The circular stone houses of the Navajo are considered to be post-Pueblo contact rather than as a trait brought with the Navajo when they first entered the Southwest. (Dittert, Hester, Eddy, 1961, p. 248.)

At present we can not positively prove the route of the Navaho into the Southwest. We can only show where their earliest known culture remains lie, the type of life led by this people at various periods, and the areas successively occupied, as indicated by specific evidence. The dangers of accepting as Navaho all forked stick hogans and all striated gray potsherds - even if showing a pointed bottom - has been indicated.

F. The Tribal Name "Navaju" and the Pueblo of "Navaju":

The term "Apache", probably from "Apachu", meaning "enemy" 79
appears to have originated with Zuni pueblo and was applied by the Spanish to Apaches and Navahos alike and sometimes to other tribes as well. (Hodge, F. W., Note 43, accompanying The Memorial of Fray Alonzo de Benavides, 1630, Translated by Mrs. E. E. Ayer, 1916.) The first known specific reference to the "Apaches de Nabaju" was that of Geronimo Zarate-Salmeron (Relaciones de todas las cosas que en el Nuevo-Mexico se han visto y sabido, asi por mar como por tierra, desde el ano 1538-1626, translated by Chas. F. Lummis, in Land of Sunshine, Vols. 11, 12, Los Angeles, 1890-1900; see Vol. 12, p. 183), who placed them north of Santa Fe and west of the Rio Grande but stated no distances. Benavides (The Memorial of Fray Alonzo de Benavides, 1630,

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Ayer translation, 1916, pp. 44, 45) speaks of the Apaches of Navajo contrasting with the other Apaches in that those of Navajo "are very great farmers (labradores), for that (is what) 'Navajo' signifies - 'great planted fields' (semesteras grandes)." Hewett often is quoted as offering an origin for this name; in 1906 he suggested that the word Navaho was of Tewa origin and came from the name of a small ruin, Navahu, meaning "large area of cultivated lands," (Hewett, Edgar L., "Origin of the Term Navaho", American Anthropologist, Vol. VIII, 1906, p. 193). "The expression 'the Apaches of Navajó' may have been used to designate an intrusive band that had invaded Tewa territory and become intrenched in this particular valley. On the other hand, the Navaho, since the pastoral life of post-Spanish times was not then possible to them, may have been so definitely agriculturalists,

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as Benavides states (although he did not extend his missionary labors to them), and have occupied such areas of cultivated lands, that their habitat, wherever it was, would have been known to the Tewa as Navahú, 'the place of great planted fields.' If the first interpretation is correct, it would doubtless be verified by archaeological evidences of the ruin of Navahu. It would seem at any rate that the Tewa origin of the tribal designation Navaho is assured."

Hewett's second possibility, rather than his first, fits the facts as now known. There is no evidence whatever that Navahos lived in this valley. Although the Franciscan Fathers (Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, 1910, p. 25) state that Bandelier reported no ruin by this name and that none of the archaeologists who have worked in the Pajarito since Bandelier's time (and before 1910)

had given this name for any site, the ruin actually was described by Hewett in his Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau, New Mexico (Bull. 32, BAE, 1906, p. 16) and was again briefly described and located as site 90 upon a map by J. P. Harrington (Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians, BAE AR 29, p. 244 and Map 14). It is the "pueblo ruin of the arroyo of cultivatable fields Nabahu'u or Nabahu'uwikeji. Location 91, Nabahu'u, is the "arroyo of cultivatable fields (naba- piece of land which is or has been cultivated or is considered capable of being cultivated, hu'u- 'large groove', 'arroyo'). The name refers to any arroyo to which the definition applies. It means about the same as 'arroyo where the people raise crops'. There are many such arroyos in the rugged Navaho country, and it is probable that the tribal name Navaho is a corruption of Tewa nabahu'u as suggested by Hewett" (ibid.).

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To my own direct inquiry of modern Tewa-speakers concerning the meaning of the term Navaho or Navahu, I was told that the word nava means field, a general term for any cultivated plot, and ho means "way of life". This explanation, paralleling that picked up by Hewett, sounds acceptable until one discovers that nava likewise is a Spanish word meaning "field". The Tewas use today the borrowed Spanish agricultural words jardin, huerta, and llanita as if these always had been a part of their own language. The Tewa language has no word for fields in general but, instead, employs a series of specific designations for types of fields, according to location:

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fields on high land, fields across the river, etc. The Tewa may well have borrowed nava from their close Spanish neighbors to supplement their own specifics or to cover a broader concept. The Franciscan Fathers (1910, p. 24) explain Navaho as based upon the Spanish word nava (rather than the Tewa), meaning "flat piece of land, a plain, a field", and the suffix ajo which "seems to give a word, not only an augmentative but also a depreciative signification; thus laguna means pond or lake and lagunajo pool or puddle; yerba means herb, and herbajo weed; latin means Latin and latinajo bad, ungrammatical Latin. According to this, nava means field, navajo would mean a large, more or less worthless field." A more direct explanation is found in the Velazquez Spanish dictionary, 1942 edition, in which the word navajo is given as another form of navazo, meaning "Kitchen garden in Sanlucar upon a sandy shore."

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Harrington's investigations of the name in 1940 brought the same results. He says, "Although he (Benavides) does not say that the word 'Navaho' is Tewa, it is perfectly plain from reading his account that the word means large cultivated field in general, and does not refer to any one spot. The Spanish capital of New Mexico was Santa Fe, which was in the heart of the old Tewa country, since Tewas formerly lived not only where they do now, northwest of Santa Fe, but also about and south of Santa Fe (for instance, south of Santa Fe at Galisteo, which was a Tewa pueblo). In the earliest times, much Tewa was spoken in Santa Fe, and still is. It is therefore

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most natural to look to the Indian language of Santa Fe for the source of an early name taken into Spanish. The Tewas still use the compound noun 'návahúu' (in Spanish 'arroyon enmilpeado') to designate a large arroyo with cultivated fields - a perfect description of the old-time Navaho region, with its cultivated fields in canyons... This compound is analyzed as follows: nava, 'cultivated field', milpas, garden; huu 'large arroyo'... There is a Tewa ruin called návahúu located near Puye, in the drainage of Santa Clara Creek, some 14 miles due west of Santa Clara Pueblo. After studying the passage in Benavides in which he gives the etymology, and after long conversancy with the Tewa language, however, it seems to me certain that the reference to návahúu is to arroyon enmilpiado in general and not to a particular place... The Tewa word nava, 'cultivated field' has cognates in other Tanoan languages and has absolutely nothing to do with Spanish dictionary word nava, 'hollow', 'plains surrounded by mountains'". (Harrington, Southern Peripheral Athapshawan Origins, Divisions, and Migrations, Smith. Misc. Rept., Vol. 100, 1940, p. 518).

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The Tewa name for the Navaho is given by Harrington as Wansave, meaning literally "Jemez Apache". It "arose from the considerable intercourse between the Jemez and the Navaho..." (Ibid.). It seems quite possible that this term refers back to the 1694 period when the Jemez fled the Spaniards to live with the Navaho in the Gobernador area.

The term Navajo or Navaho, then, would refer to planted fields or gardens, large or small, probably in an arroyo, and the parallel between the name of the Pueblo-type ruin described by Hewett and the name of the tribe (Navaho) which differed from most other Apache groups in being farmers, would only reflect use of the word meaning "field" in both. Kluckhohn refers to a related but somewhat different concept when he mentions that "Some scholars claim...that the Tewa word really means'to take from the fields'" (Kluckhohn, Clyde and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho, 1946, p. xv). If this suggests theft, it certainly fits the reports of widespread appropriation of Pueblo farm products by raiding parties and by hungry individual Navahos.

Another matter of note is that the Tewas say that they did not use either the word Navaho or Apache for either set of tribesmen: to the Tewa all Southern Athapascans were Sabe, but the Navaho were Nwansabe, meaning 'Jemez Apache', because they lived in the country west of the Jemez country, often were seen in the Jemez country, and "there was considerable intercourse between the Jemez and the Navaho" (Harrington, op.cit., p. 515). If the Navaho had been living near the site or the arroyo known as Nabahu, and the Tewa name for these outsiders had been applied to the site and the arroyo, this site and arroyo would have been known as Nwansabe, not as Navahu.

Washington Mathews thinks the term Navahu is Spanish in origin (Mathews, Washington, Navaho Legends, Note 1, p. 211), and refers to the word for knife. The Franciscan Fathers reject this idea

because in the Spanish word for knife, navajo, the second syllable is stressed, but in the name of the tribe the last syllable receives the accent. But the Velazquez dictionary offers navajo, accented on the last syllable, as meaning "large knife", and one is reminded that one tribe of the Canadian Athapascans is known as the "Yellow Knives".

We can disregard, then, the question (which might be important) as to whether the old pueblo ruin known as Nabaju, flanking the arroyo likewise known by this name on Santa Clara pueblo land, represents Navaho occupation. Neither the culture traits of the site (black on white potsherds and architecture) or the name, when analyzed, indicates this to have been the case. On the other hand, there is archaeological evidence which bears out Benavides' intimation that the Navahos were not at a great distance from Santa Clara: his delegation of Tewas, sent out to discuss peace with the Navaho, "traveled all that day and on the morning of the next (when) they came within sight of the first enemy rancheria..." (Benavides, Fray Alonso, The Revised Memorial of 1634, Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, p. 87). According to data from modern Pueblo peoples, a day's trip when Pueblo men were unencumbered would probably cover 40 or 50 miles; actual trips of about twice this length have been reported. We do not have a statement as to route, but the Chama is known to have been a major trail between the Upper Rio Grande and the Continental Divide area to the west.

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The hogan sites of the Gobernador area are only about 60 miles west of the Rio Grande; they could easily be reached in a day and a fraction.

Father Ximenez, recently returned from New Mexico in 1608, reported that the Spaniards and Pueblo peoples were frequently harassed by the attacks and thievery of "the Apache Indians". (Hammond and Rey, 1953, p. 1059.) The Spaniards of this period would have been in the area of San Gabriel, just outside San Juan pueblo. Hammond and Rey footnote this passage to state that "These Apaches were undoubtedly Navaho Indians" (ibid., footnote 1) but there is no actual evidence as to whether these troublemakers were Apaches de Navaho or any other group of Apaches, nor any evidence as to the home territory of these "Apaches" or from what distance they came to attack.

Crespo locates "the numerous tribe of Navahos, who show signs of being converted if there were evangelical laborers", who kept crosses in their homes, like the Jicarillas, as "From the pueblo of Santa Ana to the aforesaid one of Santa Clara upstream" (Adams, Eleanor, Bishop Tamaron's Visitation to New Mexico, 1760, Hist. Soc. of New Mexico Pubs. in History, Vol. XV, 1954, p. 98), but his statement obviously is generalized and careless. Archaeology indicates that the Navaho were west of the Puerco, although an occasional rare site may appear east of that stream. As Paul Reiter commented 22 years ago "...when the Navajo and Jemez were federated in their anti-Spanish crusades, we may perhaps again theorize that not all the Navajo allies actually lived in the current Jemez town over an extended period. If

this is true, it would not be unreasonable to guess that we may some day come across the remains of Navajo camps of some sort, perhaps within Jemez boundaries." (Reiter, Paul, 1938, p. 177.)

The Navaho movement from Dismal River ancestral days onward was westward, predominantly, a reaction to pressure from the whites. As far as we can judge from data at present, the Dinetah or earliest phase of Navaho history (pre-1700) is represented only in the Upper San Juan and tributaries (Gobernador area) east of Blanco, except for the single known site on Chacra Mesa (see chapter VI). It would appear that the Upper San Juan was indeed the Navaho homeland in the 17th century but that a few Navahos may have filtered south to the Chacra Mesa by 1600 and to the Mt. Taylor area and Chuska Mountains by 1700. Rarity of Pueblo trade ware sherds in Navaho sites before the very late 1600's suggests that contact with Pueblos was not common. The Navahos reached the area to the east and north of the Hopi mesas in the 18th century; they did not move farther to the west until they were in flight from the American soldiers in the 1860's.

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from Pueblo procedure. In Pueblo concept, the gifts of nature are not to be hoarded by a single group, although that gift occurs on land owned by the group. The Zuni Salt Lake is intimately involved in the Zuni creation myth and archaeology of that region certainly indicates that the people in whose territory it lies were ancestral Zunis. When the Navaho moved westward and came within easy reach of the area, the Zuni did not prohibit their taking of salt from the lake, any more than they prohibited use of the salt by Acoma and Laguna. But of Navaho ownership of the lake, there is no evidence, although, as Kluckhohn explains, "Formerly (and to some extent at the present time) each extended family group sent a party annually to collect salt at the Salt Lake some thirty miles to the south of the southern extremity of this community's territory." (Kluckhohn, Clyde, "Participation in
146 Ceremonials in a Navaho Community," American Anthropologist, 40:359-369; reprinted in Haring's Personal Character and Cultural Milieu, 1956, p. 72). The Navaho community to which Kluckhohn refers is that of Ramah.

4. Conclusions: Harrington's summary of anthropological knowledge of the Navaho homeland published in 1940 is very close to that of the majority of anthropologists interested in Navaho prehistory and ethnology today; the accumulating studies made since that date have filled in detail rather than changed the main outline. He says: "It is well known to every Navaho that the tribe was anciently

much smaller than it is now and that it developed in a region lying partly in the easternmost portion of the present Navaho Reservation. This old homeland is still known to all the Navaho as Tinetxah, literally 'among the Navaho,' that is, 'the home of the real old-time Navaho'...

"The location of the original homeland, shown in figure 32 [Navaho limits at successive dates] is based on the earliest map (fig. 33 - Dominguez and Escalante) which names the Navaho region. A certain migrating clan was, according to mythology, joined by other clans, all coming to occupy Tinetxah which then centered in Largo Canyon, New Mexico. Tinetxah, according to the Navaho tradition, shifted slowly a little to the east, the center perhaps about Tsontoots'as, Stinking Lake [now called Burford Lake on some maps], located on the present Jicarilla Apache Reservation. From this second 147
location of Tinetxah, the tribe expanded west and south, but never lost claim to its more original habitat to the east. At present, the tribe extends west to the San Francisco Peaks and Flagstaff." (Harrington, op. cit., pp. 513-515.)

"Some archaeologists have regarded the Navahos as an Apache-speaking tribe which arose by incorporation of bands in the region of the Four Corners....Tinetxah can scarcely be described as located at the corners of the four states. Stinking Lake, the center of the second Tinetxah, is 130 miles practically due east of the Four Corners... Some indication of the distribution of known sites (as of

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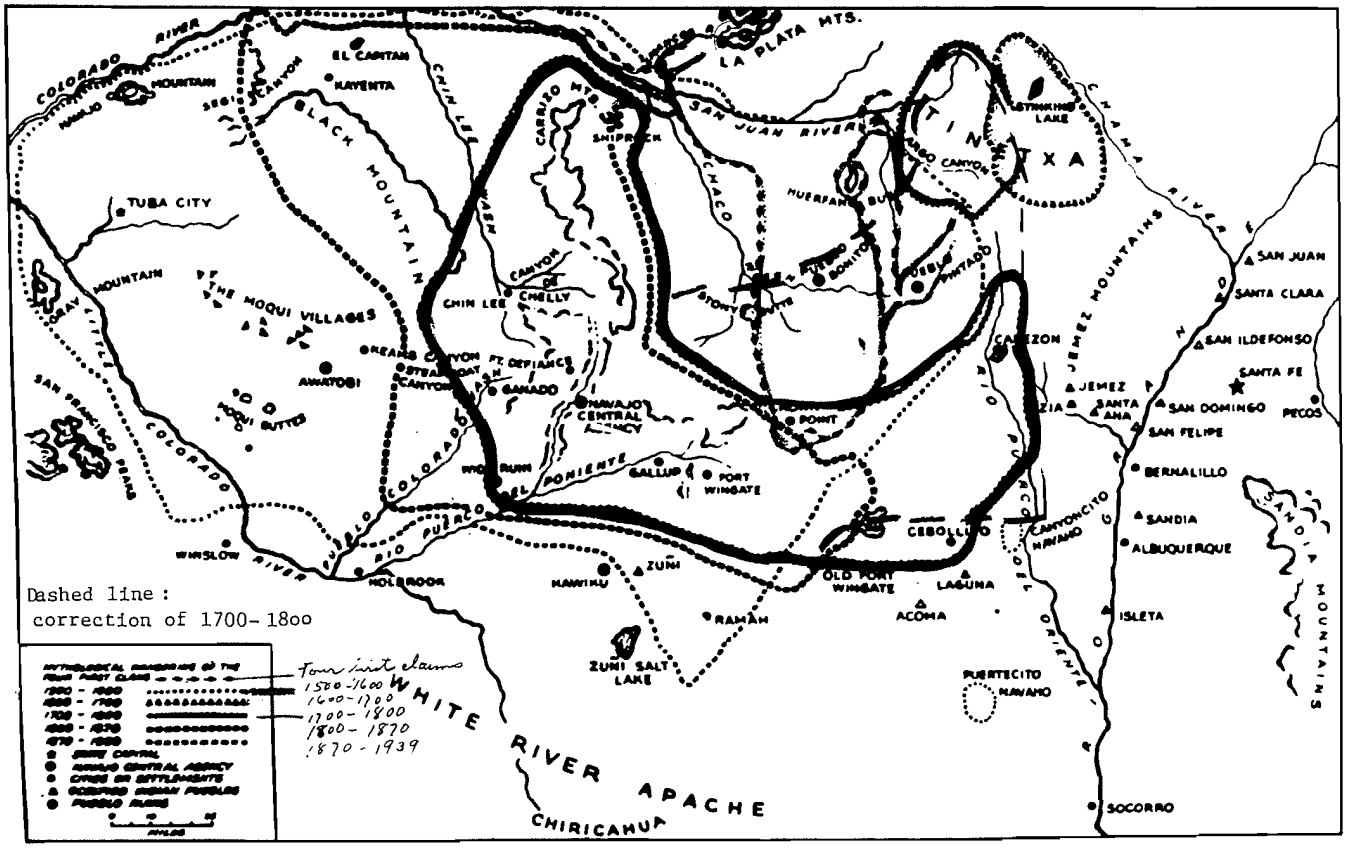

Fig. 32- Navaho limits at different times.

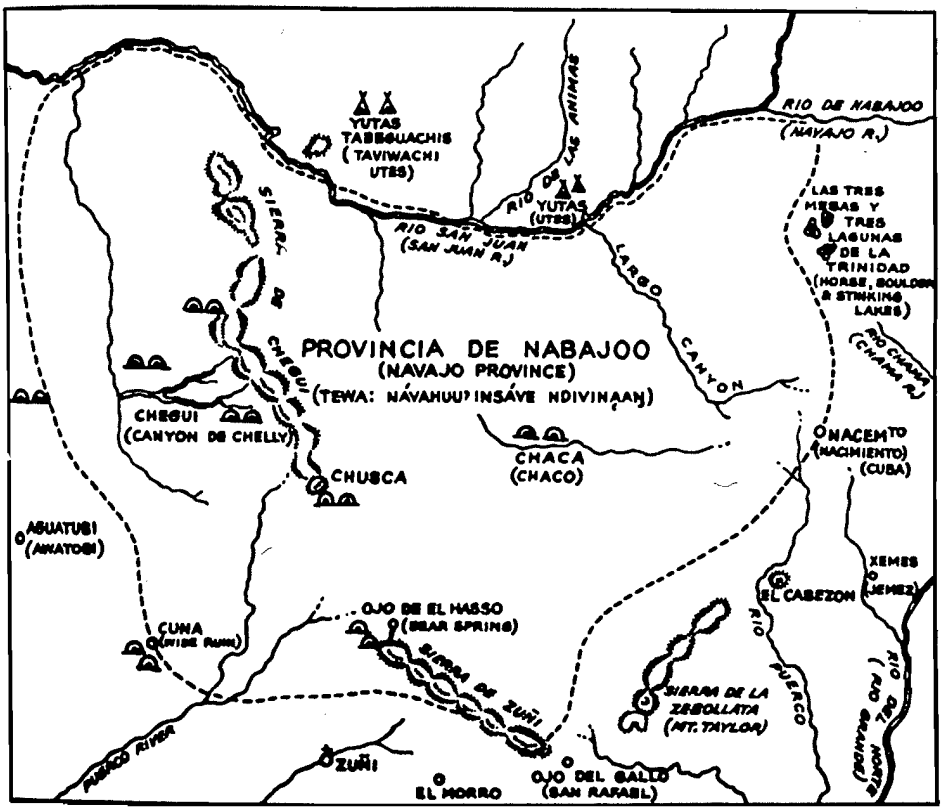

FIG. 33.—The earliest known map of the Navaho, after Dominguez and Escalante.

1940) of ancient Navaho hogans is shown in (Harrington's) figure 34. This includes a portion of Tinetxah. Other Navaho hogan sites have been found far to the north of the area shown in this figure (he draws his outline just north of the state line, into Colorado. None of these hogan sites have given early dates.) and recently others have been found to the south of the area shown.

"The eastern boundary of the Tinetxah probably ran from north to south through the region east of the three lakes, Horse Lake, Boulder Lake, and Stinking Lake (now called Burford Lake on some maps) which are shown on the Dominguez and Escalante map (fig. 33), as 'las .... tres lagunas de la Trinidad'. Tinetxah extended a little east of these lakes but not to the Chama River. (Elsewhere he places their original settlement as in the mountains just west of the Chama.
150 Op. cit., p. 521). Perhaps the first overflow from Tinetxah was down into the region of the Puerco River del Oriente or Puerco River of the East, and into the region to Tshootzi, Mount Taylor (the Navaho cardinal mountain of the south)." (Op. cit., pp. 516, 517.)

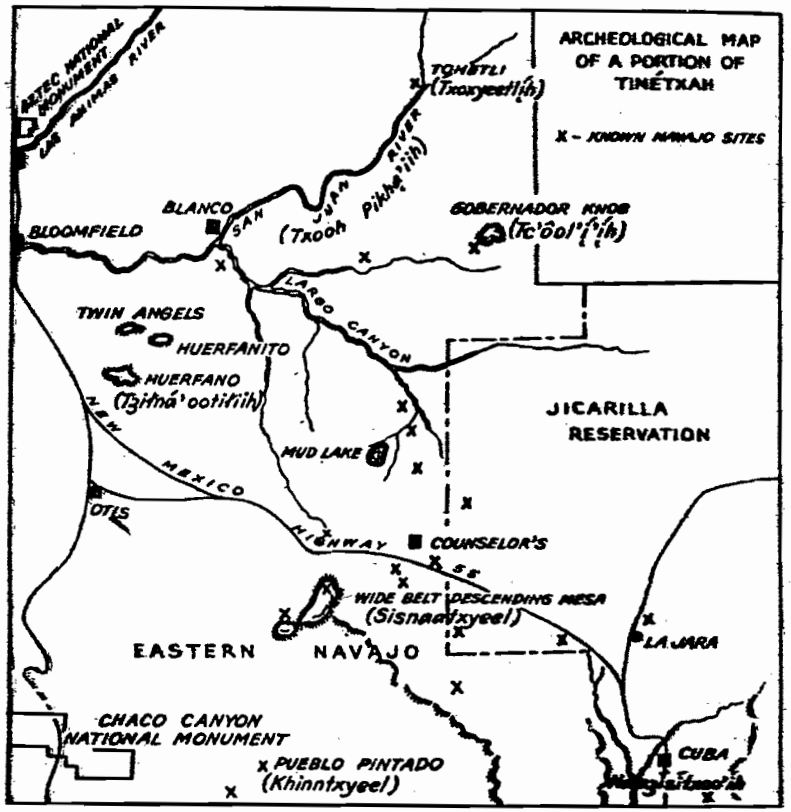

FIG. 34.—Navaho archeological sites in a portion of Tinétxah, the mythological home of the Navaho.

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III

Evaluation of Navaho Sacred Places and Shrines as Markers of Their Territory

Van Valkenburgh has pointed out that the Navaho have many different types of shrines (Van Valkenburgh, R., and Scotty Begay, "Sacred Places and Shrines of the Navajo, Pt. 1, The Sacred Mountains," Museum Notes, MNA, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1939, pp. 29-34). Some are on peaks or consist of the peaks themselves, some are in canyons, in rock crevices, along the banks of water courses, by springs, or by other water supplies. Events of historical or mythological significance are tied to some of these. Some shrines are stone boxes or cists - even prehistoric Basketmaker (ancestral Pueblo) cists-in caves, and some are sealed stone enclosures, pools, natural concavities in rock formations, caves and rock shelters, rooms of prehistoric Pueblo ruins, simple monuments of rough stone, boulders with concavities or incised or painted images. The shrines number in the hundreds; some coincide with shrines revered by Pueblos, some reflect ideas borrowed with other religious concepts from the Pueblos. Shrines sometimes fall into disuse. A shrine definitely authenticated as Navaho does indicate that Navahos were in the area at one time or another, but - considering the roving propensities of these people - when?

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A. Lack of evidence that Navaho Cardinal Sacred Mountains were Boundary Markers:

Among the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest, shrines in which prayer offerings periodically are deposited to the supernaturals are very important. Such shrines may be classified into three categories: those which are inside the boundaries of their area, those which are on points considered to mark outer boundaries of their area, and those at a farther distance, outside their boundaries but visited at special times because supernaturals are believed to reside in that vicinity. In some cases several different tribes claim a certain especially high mountain as a shrine area: for instance, Acoma, Laguna, Zia, Jemez, and the Tewas north of Santa Fe all claim Mt. Taylor as a sacred mountain. Mt. Pelado, highest peak in the Jemez range, is visited by Zia, Jemez, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Cochiti, and the Tewa Pueblos north of Santa Fe; all leave offerings here. Certain of these, but not all, claim one or the other of these mountains as boundary markers, and in some cases it is apparent that such a high peak, like any other outstanding natural feature, could well serve as a marker between two tribal territories or even as a corner indicating where more than two came together. But it is also apparent that all the tribes which deposit offerings on the top of such a mountain cannot possibly claim the entire mountain. A tribe might own the side closest to the rest of its own domain, or it might not lay claim to

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any of the physical body of the mountain but only to a recognized right to deposit offerings upon it, that right presumably having come into being through permission of other users of the peak or simply through lack of prohibition of such use by the other users.

The importance of this concept lies in the fact that the Navahos claim among their sacred mountains the two mentioned above as sacred to a number of eastern pueblos (Mt. Pelado and Mt. Taylor), and the San Francisco Peaks sacred to the western pueblos of Hopi. We have no evidence that the concept of sacred mountains as such is native Athapascan. It definitely is a Pueblo concept and the presence of the concept among the Navajo and the Jicarilla Apache presumably is the result of borrowing from those pueblos.

158 Whether these mountains sacred to the Navahos should be considered as shrines inside their area, peripheral to it, or entirely outside it is another matter. According to one specific Navaho statement, the decision that these mountains might mark Navaho territory was the result of a post-Bosque Redondo conference. The Navaho families (or at least many of them) had traveled together to Cubero and Mt. Taylor, where they were told to go straight on to Bear Spring (Ft. Lyon, Ft. Wingate) where the new fort consisting of five log houses had been built. There they were to stop. Rations would be provided. (In actuality, the food being short, the Navaho also obtained what they could from the local Pueblos, Acoma and Laguna, in exchange for farm labor, herding, etc.) According to old Peshlakai

Etsedi, "The first morning we were all together at this new fort the officer talked to us; he said we should stay here for three or five months. Mexicans would bring corn for us from Albuquerque. He said if anyone wanted to go look at their own country they could go but that they must return here. This leader's name was Nah Zizii (Gopher); he had a wife and a son and daughter. They had been with him at Huelte (probably Agent T. H. Dodd). But first he said our leaders and he would decide on what was to be the Navajo country from now on. These headmen went up on a high hill south of Ft. Lyon. The Navajos who went were Hosteen Litsuee Etsosa (Marriano) and Hostin Be Dah Gah and Becenti. Becenti was my clan, Nakai Dineh. These men decided that the Navajos would have the country between Sisnajinee (Black Belt, Pelado), Zoet Zilth (Mt. Taylor), Nahtah Ah Say Ay (Mt. Thomas), Do Ko-osteed (San Francisco Peaks), Nahto Zilth (Rockskin Mountain near Grand Canyon), Nah Ah Tsees Ahn (Navajo Mountain) and Devehn Tsah (San Juan Mountains)." (Brewer, Sally P., "The 'Long Walk' to Bosque Redondo as Told by Peshlakai Etsedi," Museum Notes, MNA, Vol. 9, No. 11, 1937, p. 61.)

159 Sleight checked thirty-four documentary sources dating between 1883 and 1951, as well as doing actual field work as Research Associate for the Navaho tribe on location of the mountains, now felt by the Navaho to be markers which should be respected in their land claim (Sleight, Frederick W., "The Navaho Sacred Mountain of the East - A Controversy," El Palacio, Vol. 58, No. 12, 1950, pp. 379-397). He

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provides a closely written summary of the problem in which he reports general accord on identifications of the holy cardinal mountains of south, west, and north: Tsodzil: San Mateo (south mountain, also known as Mt. Taylor; Dokoosid: San Francisco Peaks (west mountain); and Dibentsah: La Plata (north mountain). The problem of the east mountain, however, Sleight felt, not only had not been solved but had been approached with a definitely unscientific and prejudiced team of workers.

The east mountain, Sisnadjini, is translated by Mathews (1897) and Haile (1938) as "mountain with a horizontal black belt," and by Reichard (1950) as black-belted mountain, but Robert Young, Assistant to the Director at Window Rock and tribal linguist, unquestionably with a better command of the Navaho language than any white man has had before, wrote in after Sleight had prepared his paper to declare that the name could refer only to a mountain with a descending rather than horizontal black line (see Sleight, op. cit.). The Ethnographic Dictionary of the Franciscan Fathers is in accord with this translation. O'Bryan (1956) gives the translation as "Standing Black Sash."

Washington Mathews' informant in 1883 picked out Mt. Taylor as the mountain of the east, and this identification was given in 1937 in Newcomb and Reichard's The Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant. But since this time, Mt. Taylor has been definitely identified by Sleight and others as the mountain of the south. In 1885, A. M.

Stephen while working in the Hopi country, interviewed a Navajo from that district and was given an identification of sacred mountains differing from any others before or since: east- Ute Mountain; north- Navaho Mountain; south- Mt. Taylor; and west- San Francisco Peaks. Sleight suggests that the identification of the north and east mountains in this case may be basically Hopi.

In 1888 Washington Mathews came to believe that the Jemez Mountains, with the highest peak formerly known as Pelado and now sometimes spoken of as Redondo, was the sacred mountain of the east, and others have come to this same conclusion since. In 1891, James Stevens was told by one informant that Blanca Peak in Alamosa County, Colorado, might be the eastern mountain. In 1907 Ed. S. Curtis was given El Cabezon on the west side of the Puerco Valley as the east mountain, but no one else has ever given this, although it is mentioned in tales as head of the giant slain by the mythical Twin War Gods (one of the tales picked up from the eastern Pueblos).

In Mathews' report of 1897, he states that the eastern mountain probably is Pelado Peak twenty miles north northeast of Jemez Pueblo (p. 384), and this identification since has been given by the Franciscan Fathers of St. Michaels, Goddard, Amsden, Brewer, Keur, Sapir and Hoijer, and Reichard. This peak, as previously stated, is sacred to most of the Rio Grande pueblos and well may have moved into the Navaho category of sacred places at the time so much of Pueblo religion was being taken over by the tribe.

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In 1938 Father Berard Haile published the contention that Blanca Peak in eastern Colorado was the Navaho east mountain, and Van Valkenburgh reiterated the same idea in print that year. But except for Maud Oakes (1943) there seems not to have been any general acceptance of Blanca Peak rather than Pelado as the specific east mountain. It is apparent that the Navahos themselves cannot be sure of the east sacred mountain. Reichard (Navaho Religion, 1950, pp. 452, 453) states "The provenience of the 'eastern mountain' is much discussed by Navaho chanters, but there is no agreement." She tells of a certain Navaho Rain Singer visiting Taos Mountain to collect water to be used in his ceremony; he felt this must be the east mountain, an idea he may have picked up from some of the several Rio Grande pueblos who feel this is a sacred mountain. Certainly it is east of Navaho country.

Berard took his idea of Blanca Peak being the east mountain from a Jicarilla Apache who said that the sigmajinni of his tribe was that of the Navahos, located as the only prominent peak east of Alamosa, Colorado. This would be Blanca. Haile then took the matter to two Navahos. "My two informants, Slim Curly and (another) Curly... discussed the matter with several elders of their acquaintance, then concluded that none of their tribesmen could identify the mountain with certainty. Traditions and legendary accounts offered conflicting opinions at best which the Jicarilla tradition alone could decide." With Father Berard the two Curlys and an interpreter went to Blanca

Peak in 1932. They climbed the peak and returned that night carrying soil from it, convinced that this was the sacred mountain. Van Valkenburgh later took a party of Navahos to Pelado Peak in the Jemez mountains. They had not been there before, but they decided it was too far south. The party then drove northward to Taos and into Colorado, decided that the proper peak must be either Blanca or the Spanish Peaks, and, after consulting with Albert Sandoval, the interpreter on Father Haile's expedition, Blanca was selected as the proper mountain. However, in 1934, Amsden wrote "I have sought from many sources accurate identification of the four mountains marking the cardinal points ... and find general agreement that ... east (is represented) by Pelado ...." (Amsden, 1934, p. 128). O'Bryan (1956, p. 4, footnote 17), in locating the sacred mountains as given by her elderly informant, says of Sisnajin. "Although both Mathews and the Franciscan Fathers give Sisnajin as Pelado Peak, Sam Ahkeah, the interpreter, after checking, identified it as Mount Baldy near Alamosa, Colo." O'Bryan's work (done in 1928, although not published until later) preceded the identifications of Haile and Van Valkenburgh. It seems quite likely that this identification today varies according to area of present Navaho reservation from which the informant comes.

On the basis of historical and archaeological data, Sleight thinks Blanca "too far north and too remote from the scene of Navajo activities to have been selected as the native boundary marker for the

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Navaho domain" (p. 390). He found some medicine men in the center of the Navaho area who thought that Taos Mountain (Wheeler Peak) or one near that peak must be the east mountain, but still no agreement. O'Bryan gives a fifth sacred mountain as Dzil na'odili choli, identified by the Franciscan Fathers as Huerfano Peak but by Sam Ahkeah as "the Mother Mountain near Taos." The Naaskiddi, "hunchback figures connected with seeds, fertility, and phallus worship," are said to have come from this mountain (op. cit., p. 5, footnote 20). The hunchbacked fertility figure is a basic Pueblo supernatural, figures of which have been found to go back at least to P I, about 900 A. D. (Hawley, 1937, pp. 644-646). Again, the Navahos have borrowed.

Sleight found one old medicine man who had gone to the east mountain for holy items; his trip took him to Jemez pueblo and then something over a day's hike beyond. This certainly would put him onto or near Pelado. Another old man explained that sisnajinni was not a single mountain but the long line of mountains seen to the east when approaching the western edge of Navaho land. This would fit the location of the Jemez Mountains. Sisnajinni is said to be very near "Tramped-down-mountain," which is flat on top, which fits the situation at Pelado but not at the other mountains suggested. And, points out Sleight, during the period at Bosque Redondo and the later relocation of the tribe to the west, the earlier association with eastern landmarks would become somewhat vague. "Reservation limits divorced Navajo thinking from a section of country that had been considered

theirs for many generations" (Ibid., p. 393). Washington Mathews collected his data shortly after the return from Bosque Redondo, when knowledge of the eastern area would have been much fresher than today.

Sleight concludes that "...localization of the east mountain should depend primarily on the information offered by medicine men who have visited or have known from first hand evidence the location of sisnadjini. As an adjunct to this, the anthropologist could use his geographical knowledge of the region coupled with logic based on history and archaeology. But never should the identification be made by any form of suggestion of interpretation on the part of the student. This is a prime reason why the Blanca Peak identification has not met with greater acceptance. Father Berard's informants clearly stated that they were not able to identify sisnadjini, as indicated in his published discussion in 1938.... Despite this, they took a motor trip and using Jicarilla traditions as a lead, they motored into Colorado until they reached Blanca Peak. This they decided should be 'a fitting choice for the sacred mountain of the east.'" (Ibid., p. 394).

His final word is that Mathews probably is the most correct because of the early period in which he worked but that "Despite the volume of literature, there is little evidence on which to base conclusions," and that any data which might help should be seriously considered.

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We have but a few suggestive items. To all the Tewa pueblos, with whom the Navahos formerly associated in trade and who probably were their mentors in some items, there are four cardinal mountains, of which Mount Pelado is the sacred mountain of the east, and worship is performed on its summit. Its name means "mountain covered with flaking stone or obsidian (Harrington, J. P., "Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians," BAE, AR 29, 1908, p. 213). As this stone is black, we are reminded that the name for the Navaho east mountain refers to black streak, and that Navaho are known to have lived not far to the west of the Tewa and Mt. Pelado at least as early as the 17th century.

In this line, we suggest that since the concept of sacred mountains quite certainly originally came to the Navaho from the Pueblos, and that the Navahos are known to have lived to the west of the Tewa pueblos and to the northwest of Jemez in the upper tributaries of the San Juan at least in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries (archaeologic evidence), a glance at Tewa and Jemez concepts might prove fruitful. The Tewa - in contrast to the Keresan pueblos - do recognize a set of four cardinal sacred mountains (Ibid.). For all the Tewa-speaking pueblos (six still existent); they are San Antonio Peak northwest of Taos for the north mountain, Mt. Pelado for the west, the Sandia Mountains near Albuquerque for the south, and Lake Peak for the east. These sacred cardinal mountains are not considered boundary markers by the Tewa. They are simply extra-territorial

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sacred cardinal features where sacred offerings are left upon shrines visited periodically.

The Jemez, relatives of the Tewa, whose sojourn with the Navaho over a period of years after defeat at the hands of the Spaniards in 1697 was of tremendous influence on Navaho culture, also recognized four cardinal sacred mountains. These are Yellow Flint Mountain, Blue Flint Mountain, Red Flint Mountain, and Black Flint Mountain (Parsons, Elsie C., The Pueblo of Jemez, 1925, p. 137). They are not boundary markers but, like those of the Navaho legend, are said to have been created in the underworld before the people came out, as places on which to lay ceremonial offerings.

Our explanation of the fact that various mountains have been given as sacred by anthropologists using various informants at various times is that as Navahos moved westward from the old home territory, they not only lost contact with certain areas but had to select some substitute mountains because materials for certain ceremonies must come from sacred mountains and the originals were too distant. Moreover, they had the word of the Pueblos, as they met them, that these other mountains were sacred and that supernaturals were associated with them. A good picture of opportunities for Navaho indoctrination by the Pueblos into their religious practices, as well as evidence of some Hopi borrowing from the Navaho, is that given by Alexander Stephen. Parsons (Hopi Journal of Alexander M. Stephen, Pt. 1, ed. by Elsie C. Parsons, 1936, p. xxvii) notes that Stephen and she, both,

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had seen many contact situations in which the Navaho had an opportunity for making mental notes on Pueblo ceremonialism. The Navaho were "not infrequent visitors to First Mesa and these visitors had opportunity to observe the ceremonial life. At the Shalako performance in 1893, there were a hundred Navaho visitors, and about the same number at the Powamu ceremony of that year. Now and again Navaho were admitted to kiva, even during kachina preparation or prayer-stick making (See pp. 223, 309, 345, 476, 524). The Navaho brother of the Town Chief of Walpi gives Stephen a Navaho interpretation of certain prayer-sticks on the Niman altar (see p. 574). Once Navaho Yebechai maskers were invited into kiva during Powamu by a Hopi who was half Navaho, although this act of hospitality was severely criticized by the elders as subjecting the ritual beans to malign influence. Hopi

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curers may be sought by the Navaho. (Parsons gives as example a Navaho father calling in Hopi Snake Society men to treat the son, bitten by a small rattlesnake (August 17, 1889). The son recovered. The father paid the Hopi one horse and three sheep.) In 1920 I (Parsons) found that the (Hopi-) Tewa of First Mesa might be invited to contribute a set of kachina dancers to the last night's public performance of the (Navaho) Night Chant. The Hopi Navaho kachina sing Navaho songs and the songs of the hidden bell game are in Navaho. In Stephen's time, if not now, the Hopi had a girl's adolescence ceremony quite similar to the Navaho ceremony. The burlesque of the Navaho chanter and his wife during the Navaho kachina exhibition by the

(Hopi-) Tewa in 1893 indicates a considerable knowledge of Navaho ritual, and most of the clown performers spoke in Navaho. (Ibid., pp. 383-384.) The chief of the Tewa clowns was named Djasjini, the Navaho term for clown.[Footnote: Dr. Reichard tells me (Parsons) the term means black ear (compare the Tanoan term for the clown group, black eye). The Navaho say they got these clowns from Jemez.] Navaho are frequently burlesqued at the dances. Perhaps the most conspicuous detail of Navaho intimacy set forth in the Journal is in the story of the descent of Simo, the Town chief, who was three quarters Navaho. Nevertheless Simo's purity of descent was considered impeccable, as his mother's mother was of the Horn clan of Walpi. But Simo's own blood brother remained Navaho, and after Simo's death made a claim to his property. An Oraibi man of Navaho descent has his cattle raided by the Navaho, and there is an account of an attack on a Hopi party of ten of whom four were killed, including Mashali who was then Town chief, and a Navaho boy who had been adopted by the Hopi." (Stephen, p. 957.)

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In any case, there seems to be no evidence that the three definitely located Navaho sacred mountains and the controversial east mountain ever stood as markers of the peripheries of Navaho territory, even in the minds of the tribesmen, until - possibly - the historic conference of 1868 at Ft. Wingate. Any later remembered "decision" on what the Navaho country was to be hardly could be construed as definite indication of what it had been at any specific time in the past.

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VI

Navaho Occupation Areas and Movements Between 1500 and 1860, as Indicated by Archaeological Sites and Ethnographic Data

As has been indicated in Chapter I, the main group of Navaho and Apache ancestors are thought to have come southward from their Canadian homeland by way of the Rocky Mountains. The use of the forked stick hogan in their earliest known phase in the Southwest (Dinetah Phase) suggests that their route was through at least semi-wooded territory where the forked posts could be obtained from growths of pinyon, juniper, etc. The inter-montane valleys of the Rockies or their eastern edge (the most western side of the High Plains) would provide such an environment. As of this period, the people are best referred to as Apache, or merely Athabascans. They probably practiced a migratory hunting economy similar to that of the historic Jicarilla, but, as the result of contact with Plains sedentary groups (possibly Apaches of an earlier migration from the North) may have adopted pottery (Woodland type) and possibly agriculture. A portion of the Apache-Navaho nucleus split off to become the Navaho of the Dinetah phase, probably living at first in the San Luis valley and the drainage of the Navajo River in Colorado, but moving over the Continental Divide into the San Juan and its tributaries, especially the Gobernador and Largo, between 1550 and 1600. The major drought of 1573-1593 may have been the reason for this movement. (Dittert,

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Hester, and Eddy, 1961, pp. 247, 249.) Some have suggested (nothing published) that after the newly-separated Navaho passed, a spearhead of Utes pushing south closed the route, leaving the remainder of the Athapascans in the San Luis Valley and to the east as those-to-become Jicarillas. The earliest known Navaho sites are in the area of the upper San Juan and its tributaries (Gobernador, etc.) to the south, though this area is believed not to have been the center of their occupation at this time. (Dittert, Hester, and Eddy, 1961, p. 246.) From the San Juan area they spread farther southwestward, then southward and westward. A summary of their movements and occupation of specific areas falls into five periods:

(1) The Navaho Reservoir district (from Navaho dam where the Rio Arriba county line intersects the San Juan River and up as far as Caracas, Colorado) probably was first settled by the Navaho in the 1500's and was not abandoned until about 1750 or 1775. The Gobernador-Largo area was occupied at about the same time. [The succession of canyons involved covers Largo (and its tributaries, Tapicitoes, Compañero, Muñoz); Gobernador, Francis, La Jara, and Pueblito,--named from southwest to northeast.] Here--as far north as Francis Canyon--the Navahos received a heavy Pueblo increment of population just before 1700. Jicarilla were on their northeast margin. By 1700 Utes were raiding Navaho camps. Trade was with the eastern Pueblos. Navaho corn of this period is that of the eastern Pueblos;

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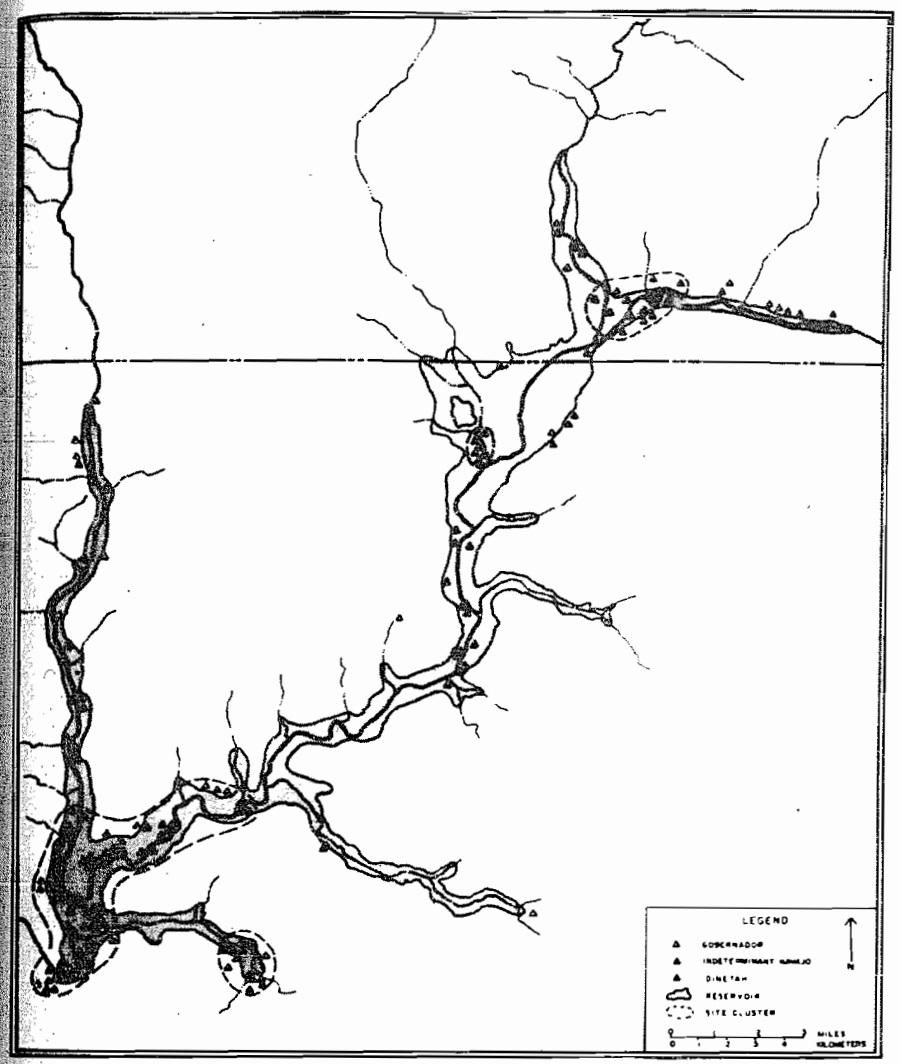

Fig. 74. Distribution of Navajo Period sites in the Navajo Reservoir District.

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the beans are the Phaseolus vulgaris type c-3 of the north. (Dittert, personal communication, 1961.)

(2) From this originally occupied eastern wooded area (Dinetah), the people slowly moved westward and southwestward into more open areas, a move resulting from increasing Ute and Comanche pressure. The movement appears to have been under way by the early 1700's, although the Gobernador was thickly occupied and a center of development for masonry structures of refugee Puebloan character. Chacra Mesa (Chaco area) for which one site may date in the early 1600's, now became a Navaho center. The weather of the century provided no major droughts, although there were two small ones and the very dry year of 1748 before its mid-point. Failure of crops on the San Juan in 1748 was a further impetus toward evacuation, and the suggestion of a missionary that a mission would be established and baptisms done (presumably accompanied with gifts) in the Cebolleta area interested the Navaho. Increments of Pueblo population, apparently from the more western pueblos, joined the Navaho from time to time, according to Navaho legends (borne out by pottery) when drought struck their home territory. Small Navaho camp sites dating between 1700 and 1750 are found in the South San Juan division; these appear to have been sites used in migrations or for hunting antelope. Trade was primarily with the western pueblos. The Hopi bean and the Western Pueblo (Hopi-Zuni-Acoma-Laguna) corn appear. Some Navaho went on westward to Canyon de Chelly, probably moving from the newly established Cebolleta

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Mountain group or from the Chacra (Chaco). Canyon de Chelly apparently was beyond the Ute range at the time; no defensive arrangements are indicated.

(3) By 1775 no Navaho lived east of Blanco (where the Largo joins the San Juan) on the San Juan, and most of the Navaho Reservoir area was abandoned. Navaho occupancy along the river bluffs in the South San Juan Division occurred, but the area away from the river was too dry for continuous habitation. The last good reproduction period of Douglas fir in relictual stands in the Navaho Reservoir area were seeded about 1750, indicating that since this time the area has been somewhat dryer than before that date. (Dittert, Hester, and Eddy, 1961, p. 30.) Antelope were hunted here; hunting camps with antelope bones are found. The area as a whole would have been about as dry as today, when Navaho have to haul water for considerable distances. A scattering of Navaho lived in the Navaho-Hopi contact area east of the Hopi mesas.

(4) No convincing data indicating that the Navaho spread west of the Hopi villages before the wide scattering which began about 1858 has come to light. At that time Navaho-white tensions were reaching a peak; Navahos camping on the Little Colorado and above on the Coconino plateau were remarked by the Havasupai as interesting newcomers who explained that they were fleeing from the whites. The tension reached its peak in 1863 and '64 as troops and rumors of troops pursued Navaho bands flying to hidden spots outside their usual provenience in order to avoid incarceration at Ft. Sumner.

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(5) The Shiprock Division is representative of the "tin can period," post Ft. Sumner. (For dating by tin cans, etc., see Hunt, 1959.) The occupation of Canoncito by a group of eastern Navahos falls into the period a year or two after liberation from Ft. Sumner. Puertocito or Alamo was a Warm Springs or Chiricahua Apache location, according to its present inhabitants, to which an Apache man married to a Navaho girl brought her (because pregnant and his people were on the warpath) when they escaped from Ft. Sumner. Other Navaho later joined the Apache here and intermarriage took place, but the people still point out their heavy proportion of Apache ancestry.

Ramah was occupied just after the return from Ft. Sumner, although the country had been traversed previously by families hiding from Kit Carson's soldiers.

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Because the early Navaho, as well as the Pueblo tribes, were dependent upon agriculture to a major extent, weather fluctuations - especially those involving drought - were of major importance. In peripheral agricultural areas where precipitation is not heavy, growing seasons are short and dry farming is practiced, a small drop in amount of moisture available to crops may be disastrous. In the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, droughts produced other pressures: the non-Pueblo peoples who did not farm or who - like the Navahos - farmed but could not store large amounts of food for the future might descend upon Pueblos and whites to trade or to steal at

any time, but their forays became increasingly troublesome during dry periods of food shortage. Non-Pueblo tribes even raided each other. When herding was introduced, forage for animals as well as food for men depended upon weather. Hence, as background to studies of Navaho movements, a consideration of weather variation is of some importance. As already explained, the Southwest has suffered several epicycles of long dry periods, indicated by the erosion which cut stream beds (now buried) into deep channels. These epicycles were separated by others of long relatively well-watered periods, in which the stream beds were built up by deposition. For our studies, the last three periods (deposition and relatively adequate precipitation between 1500 and 1700 A. D., followed by a period of climatic stability until between 1860 and 1880, and finally by the succeeding period of drouth and erosion from which some think we are just beginning to emerge at the present) are of major interest.

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The Navaho Reservoir and Gobernador areas make up the homeland, Dinetah, probably first settled by Navahos who in the 1500's arrived, as Apaches, from the northeast by way of the South Platte. This area was occupied until approximately 1775, with a few stragglers possibly remaining a few years later. Most of the Navaho had moved south and westward between 1740 and 1750 as the result of Ute pressure. In the Basin, seen as a 300 year whole, there are single unit, multiple unit, and village sites, consisting of hogans with associated ramadas (shades), outside fire pits, undercut ovens,

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with two witnesses of...presiding as jury Receptor for lack of a secretary, since there is none in this Government in this place, of the Ojo del Espiritu Santo, on the 28th of September, 1766. I confirm this. Bartolome Fernandez. Witness: Pedro Garcia (See Minge, A., Historical Paper for Zia-Santa Ana-Jemez Land Claim.)

In this area, if Navahos had been present, one might have expected Pueblo or Spanish complaint of them. Moreover, in making a grant, if there was question of possibility of ownership of such lands by Indians or others, it was announced in the Spanish documents that such persons were called upon to be present and state their claims before the ceremony of pulling up grass, tossing up stones, etc., was carried out in customary manner of indicating that a certain group thereby was taking possession of the area.

But, in the paper dated June 16, 1766, in which Philipe
412 Tafoya, Salvitor for the City of Santa Fe, "appeared for and in the name of Christobal, an Indian, Governor of the Pueblo of Zia, and of Tomas, Chief War Captain, from said Pueblo, "in the interest of the people of the Pueblos of Zia, Santa Ana and Jemez, there is an item of data which does locate Navaho neighbors. Tafoya states:

> that these (the three Pueblos), since their foundation, have recognized as their common lands near their said Pueblos a valley which they generally call the Ojo del Espiritu Santo, and that this, in certain...cases, serves as common land for the horse stud of this previous Real, as is clear...Wherefore I petition and supplicate Your Lordship, in the name of the King, that it be...to declare as their legitimate common land and...with...Town of Santa...that their borders be indicated, which is... the said Pueblos and the West the edge of the Rio Puerco, and to the North a place which they call La Ventana, which is where some Apaches Nabajeros live, and to the

> South the lands of the Spanish settlers, of said Rio Puerco; that in Your Lordship's commanding what I petition to be done, my above-named parties may receive favor with justice, which I ask, and I swear in the name of the above-named that this is not done of ill will. May this [so] be. (See Minge, W. A., Historical Paper on Zia-Santa Ana-Jemez Land Claim.)

Spanish encroachment of Navaho lands continued until the 1770's when the Navaho temporarily eliminated the increasing pressure within a single decade by forcibly driving out the whites who were attempting to use the Puerco (Navaho war trail) and nearby areas. After this, they resumed periodic raids on the Spaniards and Pueblos for the remainder of the 1700's.

The occupation of Canyon de Chelly (Spanish version of Navaho name also written as Tsegii and Chegui) probably represents a move of some of the disgruntled Cebolleta group and possibly some from the San Juan and Chacra Mesa westward, and it is interesting to note that hogans there (as in the Navaho Reservoir area) are of the forked stick type and show no defensive attributes. The people were far enough west to have lost their fear of Ute, Comanche, and Spanish raids. This westward movement may have been in part the effect of Spanish threats that the Navahos would be pursued and driven from their homes if they continued their temporary alliance with the Gila Apaches, one result of which had been a raid of Apaches and Navahos (the Navaho force said to have numbered 500 Navaho warriors) on Janos and Tucson in southern Arizona. The Navaho, or at least a portion of the tribe, later were persuaded to campaign against the Apache. (For
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a summary of these Spanish, Apache and Navaho involvements, see Thomas, A. B., Forgotten Frontiers, 1932, pp. 45-56.) The Canyon de Chelly pottery was Navaho Utility and Decorated; Gobernador Polychrome was absent.

That the Canyon de Chelly was settled by the Laguna-influenced Navaho-Pueblo combination from Chacra Mesa and the Cebolleta Mountains is strongly indicated by the coincidence of dates (1758, '66, and '70, though whether these are cutting dates is not indicated; Hurt, 1942) and also by the fact that the Chinle-de Chelly people have much more in the line of the masked god cult than the other Navaho. This cult is infinitely more developed in the pueblos - especially Keres, Hopi, and Zuni - and generally is agreed to have been borrowed from them. (The Navaho Mud Dance, a later Pueblo addition, is said by the Navaho to have been borrowed from Jemez only a few years ago, within this century.) Hill (Hill, W. W., The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navaho Indians, Yale Univ. Pubs. in Anth., Vol. 18, 1938) points out that the de Chelly and del Muerto area is "somewhat aberrant and culturally distinctive" in comparison to the overall Navaho pattern, that differentiation being concerned with the "chants of the God-impersonators sub-group (Kluckhohn, 1939) and clans who are supposed to have originated or to have brought these chants (Kluckhohn, 1939; Reichard, 1928, p. 14)." It is probable that

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the Hopi were responsible for at least a part of this contribution for, as Kluckhohn explains, in the late 18th century, when the Hopi

> were beset by famine and plague, fairly large numbers of Hopi migrated to Canyons de Chelly and del Muerto and amalgamated with the Navaho then living there. There are also stories of other accretions of Pueblo population in this region during comparatively recent times. At all events, Navaho and Hopi tradition and folk belief agree that the contemporary Canyon de Chelly Navaho have an unusually large proportion of Pueblo blood. Likewise, a number of the cultural features which Hill mentions as aberrant reflect Pueblo influences. Finally, the Navaho consider the chants of the God-impersonators sub-group to have been derived from the Pueblo. In terms of all these factors, other Navahos tend to feel their tribesmen of the region of the canyon as in some sense aliens. The ascription of witchcraft is then to be understood in part as the projection of hostile impulses toward partial outgroupers who live in the midst of the in-group. In part, it must also be understood in terms of the fear and dread which Navahos have tended, and to some extent still tend, to have of Pueblo Indians as superiors in the arts of the supernatural. In this case, just as the Navaho of this area are associated with especially rich and powerful chants, so, by the same token, are they connected with a peculiarly dangerous knowledge of the 'bad side' of Navaho religion. (Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 43.)

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The special ties which have existed between Navahos of the Canyon de Chelly area and those of Canoncito (occupied by Navaho in the post - Ft. Sumner period, some having lived in the Cebolleta Mountain area earlier) in the recent period on the basis of witchcraft offer another hint of early Cebolleta-de Chelly relationships. Kluckhohn, in discussing a certain type of Navaho "medicine," comments, "This medicine is also carried by many Navahos when they travel away from their home country and especially when they plan to enter regions (such as Chin Lee, Black Mesa, and Canoncito) where witches are

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believed to be particularly numerous." (Kluckhohn, Clyde, 1944, p. 27.) He adds the footnote, "Dr. Wyman informs me that his experience confirms my generalizations that the Chin Lee and Canoncito regions are feared as foci of witches. Van Valkenburgh (1941, p. 17) also observes 'Eastern Navahos say their witches come from the Canoncito people.'" (Kluckhohn, 1944, Footnote 57.)

But the Canoncito area also received witches. According to Navaho custom, if a suspected witch confessed, under strong interrogation, the victim began to recover from his illness and the witch was expected to die within a year from the same ailment. If the witch refused to confess within four days, he usually was killed. Sometimes, however, he was permitted to escape if he left that community permanently. "A number of accused witches are said to have
416 fled to Canoncito." (Op. cit., p. 288.)

Kluckhohn makes the further point that the Canoncito group, as well as that of the de Chelly area, is thought of as "Navaho who are not quite Navaho." At least in part these are descendants of Navahos who were partially missionized by the Spaniards during the 18th century, who often aided the Spaniards against the other Navaho and hence became "persona non grata" to the others, and, besides, may have learned something of witchcraft from their Spanish contacts.

Two other claims to fame of the de Chelly-Chuska Navahos: their women formerly were thought to be so beautiful that other Navaho sometimes came to steal them away (perhaps because of the

slight difference in features provided by Pueblo blood?), and they were such efficient raiders that they came to be known as thieves. Under the heading of "Traditional Humorous Statements," Hill explains the accusation of thievery often leveled at modern Navahos from de Chelly by other Navahos. "When anything disappears at a ceremony you would say, 'There must be some people from the Canyon (Canyon de Chelly) here. (In the old days the de Chelly group used to raid the nearby settlements, return to the protected location, and allow the peripheral Navaho to bear the brunt of the reprisal. Hence they were known as thieves.)" (Hill, W. W., "Navaho Humor," Gen. Series in Anth., No. 9, 1943, p. 16.) That the Navaho from de Chelly were some of their most frequent raiders was stated again and again by Lagunas and Acomas. The Navahos do not deny their "accomplishment:" In the
417 words of Kluckhohn's informant, Mr. Moustache, "I could run like a jackrabbit. I could catch them...The Navahos used to run all the way from Canyon de Chelly to Laguna and steal some sheep from the Lagunas." (Kluckhohn, Clyde, "A Navaho Personal Document," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. I, 1945, p. 520.) This sounds as if the Laguna long had been a group favored with the attention of this Navaho group in the matter of raids.

Navaho were attacking the Hopi, as well, by 1780 (Thomas, A. B., Forgotten Frontiers, 1932, pp. 27-28, 29, 246, 223), presumably from the Chuska-de Chelly area. Escalante mentioned no Navahos to the north or west of Hopi area, but stated that the Navaho

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were to the east of them (Auerbach, H. S., "Father Escalante's Journal with Related Documents and Maps," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. XI, 1943, p. 17).

In summarizing, we note that on the basis of pottery types made by Navahos, as well as dates from their structures, it becomes apparent that the Gobernador and the San Juan Reservoir areas were occupied earlier than the others discussed, and that they continued to be occupied after some of the people had moved southwestward to Chacra, and perhaps to Big Bead Mesa, but that both Gobernador and San Juan Reservoir were abandoned by 1775. The South San Juan Division, a much dryer type of territory, saw no Dinetah Phase Navaho occupation, but the Gobernador period here lasted from 1700 to about 1825, the individual sites apparently being occupied only briefly, probably for hunting. The area then was abandoned until about 1870. The majority of Big Bead sites fall into the phase dating between 1750 and 1800, and the culture here shows the result of established amalgamation of culture of the refugee Pueblo groups with that of the nucleus Navaho. There may have been a small Big Bead occupation in the early 1740's; this is uncertain. In 1748, at the suggestion of a Spanish missionary, a Navaho group, size unstated, came here from the San Juan area (presumably Navaho Reservoir District), where they had been suffering from drought. It appears that Big Bead and the San Mateo and Bear Springs districts all were populated largely from the Chacra, and that the promise of gifts from missionaries and Spanish godfathers to

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Navaho who permitted their children to be baptised persuaded a number of Navaho to take up temporary residence at Cebolleta - but where is not known - and near Encinal. Encinal and Cebolleta had been 18th century Laguna sites. The Paguate Lagunas permitted Spaniards to settle at Cebolleta when the latter promised aid against the Navaho in the late 18th century. The Lagunas had no idea of this arrangement resulting in permanent Spanish occupation and acquisition of this land in 1800. Spaniards and Lagunas together manned watch stations on the hills flanking Cebolleta, in order to forestall Navaho raids. (See Ellis' anthropological reports on Laguna Land Claim, and Jenkins' historical reports on same.) If the Navaho had lived near Cebolleta village in the late 1700's, Laguna and Spanish occupation would have been most unlikely. Laguna sites on the Agua Salado and in the open territory south toward Moquino, obviously located without concern for defense, also date in the 1700's, but were abandoned presumably because of fear of the Navaho, by or before the end of that century, though the area continued to be used for herding between disturbances.

The missions established at Encinal and Cebolleta for the Navaho could not provide gifts sufficiently opulent to satisfy the Navaho. Those at Encinal (who had been evasive about settling down at Encinal from the first) found their water supply insufficient and wanted to move onto Acoma land near Cubero (indication that the Navaho Encinal group was not an old established unit in this area but probably newly brought in, as Reeve suggests). While the Spaniards were

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considering the rights of Acomas in regard to this move, the Navaho drove out the two missionaries and fled, only five months after establishment of the Encinal mission and about two years after mission work was begun at Cebolleta. These Navaho may have gone to join the San Mateo group, or that at Big Bead, or they may have moved directly to Canyon de Chelly, apparently first occupied at about this time.

Father Berard, OFM, then of St. Isabel's, Lukachukai, Arizona, (since of St. Michael's) wrote to F. W. Hodge in 1917 mentioning that among descendants of the murderers, reminiscences remained still of the murder of the priests at Jemez in the period of the Pueblo Rebellion. These descendants were, of course, Navahos with Jemez admixture. Father Berard felt that the migration of the Navaho from Dinetah (dinetga), which he places in the Tierra Amarilla country of New Mexico (Gobernador area, more or less) into their present western habitat did not antedate Spanish occupation but would have been "well up towards the Pueblo Rebellion in 1680 or later...Yet it is evident that after the migration much Pueblo material was introduced into tribal history through refugees and captives." ("The Meaning of 'Tusayan,'" Am. Anth., Vol. 19, 1917, p. 151.)

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This date appears about one century too early except for a small trickle of Navaho into the Chuska-Hopi Contact area. We would surmise that major occupation of the Chuska-Lukachukai area grew up after the mid-1700's, as the eastern San Juan and its tributaries were abandoned. The pressure of the Ute, Jicarilla, and Comanche, whose

interests in occupation-expansion, especially to the west (they could not move in any other direction), had been added to their earlier interests in raiding the Navaho for livestock, was compounded by white pressure on the three other tribes trying to expand at this time. It was further compounded by the expansion of the whites, themselves. The weather of the 18th century seems to have been the easiest matter with which the Navaho had to deal. No matter how good the growing conditions or how adequate the forage, the Navaho could only look westward (a statement also true for those who were pressing upon them), and even their trade concentrated primarily on western contacts. Their repeated raids had worn out any welcome they might once have had in the east, a point which aided the Ute in their Navaho blockade.

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1800-1860 Phase

Changes took place in artifacts and habitat, appearing toward the end of the 1700's to close the Gobernador Phase. Gobernador Polychrome no longer was manufactured; the replacement was Navaho Polychrome. A definable transition between these two types of pottery occurred in the survey collections in association with sherds of the late 1700's. Incising, punctation, fillets, or combinations of these characteristics were added to the neck region of utility ware. The thin Dinetah Utility type was replaced by a progressively thicker and, in some cases, sherd-tempered Navaho Utility

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number would have varied as of different dates.) He had heard of a small party of fifty souls, "mostly ladrones" beyond the Little Colorado and another party, Manuelito's band of one hundred souls, including twenty-five warriors, located north of the Little Colorado, sixty miles beyond Zuni. A party of sixty or seventy were living south of Ft. Canby, their subsistence being pinyons because the Utes had taken their stock. Another group was living on pinyons at Pueblo Colorado; these comprised one hundred or more souls with from thirty to thirty-five warriors. Sixty persons - including twenty men - were supposed to have hidden in Canyon de Chelly, and about one hundred at Mesas de Calabasas, north of the Hopi country. The latter were better equipped than many, with some sheep and horses. They were said to have been friendly with the Paiutes (Pl. Ex. 357), a point

reminiscent of the Son of Old Man Hat's comments on friendly contact between Paiutes and Navahos on the edges of Black Mesa in this period.

Flight to the North and West:

One Navaho who hid out in the Black Mountain area was Old Man Hat (see Chap. V), first husband of the older sister of the biological mother of that Navaho widely known to anthropologists as "The Son of Old Man Hat" (Dyk, op. cit.).. When the woman, who had been at Ft. Sumner and acquired a second husband, returned to Navaho country, she left her second husband for her first. He took her to the area where he had been living while she was away, on top of Black Mesa in

the winter and around its foot in the summer. In those lower valleys the majority of the people, the son states, were Paiutes, with whom these Navahos lived in the summer. There is no hint that the Paiutes were new to the area, nor that the Navahos questioned their right to be there (op. cit., p. 19).

A Navaho who had lived south of the San Juan, somewhat southeast of Black Mesa, and who hid out there at this time was Hoskinini, medicine man and leader. Hoskinini and his son, Hoskinini Begay, at a later period became friends of the Wetherills, traders of Kayenta, and of Byron Cummings who excavated in the area over a period of years beginning in 1908, at first for the University of Utah and later as head of the Anthropology Department and the State Museum at the University of Arizona. Cummings published the story of the old chief, as he often had quoted it to friends (Cummings, Byron, Indians I have Known, 1953, pp. 1-6). "The facts set forth in this narrative were obtained from Indians with the assistance of the late Mrs. John Wetherill, who often acted as interpreter for us in those early days of exploration on the Navajo reservation. She was much respected by Hoskinini." (Op. cit., p. 6.)

Upon learning of the approach of the American troops seeking Navaho groups who had not capitulated, Hoskinini "...gathered his family and possessions and stealthily fled northward towards the San Juan River....Pursued by Kit Carson's forces, they pushed across the San Juan to the region west of where Bluff, Utah, now stands--

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still a desolate uninhabited country. As they turned westward toward the Clay Hills area, Hoskinini thought they would be safe from their pursuers. But Kit Carson and his men were experienced Indian fighters, determined to complete the task assigned them.

"Learning that the soldiers also had reached the northern side of the river and were hot in pursuit, Hoskinini slipped back south across the river, pushing into the rugged and dangerous country lying toward the Navajo Mountain. This crossing since has been known as Hoskinini crossing... In their attempt to follow the Indian band, several soldiers and animals were swept away by the current or bogged in the quicksand. Kit Carson and the remainder of his force returned up the river to a more favorable crossing, and admitted their defeat by giving up the chase.

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"The Indians scattered through that inhospitable country hiding among rocks, sage brush, juniper thickets... Through their scouts they learned that the soldiers had turned back; Hoskinini then was able to locate the few available waterholes, organize the survivors into their accustomed family camps, and settle into a semblance of their former way of life. Other stragglers who had evaded the raiders by hiding in the cliffs joined the band and threw in their lot with their friends.

"Gradually the band moved back to their former homes where there was better grazing and more cornfields. Hoskinini collected all the stray sheep and cattle that had escaped the slaughter and added

them to the flocks his followers had saved. These animals were then distributed among the families under his leadership. His next step was to set the people to work building their homes, increasing their stock, and preparing for the return of other comrades who had been driven away into captivity...."

This account indicates that Hoskinini's band considered their homes to be south of the San Juan and that the area toward the Clay Hills and Navaho Mountain was not familiar, if at all known, to them, in that it was necessary to locate the water holes, etc. It likewise indicates that no other Navaho band must have been living in this area at the time, or Hoskinini's group would have joined - or certainly have mentioned - them rather than other Navahos coming to join his people.

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A Navaho who recalled little groups hiding from Kit Carson's men in the Grand Canyon area and then southward toward the White Mountains in Arizona (and doubtless leaving traces of their camps in every spot occupied for a short period) was Peshlakai Etsidi, interviewed when he was something over 80, and the account published (Brewer, Sallie P., "The 'Long Walk' to Bosque Redondo as Told by Peshlakai Etsidi," Museum Notes, M.N.A., Vol. 9, No. 11, 1937, pp. 55-61. Identifications of places by Richard Van Valkenburgh). Peshlakai's mother, of Nakai clan, was said to have been born on top of Zilth Iepai, identified as Gray Mountain, Coconino Point, Southwest of Cameron, Arizona, and her father at Tochee (Red Streak) about a half

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day's ride north of Pinyon Trading Post, near the edge of Black Mountain. This would place his mother's family in the area about 1825, but whether they were passing through or had come to pick pinyons or were more permanently located there one cannot tell. This was good pinyon country, to which Navahos came from long distances, and the custom of Navahos and other tribes being permitted to pick pinyons in each other's customary use-areas at times of good harvest (usually said to be every seven years for pinyons but actually very irregular) and of course to live there until the nuts all had been gathered (sometimes two or three months) before returning home is recognized. Peshlakai was born on the west side of Coconino Point, not far from Grand Canyon about 1860, or slightly before.

462 One of the first things he remembers is a Fire Dance held at the Grand Canyon for a woman who had been captured from her family's camp on Black Mesa by Utes during the previous winter. The woman had been returned to her people the following summer (1863) by a kind Ute who brought her at night and left her near a Navaho camp on the Little Colorado River. Whether this camp on the Little Colorado (precise location not indicated) was a locality which would have been occupied by the Navaho under normal conditions is impossible to say; this was the period of fear and flight. Moreover, it also was one of great hunger, for 1863 was a drought year, conditions being exceedingly bad in certain districts. The Navaho at the Fire Dance "had come from all over the country around to gather pinyons that fall, and

they stayed most of the winter." (Op. cit., p. 56.) While at the dance people heard that soldiers were taking the Navaho to Ft. Sumner. On the last morning of the Fire Dance, a small party of Hopi came into the area to hunt. According to Peshlakai, the Navahos took out their bows and arrows and the Hopi hurried back to their towns. "I think they had just come to hunt and didn't know they would see so many Navajos." (Op. cit., p. 57.) One would infer from this statement that the Hopi used this area and did not know these Navaho or expect to find them here. The fact that the Navaho did not live here but had come for the pinyons - and to hide - explains this situation.

The Navaho in this area had more than the Hopi hunters and the American soldiers to fear. Peshlakai explains "We were afraid of the Notah (Utes or Paiutes, the latter early known as Notah). They often came on horses to the red rock country near the Little Colorado 463 and killed the people at a camp and took their sheep and horses, and sometimes their children. Sometimes the Zilth Gahn (White Mountain Apache) came, too, from the south; at this time we were already hunting holes, like the rabbit does, to get away from our enemies. So the summer after the Fire Dance my family and several others were in the Grand Canyon. We went down the trail that begins east of Kin Nez (Hopi Tower at Grand Canyon) and followed it down the river. That trail (Tanner Trail) is still there; it goes up a canyon on the other side of the river into the Ute country. We did not cross the river... we stayed on level places above it where there was lots of grass. In

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the fall we came out of the canyon about where the town of Grand Canyon is now, I think..."

One gathers from the remarks which follow that this sojourn in the Grand Canyon during the summer of 1864 represents a period of hiding. Otherwise the family probably would have returned to their usual summer location on Black Mesa (Black Mountain). There is little question but that it was a summer of hunger as well as of fear, for 1864 was even dryer than 1863. In the fall, evidently concluding that the battle against starvation and fear of capture was even worse than the fact of incarceration, the group started toward Ft. Defiance to give themselves up, but at the last minute a few decided to try hiding in another area, the pine country just to the west of the northern slopes of the White Mountains.

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"Then we moved (from the Grand Canyon) toward where Moenkopi is (near Tuba City); we thought we were going to Huelte (Ft. Summer). There the people separated; some of them went on to Huelte. One of my clan, a Nakai Dineh woman called Bay Nah Ahkai went to Huelte then, but my family and some others turned south and kept on until we were near mountains with snow on them; we were west of where the Little Colorado River begins." (Interpreter placed this as near Showlow.)

"We spent the winter (1864-65) there; the hunting was good and we gathered nuts and berries. When it was nearly spring the men left on a hunting trip and were gone eight days. When they came back,

my father was not with them; he had been killed by Mexicans. They had come on horses, killed my father and run away; our men were on foot and could not catch them.

"...Now (summer 1865) we moved north across the Little Colorado River. One night we camped near Dibehn Jikahn (the Hopi Buttes). In the night the Apaches came and drove off the horses; three of our men trailed them but the Apaches got to their own country first. So we put the saddles on the big goats we had then and we moved that way. After a few days we came to a camp where friends of ours lived, and they loaned my family two horses, so we could pack our goods to Black Mesa. (By 1865 the military was not pursuing hideout bands as earlier, though any Navaho which permitted themselves to be visible to troops would have been taken.)

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"When we got there some people gave us one roan horse, and we moved near Zilth Entsa (translator places this 'Big Mountain' as sixteen miles northwest of Pinyon Trading Post on Black Mesa, northeast of the old Blue Canyon school.); we decided to stay there all summer, and plant. (Apparently they had not planted at all in 1864, while hiding in the Grant Canyon).

"Some of my family packed mutton on the roan horse and took it to Walpi to trade for corn; they got red, blue, yellow, and white corn. (In spite of drought, the Hopi had harvested enough to permit trade.) But on the way home they saw some bad Navajos coming toward them and were afraid and hid in the rocks. The bad Navajos took the

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roan horse and threw the corn all over the ground. When they had gone, my family picked up the corn and walked back to the Big Mountain.

"We planted the corn and had a good crop. We had no hoes, so we burned the bushes off the ground. At that time there was lots of snow every winter and almost every place was wet enough to plant in.... (Dendrochronology indicates precipitation had returned to normalcy.)

"After the sing (held for Peshlakai's two sisters) was over, we were going to move, so we dug a big hole and put the corn in it; then we covered the hole and hid the place so no one else would get the corn. That was the way we stored the corn then. We moved without horses to the west side of Nah Ah Tsees Ahn (Navaho Mountain); we
466 spent the winter (1865-6) there. When we used all the corn we had bought, one of the family borrowed a horse and went back to our hiding place for more. In the spring we moved into a canyon not very far away; the canyon was called Tchah Yah, because of a Paiute who had a sore under his arm and lived there. We stayed in this place all summer. (Op. cit., p. 58.)

"In the early fall we started toward where Moenkopi is now; there were no Hopis there then. A Navajo called Be Thleen Dal Cheenee was living there; his family gave us some corn; they said there were lots of pinyons on Coconino Point so we went near to the place the Fire Dance had been and gathered pinyons. While we were there we used

the last of our sheep and goats for food; we had no flock now. When we had gotten most of the pinyons at that place we moved to where the town of Grand Canyon is now; there were lots of families camped there."

At this time a man came from Cow Springs to talk to their headmen, saying that the soldier leader at Huelte had sent word that many of the eastern Navaho had gone to Huelte (Ft. Sumner) and were well cared for there. Only a few Navahos were left in the west and the soldiers could not protect them from enemies unless all went to Ft. Sumner. He explained that the leader of the group at this camp, a medicine man, must gather the people all together and start eastward. This leader, impressed with this argument or with the fact that food was so scanty, sent men to all the family camps to call the people together for a final sing before they left for Huelte. On the first 467
night they came to a place northeast of the San Francisco Peaks. Those who still had sheep took them to water at a spring on what is now the Fern Mountain Ranch near the peaks. Those without sheep went by Sunset Crater and up the Little Colorado. Persons who had horses rode ahead, but Peshlakai's family, now quite without horses and sheep, walked, carrying their few pottery cooking vessels and a little food. Near where Holbrook now stands, they met another party of Navahos, also moving toward Ft. Sumner. These are said to have come from between Navaho Mountain and Moenkopi.

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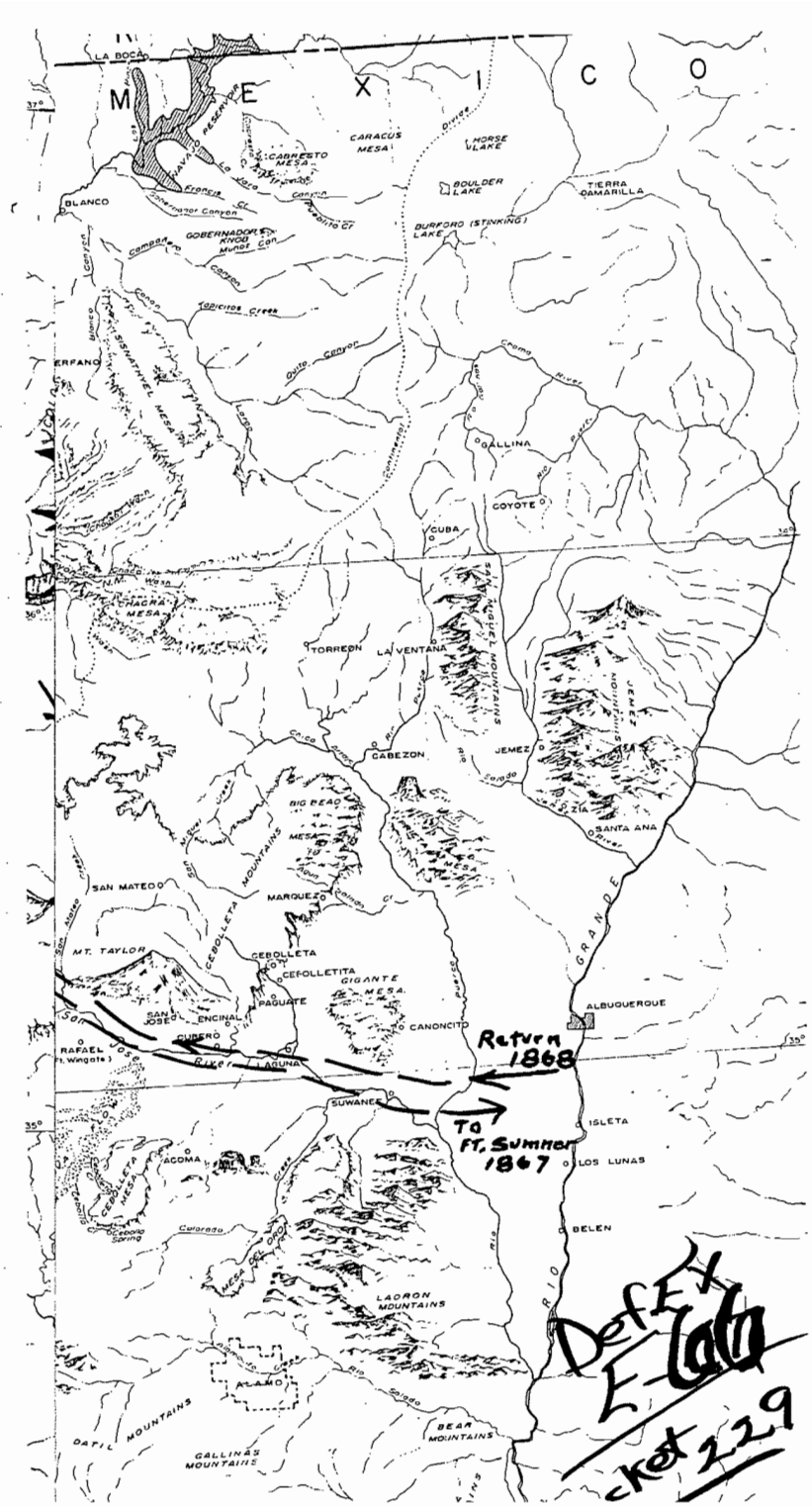
When they reached the Zuni area, the Zunis invited them in to get some corn. But a white man there advised them to leave quickly because the Zuni were planning to kill them. The Navahos departed so hurriedly that they left four girls behind. The Zunis followed the Navahos at some distance but soldiers coming from the east met the Navahos and the Zunis were sent homeward. When the party reached Toseto, old Fort Wingate near Grants, the hungry Navahos were given flour but, Peshlakai remembers, could not use it because it was entirely new to them; they had no idea of how to cook it.

The movements of Peshlakai Etsidi's family in flight as they tried to hide out from the U. S. troops which they feared might discover them and at the same time be able to find enough food to keep them alive, covered a tremendous territory (see map for trail), far more than ordinarily covered by a family in their herding-farming-gathering activities. It does illustrate the basis for Navaho hogan sites and reports of Navaho camps in such peripheral areas.

The problem of the date of Navaho westward movement commonly is answered by quoting from Spier's account of the first appearance of the Navaho in Havasupai country, as told by a Havasupai (Spier, Leslie, Havasupai Ethnography, Anthropological Papers, AMNH, Vol. XXIX, 1928). Before the informant began this description, he spoke of a raid made upon his people by the Yavapai about 1855 (op. cit., p. 358). The head chief of his group was Captain Navajo, a name which reminds us that the Havasupai, like others of the Yuman tribes, were



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VIII

Summary and Conclusions

A synthesis of a recently published and exceedingly brief statement of Navaho history up to 1800 sets the most pertinent facts into relief:

> Analysis of Navajo remains in the Navajo Reservoir suggests that the period of occupation in this District antedates the Navajo occupation of other areas in the Southwest. Also, it is likely that occupation of the Upper San Juan about A. D. 1550 to 1600 represents a period of Navajo prehistory immediately after entry of the group into the Southwest. It is hypothesized here that the Navajo are recent immigrants to the Southwest who entered the San Juan Basin from a northeasterly source, and upon their entry into this district, had been separated only a short time from the Apache. Before this split from the Apache, the group had occupied an area on the high Plains of eastern Colorado. While in the high Plains, the Athapascans may have practiced a migratory hunting economy similar to that of the prehistoric Jicarilla (Wedel 1959: 324-326). As a result of contact with Plains sedentary groups, pottery and possibly agriculture may have been adopted. This hypothesis is in contrast to other proposals which suggest a Largo-Gallina origin of the Navajo (Hall 1944b; Underhill 1953: 38-39) or an intermontane migration along the west slope of the Rockies to the Southwest (Huscher and Huscher 1942). (Dittert, Hester, Eddy, 1961, 1961, pp. 247-248.)

> The early occupation of the Navajo Reservoir District may represent a time period from approximately A. D. 1550 to 1775. The early portion of this time range is highly tentative. Dates on the Navajo prior to A. D. 1622 [Benavides: the earliest historic date re. the Navaho] are derived from three wood specimens dating from A. D. 1491 to 1541. All of these specimens are missing an unknown number of outer rings (Hall 1944a: 100). Within the time period A. D. 1550 to 1775, two phases are distinguished for the Navajo Reservoir District: Dinetah Phase, (?) 1550 to 1698, and Gobernador Phase, 1698 to 1775. (Op. cit., p. 245.)

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The total geographic distribution of the Navajo during the Dinetah Phase is not known at present. What information is available suggests that the Navajo lived in the Navajo Reservoir District, Gobernador and Largo Canyons, and probably occupied the district immediately to the northeast. Perhaps, much of the San Luis Valley and the drainage of the Navajo River can be included. The center of this occupation probably has been in Colorado northeast of the Navajo Reservoir District. (Op. cit., p. 249.) ... the most frequent occurrence of Gobernador Phase sites is in the Navajo Reservoir District, Gobernador, Largo, and tributary canyons. This seems to be a geographic center for the Gobernador Phase development. Some cultural differences are apparent within the central area, the principal ones being few Pueblitos, no sweat lodges, and no metal known from the sites in the Navajo Reservoir District. Absence of the above traits suggests that the latter area is on the fringe of the contact zone between the Navajo and Pueblo peoples; the major acculturation took place in the region immediately to the south and east of the Reservoir. The Navajo, during the Gobernador Phase, expanded their area of occupation to the south and west of the Reservoir. This has been mapped by Harrington (1940: Fig. 32). (Op. cit., p. 249.)

At Big Bead Mesa, later Navajo remains of the Cabezon Phase have been dated from A. D. 1745 to 1812. The age range is based on dendro-specimens wherein an estimated twenty exterior rings are missing. (Hall 1944b:4.) As remains of the period are not common in the Navajo Reservoir, a Cabezon Phase is not recognized there. (Op. cit., p. 245.)

During the period designated as the Cabezon Phase, the Navajo moved still farther to the south and west, vacating the Navajo Reservoir District and occupying essentially all of the area populated by Navajo today. (Op. cit., p. 249.)

Our own summary puts a little more meat on the bones of the above account and carries it further in time:

16th Century:

Between 1582, when Espejo reported some "Querechos" in the neighborhood of Acoma and at Hopi (Luxan, 1929, 86 and 97) and 1609, the Spaniards mention brief encounters with nomadic tribes, and it is possible that some of these were Navaho. But there is no archaeological or ethnological evidence that the Querechos at either Hopi or Acoma were Navaho. The Acoma permitted various tribes to "borrow" part of their lands temporarily in time of drought, as did other Pueblos and the Navaho, and the drought of 1573 to 1593, with a particularly bad period between 1579 and 1585 has been pointed out by Schulman as one of the two worst known for the Southwest (the other being that of 1276 to 1299). It is probable that more than one guest-group of non-Acomas farmed Acoma land for a while during this period. However, we do not know that the people whose huts were burned by the Spaniards actually were those who were cultivating the fields destroyed by the Spaniards; the routed group may have been visitors bent on trade with the Acomas and camped near Acoma fields. The "Querechos" or "Chichimecas" mentioned in the Hopi country probably were quite another tribe, for the Spanish use of the term covered various non-Christian, non-sedentary peoples. How close these "Querechos," whoever they were, lived to the Hopi is anyone's guess, for the early Spaniards, with little knowledge of areas they were

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glimpsing and few named and known points in relation to which they could place peoples in their thinking and commentaries, sometimes spoke in large terms. The Navaho appear to have moved into the upper San Juan before 1550 A. D., though probably not many years previous. Dendro-dates for the period are few. There is no evidence that the Navaho lived in the Chama area or along the northern periphery studied by the Huschers. The few 14th to 16th century dates (not cutting dates) on Chacra Mesa sites apparently represent one Navaho hogan occupied in the early years of the 1600's.

17th Century:

The Navaho Apache frequently mentioned in documents of the 17th century, before the Pueblo revolt of 1680, and records of military expeditions against them most often refer to the tribe as in the mountains of Rio Grande, Navaho, and Casafuerte. Reeve identifies the "Rio Grande" as the San Juan River, "Navajo" as the Province of Navaho - the drainage area of the San Juan river - and the Casafuerte as possibly the Cebolleta mountain stronghold (Reeve, 1956: 308). Historic sources speak of the people of the Province of Navaho as living in underground house structures (probably forked stick hogans built over a pit base), grouped into "rancherias," which we may interpret as semi-permanent camps used by the people as centers from which to pursue farming, their main economic basis, as well as hunting and raiding. Not a great deal of archaeological material representing this period has been found, but that known roughly checks

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the historical description. In recent work, six sites of Dinetah phase (1500? - 1700) were found in the Navaho Reservoir district east of Blanco on the San Juan. Two sites have been dated and others reported for the Gobernador. No structures of the Chacra Mesa definitely are known to date this early, though one, CM 35, probably represents this period. The date of 1673 plus x from a masonry hogan at Big Bead Mesa may represent the closing years of this phase, but probably falls into the next century; the amount of weathering of the exterior cannot be estimated.

The shallow deposits of household refuse indicate that none of the sites were occupied over long periods of time, but as farmers the people were semi-permanent in comparison to the "semi-nomadic" hunting and gathering groups. Dittert characterizes early Navaho as never being really permanent residents but "dribbling" through the Navaho Reservoir District and onward to the south and west during the entire period of their occupation of the Reservoir; the first to arrive had passed beyond its bounds by the time the last arrived and the entrance-way been closed (possibly) by a spearhead of Utes working southwestward, leaving later Athapascan arrivals to become Jicarilla Apaches. The Dinetah sites of the Reservoir were not village groups (three or more clustered hogans); two were single unit sites, one was of "multiple unit" type (two to three hogan and ramada combinations), one was a campsite, and one a rockshelter. The Gobernador sites are

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similar. Known Largo sites are post-1700, though Farmer believed earlier occupation to have existed there.

In 1609 some Apaches, who in one account are referred to as Navaho Apache, are described as harassing the capital of New Mexico, the little settlement of San Gabriel del Yunque just across the Rio Grande from San Juan pueblo. (Hammond and Rey, 1953: 1059; Worcester, 1951: 104.) The Spanish account was written half a century after the event and may or may not have been accurate in identifying the raiders as Navaho-Apache rather than simply as Apache, but Navahos are known to have been living in the Gobernador and adjoining canyons of the San Juan just to the west of Tewa Indian territory at that time, and the Chama Valley, which led from the edge of Navaho country directly to San Gabriel, provided a perfect pathway for raiding parties. The fact
518 that Spanish and Tewa trade items in material culture were rare in the Gobernador (and absent in the Navaho Reservoir where sheep and horse bones and Jemez Black on White sherds are the only evidence of trade relations) indicates that such traffic - and trading - could not have been heavy. A few parallels between Navaho and Tewa non-material traits (religion, sacred mountains, fear of the dead, etc.) may have resulted from such occasional contact or may have come in later. The Tewa of today do not recall tales of pleasant association with the Navaho, a suggestion that if such existed it may have been quite early although they have plentiful memories of enjoyable trade with the Ute and Jicarilla. Among the Tewa, the Navaho are spoken of with much

distaste, and few are seen in those pueblos, in contrast to the numerous Navaho visitors who appear at all the Keresan pueblos, and at Jemez to trade and visit, especially during fiesta occasions.

If the Chama, indicated by Opler to have been a part of the Southern Ute winter range, was used by the Ute during this century, the number present could not have been large because groups of that period moved as small units to allow for the wide range required by a people totally dependent upon hunting and gathering. In summer, the area presumably would have been vacant and open to use as a direct route between the San Juan and the Rio Grande.

In the late 1620's a small effort was made to missionize them, but with friars few and the hostility of the Navahos toward Spaniards growing, this soon was dropped. In the 1630's, raids to ob-
519 tain Spanish and Pueblo livestock became frequent and by the 1660's and 70's the situation was difficult. There are records of some Pueblo-Navaho alliances in the latter part of this century, especially that between the Jemez and the Navaho, and it was reported that on occasion hired Pueblo herders turned their Spanish-owned herds over to Navaho allies, friends, or traders.

Making common cause against the whites, many Pueblos fled to the Navaho area, Gobernador, and neighboring areas after the revolt of 1680 and the lesser revolts of 1694 and 1696, when the Jemez, especially, almost entirely deserted their home area in favor of living away from Spanish surveillance.

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18th Century:

The early 18th century saw a continuance of the picture of the last years of the 17th. Many of the Gobernador and Largo area archaeological sites representing this period are composed of hogans and pueblitos together, and towers were erected on vantage points from which invaders could be spotted. The more hidden hogans have been found to be located so that one or more of the string of towers was in view. Mesas were fortified with walls. It is obvious that the people were fearful, their fear no doubt concentrating on the Ute and Comanche whom the Spaniards had obtained as allies. The Kapota Ute were using the Chama Valley, their old southern range, and thus forming a barrier between the Rio Grande and the Gobernador. They were making raids on the Navaho to obtain horses and may have been endeavoring to push the Navaho westward because their own area in the Chama was being invaded by Spanish settlers. They still lived by hunting and gathering and encroachment on their eastern peripheries - and up the valley - would have meant that they had to be able to hunt and gather farther afield or go hungry.

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Sherds from hogans and from masonry sites of puebloid nature are alike; they represent the Gobernador complex; the people of Pueblo and Navaho backgrounds were amalgamating in culture and no doubt in blood. Only a relatively small proportion of the Pueblo people ever returned to their homes. It is at this time that the Navaho are

thought to have learned the making of painted pottery (Gobernador-Navaho Polychrome) from their Pueblo associates, and to have acquired a large increment of Pueblo legend and associated religious practices (to which more was added by later Pueblo contacts), as well as picking up the idea of masonry walls for their hogans. The hogans of the San Juan Reservoir area, where there are but few pueblitos, towers, or other evidence of Pueblo contact except in traded pottery, all are of forked stick type in the Dinetah and also in the Gobernador Phase. The Gobernador Phase in the Reservoir may be a little earlier than the comparable phase in the Gobernador-Largo area, where there is plentiful evidence of pueblos, pueblitos, and towers of Refugee Pueblo-Navaho origin, as well as forked stick hogans and hogans with masonry walls. As only forked stick hogans have been found in the Dinetah phase in Reservoir and Gobernador areas, the presence of the masonry walled hogan, associated with the masonry structures of the period of Pueblo-Navaho association and amalgamation, the Gobernador phase, appears to prove that masonry-walled hogans developed as the result of such Pueblo contact and hence must date post-1700 A. D.

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Trade wares in the Gobernador, about one hundred miles from the Rio Grande Pueblo and Spanish settlements, include a little Spanish metal ware and a small proportion of sherds from Rio Grande pueblos but more from the western pueblos. The Ute blockade in the Chama was largely cutting off eastern contacts. The Navaho Reservoir sites likewise had more trade ware from the western than from the

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eastern pueblos, and no items of Spanish manufacture. After the mid-century, with amalgamation of Navahos and Pueblo refugees semi-completed, much of the old northern Navaho Province was abandoned in favor of areas to the south and west, especially Chacra Mesa, Big Bead Mesa, and Canyon de Chelly. The Jicarilla, Ute, and Spanish all were moving westward.

The movement of Navaho from the Province of Navaho, the Upper San Juan and tributaries, was largely accomplished by 1750, as the result of Ute and Comanche raids, according to Gov. Gachupin's report. He speaks of the people taking refuge near the Cebolleta Mission, in the San Mateo area, and at Ojo del Oso, toward Zuni. This checks anthropological data, although the anthropologists would word it somewhat differently: the Navaho moved from the San Juan into the
522 Sisnathyel and Chacra areas from which some went on (though some also went directly) to the Cebolleta Mountain area southeast of the Chacra and some to the San Mateo and Ojo del Oso areas southwest of the Chacra, as indicated by archaeology and by Pueblo reports of raids on Laguna and Acoma. A few moved to Canyon de Chelly and from there into the so-called Hopi-Navaho Contact area.

Navaho raids upon the Spanish had almost entirely ceased by 1717 because of increase in Comanche and Ute raids upon the Navaho, encouraged by Spaniards and by desire for Navaho-owned horses and sheep, as well as the hope of turning the Navaho toward new areas of occupation. The Navaho-Pueblo Gobernador people took the hint, if one

may speak of their dangers so lightly, and moved to Chacra Mesa, which became a center from which small groups spread even farther south (Big Bead area in the Cebolleta Mountains), southeast (Cabezon area), and southwest (San Mateo area and Canyon de Chelly). The "Refugee architecture" of the Gobernador (including masonry, flat roofs, windows, white washed walls, and occasionally a corner fireplace) was replaced on the Chaco with related small multi-room structures and double oval units. There were no towers, but security was considered in use of defensive locations (such as the fortified re-occupied Mesa Verde type ruins on buttes), the building of some walls at mesa edges, use of parapets and loopholes. Occupation of the Chacra is indicated by dendro-dates and sherd types to have existed by the 1730's and '40's; the single hogan which apparently dates in the early 1600's had no identifiable associates and may represent a family on the move, hunting, picking pinyons, etc. 523

From the Chacra some of the families drifted south to Big Bead Mesa and other scattered locations on the northeastern slopes of the Cebolleta mountains during the first half of the 18th century. The earlier people (1730) at or near Cebolleta were not spoken of by the Spaniards as Navahos but "pagans called Cebolletas" and at the same time the Navahos were said to be farther north (Adams, 1950). These "pagans" may actually have been Apaches or the Spaniards may merely have differentiated between the Athapascans of the San Juan and those of the more southern district by speaking of the one as Navahos

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and the others as Apaches (see Reeve, 1959, for discussion). One group of the San Juan Navaho left the San Juan for the Cebolleta Mountains when Spanish missionaries (planning to establish a mission at Cebolleta and eager for parishioners) suggested such a move during a drought year which was plaguing them with food problems. The padres reinforced their suggestion by holding out hope of gifts for those who would permit baptism of their children. No other evidence of moves as direct result of dry periods appears; the century was not difficult for farmers or herdsmen, and reports on the Navaho indicate their relative economic security.

The Cebolleta mission was opened in 1748, but where it was located is unknown. The construction presumably was jacal. (The picture purporting to be of the "Navaho Mission" at Cebolleta in Underhill's Here Come the Navajo is incorrectly identified; that photograph actually shows T. H. Garcia standing in front of L. P. 4:8-A, an Acoma ruin of the period between 1200 and 1300 A. D. at the head of Cebollita Canyon, which - despite similarity though not identity of name - is located near the Bibo Ranch a few miles southeast of Acoma.) During the following year a mission was established near Encinal for what appears to have been another migrant group who complained about shortage of water and of gifts from the padres. Five months later, the missionaries were driven out and both groups of Navahos fled with the statement that they wanted neither Christianity nor permanent abodes, and making it clear that they had settled at

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this spot to receive the gifts presumably forthcoming from priests and Spanish godfathers if the Navahos would bring their children for baptism. (It is interesting to note that even today the Navahos settle around missions and attend services if those missions will provide Kool-Ade, food, singing, and ball-games, but the number of Navahos seriously interested in Christianity remains small, as Reichard has pointed out in various of her writings.)

Navahos continued to live at Big Bead and as far south as the Agua Salado (Salado Creek), on the edge of Laguna territory, and the fact that Ashiwi polychrome was the most common trade ware in Navaho Chaco sites and also was found in Big Bead Mesa sites indicates considerable trade with the pueblos of Acoma, Laguna, and Zuni, where it was made. A small amount of Puname Polychrome, made at Ancestral Zia and Santa Ana pueblos, is found in some of the later Chaco hogans and in masonry hogans of Big Bead Mesa, its date indicating a somewhat later period than that of those Big Bead forked stick hogans from which this type was not reported.

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Peace continued for about twenty years after the Navaho abandoned the missions at Encinal and Cebolleta and returned to the mountains, and during this period many grants of land on the edges of the Cebolleta Mountains were made by the government to Spaniards. The encroachment was gradual but the Navahos finally felt the pressure enough to rise against the settlers and drive them from the Puerco Valley (land also previously used and claimed by Laguna) and

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surrounding areas. After this, raiding of Pueblos and Spanish ranchitos continued, periodically into the 1800's.

Many Navaho had moved to the south and west before the Largo, Gobernador, and Navaho Reservoir areas finally were abandoned about 1775. Half of the Chacra Mesa sites are believed to have been occupied in the latter part of the 1700's, and the great majority of sites on Big Bead Mesa area date between 1750 and 1800. Sisnathyel Mesa, north of Chacra and south of Largo, was occupied. The first permanently occupied sites of the South San Juan were those along the river dating about 1775; the remainder of the area was unoccupied. The forked stick hogans in Canyon de Chelly, dating shortly after 1750, probably were built by migrants from the San Juan, Chacra, or Cebolleta area (Big Bead abandoned about 1812), who sought security
526 and space. Defensive structures are lacking in de Chelly, although the canyon itself is easily defensible. A few Navaho had reached the "Navaho-Hopi Contact Area" east of First Mesa by 1725, according to dendro-dates, but the repeated request of the Hopi to the Tanoan Rio Grande group (who later settled in Hano on First Mesa in 1700) was to come and stave off Ute (not Navaho) raids (Forde, 1931, p. 366), for which service they would be given land, etc. Quelling the Ute, reported by Escalante as north of the Hopi in the San Juan country (Thomas, 1932, p. 22) may have provided safety for Navaho settlers to drift into the Hopi area, but whether the three actually dated Hopi area hogans of this century indicate visitors, pinyon pickers, or

permanent residents is a question. In 1777 and '78 the Hopi suffered a drastic drought, apparently worse than that in surrounding districts (ibid., pp. 222-224), and with their numbers cut by starvation and smallpox and only a small number of livestock left, some are said to have joined the Navaho and many others to have settled among the Cosninas (Coconinos) as their guests in one of the branches of the Grand Canyon. (Ibid., p. 224.) When Anza visited the Hopi in 1780 to try to persuade them to move to the Rio Grande, crops were good again but the Hopi complained of the Utes and Navahos making constant war upon them (ibid., pp. 234, 237). Anza mentioned finding "the Navajo nation established on the road half way between here (Santa Fe) and Moqui" (ibid., p. 223), probably in the Chuska Mountain area.

The Navaho culture which had appeared as an entity in the earliest San Juan sites, as a recognizable mixture of Pueblo and Navaho in the Gobernador about 1700, as a fairly amalgamated combination on the Chacra and in a form somewhat more reminiscent of modern Navaho at Big Bead, was thoroughly integrated by the time it reached the de Chelly area, and items picked up from Hopi contact, Hopi visitors, and Hopi drought refugees were added. The old village pattern of Navaho settlement, seen in the Navaho Reservoir, the Gobernador, Chacra, and at Big Bead Mesa in the 1700's disappeared with the increase in size of flocks and consequent need of large areas of land per family unit for their grazing.
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1800-1860 Phase:

This phase shows a complete amalgamation of Navaho and the culture of the adopted Pueblo increment, a melange much like that of the Navahos as we know them today. The old thin-walled Dinetah Utility culinary ware became heavier, coarser, and sometimes tempered with potsherds (a trait probably picked up from the Acoma-Laguna-Zuni contacts shown by trade wares). The necks of vessels frequently received decoration of punctate or incised simple designs or fillets. Similarly, Gobernador Polychrome ware, which is very reminiscent of Pueblo pottery and was developed under influence of the Pueblo refugees became heavier and coarser and we know it as Navaho Decorated. Structures consisted of forked stick hogans, hogans with masonry walls and roof of beams, usually cribbed, and hogans of logs laid up in
528 cribbed style from the base, probably a western development. Some sub-types within these hogans are distinguishable.

The Navaho Reservoir and the Gobernador areas had been deserted as the result of pressure from the east: Spanish, Ute, and Jicarilla, and Comanche raids. The South San Juan was too dry for occupation except near the river, and the Shiprock Division does not appear to have been occupied. Sisnathyel Mesa was popular. The Chacra continued to be occupied as a center, and from this center spread the related groups at Bear Springs, San Mateo, and Cabezon, all existent since the latter part of the 1700's. Canyon de Chelly and the Chuska area was occupied, probably largely from Big Bead Mesa

(deserted about 1812) and the Chacra at first, later joined by the San Juan Reservoir people. From the Chuska area, if not more directly from the Navaho Reservoir, Navahos moved to the Hopi-Navaho Contact area, east of First Mesa, the line of occupation extending almost directly north and south until 1850, when it began to curve around to the north on the Black Mesa area, toward the Segi-Kayenta-Marsh Pass district where Navaho were living and herding when the Wetherills established a ranch there in 1880. They also found Utes in the area and memory of hostilities between the two peoples were not old.

Mixed Navaho-Pueblo groups lived at Torreon and Mare Springs (near the mouth of the Agua Salado). Sandoval's band, at odds with the other Navaho because of their having given aid to the whites (as well as occasionally raiding them and the Pueblos), and having
529 earlier raided other Navaho groups for slaves to sell to the Mexicans, was moved onto land in the Cebolleta area by the United States government for protection of that band. (See data in Laguna Land Claim paper by Myra Jenkins.)

The Acomas and Lagunas were being raided from Chuskaiya (Chuska area), and from Tseksiya, a district to the northwest of Laguna, apparently the Big Bead-Casa Salazar area, the raids becoming ever worse as the years passed. Hopi also was being raided by Navahos, and these Western Pueblo people were making official complaint also of Navaho encroachment on their territory.

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1860-1868:

The period of 1860 to 1868 was one of stress for the Navaho. When the United States took over New Mexico, the Spanish-speaking inhabitants were promised that their difficulties with the Navaho would be speedily ended, but the American military and political leaders found this far easier to promise than to carry out. As time passed and matters did not improve in spite of the threats, arguments and expeditions of the troops against the Navaho, a series of operations dignified by the designation of "war with the Navaho" were carried out by volunteer citizenry, and by Pueblo Indians, especially Zuni. The Santa Fe Gazette of Nov. 10, 1860, carried a story of the unauthorized invasion of Navaho country by a volunteer force who had

530 "penetrated, with some difficulty, into the heart of the Navajo country, taken possession of their corn fields, captured a large amount of stock belonging to the Indians, with some hundred captives, chiefly women and children ... and are waiting a favorable opportunity to return. This information was brought back by some Pueblo Indians, who were a part of the expedition, and who brought back some five thousand sheep and horses as their portion of the spoils. It is known that Mr. Phifer, a sub-agent for the Utah Indians, made an expedition into the Navajo country, with a force consisting of Mexicans and Utah Indians, and captured and brought away a large amount of stock, and some Indian captives." (Keleher, W. A., Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-1868, p. 107.) Major Canby then spent several months in

the field, trailing the Navaho and negotiating with their chiefs. Still the situation did not improve, and with the opening of the Civil War, the military was so involved with other matters that any solution of the problem had to be postponed. It is a little difficult to say when the "Navaho war" began, because the United States had fallen heir to a situation existent before its own period of control. But by 1858-'59 the Navaho war certainly was well under way.

The Navaho met the situation exactly as in mid-1700's when Spaniards and Utes made their strength felt against the Navaho in the Gobernador-Largo-Navaho Reservoir area. Some of the Navaho, in both instances, continued to raid, and with increasing bravado. The drought year of 1861 was an added incentive to such activities. At the same time many were withdrawing to areas not previously occupied

531 by Navaho, where they hoped they might avoid the troops and the volunteers and the Pueblos or be overlooked by hiding in the territory of other tribes. The movement had begun by 1860 or before, and by 1863 when Kit Carson's forces were sent to round up the entire tribe, hiding became necessary for all Navaho who did not at once decide to give themselves up and go to Ft. Sumner for incarceration. Kit Carson's troops and others who had suffered from the Navaho depredations were so active in destroying fields and peach trees, as well as burning hogans and rounding up stock, that the Navaho who did not give up were in danger of starving, as well as being frightened. In those areas where pinyons were reported to be plentiful, the refugees

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congregated for some of the winter months. Pinyons are picked from October through January in good years. Some moved into Paiute territory around Navaho Mountain and the northern part of Black Mesa, some crossed the San Juan into rough country only a step ahead of the troops, and recrossed to return to the isolated Black Mesa area when the troops had gone. The Havasupai were surprised to discover a big group moving into their own canyon country and the Little Colorado, where some Havasupai previously had encountered an occasional Navaho on an expedition of some sort, but where none had lived. For a season these Navaho refugees, stating that they had fled the American troops who were seeking them farther east, lived largely off the food of the Havasupai, obtained by trade, theft, etc. The Navaho at this stage had little to trade. When they had quite thoroughly
532 worn out their welcome, they moved on to the foot of the San Francisco Peaks, southeast to the edges of the White Mountains, back to the Hopi Buttes, Black Mesa, etc. Others were hiding among the Apache at Escudillo Mountain and farther into Apache territory south of Zuni and Datil. Their trials were appalling; their travels were lengthy and the hogan sites left from their brief stays in one locality and another would have been several times as numerous as those customarily occupied by the group in a similar span of time. There were hideouts south of Acoma, not far east of Alamo, and hideouts north of the Agua Salado in the rough country to which some Navaho had fled in the period of Ute troubles a century earlier. As in that previous

situation, the only direction in which the Navaho did not move was eastward, for there was the site of their enemies.

They were a displaced and miserable people and as time passed, more and more decided that giving up was preferable to the life of hiding and misery. Unfortunately, those who went to Ft. Sumner found conditions there difficult, and many slipped back toward home territory to join the scattered groups in hiding. Pueblo peoples, sympathetic, aided those who passed.

1868-1900:

When the treaty was signed in 1868 and the Navaho were being escorted back to home territory, they were halted at Ft. Wingate, where supplies were to be distributed. But the supplies were insufficient, and as the date of their liberation was too late in the year for crops to be planted, food was very scarce. Consequently, many 533
went to the area close around Paguate, Encinal, and Acomita where they could trade their labor in herding sheep, helping with the harvest, etc., for food. They also traded firewood, wild meat, soapweed root, etc., for corn and bread. When the Navaho were encouraged to move on westward to their new reservation, a few remained in these areas near Acoma and Laguna and their subsidiary villages to work for or trade with these Pueblos and the Spanish Americans of Cubero, San Fidel, etc. Some Navaho families moved to Crown Point, San Mateo, and elsewhere, returning when they thought they might be needed. But in taking on the customary old Spanish role of patron, the Pueblos and

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the Spanish Americans automatically encouraged a few Navaho families to remain in the area even during months when they were not engaged in farm or herding activities, for these employers gave aid to the Navaho families as needed, expecting them to work when the proper time came. This arrangement had held in New Mexico since early Spanish occupation; the laborers lived on the land of their employers for a lifetime or for more than one generation, but that did not constitute basis for claim of ownership of such land.

Some claimed they had always been eastern Navaho and wanted to remain in the east, their group being unpopular with the main group because of past activities of the easterners against those of the west. As they had given aid to Americans during the period of the Navaho war, the Americans tried to make provision for them by
534 arranging some aid and encouragement in filing upon land in the Canoncito area, in spite of use previously and at that time by Laguna sheep owners. Assignments of land here and near Encinal and Acomita eventually were made. Others had squatted on land in the Alamo area, and elsewhere all the way west to Flagstaff. The fact that the old Chacra-San Mateo area was not included in the new reservation left the tribe short on land and many families without actual home territory - and hence seeking new locations for homes, some of these locations doubtless having been observed - or even used - during their pre-Ft. Sumner flight movements. Some Navaho clustered in the Jeddito area when the Keams Canyon trading post opened. Another incentive to

settlement in that area was the fact that the Hopi, especially of First Mesa, hired them as herders, and those Navaho built hogans where the men would be close to their work (as around Encinal), and cornfields were established. That the hogans and cornfields eventually would give the Navaho some claim to that land probably did not occur to either group until later.

When one looks at Navaho history as a whole, it becomes apparent that the movements of the Navaho within the Southwest since 1550 cover but a small chapter of the move which they began in leaving Canada two or three centuries (?) earlier. What or who was responsible for the push which started them into the new areas southward is entirely unknown. But the pattern of continuing movement apparently has been basic to Navaho culture and life throughout the past five or 535
six hundred years. Apachean peoples drifted southward in little groups, picking up culture traits from the peoples they met and mingling with them enough to produce much variation in their own physical type. In Colorado (probably) or possibly slightly farther east, some of those-to-be-Navahos encountered Dismal River ancestral culture carried by Apaches, earlier arrivals from the north. Coming on southward, those-to-be-Navahos drifted through the San Luis valley, into the upper San Juan drainage, met Pueblos, borrowed traits, grew in numbers with amalgamation of the considerable body of Jemez plus some other Pueblos, and continued their southwestward drift. When all

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the pressure of Utes, Comanches, Jicarillas, and Spanish on their eastern flank and the acquisition of sheep in numbers sufficient to require considerable forage gave impetus to their drifting, they left the San Juan drainage for the Cebolleta, San Mateo, and Chuska Mountain areas. But when long continued depredations by the Navaho brought the Americans, Utes, and Pueblos in concerted efforts to remove an enemy whose raids they had not succeeded in quelling, the Navaho fled into hiding before them. Drifting had ceased.

But drifting was fundamentally a Navaho technique of adaptation. In the past, as today, the Navaho seem to have been adept at acculturation, picking up useful traits from the people they encountered, and living by moving ever onward and so dodging the pressures which they - or the happenstances of nature and history -
536 brought upon them. The area covered by their drifting stretched from Canada to the Grand Canyon and might have reached to California or Mexico if the tribe had not been halted by the advent of the white man. But how much land the Navaho should claim to have been their own because they drifted over it since leaving Canada is a moot question.

APPENDIX

Outline Survey of Recorded Navaho Archaeology

(Pottery types mentioned are described in Mera, 1935; Mera, 1939; Kawley, 1936, or Tschopik, 1941.)

San Juan Basin Area: Gobernador, Blanco, Largo Canyons

Sites: A. Two sites in Gobernador and one in Largo visited by Kidder (Kidder, A. F., "Ruins of the Historic Period in the Upper San Juan Valley, New Mexico," American Anthropologist, 22:322-329, 1920).

Hogans: The hogan rings "...all show the same general features, being circular in ground plan, eight to ten feet in diameter, and made of cedar logs set in the ground and meeting at the top, tipi-style. 537
They seem to have been covered with sod or earth, and to have been entered by short, low passageways of stone roofed with split cedar. From the condition of their beams they appear to be contemporaneous with the stone houses." (Ibid., p. 325.)

Small Pueblos: Several groups of typical pueblo rooms, twenty or less on ground floor per unit, poor sandstone masonry. Many walls covered with white plaster, roofs intact, beams cut with metal axes. Doorways rather large. One fireplace with hood (used

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