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THE EARLY NAVAJO AND APACHE

BY FREDERICK WEBB HODGE

The oldest clan of the Navajo, according to the great creation and migration tradition of that tribe, an outline of which has been published by Dr Washington Matthews,* is the Tse'jinkíni, the House-of-the-dark-cliffs people. These are the descendants of the first two human pairs, who had their origin in the San Juan mountains, the first pair having been created by the gods from two ears of corn brought from the cliff houses in Tse'gihi, a cañon somewhere in the country north of the Rio San Juan, perhaps the Mancos or the McElmo. The Navajo estimate, as interpreted by Dr Matthews, fixes the time of the creation of this couple between 500 and 700 years ago, or seven ages of old men. Historical comparison, however, seems to establish the genesis at a more recent date.

According to the tradition, seventeen years elapsed ere the Tse'jinkíni were joined by the Tse'tlàni or Turn-in-a-cañon people. In fourteen years these two peoples were joined by the Dsilnaoçílni or Dsilnaoçílčine† (Dsilnaoçíl-mountain people). Seven years later, or 38 years after the creation, the Qackàª-qatsò-čine or Yucca people united with the others, thus forming a fourth clan. Fourteen years after the accession of the Yucca clan (52 years after the creation) these combined people moved to Chaco cañon, near the ruin of Kintyèli, where they were joined by the Naqopà'-čine, from the salt lake south of Zuñi. The tribe now moved to the San Juan. Six years afterward (58 years after the creation) a sixth band came—the Tsinajíni or Black-horizontal-forest people. As yet they had no herds, and they made their clothes mostly of cedar bark and other

* *Jour. Am. Folk Lore*, vol. III, no. ix, p. 90 et seq., 1890. Dr Matthews has now in preparation for publication the complete legend as it was related to him by the Navajo shamans. The importance of such a production may readily be conceived by any one familiar with this scholar's admirable record of the Navajo "Mountain Chant," in the Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology for 1883–'84, which, so far as I can recall, was the first complete record of an Indian ceremonial ever published.

† The character č used throughout this paper approaches in sound the English *ch* and is equivalent to the ¢ of Dr Matthews.

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vegetal fibers. Eight years after the appearance of the Tsinajíni came the Çqa'nesá'ni, so named from the place where they were first found in camp by the Navajo. This was 66 years after the creation of their first people, or, perhaps we had better say, after the appearance of the primal couple or couples.

After a period of five years succeeding the adoption of the Çqa'nesá'ni, the Dsiltlá'ni people were incorporated, and five years later (76 years after the creation) an important accession to the population of the tribe was gained from a place called Çqa'paha-qalkái, near the present town of Santa Fé. These people were therefore named Çqa'paha'-čine, and their chief was Gò"tso or Big Knee.

Years after the Çqa'paha'-čine joined the Navajo a band of Utes were adopted, and about the same time a party of these Utes made a raid on the Mexican settlements somewhere in the neighborhood of Socorro, on the Rio Grande, and captured a Spanish woman, whose descendants form the People-of-the-white-stranger or Mexican clan of the tribe. At this period Big Knee, the chief of the Çqa'paha, was still alive, but he was very old and feeble. As the age of an old man is definitely fixed by the Navajo at 102 years, the number of counters used in their game of *kesitcè*, and as the genesis tradition calls particular attention to the age and feebleness of Big Knee, it will be reasonable to assume that he was, say, 120 years of age at the time the Ute clan (Noçàčine) raided the Mexican settlement near Socorro.

Prior to 1598, the date of Juan de Oñate's journey from Mexico for the purpose of colonizing the new country, no Spaniards dwelt in New Mexico excepting the missionary left by Coronado at Pecos, who was never afterward heard of, and the two frailes killed at Tiguex before 1582. In 1617 there were only 48 soldiers and settlers in the province.* In 1630 Fray Alonzo Benavides reported that 250 Spaniards dwelt at Santa Fé;† but this town had been founded as the capital only about 20 years previously and was the sole settlement of Spanish origin in the entire province. Aside from Santa Fé, and exclusive also of the few missionaries scattered among the Indian pueblos, it is quite improbable that there were any other Spaniards in New Mexico in 1630. In 1680, the year of the great Pueblo revolt, a few over

* Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, p. 159, after early document.
† Ibid., p. 162, after Benavides.

400 Spaniards (including 21 missionaries) were killed, and some 1,950 escaped southward with Governor Otermin to El Paso. Twenty-three hundred and fifty souls, therefore, represented approximately the number of Spanish inhabitants early in 1680—a growth of but 2,100 in half a century—a population scattered along the Rio Grande for over 200 miles.

It is highly improbable that Spanish settlements existed along the lower Rio Grande earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century; certainly none were there in 1630. El Paso was settled by the Spaniards in 1659, and Albuquerque was reputed to have been founded as early as 1658, but regarding the latter authorities fail to agree. At any rate, Mexican settlements existed along the Rio Grande in 1680, when Otermin retreated from Santa Fé to El Paso, for along the way he observed several haciendas that had been destroyed by the Indians, "with evidence that the occupants had been killed." Spaniards also apparently lived in Indian pueblos at the time named, for at San Juan three Spanish women were kept alive and bore children during their captivity. According to Escalante there were one Spanish villa (Santa Fé) and several small Spanish settlements in New Mexico before 1680.*

Assuming, then, that the raid of the Spanish settlement near Socorro by the Noçàčine clan of the Navajo occurred about 1650 (while Big Knee was still alive), that the old chief was 120 years of age at that time, and that he had reached the age of at least 30 years when his people were incorporated by the Navajo, the date of the last-mentioned event must have been some 90 years previously, or approximately in 1560. It already has been seen that the accession of Big Knee's people as a clan of the Navajo took place 76 years after their creation; hence the date of the reputed divine origin of the primal couples, according to native traditional chronology, must have been about the year 1485.

It also has been shown that the Naqopà'čine from the salt lake south of Zuñi became a part of the Navajo 52 years after the creation, which from our calculation would fall in 1536. It will be remembered that Friar Marcos of Niza, on his way toward Cíbola, in July, 1539, encountered among one of the Piman tribes of northern Sonora an old Cíbolan (Zuñian) Indian, who informed him of the existence, in the north, of the

* See Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, pp. 168, 170, 181, 182, 190, 214.

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provinces of Acus, Marata, and Totonteac. Acus has been identified with Acoma, Totonteac with Tusayan, and Marata with the group of pueblos called by the Zuñi Mak'yata or Mat'yata, near the salt lakes about sixty miles southeast of Zuñi pueblo. Marata was inhabited at the time the old Cíbolan fugitive left his tribe years before, and he was, naturally enough, under the belief in 1539 that it was still an occupied pueblo, although his people had been at war with those of Marata. It appears that Marata had been abandoned on account of Zuñi hostility not very long before the conquest of Cíbola by Coronado in 1540, the year following Niza's visit to the country, for while on their way to Acoma from Hawikuh by the southern route some of Coronado's followers observed the walls of a pueblo ruin still standing to a height of thirty-six feet.* This could not have been the case had the pueblo been abandoned more than a few years. From these circumstances it would therefore appear that the Naqopà'-čine clan of the Navajo, who "came from a place south of where is now Zuñi, near the salt lake called Naqopà'," were the former inhabitants of the villages or "province" called by the Zuñi Mak'yata and recorded by Niza as Marata, and that they were forced from their old home by the Zuñi, the main body, at least, joining the Navajo about 1536.†

There is other evidence toward fixing this year (1536), or perhaps better this decade (1530–'40), as the time of the abandonment of Marata and the adoption of its people, the Naqopà'-čine or Naqopàni, by the Navajo: About 1542 the Black-horizontal-forest people made their appearance, but the Navajo "had as yet no herds; they made their clothes mostly of cedar bark and other vegetal fibers and built some store houses among the cliffs." [A statement so explicit at this point in the legend naturally leads to the conclusion that about this period occurred a most important chapter in the history of the tribe—the introduction of sheep and cattle. In the more detailed part of this legend given by Dr Matthews‡ it is related that the first sheep,

* Relacion de lo que Hernando de Alvarado y Fray Joan de Padilla descubrieron, etc., 1540, in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, III, p. 511.

† I have been informed by Mr F. H. Cushing that some of the Mak'yata people were adopted by the Zuñi, and that certain words of their language are still preserved in some of their sacred rituals. Examination by Mr Gatschet of such terms as Mr Cushing found it possible to record seems to indicate Keresan affinity.

‡ Noqoilpi, the Gambler: A Navajo Myth, in *Jour. Am. Folk Lore*, vol II, no. 5, 1889, p. 89.

asses, horses, swine, goats, fowls, and manufactured cloth, as well as the first Mexicans, were created by Bekotciče, the God Who Carries the Moon, for a legendary hero named Noqoìlpi, who, after his visit to Bekotciče in the sky soon after the Navajo appeared at Kintyèli, which pueblo was then in process of building, descended far to the south of his former abode and reached the earth in old Mexico. "Naqoìlpi's people [the Mexicans or Spaniards] increased greatly in Mexico," runs the legend, "and after a while they began to move toward the north and build towns along the Rio Grande."

That one part of the legend should so thoroughly support other portions in point of time is remarkable, and emphasizes the weakness of Zuñi tradition when compared with it.* The coming of the Naqopà'-čine, the subsequent accession of the Black-horizontal-forest people, and the advent of the Mexicans under the guidance of Noqoìlpi with their horses, sheep, cattle, and bayeta, of which they make their finest blankets, all tend to show that the Marata people were incorporated about the year 1536, and that the Spaniards came with their civilizing influence a few years later. The first flocks and herds were brought to New Mexico by Coronado's army late in 1540, and there seems to be every reason for believing that the then insignificant Navajo obtained their first supply of livestock through the Pueblos soon after the army left the country in 1542, as the legend indicates.†

Some twenty-four years after the adoption of the Naqopà'-čine from the salt lake, or about the year 1560, the first Apache came from the south in a large band and joined the Navajo, forming the Tsejinčiài (Black-standing-rocks) people. Between the latter date and the occurrence of the Socorro episode of 1650, above referred to, the Čestcìni (Red-streak) and Tlastcìni (Flat-red-ground) Apache peoples were incorporated. These three clans formed a phratry. The Navajo tribe now had nineteen clans, distributed about as follows:

One Athapascan (the original Navajo; evidently cliff-dwellers).
Three Apache, one being mentioned as a large band.
Two Yuman, evidently Mojave or Walapai, and Havasupai.

* See "The First Discovered City of Cibola," in *Am. Anthrop.*, April, 1895.

† The army left Compostela with 5,000 sheep and 150 cows of Spanish breed; these were the first that were brought into the country now forming the United States.

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One Marata, evidently of Keresan stock.

One from north of the San Juan, possibly Shoshonean.

A single Ute family, who joined the Çqá'paha, besides one girl, whose descendants formed a new clan.

One from near Santa Fé (in two bands), with whom some Zuñi were afterward affiliated without forming a separate clan. This is the Çqá'paha and was regarded as populous. Doubtless of Tanoan stock.

Three miscellaneous Pueblo clans, including one from a Rio Grande pueblo, one from near Jemez, and another clan mentioned as potters and basket-makers.

Six of unknown origin.

We may safely assume, I think, that at this period the language as well as the institutions and industries of the Navajo underwent the greatest and most rapid change. Dr Matthews has determined, by careful comparison with northern Athapascan vocabularies, that the original Navajo was remotely connected with the same stock. The adoption of the Pueblo* potters, basket-makers, and weavers taught them new arts, but the introduction of sheep, which made them a pastoral people, evidently tended to cause their basketry and pottery industries to decline, yet advanced the art of weaving among them even beyond that of their Pueblo teachers. So with the language of the tribe: It is known that on the arrival of the important Çqá'paha no evidence of relationship between that people and the Navajo was discernible; so the two bodies dwelt apart, but on friendly terms, for twelve years ere the Çqá'paha were received into the tribe. Now, as to the difference in language of the two divisions. In his outline of the tradition Dr Matthews remarks:

"Up to this time all the old gentes spoke one common tongue, the old Navajo; but the speech of the Çqá'paha was different. In order to reconcile the differences, the chief of the Tsinajíni and the chief of the Çqá'paha, whose name was Gò"tso, or Big Knee, met night after night for many years to talk about the two languages and to pick out the words of each which were the best. But the words of the Çqá'paha [according to a member of that clan] were usually the plainest and best, so the

*The original Navajo, indeed, judging by their name, "House of the Dark Cliffs People," appear to have been a pueblo people, or at least cliff-dwellers, although not potters nor basket-makers.

present Navajo language resembles more the old Çqá'paha than the old Navajo."

The effect of the language of the newly incorporated clans on the "old Navajo" prior to the Çqá'paha accretion was probably very slight, as the new clans were small. We find, however, that the effect of the Çqá'paha tongue on that of the Navajo was great—so great, indeed, that it may be traced even today. This fact is mentioned as tending to show that had not the Navajo, prior to the Çqá'paha accession, been a very small tribe this newly adopted people could not have made a lasting impression on the Navajo language. Dr Matthews is evidently of the same opinion regarding the former insignificance of the tribe, for he says: "The myth speaks of these cliff-dwellers as gods; but it is not difficult to believe that the rude Athapascan wanderers, in the days when they subsisted on small mammals, such as prairie dogs, and on the seeds of wild plants (as their legends relate), may have regarded the prosperous agricultural cliff-dwellers as gods."* In this connection it also should be mentioned that Big Knee's people wandered in the country of the Navajo for eighteen days before any of the latter people were encountered.

From a study of the early history of the southwestern Athapascan and neighboring tribes, one is at once convinced that the Apache group, at present much smaller, but always more aberrant, than the Navajo tribe, were of such little importance until after the middle of the seventeenth century that they occupied a very limited and not definitely determinable area; that by the continual addition of small bands of foreign or kindred peoples during the succeeding few decades, in a manner similar to the various Navajo adoptions, their importance to the surrounding tribes gradually increased with their numbers, and their aggressiveness with both.

About the time of the adoption of the first three Apache clans who had come from the south, and their organization into a phratry of the Navajo, the first known Spanish reference to the Apache tribe was made by Juan de Oñate.† This was in 1598.

*Some Illustrations of the Connection between Myth and Ceremony, *Memoirs Int. Cong. Anthrop.*, Chicago, 1894, p. 249.

†Oñate, Obediencia y vasallaje de San Juan Baptista, 1598, in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, p. 114: "Todos los Apaches desde la Sierra Nevada hacia la parte del Norte y Poniente." Further on, after speaking of the Jemez: . . . "y mas, todos los Apaches (*sic*) y Cocoyes de sus sierras y comarcas."

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The Apache then resided in the "Snowy mountains" of New Mexico, probably not more than seventy-five miles south of the San Juan home of the Navajo, and not in the southern country, in the White mountain section northward from the Gila—the *despoblado*, or uninhabited region, as Coronado's chroniclers aptly termed it. I believe that if any Apache were in the southern country in the sixteenth century they were about the headwaters of the Gila, in the present New Mexico, where Benavides found them 30 leagues (80 miles) from Senecú, and where, indeed, a missionary is said to have established himself as early as 1628. It appears more likely, however, that the Apache, like the Navajo, gradually increased in population, and about the date last given had already become broken up into bands, mainly for hunting purposes, which were termed Apaches de Xila (Gila) and Apaches Vaqueros (buffalo-hunters). The Navajo were now classed with the Apache, and are for the first time called Apaches de Navajo.*

When in 1539 Niza crossed the desert between the Gila and Cíbola, the present Apache country, he encountered no resident strangers, nor were any seen either by Coronado or Jaramillo in the year following. None of these chroniclers, moreover, mention any difficulty existing between the Zuñi and Apache or any other people in the south except the villagers formerly at Marata, or indeed between the Apache and the various Piman tribes—inveterate enemies in later times. Had the Apache been in this section the narrators could not have failed to notice them. The only suspicion of the occupancy of the southern Arizona country by the Apache is that aroused by a statement of Castañeda to the effect that in the region round about Chichilticali—which Mr Bandelier has placed "where now is Fort Grant, on the south of the Rio Gila, near the Arivaypa"—dwelt a "gente mas barbara de las que bieron hasta alli biuen en rancherias sin poblados biben decasar y todo los mas es despoblado."†

If Mr Bandelier's determination of the location of Chichilticali is correct, and there can be no reason for doubting its accuracy, then that ruin must have been in the heart of the Sobaipuri

* See Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, pp. 162, 163, 1889.

† Through the courtesy of Mr George Parker Winship, of Harvard University, I have been enabled to consult his copy of the narrative of Castañeda, now in Lenox library, New York city, as well as kindred documents which, with English translations and copious notes, will shortly be published. All references to unpublished documents throughout this paper were made possible by Mr Winship's generosity.

country, and these or the congeneric Opata were in all probability the savages to whom Castañeda alludes. The Sobaipuri during the mission period occupied San Pedro, Santa Cruz, and Arivaipa valleys and the adjacent part of the Gila. They were driven from their stronghold by the Apache in 1762 and forced to join the Papago, of whom they were a direct offshoot.* The fact that they are referred to as dwelling in isolated cabins, as being savage, and as living by the chase, is not at all surprising; indeed, these characteristics pertained quite as well to some of the early Piman tribes as to the later known Apache. The following remarks of the Viceroy Mendoza † support this belief in part: "Melchior Diaz says that the [Piman] peoples whom he found along the way *do not have settled location anywhere* except in one valley, which is one hundred and fifty leagues from Culuacan, which is settled and has houses with platforms, and that there are many people along the way, but that they are not good for anything except to make them Christians."

The early writings concerning the Piman tribes are replete with references to their intertribal warfare. Castañeda records that these people were "all at war with one another." The name of the Opata, a tribe of Piman stock, signifies *enemy*, and was applied to them by their kindred, the Pimas Altas. The ferocity of the Piman tribes at this early date is further demonstrated by their destruction, in 1541, of the newly established Spanish town of Corazones. Jaramillo calls attention to the fact that "at first the Indians [Pimas of Sonora valley] were peaceful and afterwards not, but instead they and those whom they were able to summon thither *were our worst enemies*. They have a poison with which they killed several Christians." This chronicler speaks of no Indians, hostile or otherwise, in the vicinity of Chichilticali, although he mentions the trivial circumstance of having seen, a few days later, an Indian or two at his Rio Vermejo (the Colorado Chiquito), "who afterwards turned out to be from the first settlement of Cíbola." Concerning this neighborhood, Coronado,‡ shortly after his arrival at Cíbola, says: "No Indian was seen for the first day's march [from Chichilticali toward Cíbola], after which four Indians came out with signs of peace, saying that they had been sent to that desert place to say

* Bourke in *Jour. Am. Folk Lore*, III, p. 114, 1890. Bandelier, Final Report, part I, p. 102, 1890.

† Letter to the King, April 17, 1540.

‡ Letter to Mendoza, August 3, 1540.

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that we were welcome, and that on the next day all the tribe would provide the whole force with food. The army-master gave them a cross, telling them to say to the people in their city that they need not fear, and that they ought to have their people stay in their own houses."

Coronado could not have been mistaken in these Indians. They were, as he thought, men of Cíbola, and they were prepared for him when, some days later, he reached that place and found the houses at Hawikuh defended by the natives, the roofs being abundantly supplied with stones, which were freely and effectually used by the Indians against these first white invaders.

Castañeda does not mention, in his account of Coronado's journey in advance of the main army, anything concerning a wild tribe having been seen in the locality under consideration. He merely remarks that Chichilticali "had been built by a civilized and warlike race of strangers who had come from a distance."* He, however, describes Gallego's journey from Culiacan to meet Coronado, having traveled a distance of 200 leagues "with the country in a state of war and the people in rebellion, having encounters with them every day, although they had formerly been friendly towards the Spaniards."†

The statement of the *Relacion del Suceso* also is opposed to the theory of the occupancy at this early date of the southern Arizona country by the Apache. This anonymous document relates: "This whole way [from Culiacan] up to about 50 leagues before reaching Cíbola is inhabited, although away from the road in some places." It is gathered from this that in 1540 the Piman settlements were as continuous toward the northeast as they were just before the Sobaipuri became extinct as a tribe. The occupancy of the country the entire distance from the south left no place for the Apache, who have always been regarded as the hereditary enemy of the Piman tribes.

The circumstances attending the return of Coronado's army in 1542, after leaving Cíbola, were similar to those of the journey northward. The wilderness or *despoblado*, the present White Mountain Apache country, Castañeda says, "was crossed without opposition;" but when the troops departed from Chichilticali to make their way into Sonora—that is, through the Sobaipuri and Opata country—"in several places yells were heard and Indians seen, and some of the horses were wounded

* Relacion, part I.

† Ibid, part III, cap. 7.

and killed, until Batuco* was reached, where the friendly Indians from Corazones came to meet the army and see the General. They [the Eudeve and Nevome] were always friendly and had treated well all the Spaniards who had passed through their country."†

The Casa Grande of the Gila and the other extensive but now ruined pueblo structures of Gila and Salado valleys are claimed by the Pima to have been the homes of their ancestors. The destruction of these settlements, however, is not attributed by them to the Apache, but indefinitely to "enemies who came from the east in several bodies," and who compelled their abandonment; "but the settlements at Zacaton, Casa Blanca, etc., still remained, and there is even a tale of an intertribal war between the Pimas of Zacaton and those of Casa Blanca after the ruin of Casa Grande. Finally, the pueblos fell one after the other, until the Pimas, driven from their homes and, moreover, decreased by a fearful plague, became reduced to a small tribe."‡ Had the Apache been responsible for this destruction the Pima could not have failed to note it in their tradition.

This subject has been dwelt on thus extendedly in order to show that the statement of Castañeda concerning the "gente mas barbara" might have referred rather to one of the Piman tribes, notably the Sobaipuri or Opata, than to the Apache, and consequently that the Apache were not in southern Arizona or northern Sonora at this early date.

Indications of Apache and Navajo§ hostility toward the

* There were two villages of Batuco, one occupied by the Tegüis division of the Opata, the other by the Eudeve. The latter, situated on the Rio Montezuma, a tributary of the Yaqui, in latitude 29°, was the first village of the Eudeve going from the north after passing through the country of the troublesome Opatas, and is the Batuco referred to by Castañeda

† Castañeda, Relacion, part III.

‡ Bandelier in 5th Ann. Rep. Arch. Inst. Am., pp. 80, 81, 1884. The eastern enemies referred to may have been the Toboso, a very warlike tribe, formerly of the lower Rio Grande. This long range is not at all improbable, as even the Comanche from Texas raided Piman rancherías during the present century.

§ I do not use the terms Apache and Navajo in the same sense as did many of the earliest writers and cartographers, who referred to the latter as the Apaches Navajos or Apache de Navajo. The name Apache is probably of Yuman origin, the term *é-patch* being the Kuchan and Maricopa name for "man." Navajo is possibly from the Spanish *navaja*, a knife, properly a clasp-knife, and I am informed by Mr James Mooney that the name was evidently applied to this people because in former times they were accustomed to carry long stone knives, the simulation of the action of whetting which was their tribal sign in Indian gesture speech. The Spanish term *navajo* signifies a pool; also a level piece of ground.

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Pueblos appear in history about a quarter of a century after they became known to the Spaniards, for in 1622 the missionary field was enlarged through endeavors to approach the Navajo and Apache. "They were successful only for a short time, but saved the tribe of Jemez from utter destruction by those hereditary foes of all civilization. The villages of the Jemez had already been abandoned in consequence of the forays of the Navajos,"* although not many years afterward the Apache appear in the rôle of allies of the Jemez, Tewa, and Piros against the Spaniards.†

The pueblos in closest proximity were naturally the first prey of the Apache and Navajo; consequently Jemez, the westernmost of the Rio Grande villages, hence the nearest to the Apache group in northwestern New Mexico, was the first to suffer. Emboldened by their success, their incursions were extended to other directions, and as the tribe grew they conducted their depredations more successfully by dividing into bands, which later became known by the names of the country forming their respective ranges, as Pinaleño, White Mountain, Chiricahui (improperly called Chiricahua), Gileño, etc., or from some personal characteristic, as Mescalero, Coyotero, Vaquero, etc.

The effect of these depredations on the life of the Pueblos was very great. At the time the Apache appear in history many of the village Indians, notably the Jemez, Zuñi, and Sia, dwelt in several scattered towns situated mainly with reference to convenience to the fields. So far as is known, none of the Pueblos west of the Rio Grande were molested by warlike nomads prior to the seventeenth century, although the sedentary Acoma, according to Castañeda, "were robbers, feared by the whole country round about."‡ On the Rio Grande proper, however, seven villages had been visited and destroyed prior to 1540 by Indians "who painted their eyes, and who lived in the same regions as the cows [buffaloes], and that they have houses of straw and corn."§ Who these warlike plains tribes were matters little in the present paper. There is no evidence, however, that they were Apache, although it has been asserted that Coronado's

* Bandelier, after Benavides and Vetancurt, in Doc. Hist. Zuñi Tribe, *Jour. Am. Eth. and Arch.*, J. Walter Fewkes, editor, vol. III, p. 95, 1892.

† Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, p. 167 et seq., 1889.

‡ Relacion, part I. § Alvarado, op. cit.

Querechos were identical with the later Apaches Vaqueros. Mr James Mooney, during a long period of study among the plains tribes, has discovered that Querecho is an old Comanche name of the Tonkawa, who ranged the buffalo plains of western Texas and eastern New Mexico.

Although the western Pueblos apparently enjoyed immunity from predatory enemies, yet they had defensive structures. As the Zuñi, for instance, for reasons above given, could not have been molested at this early date by the Apache and Navajo, and as they were much too far from the plains tribes to have been harassed by them, we must look in another direction for the meaning of their defensive structures. I think it will not be denied that nearly if not quite all the Pueblos are composite peoples, the component bodies having belonged to different stocks and having migrated from different directions, in a manner similar to the various gentile groups of the Navajo, so thoroughly set forth by Dr Matthews, as Dr Fewkes has well shown was the case of the Tusayan,* and as is well known to be the case of the modern pueblo of Laguna. Yet these peoples had their intertribal broils, and villages were divided in consequence.† Thus may be accounted for the defensive character of the Zuñi pueblo of Matsaki, of which Castañeda ‡ says:

"In this village particular houses are used as fortresses. They are higher than the others and set up above them like towers, and there are embrasures and loopholes in them for defending the roofs of the different stories, because, like the other villages, they do not have streets, and the flat roofs are all of a height and are used in common. The roofs have to be reached first, and these upper houses are the means of defending them. It began to snow on us there and the force took refuge under the wings of the village, which extend out like balconies, with wooden pillars beneath, because they generally use ladders to go up to those balconies, since they do not have any doors below." Such a village might have withstood an Indian siege, but how long it would have taken the Spaniards to capture it may be answered by the fate of the Zuñi pueblo of Hawikuh, into which had as-

* Fewkes, "The Kinship of a Tanoan-speaking Community in Tusayan," *Am. Anthrop.*, Apr., 1894. "The Kinship of the Tusayan Villagers," *Ibid.*, Oct., 1894.

† See, for instance, Fewkes in *Am. Anthrop.*, VI, p. 363, who shows how the pueblo of Awatobi was destroyed by other Tusayan villagers.

‡ Relacion, part I.

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sembled the entire warrior population of a tribe of some 3,000 souls, when Coronado compelled its surrender within an hour with 75 companions on horseback and 30 footmen,* notwithstanding "the crossbowmen broke all the strings of their crossbows and the musketeers could do nothing, because they had arrived so weak and feeble that they could scarcely stand on their feet."† Such a poor stand against Coronado's weakened little force shows quite clearly that the Zuñi were unaccustomed to predatory warfare, for they knew of the advance of the Spaniards and were prepared to meet them.‡ This, however, was not the case of the Pueblos on the Rio Grande, who were exposed to the Comanche and Tonkawa particularly; for, although Coronado's army stormed Tiguex and cruelly butchered hundreds of innocent natives, they held their village against the whites for fifty days, when an armistice was declared.

Such was the condition of affairs in the sixteenth century. In 1622, as above cited, the Jemez were compelled to abandon their villages on account of Navajo raids from the northwest; in 1670, Hawikuh, one of the two most important of the six Zuñi villages and the southwesternmost of the group, was completely abandoned on account of Apache depredation, and within five years from that time the six villages of the Salinas east of the Rio Grande, including the famous Tabirá, or "Gran Quivira," were also destroyed and their inhabitants compelled to seek refuge among their kindred along the lower Rio Grande.

For nearly two hundred years after the coming of Oñate the history of the Pueblo tribes is one of Apache rapine. In 1680, soon after the destruction of the Tiwa and Piro pueblos of the Salinas, began the great Pueblo insurrection against Spanish authority, which, strictly speaking, continued until 1692. To what extent the Pueblos were harassed by the Apache during this hiatus in Spanish sway there is of course no record, but after the revolt we do not find the old villages reconstructed in their former unprotected situations; but, on the contrary, each tribe, who occupied several villages before the rebellion, now erected

* This is according to the *Traslado de las Nuevas* (1540). The *Relacion del Suceso* says 80 horsemen, 25 foot soldiers, and some part of the artillery. Jaramillo says 70 horsemen.

† Coronado's letter to Mendoza, August 3, 1540.

‡ The Zuñi are termed Sara-ide, "cowards," by the Tiwa of Isleta. It is the only name by which they are known among that people.

and dwelt in a large communal structure. Such, for example, is the present Zuñi. Today, with but two exceptions, no pueblo in New Mexico occupies the site it held in the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth century,* or before, let us say, the inception of Apache invasion. The exceptions are Acoma and Isleta. The former pueblo occupies the mesa which it held when Coronado passed through the country. The reason is plain: the mesa was not continuously occupied on account of its impregnable character, but because of the inexhaustible water supply for domestic use in a natural cleft near the summit. While Isleta stands on its prehistoric site, as determined by Mr Lummis, the habitancy of the pueblo has not been continuous.

We may now properly assume, I think, that selection of village sites by the Pueblos prior to 1680 was made mainly with reference to convenience in their agricultural pursuits, which depended on irrigation—that is, the selection was environmental and not made with regard to predatory enemies (although the defensive motive, on account of intertribal difficulties, entered into the construction); and from 1680 until the subjection of the Apache and his Navajo cousin—the period of the single communal village—pueblo architecture, if not site selection, became seriously affected by the incursions of these aberrant tribes. In view of this fact, then, one may, in these days of absolute freedom from Apache raids, look for a further change—the segregation of the single village into many small villages similar to those occupied when the Spaniards first came. This transition is already in progress. Laguna† is being gradually abandoned, and what were its summer villages a few years ago are now permanently occupied; likewise at Zuñi, where Nutria, Pescado, and Ojo Caliente, farming settlements a decade ago, are now inhabited the year around, and most new houses at Zuñi proper are built a short distance away from the great hive rather than as additions to it.

The etymology of the name Tusayan, as generally interpreted, makes it at first appear that the Hopi came in contact with the Navajo or Apache early in the sixteenth century, and that the

* Bandelier, Final Report, I, p. 34. Lummis, Man Who Married the Moon, p. 54.

† Laguna Indian Villages, in *Am. Anthrop.*, October, 1891, p. 345.

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name reached the Spaniards indirectly through one of these Athapascan tribes. This term, as applied to the Hopi country, became known to history in various forms in 1540, when the Zuñi informed Coronado of the existence to the northwestward of a province of that name containing seven towns. Several attempts to determine the etymology of the name have been made. Dr Matthews suggests the Navajo *To'caiya*, "water under the sand;" *To'tse'ya*, "water under the rocks," and *Časaá'* (*č*=*td*), "lying on top," said of something lying on a shelf. The last name is in part applied to a hill which the Navajo call Dsil-časaá', and which is recorded on the more recent maps as Zilh Tusayan. Captain Bourke gives *Tuslanapa*, *Tusla*, *Tuslanyo*, *Tu-sahn*, and finally *Tusayan*, the somewhat elastic name of an Apache clan, signifying "plenty of water." According to Mr Cushing, the Zuñi name of a former group of pueblos at or near Tusayan proper was Usaya. The similarity in the Athapascan terms given by Dr Matthews and Captain Bourke to the name Tusayan as applied to the Hopi tribal range seems to be fortuitous, especially when their etymology is analyzed. *Usaya* was evidently the Zuñi form of *Asa*, the native name of the important Tansy Mustard clan and phratry of the Hopi, whose "valley" is mentioned in the writings of Espejo in 1583 as Asay and Osay. This element in the name T(usay)an is quite apparent. The failure of the Spaniards to meet the Apache or Navajo until 1598 renders it impossible for the name Tusayan, as applied in 1540 to the Hopi tribal range, to be of Athapascan origin, notwithstanding the appropriateness of some of the terms suggested. Even if the Zuñi and Navajo had intercourse at this early day, the former, in all probability, would not have borrowed the Navajo name of the Hopi country. There was frequent intercourse between the Zuñi and Hopi at this date, the former obtaining most, if not all, of their cotton from Tusayan.

From the foregoing discussion the following conclusions are drawn:

1. The creation and migration tradition of the Navajo is remarkably accurate regarding the chronologic sequence of the events recorded therein, as attested by historical comparison.

2. The appearance of the ancestors of the Navajo tribe in San Juan valley not earlier than the latter part of the fifteenth century is established beyond reasonable doubt.

3. The original Navajo, being remotely of Athapascan stock and making their appearance at the time given, were probably a cliff-dwelling people. As the first accessions from the Apache were not made until many years after the advent of the primal couple in the San Juan region, the Navajo cannot be regarded as an offshoot of the Apache, as previously supposed.

4. At the time the Navajo appeared in the southwest the Apache were already there, forming, as judged from the various branches thereof which joined the Navajo at an early date, a more populous body than the Navajo; but each of these tribes was very insignificant in point of population.

5. The Apache did not occupy the region of southern Arizona or northern Sonora nor the plains of Texas in the middle of the sixteenth century, but more probably limited areas in northwestern and southwestern New Mexico.

6. The Navajo were a composite people even before the eighteenth century, the tribe then embodying remnants of the Athapascan, Tanoan, Keresan, Zuñian, Shoshonean, Yuman, and possibly other Indian linguistic stocks, in addition to a slight admixture of Aryan.

7. Owing to their weakness and consequent lack of agressiveness, the Navajo and Apache did not molest the Pueblo tribes prior to the seventeenth century.

8. The Navajo acquired their first flocks and herds through the Pueblos soon after 1542, an event which changed their mode of life and formed an epoch in their tribal history.

9. The accession of at least one foreign clan by the Navajo had a marked effect on the language of the tribe—a fact that should be considered in the classification of all linguistic groups.

10. The defensive character of at least the western pueblos previously to 1680 was due not to predatory nomads, but to intertribal broils.

11. The time of the abandonment of Niza's province of Marata is established with reasonable accuracy.

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12. The village of Kintyèli in Chaco cañon was built shortly after 1542.

13. Indian tradition, when preserved in a manner that insures approximate accuracy of detail, particularly as regards numbers and chronologic sequence, and when recorded without interpolation and carefully employed, may be used to substantiate historical events.

14. Indian tradition, although apparently bearing evidence of great antiquity, may be of very recent origin.

RELATION OF SOCIOLOGY TO ANTHROPOLOGY

BY LESTER F. WARD

Almost any subject may be classified in more than one way. Anthropology is the science of man, and taken in its broadest sense it embraces everything that concerns the human race. It first received prominence at the hands of Paul Broca, the eminent student of man in his physical relations. Owing to his influence, it was long restricted to the study of the human body; but so appropriate a term could not be thus bound down, and to-day it has come to receive the broadest meaning of which it admits. The Anthropological Society of Washington, which was founded in 1879, introduced into its constitution the following classification of the science:

1. Somatology; 2. Sociology; 3. Philology; 4. Philosophy; 5. Psychology, and 6. Technology. These subdivisions were adopted, after prolonged and careful consideration, by such men as Maj. J. W. Powell, Director of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, Colonel Garrick Mallery, the eminent student of sign language and kindred subjects, and Prof. Otis T. Mason, Curator of Ethnology for the United States National Museum. It has been found during sixteen years' experience that every subject proper to be brought before the Society could be classed under some one of these heads.

Here, as will be seen, sociology is made a subdivision of anthropology, and properly so; but this does not in any way invalidate an entirely different classification in which sociology is made the generic science, and anthropology is looked upon as in some sense a part of sociology. It all depends upon the point of view. As man is the being with whom sociology deals, that science, of course, belongs to the science of man; but if we look upon sociology as embracing everything relating to associated man, a large part of the facts and phenomena of anthropology overlap upon its domain, and it becomes important to consider the relations subsisting among these phenomena. Moreover, the phenomena of association are not exclusively confined to

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