Navajo and Apache Relationships West of the Rio Grande

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The extent of territory ranged by the Navajo Indians and adjoining tribes during the Spanish and early American periods has been the subject of much confusion in the historical literature of New Mexico. Several factors underlie this confusion. For one thing, Spanish documents contain a profusion of tribal names that are no longer meaningful and that often identify the same tribe. For another, both Spanish and early American observers frequently wrote only of "Indians" without specifying the tribe. And finally, tribal ranges constantly shifted in response to pressures from white colonists and neighboring tribes, with the result that a tribe described in early documents as inhabiting a particular area cannot be automatically identified as the tribe that occupies it today.

Despite these obstacles, however, a comparison of historical documents with anthropological and archaeological evidence may lead to a fairly precise chronicle of shifting ranges and intertribal relationships. This paper attempts to clarify the expansion of the Navajos in early historic times, the nature and period of the first contacts of Navajos and Apaches west of the Rio Grande, and the relationships of the Navajos with Mogollon and Coyotero Apaches throughout Spanish and early American times.

The first use of the name Navajo appears in 1626, when Zárate Salmerón reported that these Indians could be reached by ascending the Chama River, thus locating them in extreme northwestern New Mexico.[1] Although no other name of earlier date has been proposed for the Navajos, documentary evidence strongly suggests that they were known earlier by another name. Of the Franciscan missionaries who accompanied Don Juan de Oñate to New Mexico in 1598, Fray Alonso de Lugo was assigned the province of Jemez as well as the neighboring Apaches and "Cocoyes." These Cocoyes were described by Oñate the following year as a people who farmed and lived in jacales somewhere near the source of the Rio Grande.[2] It is not coincidence, then, that the first report of Navajos in 1626 stated that they were reached by way of the Chama River, a major tributary of the upper Rio Grande. The only non-Pueblo Indians of the

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early 1600's in any drainage near the upper Rio Grande that are known to have been farmers were Navajos. The Cocoyes of 1598-99 were therefore almost certainly at least a part of the group that later became known as Navajos (Fig. 1).

Describing the Indians of New Mexico as of the 1620's, Fray Alonso Benavides labeled as "Apaches de Navajo" a tribe that he met a little more than a day's journey west or northwest of Sánta Clara pueblo.[3] The identity of these people is suggested by a glance at the map. As noted above, Salmerón recorded that the Navajos were reached by way of the Chama, which joins the Rio Grande just east of Santa Clara pueblo, and, as Father Martin de Arvide demonstrated,[4] the Navajo country could also be entered by way of Jemez pueblo. The territory of the Apaches de Navajo corresponds to that of the Navajos as defined by other chroniclers, and the two groups, it is apparent, were in fact one and the same.

Thus Spanish documents of 1598 to 1630 place Cocoyes or Navajos somewhere near the source of the Rio Grande, somewhere west of Taos, somewhere to the northwest by way of the Chama, somewhere west or northwest of Santa Clara, and somewhere beyond Jemez. All these descriptions point to the upper San Juan drainage in the vicinity of Canyon Largo and Gobernador Canyon as the Navajo range of the early historic period. When added to tree-ring evidence that places Navajo structures there at the time, and to Navajo tradition that places their homeland (Dinetah) there in the misty past,[5] it becomes clear that this area was indeed the Navajo homeland when the Spaniards first pushed into New Mexico. And it seems to have remained the Navajo homeland through most of the seventeenth century, for not until 1692 is there documentary evidence locating Navajos any farther to the west.[6]

Apaches, too, lived west of the Rio Grande in the sixteenth century. Although the name Apache does not appear until 1598, students are agreed that the Indians of the Texas and New Mexico plains identified as Querechos and Vaqueros in the chronicles of the Coronado expeditions were Apaches. They were first recorded west of the river in 1583, when Antonio de Espejo noted "Querechos" near Acoma.[7] They still ranged this neighborhood when Oñate established the first permanent Spanish settlement in New Mexico, for in 1599, after quelling the bloody Acoma uprising, he consigned the old people of the pueblo to the care of Querechos living nearby.[8] In this same year, one of Oñate's lieutenants, Vicente de Zaldivar, enroute to Arizona, observed Apaches west of Acoma probably along the trail to Zuni.[9]

As we have already seen, Oñate assigned Father Lugo to Jemez pueblo from where he also was supposed to minister to Apaches and Navajos. Jemez occupied a point midway between the two Athapascan-speaking groups. Thus, in the late 1500's and early 1600's, Apaches (Querechos) and

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Navajos (Cocoyes) both lived west of the Rio Grande but were separated by a considerable territory. The Apaches extended north to the San José River and the Navajos extended south to the Largo Canyon drainage.

That they remained widely separated until near the close of the seventeenth century is evident from Spanish chronicles dealing with the northern part of the raiding range established as Apache in the early years of the century — the San José Valley and the territory around Zuni, Acoma, and Jemez. In 1614 some Apache and Jemez Indians killed a native of Cochiti pueblo.[10] Benavides has Apaches in the 1620's roaming the western bank of the Rio Grande from below Socorro nearly to the Jemez River, thus placing them at least as far north as the San José.[11] In 1639 Apaches killed the missionary at Jemez pueblo.[12] Spanish troops encountered Apaches during the 1640's as far west as Zuni and possibly near the Hopis.[13] In 1647 Jemez Indians and Apaches killed a Spaniard, and between 1649 and 1653 they plotted a joint uprising against the Spanish.[14] In 1658 the Apaches raided Zuni, in the early 1660's the Spanish attacked Apaches visiting Jemez, and in the spring of 1666 the Spanish campaigned against Apaches near Acoma.[15] Six years later the priest at Zuni perished in an Apache attack.[16] These random references establish the pattern. In every instance the documents specify that the Indians were Apaches, or Gila Apaches. At no time during these years were Navajos reported in the Apache country or anywhere in contact with the Apaches. The Navajos remained in their own country around Canyon Largo and Gobernador Canyon to the north, raiding south to Jemez (see note 15, p. 150).

The picture changes after the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680-92. Not only did the Navajos begin to raid southward, but both Navajos and Apaches came into increasing contact, either friendly or hostile, with each other and with the various Pueblo groups along the Rio Grande. In 1693, after the Spanish returned to New Mexico, Jemez Indians were reported to have taken refuge on mesa tops to defend themselves against Navajo raids.[17] In the same year, Governor Don Diego de Vargas discovered a Pueblo conspiracy in which both Navajos and Apaches had joined,[18] but not at the same pueblos. Also in 1693, the people of Cochiti named Apaches around the site of Socorro as their enemy.[19] Allied Jemez and Apaches threatened Cochiti the following year at a time when Cochitis and Navajos united to attack Zia pueblo. San Ildefonso pueblo also perfected an alliance with the Navajos.[20] Apaches and Acomas met in council at Acoma in 1692, an alliance which Vargas was still trying to destroy four years later.[21] "Apaches de Mechon" ("large lock of hair," possibly Navajos) hovered around Zuni and by 1694 were openly at war with the people of Zuni.[22] And during the brief Pueblo uprising of 1696, some of the inhabitants of the Keres pueblos took refuge with "Apaches de la Cebolleta" near Acoma.

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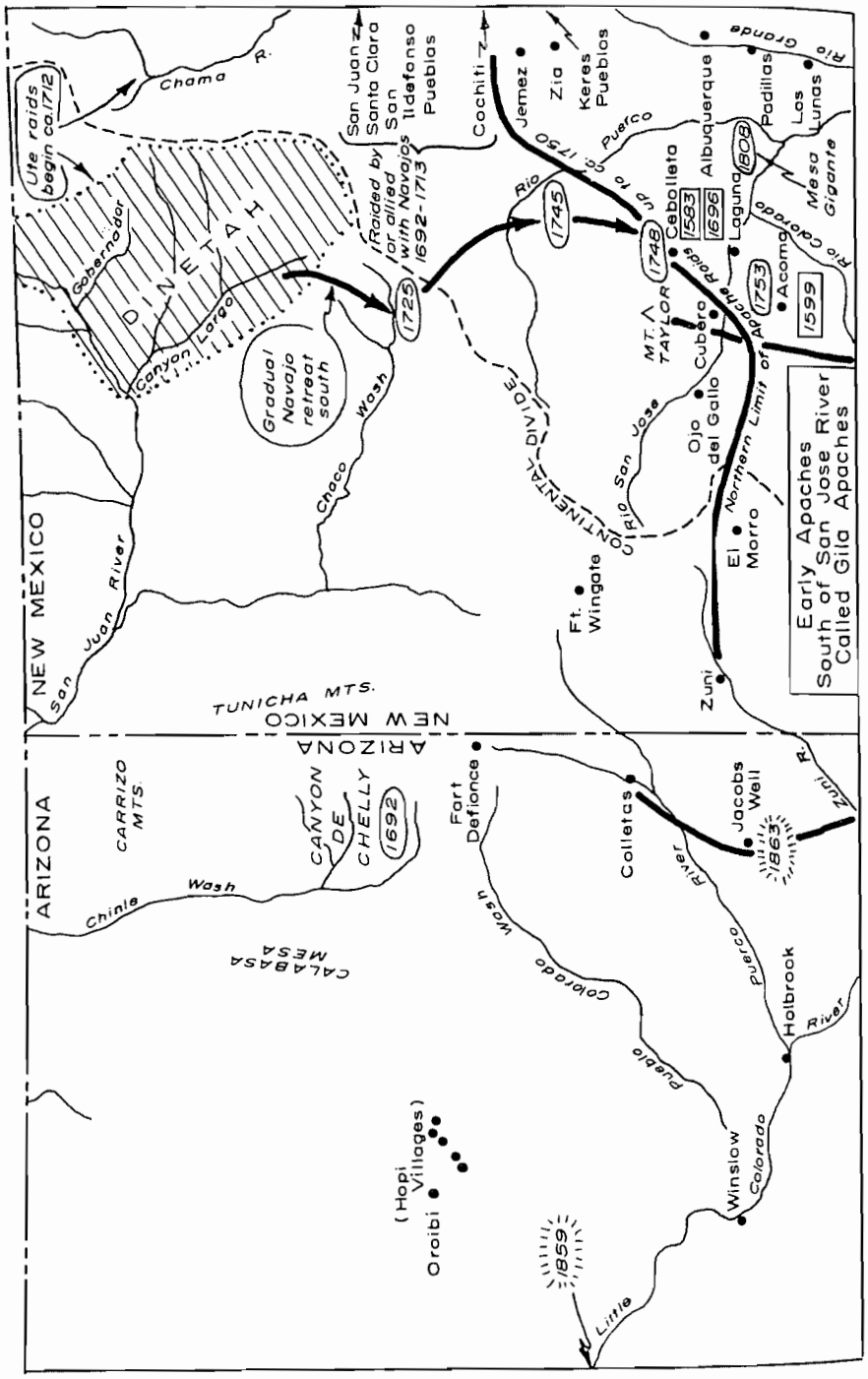

Figure 1. Early Navajo and Apache population shifts west of the Rio Grande, 1700 to 1860's: the Navajo Country.

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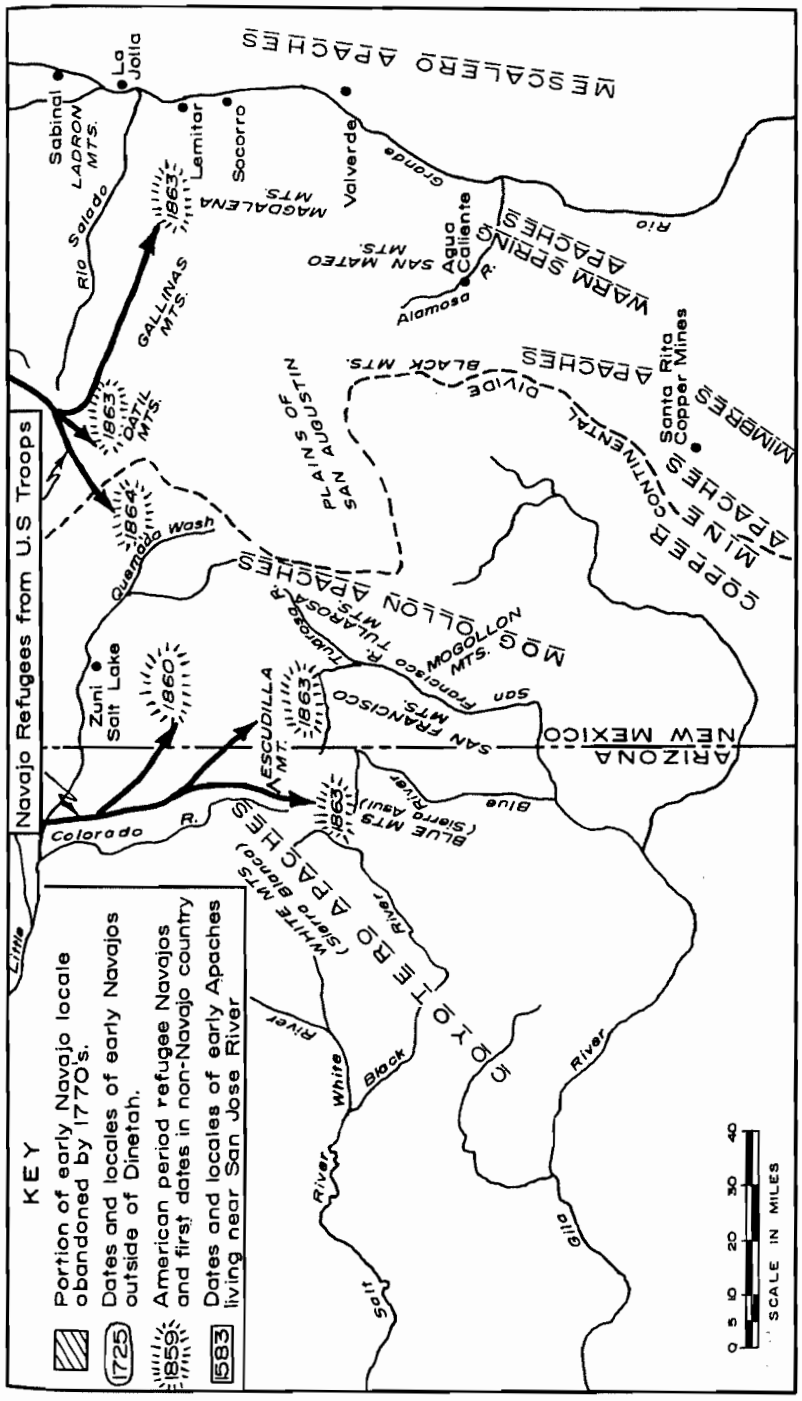

Figure 2. Early Navajo and Apache population shifts west of the Rio Grande, 1700 to 1860's: the Apache Country.

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In short, Navajos were on good terms with San Ildefonso and Cochiti below the Chama-Rio Grande junction but raided southward to Zia and threatened Jemez. Apaches were friendly with Jemez and Acoma and other pueblos but raided Zuni on the west and Cochiti on the northeast. Thus Apache alignments and locales had remained essentially constant throughout the seventeenth century, but the Navajos were beginning to emerge from isolation and establish relations with their neighbors to the south and east.[24]

They continued to emerge during the early years of the eighteenth century. Raids against Spaniard and Pueblo prompted the Spanish to respond with punitive expeditions into the Navajo country, which accordingly takes shape with greater clarity in documents of the period. They reveal the Navajo homeland as bounded roughly by Canyon de Chelly on the west, the New Mexico-Colorado line on the north, the continental divide on the east, and the headwaters of Chaco Canyon on the south. Navajo raids east of the continental divide, especially on Santa Clara, San Juan, Jemez, and their former friends at San Ildefonso, grew more frequent until 1713, when they abruptly ceased. The explanation lay in an alien threat to Dinetah itself (Fig. 2).[25]

The cessation of Navajo raids coincides exactly with the first Spanish reports of Ute and Comanche activity around Abiquiu, the settlement on the Chama River that was one of several gateways to the Navajo country.[26] Not only did the Ute advance on the Navajos halt their raids to the east, but it forced them into a defensive attitude. They sought refuge on mesa tops and among mountain crags fortified with stone walls.[27] In this manner some attempted to stand their ground for many years; others began a gradual southward migration. Between 1707 and 1712 the Navajo province had been located by the Spanish thirty leagues (league = 2.6 miles) from Jemez; by 1716, after only four years of Ute pressure, the Navajo province was stated to be only fifteen leagues from Jemez.[28] In 1730 there were Navajos within five leagues of Jemez.[29]

The Navajos sought Spanish aid against their enemies, but it proved ineffective, although the pressure relaxed somewhat in the 1750's when the Spanish broke the Ute-Comanche alliance. Though the Utes promptly allied themselves with the Jicarilla Apaches, their goal had been attained.[30] In 1754, the governor of New Mexico reported that the Navajos in large part had abandoned their homes and fled south to Cebolleta, near Laguna, and to the vicinity of Zuni.

By the 1770's the Navajo range had undergone significant changes and had finally stabilized itself. Documentary, archaeological, and tree-ring evidence suffice to define clearly what had taken place in the six decades since the Ute threat arose. The Navajo country had shifted southward. A

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large part of the people had retreated from the Utes and settled in the neighborhood of Laguna and Zuni pueblos, which now roughly defined the southern boundary of the new homeland. Canyon Largo, in the heart of the old homeland, was now roughly the northern border and the dividing line between the ranges of the Navajos and the Utes.[31]

The migration of the Navajos brought them for the first time into direct contact with the southern Apaches. The principal point of contact seems to have been Cebolleta, to which Fray Juan Miguel brought a group of Navajos in 1748 from their homes to the north, where they had previously been contacted by missionaries in 1744 and 1745. Their ardor for Christianity diminished, however, as the distance between them and the Ute menace increased. They refused to settle at the mission the fathers built for them and instead developed close ties with the resident Apaches.[32] The two tribes gradually entered into friendly relations all along the line of contact — roughly Laguna-Zuni. By 1772 a full-scale alliance had been effected. Destructive raids by parties of Navajos, parties of Apaches, and parties comprising both took a heavy toll of life and property among the Rio Grande pueblos and the Spanish frontier settlements.[33] In the face of Navajo-Apache raids Spanish settlers in 1774 abandoned the settlements on the Rio Puerco.[34]

In 1778 there was talk of building a presidio at Socorro in an attempt to force the tribes apart, but it never materialized.[35] Finally in 1785 the Spanish broke the alliance and established the San José River as the boundary between Apaches and Navajos. More effective than the boundary was the Spanish success in turning Navajos against Apaches; in 1785 the former even enlisted in a campaign against the latter.[36]

The Navajo-Spanish alliance of 1785 inaugurated an era of confused relations between Navajos and Apaches — war alternating with peace in bewildering succession. Clashes occurred in 1787-88 in the Gila Apache range and in the Navajo country near Big Bead Mesa.[37] In 1788 Navajos served as guides for a Spanish punitive expedition against the Gila Apaches on the headwaters of the Gila River.[38] Three years later Navajos massacred a party of Gila Apaches who came north with peace overtures.[39] Again in 1793 Apaches struck in the vicinity of Big Bead Mesa.[40] By 1796 the tribes, for unrecorded reasons, had made peace and even perfected another alliance.[41] It lasted at least until 1807. Navajos were reported with Apaches in the Mogollon Mountains in 1806,[42] and the next year some Gila Apaches visited the Navajos in Canyon de Chelly.[43]

The alliance of 1796 disintegrated in 1808 when the Spaniards allowed some Navajos near Cebolleta to settle in Pedro Padilla Canyon, on the west side of Mesa Gigante, to act as buffers against Apache incursions from the south.[44] This arrangement accomplished the Spanish purpose; more important from the Spanish viewpoint, it once more turned the two

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tribes against each other. In 1809 Navajos began to raid down the Rio Puerco and cross the Rio Grande to assail the Mescalero Apaches who lived east of the river.[45] In 1813 Navajos killed a southern Apache at Agua Caliente, in the Warm Spring Apache country south of the San Mateo Mountains. Relatives went north to retaliate. They were followed by Navajos from the Laguna area, but the pursuit was abandoned in the Datil Mountains.[46] Two years later Navajos captured some Apaches in a skirmish in the Mogollon Mountains.[47]

How long this period of active enmity lasted is not clear. After Mexican independence, New Mexican troops undertook energetic campaigns during the 1820's and 1830's aimed at ending Navajo raids. The activity of the provincial troops may have so occupied the Navajos that they gave up the struggle with their neighbors on the south. At any rate, when a New Mexican campaign in 1838 drove a number of Navajos from the Tunicha Mountains of northwestern New Mexico, they fled 100 leagues southward into the country of the Gila Apaches. The latter joined the refugees in fighting off the pursuers; and thus, once more, Apaches and Navajos found themselves allied against the common enemy.[48] José Largo, a Navajo chief, was reported in 1841 to be in Apache country.[49] In 1851 some 400 Navajos visited for a time with Mangas Coloradas' Apaches on the Gila River 30 miles from the Santa Rita Copper Mines.[50] The next year Navajos were still said to be friendly with the southern Apaches.[51]

The rapprochement lasted nearly fifteen years, during which the common antagonists of 1838, the Mexicans, gave way to a new common enemy, the Americans. During the decade of the fifties, Navajos and Apaches once again drifted into hostility. In 1852 reports reached Santa Fe that the Navajos had begun to retreat northward toward Ojo Caliente, Canyon de Chelly, and even the San Juan River country. The reason given was fear of Apaches.[52] Strengthened by Coyotero Apaches from the west, the Gila (or Mogollon, as they were now termed) Apaches struck repeatedly at the white settlements in Socorro and Valencia Counties. The earliest evidence of a Coyotero-Mogollon combination against the Navajos dates from 1856,[53] but this combination had probably caused the initial flight of the Navajos northward in 1852.

The murder in 1857 of the able Navajo agent, Henry Dodge, by Mogollon and Coyotero Apaches, together with mounting Apache depredations on the Rio Grande and Gila, led Col. B. L. E. Bonneville, military commander in New Mexico, to send a punitive expedition into the upper Gila drainage, stronghold of the offending tribesmen. Sandoval, a Navajo chief from the neighborhood of Mount Taylor, seized the opportunity to strike back at his oppressors. With a party of warriors he joined the soldiers and seemingly damaged the hard-pressed Apaches, who in January

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1858, were still trying to recover children captured by Sandoval's band.[54] Meeting with some Coyoteros near the Gila River in February 1859, Agent Michael Steck learned that Coyotero-Navajo enmity still existed, as the chiefs had left a strong guard of warriors with their women and children back home to ward off any Navajo attacks,[55] and the Navajos had never before been known to penetrate Coyotero country. Actually, the Navajos were probably giving the Apaches a wide berth during the 1850's. Except for Sandoval's thrust under the protection of Bonneville's soldiers, no Navajos were reported any closer to Apache country than Mount Taylor up to 1859.

The decade of the sixties was a period of enormous stress and revolutionary change for the Navajos. Part of the pressure came from their old enemies, the Utes, who in the late fifties struck repeatedly at the Navajos.[56] But the real damage was inflicted by the United States troops (employing Ute warriors as auxiliaries). Campaigns in 1858-59 and in 1860-61 culminated in the invasion of the Navajo country by Col. Kit Carson during the winter of 1863-64. There were few encounters between troops and Indians, but Carson proved a relentless foe who struck repeated blows at the foundation of the Navajo economy (sheep and crops) and who kept his adversary constantly on the move. By the end of 1864 nearly 10,000 had surrendered. They were moved across New Mexico and were placed on a reserve on the Pecos River at the Bosque Redondo.

The pressures applied between 1858 and 1864 produced significant changes in the territory ranged by the Navajos. For the first time they impinged on the northern country of the Coyotero Apaches in eastern Arizona, around the headwaters of the Little Colorado River. In 1850 Navajos were reported living to the right and Apaches to the left of the trail from Zuni to the Hopi Villages, thus placing the Navajo area of occupation some distance north of the Little Colorado.[57] Ten years later Navajos averred that they had never been to, or heard of, the Little Colorado; and Army patrols in that country could find no evidence of Navajo occupation.[58] But some Navajos had already begun to drift southward toward this locale, and by 1861 Navajos were associating with Apaches on the Rio Quemado and in the Datil Mountains, and were pressing on the Coyoteros of the White Mountain region of Arizona.[59] During Carson's campaign of 1863 they came in increasing numbers.[60] At first there were clashes between Navajos and Coyoteros, but by 1864 the two tribes were often to be found allied in raids on white settlements and travelers.[61]

The same pressures also pushed the Navajos farther west than they had been known before. During the campaign of 1858-59 some sought to evade the soldiers by taking refuge in the San Francisco Mountains near modern Flagstaff, Arizona.[62] This is the first record of Navajos west of the

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Hopi villages, and they were reported in this area as late as 1865 during the Bosque Redondo period.[63]

Even though a significant portion of the tribe was confined in 1863-64 at Bosque Redondo, enough refugees eluded the troops to trace a line of Navajo occupation stretching from the San Francisco Mountains up the Little Colorado through Escudilla Mountain and Rito Quemado to the Datil and Gallina Mountains of New Mexico on the east. Escapees from Bosque Redondo made for the eastern end of this arc to swell the population of free Navajos.[64]

By 1864 the refugee Navajos, combined with escapees from Bosque Redondo, became the sole occupants of the mountains south of Acoma. Other refugee Navajos moved into country immediately adjoining the Coyoteros on the north. They even pressed south of this arc. On the west, in July, 1864, Navajos appeared in Yavapai country as far south as Prescott;[65] on the east they took up residence in the Ladron, Datil, Escudilla, and Tularosa Mountains and as far south as the plains of San Agustin,[66] formerly country through which Mogollon Apaches raided north to the San José River area. So secure did the Navajos feel in their new homes that they raided white settlements along the Rio Grande and travelers on the Little Colorado. Sometimes they struck alone, at other times in alliance with Coyotero Apaches.[67]

According to information given by Navajos to the military in 1865, the arc occupied by the refugees was still intact on the west, and others were still hiding in favored haunts of the old Navajo country north of the arc. On February 8, Manuelito, who was near Zuni, stated that the only Navajos who were stealing belonged to a small band of about sixty to eighty people — some twenty warriors — that had been on the headwaters of the Little Colorado but were now "below the road to Fort Whipple," near Prescott. This suggests that they had been close to or in Coyotero country. Manuelito also reported that three Navajo ranchitos had recently come from the vicinity of the "Conino" (San Francisco) Mountains.[68]

According to a Navajo chief, Herrera Grande, there were six small parties west of the Rio Grande: fifty people beyond (south or west of) the Little Colorado and a hundred in Manuelito's band on the east side of the Little Colorado about sixty miles "beyond" (south of?) Zuni. Others were sixty to seventy miles south of Fort Canby, at Colletas; more than a hundred at Pueblo Colorado; sixty in Canyon de Chelly; and a hundred on the Mesa de Calabasas, west of Chinle Wash. Aside from these 480 people, the Navajos supposedly were all at Bosque Redondo.[69]

The Army still found Navajos in various places along the entire arc, but now Coyotero Apaches were often with them. In July, 1865, troops from Fort Wingate encountered about 200 warriors, both Navajo and Apache, near the San Francisco Mountains on the Arizona-New Mexico

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line.[70] In November Apaches were reported around the Escudilla Mountains, and a few hostile Navajos were on the Little Colorado beyond Oraibi.[71] Another report, in December, identified the Indians who had committed depredations along the Rio Grande as Navajos from the Datil and Escudilla Mountains.[72] In March, 1866, Navajos and Apaches, but mostly Apaches, were discovered south of the Datil Mountains heading westward towards the White Mountains of Arizona.[73]

During the spring and summer of 1866 the Sierra del Escudilla became a favorite refuge and stronghold of both Navajos and Coyotero Apaches. In June some captured Navajo women reported that there were a few Indians north and northwest of Fort Wingate but that most of those absent from Bosque Redondo were in and about the Escudilla.[74] In July the governor of Zuni pueblo was planning an expedition with the Utes against the Navajos south of the Escudilla; he had just returned from a similar combined scout against the same enemy.[75] Late in July the Navajo chiefs Manuelito, Barboncito (the younger), and Ganado Blanco were said to be in "the Escudilla" together with many Apaches.[76] The following month El Ciego's son came in from the north side of the same mountain range.[77] Manuelito surrendered the following month and stated that Ganado Blanco was on his way to the Bosque Redondo for the same purpose.[78] Although the Sierra Escudilla seems to have been a stronghold for the two tribes, they also came together elsewhere. Early in 1867 Navajos and Apaches stole sheep west of Los Lunas and were followed as far as the Mogollon Mountains.[79] And as late as November, 1868, Navajos and Apaches were together in the Tularosa Valley in the upper drainage of the San Francisco River.[80]

It appears that the Apaches reported with the Navajos were Coyoteros. The Mogollon Apaches seem to have begun their withdrawal southward from the northern mountains to the Mogollon Mountains during the Bonneville campaign in 1857. In 1858 other Mogollon Apaches moved farther south and east to the Mimbres River and the Rio Palomas, where they united respectively with Mimbres and Warm Spring Apaches in farming enterprises.[81] As already noted, by 1863-64, as a result of Carson's campaign, only Navajos were reported in the Datil Mountain-Rio Quemado area. By 1864 Navajos were said to have driven the Apaches from the area they had formerly occupied between the Tularosa Mountain-San Agustin country north and east through the Datils to the Ladrones. To the west in 1863-64 Navajos also began living with the Coyoteros in the White Mountain-Escudilla Mountain area.

Evidence available suggests that the Mogollon Apaches, who between 1853 and 1857 were the sole group raiding between the San José River and the San Agustin Plains, gradually withdrew south as a result of the combined pressures of the Bonneville campaign of 1857 and Navajo ref-

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ugees fleeing into this country between 1858 and 1861. Moreover, it appears that the Coyoteros who were sheltering Navajos from 1863 to 1868 joined them in raids eastward to points on the Rio Grande between the junction of the San José and the Puerco southward to Lemitar. Since the Mogollon Apaches had retreated southward beginning about 1857, only the Coyotero Apaches remained close enough to have combined with the Navajos during the middle 1860's.

Friction between the Navajos and Coyoteros arose in 1868, however, as the Navajos from Bosque Redondo began to migrate back to their home country as a result of a treaty that terminated the Bosque Redondo experiment. The cause probably lay in Navajo infringement on Coyotero land some distance to the south of Fort Wingate. The enmity lasted until 1872, when Gen. O. O. Howard made peace between the two tribes.[82] The Treaty of 1868 ended the roving days of the Navajos. Their new reservation encompassed their old homeland generally bounded by the Puerco-San José Rivers on the south, the San Juan on the north, the Largo Canyon-Mount Taylor area on the east, and Chinle Wash on the west.

The relationships between Apaches and Navajos west of the Rio Grande here discussed provide a base upon which historical aspects of trait diffusion can be laid. Since Navajo contacts with Gila or Mogollon Apaches in the San José River area did not occur until the middle 1700's, and similar contacts with Coyotero Apaches probably did not exist, or were not close, until the early 1860's, it is more than probable that nearly all Navajo traits among the Coyoteros (or Western Apaches) postdate 1862. The traits involved would include "clans," pottery, architectural similarities, and the like. If the acquisition of specific Navajo traits by northern Apache groups can be placed in time, archaeological and socioceremonial studies of the northern Apaches will be set on a firm time base. Similarly, Apache-like features among the Alamocito Navajos on the upper Salado, where Apaches and Navajos congregated in the 1860's, would be more clearly understood.

Of particular interest are the clans of the Coyoteros. Whether they merit the term is beside the point. It is assumed, however, that none of the Apache groups of the Southwest had clans at the time of their arrival there, since other Apaches of the Southwest (with the possible exception of Mogollon Apaches, about whom little is known concerning clans) lack clans of the type exhibited by Coyoteros. It seems entirely likely that the Coyoteros obtained the idea of clans from the Navajos, or their Mogollon Apache neighbors, if they had clans.

Goodwin pointed out that many "Western Apache" (Coyotero) clans claim relationship to or descent from "three archaic clans" which are either attributed to or are Navajo clans. He further remarked that Western Apache clans divide into four groups, the first three of which are

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related to or descended from three archaic clans. The fourth group (clans 47-60) does not claim relationship with the archaic clans, but from two legendary clans out of which eleven of the fourteen clans of this group originated.[83]

According to the Coyotero traditions, clans 47 and 48 came from the Navajo-Hopi country, clans 49 through 54 grew out of clan 48, clans 55 and 56 came from southwest of the San Francisco Peaks near Flagstaff, and clans 57-60 from the general area of Winslow or farther west.[84]

In view of the fact that Navajos were not recorded on the Little Colorado or in the area beyond the mesas along the west side of Chinle Wash or in the area of the San Francisco Peaks until 1858-59 — a period coinciding with Navajo flight from Major Brooks' campaign — it appears fairly certain that clans 47-60 came out of the refugee Navajo arc area and were adopted by Coyoteros in the early 1860's. These particular clans among the Coyoteros are thus only a hundred years old. The origin of the fourth segment of clans among the Coyoteros therefore seems fairly definitely related to Navajo refugees from the Carson campaigns who came into Coyotero country with clans whose origins have been incorporated in Coyotero legendary times.

The other three groups of Coyotero clans that claim descent from Navajo clans are probably connected with the period of Navajo-Gila (Mogollon) Apache contact in the late 1700's or later. These clans may have come to the Coyotero Apaches through contacts with Mogollon Apaches in the late 1700's or later with Mogollon groups that moved west into Arizona and joined the Coyoteros.

One other salient aspect of Navajo-Apache relationships should be noted. The Navajos and Coyotero and Mogollon Apaches are Athapascan-speaking people. Through the application of a linguistic technique called glottochronology, Hoijer concludes that the Navajos and San Carlos Apaches (southern reservation of Western Apaches) separated from their common language stock about 279 years prior to the time of his study in 1956, or around A. D. 1677. The language separation of the Navajos and the Chiricahua Apaches he estimates to be even more recent, 149 years or A. D. 1807.[85] Since Apaches, who today are known as Chiricahuas, first were recorded in southeastern Arizona in the late 1690's,[86] it is obvious that Hoijer's date of language divergence in this last instance seems to be much too recent.

This observation of recency is made on the assumption that the results of the application of glottochronology are as accurate when applied to Indian languages (which were not preserved by written records) as when the technique is applied to written Indo-European languages (on which the technique of glottochronology is based). Assuming the above statement holds, we can deduce either that (1) the Navajos and Chiricahuas in this

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case, after separating from one another, retained their language for 100 to 200 years before any significant change occurred, (2) the technique of glottochronology is not sensitive enough to accurately date language divergence of any two such groups within a range of 1 to 2 centuries, (3) recent mixtures of dialectically different groups have brought the dialects closer together, or (4) Hoijer's methodology is at fault in some way.

Though we do not know the time of Coyotero (Western) Apache entry into the upper Salt drainage and White Mountain area of Arizona, we have indications of Apaches in these regions definitely as early as the last half of the 1700's. "Apaches", who may well have actually been Yavapais or Havasupais, near the Hopis of Arizona, are recorded as early as 1629, and Apaches north of the Gila River in Arizona are mentioned by about 1700.[87] In the latter instance the locale is not too far south of San Carlos, so that Hoijer's date of about 1677 for Navajo-San Carlos Apache language divergence might be acceptable.

Since the Navajos and the Mogollon Apaches to the south of them seem not to have had any close contact between about 1600 and 1748, as discussed above, and the Navajos and Coyoteros seem not to have had any close contact until the 1860's, it appears that either recent group mixture or Hoijer's technique or both may be the cause for the recency of the dates of divergence in the case of the Chiricahua Apaches.

Hoijer made direct comparisons between Navajo and Western Apache and Chiricahua Apache languages in his study of the 1950's. The Apaches with whom he worked, however, were not pure Coyotero (Western) or Chiricahua Apaches. In 1872-73 some 400 Mogollon and Mimbres Apaches of New Mexico (the latter already mixed with Warm Spring and Copper Mine Apaches) and Coyotero Apaches, all of whom undoubtedly spoke dialects different from the Chiricahuas, fled from the Tularosa Reservation of western New Mexico because of unhealthy conditions and went to the Chiricahua Reservation.[88] These Apaches in 1876, as a group, were moved to San Carlos, in 1886 were sent to Florida, and later to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and then to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico. Similarly the Indians who remained on the San Carlos Reservation from the 1870's on were southern Coyoteros (Aravaipa and Pinal Apaches) plus other Apaches and Yavapais of central Arizona. The northern Coyotero Apaches of the White Mountain country were first brought to San Carlos in the early 1870's but later were sent back to their own country when the White Mountain Reservation north of the Salt River was created in 1875.[89] These group mixtures, 80 years before Hoijer's study, certainly must have had an effect on the dialects of the reservation-formed combines.

Since the 1930's, these mixtures of Apaches have been identified by ethnologists as Western Apaches, San Carlos Apaches, and Chiricahua Apaches. Since Hoijer treated the languages of the San Carlos and Chiri-

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cahua Apaches and Navajos as three separate tongues, he must have reduced the dialects of each[90] to a common denominator in making his comparative study. If this practice was followed, his study may have produced distorted dates relating to the time of language divergence.

As indicated by the historical evidence outlined above, the Mogollon Apaches were more closely associated with Navajos and for a longer period of time than were other Apaches west of the Rio Grande. The Mogollones also were closely allied with Coyotero Apaches in the early 1860's and many of them joined the Chiricahuas in the 1870's. If the dialect of the Mogollon Apaches was closer to the Navajo language than that of other Apache groups, then perhaps the mixture of some Mogollones with Coyoteros and many with the Chiricahuas explains Hoijer's more recent date for Chiricahua Apache-Navajo language divergence. Moreover, the date given by Hoijer for Chiricahua language divergence from Navajo seems to be too recent according to historical evidence.

It is unfortunate that Hoijer did not include the Coyoteros of the White Mountain Reservation in his study. These were the people who took Navajo refugees under their wing during the early 1860's and also absorbed some of the Navajo refugees and their clans. Theoretically, the Coyotero language of the White Mountain area today should bear a closer resemblance to that of the Navajo than would the language of the San Carlos Apaches, provided the historical data outlined above have been interpreted correctly. It appears that a restudy of the Arizona Apache dialects is called for to demonstrate the usefulness of glottochronology in dealing with Apache chronology. Accuracy of the technique could be furthered by concentrating on Apaches who are descendants of aboriginal bands composed mainly of the same aboriginal ancestry and have lived in relatively stable locales.

No matter what the explanation may be for the discrepancy between the linguistic and historical data, documents indicate that the Navajos in early historic times lived in the upper San Juan drainage up to the middle 1700's before being forced south by Utes and contacting Apaches to the south who occupied the country from the San José drainage south. Periodically friendly and hostile, visiting and raiding one another after 1750, Navajos and their southern neighbors, the Mogollon Apaches, continued to live at varying distances from one another on either side of the San José drainage up into the American Period.

The first evidence of Navajo *occupation* south of this river coincides with U. S. Army campaigns against Navajos in 1858-59. After about 100 years of contact with Mogollon Apaches, who in 1857 began a general move south, Navajo refugees from the army campaigns of the 1860's crossed the upper Little Colorado River for the first time to live among Coyotero Apaches, apparently introducing clans and other elements to

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these Apaches. A similar mixture in 1863 of Apaches (Mogollon remnants) and Navajos south of the Rio Salado near Ojo de Cibola, west of Socorro, New Mexico, who together raided Lemitar in 1864,[91] may have introduced Apache elements to the group on the Rio Salado drainage today known as Alamocito Navajos.

NOTES

1. Charles Lummis, "Fray Zárate Salmerón's Relacion," *Land of Sunshine, 11* (1899), p. 183. The manuscript continues in *12* (1900).
2. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico,* Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications (Albuquerque, 1953), pp. 345, 485.
3. Frederick W. Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey, *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634,* Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, *4* (Albuquerque, 1945), pp. 86-87.
4. Ibid., p. 252.
5. John P. Harrington, "Southern Peripheral Athapaskawan Origins, Divisions and Migrations," in *Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America,* Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, *100* (Washington, 1940), pp. 502-32. See especially Fig. 32.
6. Sesto Cuaderno y primero del Año de 1695, in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico.* Tercera Serie, Tomo Primero (Mexico, 1856), p. 134. Posada's report of 1686 placed Navajo country, prior to the rebellion of 1680, northwest of Santa Fe across the divide to the Grand River (San Juan). See S. Lyman Tyler and H. Darrel Taylor, "The Report of Fray Alonso Posada in relation to Quivira and Teguayo," *New Mexico Historical Review, 33* (1958), pp. 303-304. By 1730 Navajos were reported farther south, to the west of the country between Santa Ana and Santa Clara pueblos. Eleanor B. Adams, *"Bishop Tamaron's Visitation of New Mexico, 1760,"* Historical Society of New Mexico Publications in History, *15* (Albuquerque, 1954), p. 98.
7. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo, 1582-1583, as Revealed in the Journal of Diego Perea de Luxan,* Quivira Society Publications, *1* (Los Angeles, 1929), pp. 85-86.
8. Hammond and Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate,* p. 478.
9. Ibid., pp. 814-29.
10. France V. Scholes, "Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670." *New Mexico Historical Review, 13* (1938), p. 63. This work is serialized in *12* (1937), *13* (1938), *14* (1939), *15* (1940), and *16* (1941).
11. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Benavides' Memorial,* pp. 82, 85.
12. Scholes, "Troublous Times," *13* (1938), pp. 94-95. Scholes, "Church and State in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review, 9* (1936), pp. 324, 333 (fn. 59).
13. Ibid., p. 339.
14. Scholes, "Troublous Times," *13* (1938), pp. 94ff. 105-106.
15. Ibid., *12* (1937) 150; *16* (1941), p. 315. Scholes, "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review, 10* (1935), p. 85.
16. Lansing B. Bloom and Lynn B. Mitchell, "The Chapter Elections in 1672," *New Mexico Historical Review, 13* (1938), pp. 87-88.
17. Ibid., p. 100.
18. Frank D. Reeve, "Navaho-Spanish Wars, 1680-1720," *New Mexico Historical Review, 33* (1958), p. 209.
19. Jose M. Espinosa, *Crusaders of the Rio Grande* (Chicago, 1942), pp. 139-140.
20. Reeve, "Navajo-Spanish Wars," pp. 209-11; and Espinosa, *Crusaders,* pp. 199-200.
21. Espinosa, *Crusaders,* p. 297; and Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas into New* Mexico, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, *10* (Albuquerque, 1940), p. 154.
22. Espinosa, *Crusaders,* p. 179; and Espinosa, *First Expedition,* pp. 199-200.
23. Cuaderno, p. 172; and Reeve, p. 213.
24. Historians have identified Jemez Indians as refugees among the Navajos between 1696 and 1705, immediately after the reconquest. A small group may have

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fled to the Navajos, as a Santo Domingo captive stated (Espinosa, *Crusaders,* p. 202), but it does not make much sense in light of documentation before and after this brief period, when the Jemez were at odds with the Navajos.

25. Alfred B. Thomas, *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727* (Norman, 1935), p. 22. Reeve, "Navajo-Spanish Wars," pp. 217-26. W. W. Hill, "Some Navajo Culture Changes During Two Centuries," in *Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America,* pp. 402, 408, 413. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Benavides' Memorial,* p. 279. Charles W. Hackett (ed.) *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773* (Washington, 1937), *3,* p. 367.

26. Hill, "Some Navajo Culture Changes," pp. 402-08. Alfred B. Thomas, *The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778* (Albuquerque, 1940), p. 138. Reeve "Navajo-Spanish Wars," p. 224.

27. Reeve, pp. 227-28.

28. Ibid., pp.225-229.

29. Adams, *Bishop Tamaron's Visitation,* p. 98.

30. Reeve, pp. 229-30. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Benavides' Memorial,* p. 279. Thomas, *Plains Indians and New Mexico,* pp. 29-30, 131, 146. Frank D. Reeve, "The Navajo-Spanish Peace, 1720's-1770's," *New Mexico Historical Review, 34* (1959), p. 24.

31. Thomas, *Plains Indians and New Mexico,* p. 138. Archaeological evidence indicates that Navajo sites on the upper San Juan were occupied from sometime in the 1500's until about 1775. Alfred E. Dittert, Jr., Jim J. Hester, and Frank W. Eddy, *An Archeological Survey of the Navajo Reservoir District, Northwestern New Mexico,* Monographs of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, *23* (Santa Fe, 1961), p. 244. This, of course, does not include occasional Navajo refugees north of Canyon Largo during the American Period.

The latest tree-ring dates, both initial construction and repair, run into the early 1760's. Malcom F. Farmer, "Navajo Archeology of Upper Blanco and Largo Canyons, Northern New Mexico," *American Antiquity, 8* (1942), p. 71. The earliest dates of occupation so far recorded for Navajo sites farther south are 1725 in the upper Chaco Wash and 1745 in the Big Bead Mesa area. Before the Indian Claims Commission, 1961, Navajo Docket 229, Plaintiff's Exhibit No. 522, p. 43, Specimen No. 1049; and Dorothy Louise Keur, *Big Bead Mesa,* Memoirs of the Society for American Archeology, *1* (Menasha, 1941), p. 67. These dates correlate with the documentary references that indicate the beginning of a southward shift in 1716. The Navajo site dated 1725 in upper Chaco Wash is about eighteen leagues from Jemez, and the Big Bead Mesa site dated 1745 is about ten leagues from Jemez.

32. Reeve, "The Navajo-Spanish Peace", pp. 15-16, 18-20. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Benavides' Memorial,* p. 309. Some authorities have regarded the Querechos, who are recorded in the Laguna-Acoma-Zuni country as early as 1583, as Navajos. Spanish documents, however, either explicitly or implicitly belie this belief. In 1746 Father Menchero went to the Navajo province and then he went "to another nation of heathen Apaches" at the place called Cebolleta. In 1748, *for the first time,* Spanish sources mention Navajos living at Cebolleta with Apaches. See especially H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), p. 248; Hackett, *Historical Documents,* pp. 420-421, 424, 471; and Thomas, *Plains Indians and New Mexico,* p. 138. In 1760 the Indians of Cebolleta are again described as Navajos and Apaches. Adams, *Bishop Tamaron's Visitation,* pp. 67, 98.

33. Cf. A. B. Thomas, "Governor Mendinueta's Proposals for the Defense of New Mexico, 1772-1778," *New Mexico Historical Review, 6* (1931), pp. 27-28; Thomas, *Plains Indians and New Mexico,* pp. 172-73; and Frank D. Reeve, "Navajo-Spanish Diplomacy, 1770-1790," *New Mexico Historical Review, 35* (1960), pp. 206-07.

34. Reeve, "Navajo-Spanish Diplomacy," pp. 209 ff.

35. Thomas. "Governor Mendinueta's Proposals," p. 37.

36. A. B. Thomas, *"Forgotten Frontiers"—A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, 1777-1787* (Norman, 1932), pp. 257-60.

37. Reeve, "Navajo-Spanish Diplomacy," p. 232.

38. Fernando de la Concha, *Diario de la Campana que Execute desde la Prova del Nueva Mexico Contra los Apaches . . .* Doc. 2 in Provincias Internas, Tomo 193 (1788). Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif.

39. Spanish Archives, 1164a, New Mexico State Records Center, Santa Fe. (Hereafter NMSRC.)

40. Ibid., 1266.

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41. Ibid., 1366. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers,* pp. 55-56.
42. Spanish Archives, 1998, NMSRC.
43. Ibid., 2089.
44. Ibid., 2105, June 5.
45. Ibid., 2248.
46. Ibid., 2514.
47. Ibid., 2585.
48. Mexican Archives, 5381, No. 33, Commandancia General Letter Book, Nov. 25, 1838, NMSRC.
49. Mexican Archives, folder 6305-09, NMSRC.
50. John C. Cremony, *Life Among the Apaches* (San Francisco, 1868), pp. 47 ff.
51. Annie H. Abel (ed.), "The Journal of John Greiner," *Old Santa Fe,* 3, (1916), p. 207.
52. Backus to McFerran, May 7, 1852, RG 98, Dept. of N.M. Letters Received, National Archives.
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54. Bonneville to Asst. Adjt. Gen. Hq. of the Army, Nov. 24, 1857, RG 94 B43/1858, National Archives. Steck to Meriwether, Jan. 3, 1857, Steck to Bonneville, Mar. 5, 1857, Steck to Bonneville, Mar. 14, 1857, Steck to Meriwether, Mar. 14, 1857, Steck to Harley, Jan. 10, 1858, *Steck Papers,* U.N.M.
55. Steck to Collins, Feb. 1, 1859, *Steck Papers,* UNM.
56. Kendrick to Asst. Adjt. Gen. Dept. of N. M., Feb. 11, 1857, RG 98, K1/1857. Bonneville to Supt. of Indian Affairs James L. Collins, Jan. 17, 1858, RG 75. Brooks to Asst. Adjt. Gen., March 20, 1858, RG 98, B15/1858. Miles to Actg. Asst. Adjt. Gen., Nov. 23, 1858, RG 98, M95/1858. Chavez to Dept. Commander, Nov. 11, 1861, RG 98, C246/1861. All in National Archives.
57. Calhoun to Brown, March 29, 1850, in Annie H. Abel (ed.), *The Correspondence of James S. Calhoun* (Washington, 1915), pp. 172-75.
58. McLaws to Rich, Dec. 16, 1860, RG 98, C12/1860, and Canby to Asst. Adjt. Gen. Dec. 20, 1860. RG 98, C57/1860. National Archives.
59. Senate Executive Documents, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 2, Pt. 2, (Serial 1024), pp. 298, 335-36, 350-354. Canby to Asst. Adjt. Gen., Oct. 19, 1860, RG 98, C49/1860; Steck to Collins, Nov. 26, 1860, RG 75; Canby to Asst. Adjt. Gen., Feb. 19, 1861, RG 98, C32/1861, National Archives. Benjamin H. Sacs, "New Evidence on the Bascom Affair," *Arizona and the West, 4* (Tucson, 1962), p. 264.
60. Calloway to Rigg, Feb. 26, 1863, RG 98. Willis to Cutler, Aug. 19, 1863, RG 98, W269/1863. Carson to Cutler, Aug. 31, 1863, RG 98. Willis to Cutler, Oct. 6, 1863, RG 98. Sanchez to Holmes, Jan. 11, 1864, RG 98, S21/1864. Cooler to Rigg, Jan. 16, 1864, RG 98. Carson to Asst. Adjt. Gen., March 20, 1864, RG 98, C64/1864. Same to same, April 10, 1864, RG 98, C97/1864. National Archives. Senate Executive Documents, 39th Congress, 2d Sess., No. 156 (Serial 1279), p. 123.
61. Shaw to Cutler, July 24, 1865, RG 98, Ft. Wingate, LS, v. 16. Montoya to Cutler, Nov. 26, 1865, RG 98, M131/1865. Butler to DeForrest, March 29, 1866, RG 98, Ft. Wingate, LS, v. 16, National Archives.
62. Orders No. 8, Hq. Navajo Command, Ft. Defiance, July 14, 1859, RG 98. Canby to Asst. Adjt. Gen., Dec. 24, 1860, RG 98, C2/1860. National Archives.
63. Eaton to Asst. Adjt. Gen'l, Feb. 6, 1865, RG 98, E14/1865.
64. Willis to Cutler, Oct. 6, 1863, RG 98, Ft. Wingate, LS, v. 16. Montoya to Clever, Dec. 15, 1863, RG 98, M258/1863. Sanchez to Holmes, Jan. 11, 1864, RG 98, S21/1864. Cooler to Rigg, Jan. 16, 1864, RG 98. Carson to Asst. Adjt. Gen., March 20, 1864, RG 98, C64/1864. Same to same, April 10, 1864, RG 98, C97/1864. Wallen to Asst. Adjt. Gen., April 26, 1864, RG 98. National Archives. Before the Indian Claims Commission, 1961, Docket 229, Navajo Plaintiffs, Exhibit No. 511A.
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68. Eaton to Asst. Adjt. Gen., Feb. 9, 1865, RG 98, E14/1865, National Archives.
69. Senate Executive Documents, 39th Cong., 2d Sess., No. 156, pp. 221-22.
70. Shaw to Cutler, July 24, 1865, RG 98, Ft. Wingate, LS, Vol. 16, National Archives.
71. Montoya to Cutler, Nov. 26, 1865, RG 98, M131/1865, National Archives.
72. Lucero y Rais to Carleton, Dec. 14, 1865, RG 98, National Archives.
73. Butler to DeForrest, March 29, 1866, RG 98, Ft. Wingate, LS, Vol. 16, National Archives.
74. Butler to DeForrest, June 22, 1866, RG 98, B136/1866, National Archives.
75. Butler to Carleton, July 12, 1866, RG 98, B154/1866, National Archives.
76. Butler to DeForrest, July 28, 1866, RG 98, B164/1866, National Archives.
77. Ibid. Also Butler to DeForrest, Aug. 21, 1866, RG 98, B181/1866, National Archives.
78. Butler to DeForrest, Sept. 2, 1866, RG 98, Ft. Wingate, LS, Vol. 16, National Archives.
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80. Moore to Hunter, Nov. 27, 1868, RG 98, Ft. Cummings, LS, Vol. 11, National Archives.
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82. Howard to Walker, Nov. 7, 1872, House Executive Documents, 42d Cong., 3d Sess., No. 1, Pt. 5 (Serial 1560), pp. 559-561.
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84. Ibid., pp. 620-29 and map opp. p. 600.
85. Harry Hoijer, "The Chronology of the Athapaskan Languages", *International Journal of American Linguistics, 22* (Baltimore, 1956), p. 226.
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