



interval it was the dominant center in a dense cluster of big ceremonial sites along the east rim of Antelope Mesa. Awatobi is also at the center of many Navajo ceremonial histories. During the AD 1200-1700 period occurred major shifts throughout the greater Southwest in population distribution and the consequent turbulent ethnogenesis, all of which affected both Puebloans and non-Puebloans, including Navajo-Apache forebears (Riley 2005; Anderson 1999; Towner 2003).

Recorded Navajo and Hopi accounts of the troubles at Awatobi (Clinton 1990; Lomatu'wayma and others 1993; Courlander 1971, 1982) are somewhat reminiscent of the Wide Ruins elder's story of the demise of the Anasazis in general (see above): the people went crazy, ignoring ceremonial rules and prohibitions, committing incest, gambling, and were therefore struck down. Hopi oral traditions tell that the retribution was from an alliance of Hopi villages, in the case of Awatobi led by Oraibi, a fate of many other late pre-Columbian villages in the Hopi country. According to Spanish colonial sources (see Montgomery and others 1949), Awatobi welcomed a Franciscan mission in the 1620s, which the Pueblo Revolt in 1680 forced the Franciscans to abandon when the Spanish fled from their northern territory south to El Paso. Soon after the Spanish Reconquest of the 1690s, the Franciscans rebuilt the mission at Awatobi. Soon thereafter, an alliance of Hopi villages attacked Awatobi, killing many and taking most of the rest captive. Navajo and Hopi oral traditions tell how some people escaped and joined Navajos in the surrounding countryside near and far, giving rise to the Tobacco Tachii'nii clan (Clinton 1990; Brugge 1985, 1994; Courlander 1971).

It is also worth noting here that Spanish colonial and later sources beginning with the 1540 Spanish Entrada (a detachment of the Coronado expedition) record indigenous trails linking the Wide Ruins area to Zuni and Awatobi (Bartlett 1940; Kessell and Hendricks 1992:553; Adams 1963; Chavez and Warner 1976; Van Valkenburgh 1991 [1941:115-116]; Walker and Shepard 1964 [1859]; Cushing 1965 [1882]). Most of these sources mention Corechos (people who were probably Navajo/Apache forebears [Opler 1983:384; Riley 1985:160, 1995:90, 221]) or Apaches/Navajos in the vicinity (see also Navajo Nation 1967:262-267). Since early Awatobi is contemporaneous with the Wide Ruins Anasazi ceremonial building (AD 1200s), these trails surely date to that time if not earlier. Map 2 shows scholarly reconstructions of the various routes.

One trail between Zuni and Awatobi passed through Tanner Springs west of Wide Ruins and was linked to Wide Ruins, at least by 1859, by a trail up Wide Ruins Wash. The Wide Ruins vicinity is where the Zuni-Awatobi routes cross the travel

corridor mentioned above (Map 1) that goes straight south from Canyon de Chelly. The parties whose travels are recorded along these routes had specific stopping and camping places, virtually all of which were at reliable springs. The spring enclosed by the Wide Ruin Anasazi building is one such reliable spring, though many descriptions, especially the earliest, are too vague to identify Wide Ruins spring clearly.

### **Later post-columbian times**

Events of family and community histories in the project area and surrounding region from the late 1700s to the mid-1900s are scattered throughout recorded Navajo personal accounts and non-Navajo accounts that incorporate Navajo oral traditions or individual life histories (Navajo Nation 1967:259-477; NLC and HUTR oral history interviews; Brugge 1985; Collier 1951; Roessel and Johnson, eds, 1973, 1974, 1976; Hannum 1958; Niethammer 2001). Non-Navajo documentation complements these accounts.

**Jilháál.** Various previously recorded oral histories (HUTR, nos 4, 21, 36, 44, 45; see also Brugge 1985:129-131) tell of a warrior or runner named Jilháál (not easily translated, refers to a war club). He stayed at Wide Ruins (meaning the Anasazi site) and a few miles north up Wide Ruins Wash at Kin Náázínii (Upstanding House), a Navajo fortified "pueblito" that archaeologists date at 1720-1805 (NLC, site S-MLC-UP-L; Bannister and others 1966:8; Navajo Nation 1967:263, 271, 285; Gilpin 1996). He also ranged north to Canyon de Chelly among several other sites contemporaneous with either Wide Ruins or Kin Náázínii. He carried gigantic arrows and had enormous feet. The sight of his footprints struck terror in his enemies. Some say he was a hunter who could run down deer; others say he knew various healing and war ceremonies. Some say he was of the Red Streak into Water (Táchii'nii) clan and later moved to Black Mountain. A family consulted for this project (AR 5/11/06) also mentioned this person (see below).

Brugge (1985:129-131) suggests that Jilháál might have been a local headman of the mid-1700s, possibly a refugee from Awatobi, considering his clan (Táchii'nii) and his move to Black Mountain, a refuge of Tobacco Táchii'nii people from Awatobi. Whoever he was, Jilháál is also connected with the north-south travel corridor through Wide Ruins delineated by Navajo stories about the pre-Columbian period discussed above (see Map 1), as well as with specific late pre-columbian Anasazi archaeological sites in that corridor. Some of his attributes may reflect late pre-Columbian iconography (big feet, for example, a common petroglyph motif). These pre-Columbian association of Jilháál, together with the idea that Wide Ruins was some kind of "boundary" place between Hopi and Zuni zones (Colwell-

Chanthaphonh, this volume), makes one wonder if the north-south travel corridor through Wide Ruins could have been a late pre-Columbian "no man's (or everyman's?) land" as conceptualized by LeBlanc (1999:70, 333) between settlement clusters older than Hopi and Zuni.

**Kin Náázinii pueblito.** Besides the stories about Jihháál, other Navajo accounts tell more about Kin Náázinii: those given by a man consulted for this project (AR 5/16/06) and almost 50 years earlier by his maternal grandmother (NLC, site form S-ULC-UP-L).

[Insert photos 1 & 2: Kin Naazini in 1886 (Smithsonian) and today (our photo)]

According to our consultant, Kin Náázinii was built as a fortress, with slits in the walls for shooting arrows at enemies. People lived around the site and on top of the hill. They used the fortress as a refuge when enemies came. Some elders lived south of the site, including one named Daalgai, who helped build it. They used four stones (apparently meaning wall thickness). There was a passage underneath, where one would crawl in and upward. This was the means of entry. It is collapsed now. The enemies were Utes and White Mountain Apaches. There was a goat corral in the rocks (or rincon?) below. The building was a good shield, where people inside couldn't get hit by arrows. There was a big window up above and an entry on the west side, as well as (forked-pole) hogans around the pueblito where people lived when no enemies were around. The water supply for Kin Náázinii people was Kin Náázinii Spring up the canyon, which a coyote had dug out. It is still the best spring in the area and doesn't run dry when others do. A massacre occurred at Kin Náázinii - a lot of bones used to be scattered around, as well as leather, bridles, and so forth.

Our consultant continued, another person associated with the site was Chách'osh Díil (possibly translatable as Burly Syphilis). He had big feet, and enemies feared him by his reputation. There were three sites associated with him: at Lupton, Kin Binááz'eełii; at Canyon de Chelly; and at Ganado (Note the resemblance to Jihháál). Our consultant's wife added that besides Burly Syphilis, our consultant's maternal grandmother used to mention Jihháál, a very tall man. The two went around causing fear and slaughtering enemies.

According to our consultant, the people around Kin Náázinii before the 1860s Navajo captivity at Fort Sumner were of the Ma'ii Deeshgizhnii (Coyote Pass-Jemez) clan, "born for" (having fathers of) Towering House and Redhouse clans. (Note that the

Coyote Pass clan is not among the largest local clans listed on Table 1, but the father's clans are.) People from here went to Fort Sumner, where our consultant's maternal grandmother was born. They returned here and current residents are all descended from his maternal grandmother.

The archaeological site form (NLC, site form S-MLC-LP-L) summarizes information given by Laughing Woman, our consultant's maternal grandmother. The fortification belonged to the Jemez clan. People who used it were a woman named Aba'ii (Jemez clan) along with her husband, Burly Syphilis (Blackwood Enclosure clan) and her brothers Tsii'ichoshii (Shaggy Hair) and Ahaashdiin (possibly Há'áldiñ, Person Recuperating?), as well as Jiháál. They used it for defense from White Mountain Apaches. There were hogans along the ridge (direction not specified) and warnings given by smoke signals when enemies appeared. This was before the Fort Sumner captivity. Bitsii' Daałgai (Whitehair) is buried in the fortification. According to the NLC site form, the trader Sam Day II removed his skull when Day had a trading post nearby around 1920 (see also NMSRCA, McNitt Papers, interview with Sam Day II, Box 10675, folder 16). Another person interviewed for the archaeological site record, Hastiin Tséyaa Diniiljin (Mr. Blackish under Rock), living southwest of Wide Ruins, also identified Burly Syphilis as using the site for defense and Jiháál as a famous warrior very skilled with bow and arrow.

The NLC archaeological site form also corroborates and adds dates to our consultant's description of the site itself: fortified crag, multiroom masonry building with a tower built on a boulder, plus 6 outlying hogans (one at least was a forked-pole type) and a corral (compare Gilpin's [1996] map, which does not identify all these features]. Ceramics include pre-1800 Navajo plain and painted wares, late Anasazi plain and painted wares, and post-columbian Zuni, Hopi, Rio Grande painted wares. Tree-ring dates range from 1720-1804 (see also Bannister and others 1966).

It is worth noting that a colony of Jemez people was at Sikyatki between Antelope Mesa and Hopi First Mesa during the Awatobi period and was abandoned before the Awatobi massacre (Courlander 1982:39-54). We suggest that the Jemez clan people at Kin Náázínii (Navajo descendants of women from Jemez) might have had some connection earlier with Sikyatki or Antelope Mesa.

Kin Náázínii seems to be absent from surviving (or accessible) documents of the same time, although a document of 1743 (Hill 1940:407) describes Navajos "20 leagues" (about 50 miles) northwest of Zuni, approximately the location of Wide Ruins and Kin Náázínii. In June of 1775, Fray Silvestre Velez

de Escalante, with 17 Zunis and one Hopi interpreter, traveled an indigenous trail between Zuni and Hopi (see Map 2 above) (Adams 1963:121-122, 137; Brugge 1995). The party encountered "Navajo Apaches" irrigating fields from the spring at present Pine Springs on the Defiance Plateau east of Wide Ruins and continued on by way of Cuma'a (probably Sunrise Springs, northwest of Wide Ruins). If they used a more-or-less straight line route, they would have passed a few miles north of Kin Náázínii..

At Hopi, a messenger from Walpi (Hopi First Mesa) told the Escalante party that he had witnessed a meeting of over a hundred Navajo Apaches and they were planning to attack the party on the return trip to Zuni. The would-be attackers had spies in position to learn the date and route of return. When the Escalante party started back to Zuni, a Walpi leader sent 40 armed men "to find out whether some smokes that had been seen in the direction where we were going were of the Navajos who planned to kill us." Apparently this induced the Escalante party to return by a different route, the lower, drier one through Tanner Springs, thereby again circumventing Kin Náázínii.

The next year, Fray Escalante, along with Fray Anastasio Dominguez and party, made their famous exploration from northern New Mexico up into Utah and back by way of Glen Canyon, Navajo Mountain to Hopi and Zuni (Chavez and Warner, eds, 1976:114-115; Miera y Pacheco 1778). The return trip was by the high route from Hopi through Sunrise and Pine Springs to Zuni, again therefore bypassing Kin Náázínii. One wonders, in fact, if Kin Náázínii was positioned off but near the high route they used from Zuni so that local Navajos could watch just such travel without being seen. The surrounding hilltops provide views of terrain that these trails cross.

Closer to Klagetoh is reportedly another pueblito, "Small Klagetoh," also dating to the mid-1700s (Bannister and others 1966; Towner 2002; Gilpin 1996). Closer scrutiny of archaeological records and consultations with archaeologists Towner and Gilpin, and with Navajo residents near the recorded site location indicate no pueblito at that location. Archaeologists suggested that the site may actually be the Klagetoh Anasazi great house, but if so, the question remains whether the 1700s tre-ring-dated beam came from there (indicating re-use) or elsewhere (perhaps Kin Náázínii, misidentified).

**Raiding corridor.** The north-south corridor that Jilháál stalked encompasses a string of places with names that came from incidents of raiding and warfare before the Fort Sumner

captivity. Several recorded Navajo oral histories tell the stories (HUTR oral history interviews 21, 36, 44, 142; Kelley and Francis 1993-2005, project KF9906, 5/21 and 6/17/99, and project KF9507, 8/14/98)

The place names, from south to north, are Anaa' Hajiíná (Where the Enemy Came Up) north of Chambers; Dziłgha Ádahjéé' (Where the White Mountain Apaches Ran Down or Hilltop Descent), near Ganado; and Dziłgha Haaskai (White Mountain Apaches Went Up, or Hilltop Ascent) near Chinle (see Map 1). The places near Ganado and Chinle are places where Apaches came from the south up the corridor and massacred Navajos. (See also Nequatewa 1967:52 and Stephen 1930:1018-1019 for Hopi accounts of a killing of Hopis by Navajos in 1858 west of Ganado; local Navajo accounts apparently of the same incident have been recorded [HUTR interviews 44 and 142], one of which describes the massacre as an Apache attack on Navajos, perhaps reflecting confusion between the name for White Mountain Apaches and the almost identical word for hilltop.) According to other Navajo accounts (Roessel and Johnson, eds, 1973:58, 127, 258), in the 1800s or perhaps earlier, Mexican slave raiders took their captives from Black Mesa south past Chinle and Ganado to Chambers; another time, Navajos killed Ute attackers on top of Dziłgha Haaskai near Chinle. The placename Dziłgha Haaskai at Chinle may have some connection with a visit of Gila Apaches to Navajos at Canyon de Chelly reported by Spanish colonial observers in November 1807 (Navajo Nation 1967:286).

US military records of 1859-1860 mention Navajos farming at Wide Ruins and Tanner Springs, wintering around Wide Ruins, having livestock around Wide Ruins and down the wash to Tanner Springs (Walker and Shepherd 1964 [1859]; Navajo Nation 1967:387, 398). Medical records of the 20<sup>th</sup> century show Navajo births around Pine Springs, Klagetoh, Wide Ruins, Tanner Springs in the 1850s and 1860s (Navajo Nation 1967). In 1860, a US Army expedition attacked a settlement of Navajos at Sagebrush Spring south of Klagetoh (therefore near Kin Náázínii) and killed an elderly headman, Zarcillos Largos (McNitt 1972:396-398; Brugge 1970:33).

**Fort Sumner and resettling a reduced homeland.** As recorded Navajo oral accounts tell (Roessel and Johnson, eds, 1973, especially Gorman, Hashké Yibádooyá, Redhouse clan), the intense warfare of generations ago climaxed in the US Army's campaign against the Navajos, led by Bi'ée' Łichíí' (Red Shirt, Kit Carson) in 1863-64. According to the US Indian Agent for the captive Navajos, perhaps half (8,000 plus) of the Navajo people surrendered and went to the internment camp at Fort Sumner in eastern New Mexico, hundreds of miles from their homeland (NLC, archive documents, Steck to Dole letter of 10/10/1864). There

the Navajos spent four years (1864-68) before making a treaty with the US and returning to their homeland.

Wide Ruins is about 20 miles south of the southwest corner of the reservation created by the treaty; the present Navajo reservation includes much land added later through executive orders and other instruments, one of which added the land encompassing Wide Ruins in 1907 (Correll and Dehiya 1978:24-25). People returned to their former homes, whether in or out of the treaty reservation. Recorded family histories of Navajos living in the Wide Ruins vicinity, such as the family history connected with Kin Náázínii (see above) and others about people living around Klagetoh (Collier 1951 show that people from those places went to Fort Sumner and returned to the same places. Others avoided surrendering and hid, such as a Klagetoh family that stayed in the rugged country near Klagetoh close enough to sneak down to their cornfield every so often to get their crops. One Klagetoh family that went to Fort Sumner stayed around Fort Defiance during the decade after the return that the government distributed rations, but also kept a farm at Klagetoh and eventually resettled there. Some other families moved into the area shortly after Fort Sumner because they had kinship with people already there. Most current residents are probably descendants of these pre- and early post-Fort Sumner inhabitants.

Throughout the Little Colorado drainage system, including the Wide Ruins area, the generations before and shortly after Fort Sumner ranged over tremendous geographical areas to hunt, gather, and find the best forage for their sheep, goats, and horses. Each extended family maintained widely spaced homesites and fields to use or not depending on changing local environments, and also visited relatives when conditions at all their alternative homes were poor. (NLC, Navajo Statements; Roessel and Johnson 1973, 1976; compare Fanale 1982).

Since then, as non-Navajos settled in areas that Navajos used before Fort Sumner, and as the Navajo population has grown, people have come to use much smaller areas, as the Klagetoh family histories and others throughout the Little Colorado drainage system (cited above) attest.

No longer could families change livestock and hunting-gathering ranges to cope with drought and scarcity. Hunting and gathering, especially, were curtailed and dependence on stockraising grew. The trading posts that sprang up after Fort Sumner, and especially after 1881 when the transcontinental railroad crossed the southern part of the Navajo homeland, provided a means for people to get by in bad years: mass produced foods in exchange for wool, woven textiles, and (later)