

chapter 3

heritage themes and related resources

DEVELOPMENT OF THE HERITAGE THEMES

The seven heritage themes in this chapter emerged directly from public input. During Meeting Two of the series of four Working Group meetings described in Chapter 1, participants were divided into small groups and given large maps of the Little Colorado watershed. They were then asked a series of four questions designed to elicit responses that would describe the heritage of the region.

- ◆ If you had a two-week dream vacation in the Little Colorado River watershed, where would you go?
- ◆ If you had to describe this area to someone who had never been here, what would you say?
- ◆ When friends or family come to visit, where do you take them?
- ◆ If “something” were to leave this area forever, what would you miss most?

Participants drew or wrote their responses on the maps. In most cases, the maps were completely covered with sites, references to historical

events, notes about the current diversity of cultures found in the watershed, and lists of activities related to outdoor recreation or local festivals. Continuing in their small groups, participants reviewed all of the items placed on the maps and devised between four and six themes that would capture all of the items. Each small group then reported its themes to the whole group. The whole group then worked all of themes suggested by each smaller group into one set of between four and six themes. This process took place at five meetings in five different locations across the watershed and resulted in a total of 25 heritage themes being suggested. Many of the themes from a Working Group in one meeting location were virtually the same as themes suggested by one or more Working Groups in other meeting locations, thus giving evidence that particular themes indeed identified prevalent, consistent, and over-arching characteristics of the region. The Heritage Programs Coordinator reviewed all 25 suggestions and found seven common themes that united the most frequently suggested themes by the Working Groups. Those seven unifying themes became the seven

heritage themes described in this chapter:

- ◆ Sacred and Enchanted Landscapes
- ◆ Trails, Roads, and Rails of the West
- ◆ Native Nations
- ◆ Living from the Land
- ◆ Archaeology
- ◆ Expressions of Art and Life
- ◆ Outdoor Recreation

After establishing the seven heritage themes, the next round of Working Group meetings focused on identifying resources within the watershed that reflected, interpreted, or embodied one or more themes. The seven themes

were written on large pieces of paper and participants wrote down the name of the resource (a site, event, organization, business, etc.) and its general location on the paper of the particular theme the resource fit. Participants were asked to identify resources that related to tourism as well as those that served local communities, although often a single resource fulfilled both functions. Often, too, a single resource reflected more than one theme. The related resources sections that appear in each heritage theme chapter are a direct result of data generated during these Working Group meetings.

Theme 4 Native Nations

SUMMARY OF THEME

From the oldest petroglyphs and ruins to present-day arts and crafts production, the Native American influence on the Little Colorado area landscape and the landscape's influence on Native culture cannot be overstated. Today, fully one-half of the proposed Little Colorado River Valley National Heritage Area is comprised of American Indian Reservation lands. The entire valley has been occupied by Native Americans for at least 10,000 years (see "Archaeology" theme), and thus there is a long and varied history of migration and settlement by numerous cultural groups in different places and times. Today the valley is home to two Pueblo tribes, the Hopi and the Zuni, and their entire reservations are contained within the watershed.

The valley also contains the southern portion of the United States' largest Indian Reservation, the Navajo Nation. The White Mountain Apache Reservation borders the National Heritage Area boundary to the south, and this group's cultural influence, both prehistoric and modern-day, can be felt throughout the White Mountains. While Native Americans differ from community to community and from individual to individual in their blend of traditional and modern lifestyles, the family ties and cultural histories of these four groups provide strong connections to the Little Colorado River Valley. Their traditions and those of other Southwestern cultures are celebrated in the areas many museums, cultural parks, public events, and other institutions. Of

greater significance, these traditions are integrated into the daily lives of these Native Nations.

DESCRIPTION OF THEME

Reliable, accurate, and in-depth cultural information about most Southwestern tribes is difficult for non-tribal members to ascertain. Although the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and Apache have been studied by numerous non-Native anthropologists and other Westerners for more than a century, the information gathered and resulting publications of most of these outsiders is generally regarded by tribal members as incomplete or inaccurate to varying degrees. Throughout history, anthropologists conducted themselves with varying degrees of sensitivity and scruples, thus often adding to the legacy of Western extraction of Native cultural information and actual material objects for purposes that mostly benefited Western researchers or institutions and gave little in return to Native communities. This too, affected the quality and integrity of their writings.

Furthermore, no Hopi or Zuni or Navajo or Apache person knows the complete history or all of the cultural rituals associated with their own tribe. This is because knowledge is passed in a highly structured manner according to one's individual clan or according to one's membership in other tribal societies such as a kiva group, curing or medicine society, or priesthood. The knowledge individuals receive as a result of clan or other memberships is intentionally kept secret, even from

other members of the tribe who maintain different memberships. It is believed that the knowledge should only be known by people who have been taught it through rituals or been properly initiated into the special society. Although not public knowledge, this knowledge is the basis of the past and continuing cultural practices and beliefs of all four tribes. A most basic and generalized account of some cultural components for each tribe is included in this chapter, along with historical information regarding the tribes' development after Spanish contact. The reader should know, however, that it is impossible to give in a report of this sort a full review, even a generalized one, of an entire culture's many interrelated practices and beliefs that developed over the past several thousand years. Far greater depth of meaning and connection between beliefs and the activities of daily life are realized by tribal members in their own realm of experience and knowledge.

Hopi

The present-day Hopi reservation includes Antelope, First, Second, and Third Mesas in northeast Arizona. Several Hopi villages were founded here as early as the A.D. 1300s, attesting to the historical depth of ancestral Hopi groups in the Little Colorado area. In fact, the Hopi village of Oraibi is one of the oldest continuously occupied settlements north of Mexico. The Hopi have strong connections to a much larger area of Arizona and New Mexico than their present-day reservation. This larger area was the place of the most frequent and recent clan migrations before the clas coalesced on the Mesas. The term Hopi often is translated as "good" or "peaceful," but more properly means "one who follows the right path." The

Hopi language is of the Uto-Aztecan family. Hopi population at the time of Spanish contact is estimated at about 2,800. After dropping to around 2,000 in 1907, the Hopi now number about 7,500.

The Hopi tribe is comprised of many clans. Hopi believe they are now living in the Fourth World. People left the three previous worlds in time because the corrupt ways of the vast majority of the people made life unbearable for those who still tried to follow the right path. People emerged into this world through an opening in the earth. This opening is at a place called *Sipapu*, which is an actual land formation at the confluence of the Little and main Colorado Rivers. The concept of emerging from the earth is extremely important in terms of the general Hopi worldview. The idea of "Mother Earth" takes on a deeper layer of meaning as the idea of emerging from the middle of the earth onto its surface is easily comparable to the birth of a baby from its mother's womb into the rest of the world. Both Hopi and Zuni mothers traditionally went into a secluded, shaded room for 20 days upon the birth of their babies. The darkened room symbolized the darker underworlds and was thought to protect the mother and newborn from the hazards of everyday life. The baby "emerged" from this room on the 21st day to great ceremony. Upon death, Hopi believe they will return as rain clouds that will continue to enable the growth of life, including humans, on earth.

After emergence, a mocking bird had the people select an ear of corn that would determine their way of life. He explained that selecting the yellow ear would bring a short life, but one full of enjoyment and prosperity. Choosing the blue ear would mean a life of work and hardship, but the life would be

long. Speckled corn, white corn, and red corn all had different implications. The Navajos, Sioux, Comanches, and Utes picked their ears even before he finished the explanations. The people who were to become Hopis were left with the blue corn, and thus the prospect of a hard life. The next day they began their migrations. (For more information on the migrations, which lasted for thousands of years, see the "Trails, Roads, and Rails of the West" theme previously in this chapter.) During the migrations they formed into distinct clans, but did not consider themselves to be true Hopis until they reached the Mesas. The Mesas were the home of the God *Masawu*, but he said the arriving clans could live there if they followed a right way of life. The Bear Clan arrived first and settled the town of Shungopavi near a spring on Second Mesa. (The current community of Shungopavi, on top of the mesa, was established after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.) The Bear Clan are the traditional leaders and required that each succeeding clan contribute a particular talent or ceremony that would support the life of all of the people. In this way, the different clans came to preside over different ceremonies that control different aspect of daily life, such as planting or bringing the rains, and each clan was an important part of the integrated whole of the society.

The escape from the corruption of the previous three worlds was not total, however, and over time things got out of balance again. The Hopis invited the kachina spirits to come live with them to help restore order. One kachina arrived to assess the situation, and then returned to bring the other kachinas. The kachina agreed to the people's request for their aid, but required that people dedicate half the year to ceremonies for the kachinas. The people agreed and condensed their already

full calendar of clan and society-related ceremonies to accommodate the kachinas. Every year, kachinas leave their home in the San Francisco Peaks about the time of *Soyalangw* (winter solstice) and return to the Mesas to live among the people and to listen to their prayers, especially prayers for rain. This begins the half-year cycle of kachina ceremonies. One of the most well-known of the ceremonies is *Powamuya*, or the so-called "Bean Dance." In preparation, girls apply a fresh coat of mudwash kiva walls and paint pictures of clouds and lightning on the ceilings. Bean and corn sprouts are then started inside the kivas and taken out during the ceremony. *Powamuya* is a time for personal and community cleansing in preparation for the upcoming growing season. The kachina cycle ends when the kachinas depart once again for their home in the mountains, about the time of *Nimàntikive* (summer solstice). The relationship of the people with the kachinas is reciprocal. People "feed" the kachinas with prayers and by performing the ceremonies correctly and the kachinas, in return, "feed" the people by providing for rain for crops. During the ceremonies, certain performers, known as "clowns," act out the things that are not a part of leading a right life. They stand out in contrast to the main kachina dancers, who dress and act properly, as a constant reminder of what is not acceptable and what consequences unacceptable behavior has.

The first Hopi-Spanish encounter was in A.D. 1540, when a small group led by Alejandro (Pedro?) de Tovar, a member of the Coronado expedition, arrived at one of the eastern Hopi settlements from the pueblo of Zuni. De Tovar was met with hostility, and he attacked and defeated the village. He then peacefully visited six other

Hopi villages. The Hopi welcomed Antonio de Espejo in 1583, and in 1598 the Hopi submitted to the authority of Spain under pressure from Juan de Oñate.

Franciscan missionaries began living and preaching among the Hopi in 1629. At least three villages had churches. Although the Franciscans reported great progress, the poisoning of one of the priests in 1633 suggests that not all Hopi were happy with their new neighbors. During the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, they killed their missionaries and took in refugees from the Rio Grande pueblos. Fearing reprisals, the Hopi moved villages to defensible mesa tops. In 1700, a faction from Awatovi favored Catholicism and was visited by a missionary, apparently at their request. After the missionary had left, anti-Catholic Hopis from several villages destroyed Awatovi, killing the men who resisted and scattering their wives and children among the remaining settlements. The Hopi then sent a peace delegation to Santa Fe requesting that they be allowed to continue their old religion. The Spanish governor rejected the entreaty and in 1701 attacked the Hopi in retaliation for the murders of Christian Hopi. Outnumbered and unable to breach the Hopi defensive positions, the Spanish force eventually withdrew.

Because they were so far from the capital in Santa Fe, the Hopi villages were somewhat protected from direct Spanish control. During the 1740s and early 1750s, the Spaniards were preoccupied with other Indian groups, and were not able to devote their full efforts to the Hopi. Drought and hunger beginning in 1755, however, caused the Hopi to gravitate increasingly toward accepting the Spaniards. By 1779, many Hopi had moved from their homeland to Zuni in

order to survive; soon the population of the Hopi mesas was reduced to less than 1,000. The situation was exacerbated by a smallpox epidemic in 1781, but plentiful rain the same year marked the beginning of better times, and many Hopi were able to return to the mesas. The Hopi requested Spanish aid to protect against Navajo raids in the early 1800s, but to no avail.

The establishment of the Moqui Pueblo Agency in 1870 marks the United States government's official recognition of the Hopi. A missionary school was founded in 1874. The Hopi Reservation (originally Moqui Reservation) was created by an executive order in 1882, but the land set aside was for the use of all Indians, not exclusively Hopi. Passage of the Dawes Act in 1887 resulted in federal pressure on the Hopi to shift from family and community landholdings to individual allotments. Due to a lack of a boundary survey, conflicts with the Navajo over grazing lands intensified. Through a series of executive orders, the Hopi Reservation eventually was fully enclosed by the Navajo Reservation, and, in the 1930s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) reduced the area officially designated as Hopi land to about one-fourth its original size.

By the 1940s, about 4,000 Hopi lived in 14 settlements. Increasing land erosion due to drought and overgrazing, as well as population increase on an ever-shrinking land base, were critical problems during the mid-20th century. A federal livestock reduction program and changes in stock management practices were instituted to remedy the erosion problem, which hit hardest in the Oraibi area. Although farming practices did not change dramatically at this time, new tools, such as the plow, began to replace more traditional methods such as the planting stick.

Fields continued to be watered from stream flooding or by hand, as they had been in the past. Efforts to irrigate Hopi lands affected only a small area and were not very successful.

The arid Hopi homeland receives sporadic and patchy rainfall, and the Hopi do not have easy access to large, predictable streams or rivers. Thus, unlike the Eastern Pueblos of the Rio Grande Valley, who irrigate their fields, the Hopi rely on dry farming by taking advantage of rainwater from the upland sandstone region that seeps down to a layer of shale and emerges at the ends of mesas.

Traditionally, the Hopi farming year began when the fields were cleared for planting around the end of February. Planting was a group effort on the part of males. Maize, the primary staple and symbol of life, was planted in holes made with a digging stick. Beans were sometimes planted among the maize stalks but more typically were raised in separate plots, as were squash and cotton. These four indigenous crops, along with post-Spanish Aztec and lima beans, gourds, sunflowers, chili peppers, onions, peaches, watermelons, and wheat, were the major crops. The Hopi also occasionally tended several wild plant species, including wild tobacco. By the beginning of the 20th century, sheep had also become important. Sheep were owned individually but herded cooperatively by men. Cattle were less popular, not only because they were expensive to purchase but because their grazing often destroyed crops. Like sheep, horses were individually owned but often tended jointly by men.

Hopi society is matrilineal and matrilocal, meaning that kinship is reckoned along female lines and women (grandmother(s), daughters,

and daughters' daughters), plus husbands and unmarried sons, form the household core. Traditionally, when a household outgrew its space, a room was added to accommodate newer members. This adjacent household remained part of the lineage or clan, within which farmland was held in common and certain religious ceremonies were conducted.

Clans formed nine larger phratries, which were associated with a common mythological past. Members of the same phratry shared ceremonial and land-holding interests and were not allowed to marry within the group. Villages were and are largely autonomous, with overall village control in the hands of the village chief and the war chief. The village chief settled land disputes and was relied upon to give advice concerning any critical community matter. The war chief's power was more concrete in that he could inflict verbal or physical punishment. Clan and familiar relationships prescribe a detailed set of responsibilities for each person. It is believed that knowing and fulfilling one's role in the society leads to a sense of individual self-worth.

Traditionally, the most elaborate Hopi crafts were cotton textiles, usually woven by men on looms in their homes or in kivas. They made square and rectangular cloth for blankets and belts. Men wove women's wedding robes, belts, dresses, and shawls, men's kilts and sashes for ceremonies, as well as blankets, kilts, and shirts for daily use. Women made both undecorated pottery for cooking and storage and polished and decorated pottery for other uses. In 1895, excavations at the prehistoric ruin of Sikyatki by archaeologist Jesse Walter Fewkes led to a renaissance in Hopi pottery making. One of Fewkes' workmen,

Lesou, showed sherds from the excavation to his wife Nampeyo, who developed her own style based on these originals. Nampeyo, a Hopi-Tewa from Hano Pueblo, eventually became known as one of Hopi's finest potters, and her work is continued to this day by her extended family.

Well-known ethnographer Mischa Titiev, who lived and worked at Hopi between 1932 and 1966, proposes that the construction of paved highways linking Black Mesa with cities and towns in northern Arizona and New Mexico hastened the abandonment of traditional Hopi life. Although roads, cars and trucks, and increased tourism certainly brought great changes to Hopi in the mid- and late 20th centuries, one of the most dramatic changes of the past century may have occurred much earlier with the 1906 split at Oraibi. This major rupture between "traditional" and "progressive" factions led to the establishment of two new settlements, Hotevilla and Bacavi.

The Hopi today face a number of issues with deep and complex historical roots, including coal mining on Black Mesa and the Navajo-Hopi land dispute. The latter is the result of a 1974 congressional act intended to resolve centuries of conflict over shared territory by setting aside certain parcels for exclusive use by one group or the other. It has resulted in the displacement of hundreds of Navajo and Hopi families.

The Hopi tribe maintains the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (HCPO), which oversees archaeological and other scientific research on tribal lands and develops research policies. The HCPO staff also conducts research on Hopi language, oral history, cultural affiliation, and linguistic and cultural connections among Hopi,

Mesoamerican, and South American cultures.

Zuni

Hopis and Zunis are both Pueblo tribes and, in a general sense, share similar customs and beliefs. Zunis also have a story of emergence from three previous worlds and stories of migrations which brought them to where they are now, the Middle Place. The Zuni Pueblo is the center of the world in the Zuni perspective.

According to one account of the emergence and migrations, Father Sun traveled over Mother Earth each day and under Mother Earth each night. When he traveled above Mother Earth, he could hear the cries of his children deep inside her. One day, at high noon, he paused and created the Twin Gods to go to Mother Earth and bring the children into his light. After they were brought into the light and traveled for a short time, the time came for the people to split into different groups and continue in different directions. The Gods presented the people with two eggs and told them to pick one. The *A:shiwí* (Zuni) had first pick and chose the turquoise-colored egg. The other group got the less-attractive brown, gray, white, and yellow speckled egg. As a result of their choices, the *A:shiwí* were to follow *K/walashi* (Crow) to a cold land in the north and the other group was to follow *Mu/la* (Macaw) to a land of eternal summer in the south.

Archaeologists have shown cultural continuity in the Zuni region, also known as Cibola, stemming back over 1,100 years. The Zuni/Cibola culture area is roughly equivalent to the area claimed by the Zuni Tribe in their 20th century land claims case against the

federal government. The claim area was bounded to the north by the upper Rio Puerco River of the West and the Pueblo Colorado Wash, on the west by the San Francisco Peaks, on the southwest by the Mogollon Rim, on the south by the upper Gila River, on the east by the Magdalena Mountains, and on the northeast by the edge of the Grants lava flow. Most significant religious and other important sites are within this region.

The Zuni language is a linguistic isolate, with no known relatives in the Southwest. One Zuni perspective of the development of language suggests that people lived at *Denatsali Im'a* (near Woodruff Butte) in eastern Arizona, but that over time the palce became too crowded. When people left they traveled to the area of the current Zuni Reservation and began speaking the Zuni language. Modern-day Zunis live mainly on a reservation of over 400,000 contiguous acres in west-central New Mexico. The reservation population is over 8000 people, and most of these people live in Zuni Pueblo. In late prehistoric times the area around Zuni Pueblo and the Zuni River Valley also had relatively high populations, with at least nine villages occupied around A.D. 1400. Between six and eight villages were occupied in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The first encounter between Zunis and Europeans occurred in 1539, when Friar Marcos de Niza, along with the former slave Esteban, set out in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola. Esteban was sent ahead of the expedition, where he met the Zuni at the village of Hawikku. Esteban's welcome was met with suspicion, and he was killed. Several members of his party escaped and reported back to Friar Marcos, who retreated to Mexico. His stories, however, led to an expedition the

following year by Francisco Coronado, who journeyed to Zuni and the Rio Grande Pueblos with a large army. Coronado fought a brief battle at Hawikku, overwhelmed the Zuni and occupied Zuni Pueblo, and eventually departed peacefully. Antonio Espejo in 1583 was the first to use the term Zuni.

In 1598, Juan de Oñate visited Zuni Pueblo as part of a larger effort to secure obedience to Spain from the various Pueblo groups living in New Mexico. After this time, the Zuni were largely left to continue their traditional way of life until the 19th century. Zuni population nonetheless decreased dramatically during the Spanish colonial period of the 17th century, and several villages were gradually abandoned. This development culminated in the Spanish Reconquest of the Pueblos following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. In 1693, the Zuni abandoned all the remaining villages, including Zuni Pueblo, and consolidated atop Dowa Yallane, an easily defendable mesa. They left the mesa near the beginning of the 18th century and re-occupied only Zuni Pueblo.

During the 18th and 19th centuries Zunis, like many other village-dwellers, were the targets of Apache and Navajo raiding. As a response to this and increasing pressure from the colonial government, the Zunis established numerous refuge sites in defensive locations on the mesa edges of the Zuni River Valley near prime agricultural land. Near the end of the 19th century, after the U.S. Army had forced the Navajo to stop raiding by interring them in Bosque Redondo for four years, the Zuni concentrated their population into three villages near major springs. Zuni farmers and herders and their families lived at these villages during the summer, returning

to Zuni Pueblo in the winter. These farming villages were busy agricultural centers through the early 20th century, until farming declined in importance and the Zuni tended to live year-round in the main Pueblo.

Zuni social structure is often described as comprised of five overlapping but distinct social categories: clan, kiva, curing society, priesthood, and gaming group (the latter is largely inactive today). Also important in Zuni social organization, at least historically, was farming village residence. This complexity in social structure may be due to historic circumstances—the concentration of Zuni population from multiple villages into one. The matrilineal clan is the primary organizing structure today. An individual is born into the mother's clan and born "for" the father's clan, and each relationship carries marriage proscriptions. Upon marriage, a couple usually resides with the wife's mother until the couple can construct their own house, usually in the vicinity of the wife's parents' house. The lineage of neighboring mothers and daughters forms the backbone of Zuni society by pooling major resources, such as labor, and farming land. Lineages also cooperate in the observance of ceremonial events, such as the initiation of a child into a curing society or construction of a Shalako home. In everyday life, however, individual households are largely economically independent.

The remaining social categories are religious ones. Zuni religion consists of several independent entities: the kivas, societies, and rain priesthoods. Every male child is still initiated into one of six kiva groups, which are responsible for holding masked dances, most of them in public locations. The dances are intended to bring good fortune

(e.g., rain, abundant crops, and plentiful game), to rectify a problem situation, and/or for general public enjoyment. There are several special orders, or priesthoods, as well as about a dozen societies with more restricted membership, many of which are mainly concerned with curing.

Zunis have kachina gods (also called *kokko*) but unlike the kachinas for Hopi, Zuni kachinas are present in the villages nearly all year-round. Zunis also follow a ceremonial cycle that is divided by the summer and winter solstices. Preparations for the winter solstice ceremonies begin in October. In early December, the *Shalako* gods visit previously selected and newly-built homes for an approximately week-long series of ceremonies. The *Shalako* bring the promise of renewal to the community. The New Fire Ceremony follows shortly after, marking the beginning of a new year. Families fast, make prayer offerings, and make clay representations of their wishes for the new year. Gods from the Big Fire Curing Society visit each home to give families a firebrand. Families take the firebrand to the river to make offerings and then return home to re-light their fireplaces and make additional offerings. The fast is broken and the new year begins.

Zuni world view divides the cosmos into "cooked" and "raw" people. The former are humans; the latter are the gods. Directional symbolism pervades the Zuni worldview. The Zuni recognize the four cardinal directions, as well as the zenith (up) and the nadir (down). Each is associated with its own color, type of rain, gods, game animals, and birds. Kivas are also connected to this directional symbolism, as are the rain priesthoods.

Traditional farmers, the Zuni once practiced extensive floodwater

irrigation, relying on the construction of check dams, diversionary dams, and mud walls to divert snowmelt and rainwater from seasonal storms to agricultural plots. Maize fields were placed in the silted areas behind check dams. This land use strategy resulted in a pattern of scattered plots of various sizes covering a large area. The few permanent water sources in the Zuni area (Ojo Caliente, Ojo Pescado, and Nutria Springs), provided a reliable supply of drinking water and also became areas of irrigated agriculture. Zunis used canals to irrigate fields at the time of Spanish contact, and recent archaeological data suggests this practice dates to some 3,000 years ago in the Zuni area. Historically, maize was the most significant crop. "Waffle gardens," constructed of low, rectangular mud walls, also were placed along the Zuni River. These smaller, hand-watered family plots were used to grow peppers, onions, squash, melons, pumpkins, and cotton.

As farmers in a desert-like climate, much thought and effort is given to securing adequate rains. The kick-stick race is but one example of such a practice. Teams of three to four people run a 20- to 40-mile course throughout the reservation. Runners run barefoot, lifting and kicking a small stick with their toes as they go. The action of the stick symbolizes the debris that water rushing the dry arroyos will push ahead of itself when the summer rains come. The runners themselves represent the water and the entire race is prayer in motion.

Modern-day Zunis practice a mixed economic strategy emphasizing wage work, craft production, stock raising, and small-scale farming. Zuni artists are known for their silver and stone jewelry, pottery, and stone fetishes,

among other items. Most Zunis live within Zuni Pueblo. The Zuni have a Tribal Constitution that created two governmental branches: the Tribal Council and the Courts. The Tribal Council, which is responsible for creating and administering laws, is elected every four years by adult tribal members. The Tribe supports the Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, and the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office (ZHHPO). The former conducts historical, anthropological, and archaeological work both on and off the reservation and provides data management and information technology service. The ZHHPO, created in 1994, includes the position of Tribal Historic Preservation Officer.

The Zuni Tribe has recently been successful in their efforts to reclaim tribal lands that were lost during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Many areas that had historically been occupied by the Zuni were settled by Mormon and Hispanic settlers, as well as by an increasing Navajo population. The construction of the railroad in 1882 promoted ever greater land loss, as large numbers of cattle were imported and grazed along the margins of Zuni territory.

By 1934, the Zuni were restricted to their reservation boundaries. Because of an error made by the federal government, the Zuni Tribe did not file with the Indian Claims Commission Court in the 1950s. It was not until 1982 that the Zuni were able to win a claim for compensation for lost lands; the tribe has continued to reclaim additional lands in the vicinity of the reservation, often through litigation or land exchanges. The tribe also continues to work towards repatriating numerous ancestral Zuni artifacts and burials.

Navajo

The Navajo, or *Diné*, currently are the largest Native American group in the United States, with a population over 200,000. The Navajo have made a dramatic comeback since their incarceration at Fort Sumner (Bosque Redondo) in the 1860s when their total population numbered less than 10,000 before incarceration. The nearly 14 million acre Navajo Reservation covers portions of Utah and New Mexico with the largest portion being in Arizona. It completely encloses the Hopi reservation. The Navajo Nation capitol is at Window Rock, Arizona. The Navajo also live in several discontinuous areas: the eastern checkerboard of New Mexico, and the Ramah, Alamo, and Tohajiilee (formerly known as Canoncito) chapters of New Mexico. A large Navajo community that is not part of the Navajo Nation can also be found on the Colorado Indian River Reservation on the Arizona-California border. This reservation is shared with members of the Mohave, Chemehuevi and Hopi tribes.

Linguistically, the Navajo are Athabaskan, speaking a language closely related to the Apachean groups of the Southwest. The Athapaskan (Na-Dene) language family has its origins in Alaska and Canada, and the Southern Athapaskan, or Apachean, languages only became distinct in the last 1,000 years. During WWII, Navajo "Code Talkers" played a significant role in the U.S. war effort in the Pacific by using a combination of the Navajo language and English spelling to send messages. Because the Navajo language is quite complex and, at the time, virtually unknown outside the United States, the code was never broken and is credited with giving the Allies an advantage over their enemies, saving lives, and

even hastening the end of the war. The Navajo Code was not declassified by the U.S. government until 20 years after the end of the war.

Athabaskans' arrival in the Southwest from northwest North America is a topic of much debate. The most recent anthropological research suggests it was around A.D. 1400 or 1450. Archaeologically and historically, distinguishing Navajo from other Athabaskan tribes is difficult, a problem that is made even more difficult by a mobile lifestyle. Researchers believe Navajos initially spread into southern Colorado and northern and eastern New Mexico, areas that were largely unoccupied between A.D. 1300 and 1400. The earliest Spanish accounts mention what may be Navajo or other Apache groups. Fray Zarate Zalmeron's 1627 use of the term "Apaches de Nabaju" is the first documentary reference to the people living in what is present-day northwest New Mexico, but Zalmeron may refer to a geographic location rather than a distinct group of people. Coronado reports "Querechos" on the Plains in 1540, and Espejo mentions the same group near Mt. Taylor in 1583. Navajo oral history holds that they were present at Canyon de Chelly by A.D. 1692.

Regardless of the timing of their arrival in the Southwest and their emergence as a distinct group, it appears that early Navajos were largely hunter-gatherers, who hunted deer, rabbits and jackrabbits, and who gathered goosefoot, cattails, cacti and squawberries, as well as practicing limited maize horticulture. During the Pueblo Revolt period and the Reconquest period, interaction between Pueblos and Navajos increased as Pueblo people sought refuge with nomadic groups.

Navajos built small masonry structures known as pueblitos between the late 1600s through mid 1700s. These structures are interpreted as Navajo responses to Spanish incursions and Ute raiding. Pueblitos are known from northeastern Arizona as far west as Black Mesa.

By the early 1700s, Navajos were more regularly tending livestock and growing corn, beans, and pumpkins. They lived in log or stone hogans, particularly in the winter, and built temporary herding camps as they moved from grazing area to grazing area. The Navajo also depended economically upon raiding their Pueblo and Hispanic neighbors, a pattern that persisted through the mid-1800s. Pueblo and Hispanic villagers retaliated with raids of their own.

American military forces attempted to stop the raiding between 1847 and 1851, but had little success. The establishment of military forts (such as Fort Defiance in Apache County) marked a concerted effort to remove the Navajo threat to settlers. In 1864, the majority of Navajos were captured and sent on the "Long Walk" to Fort Sumner at Bosque Redondo, New Mexico. More than 8,000 Navajos, as well as some Mescalero Apache who had not fled south, were marched 350 miles through spring blizzards from Fort Defiance to Fort Sumner.

Following the Navajo Treaty of 1868 and the establishment of the Navajo reservation—which at that time was almost entirely in Arizona—the Navajo returned to find that much of their territory was occupied by Anglo settlers. Several Navajo groups (including members of a band of "enemy Navajo" who had collaborated with the U.S. Army) settled in the areas which were to become the checkerboard, and the Tohajiileeh,

Alamo, and Ramah reservations. The checkerboard is the legacy of the late 19th century, when the United States granted alternate sections of land to the railroad and the Territory of New Mexico, and opened the rest to homesteading. Homesteads were limited in size, and people claimed land with permanent water sources. Individual Navajos were awarded homesteads outside of the reservation boundaries, which are known today as Indian allotment lands. These developments set the stage for the complicated settlement patterns and confusion over land claims of the 20th century. The United States Government has recently attempted to consolidate Navajo land holdings through administrative withdrawals, land exchanges, and outright purchase.

By the turn of the 19th century, herding, agriculture, and government assistance had largely replaced the more traditional Navajo hunting and gathering lifeway. Navajos also relied increasingly on trading posts and wage labor associated with railroad construction. Competition for land intensified with an increase in cattle grazing between 1880 and 1920.

Navajo social structure is characterized by matrilineal clans that shape patterns of marriage, descent, residence, and inheritance. An individual is born into his mother's clan and is born "for" his father's clan, and must marry outside both clans. Traditionally, Navajo families are composed of parents and unmarried children, with married children, preferably daughters, living nearby. The resulting household compounds are located near fields. Additional seasonal residences are found throughout grazing areas. Families living in the same house pool resources such as food and cash; families living in the same compound

pool their labor and land resources. Cooperating compounds in geographic proximity linked by kin ties and share access to major resources such as water are called outfits. They typically follow the leadership of a male head and gather for significant events like stock roundups and large ceremonies.

Navajo religion is organized into a system of ceremonies which are designed to reestablish harmony, beauty, health, and natural order to the world. Ceremonies are mainly for curing disease and are performed for a patient under the direction of a “singer”, who is paid for his services. According to the Navajo worldview, the world is composed of superimposed hemispheres supported by pillars. The number of reported hemispheres varies; there are at least four underworlds, this world, the sky, and one world above the sky.

Everything in the world has both male and female qualities. For people, whether male or female, the left side of the body is considered male and the right side female. In hogans, the traditional homes, when one faces the entrance (which is always east), the left side of the home is male and the right side female. The sky is Father Sky, and thus male, and the earth is Mother Earth and thus female. Life occurs where earth and sky touch.

Dinetah, or the traditional homeland of the Navajo (*Diné*) is bound by four sacred mountains: *Sis Naajini* (Mount Blanca) in the east, *Tsoodzil* (Mt. Taylor) in the south, *Dook'o'oosliid* (San Francisco Peaks) in the west and *Dibé Nitsaa* (Hesperus Peak) in the north. The mountains were created by the *Dinyin Dine'é* (Holy People). These are the four pillars that support the world and each mountain and direction has many layers of meaning that affect

almost every aspect of life. The east is the direction of physical and mental knowledge. Children are taught string games, which are played during the winter, to develop concentration and dexterity. The ability to concentrate is seen as essential to grow in understanding and respect. East, being the direction from which the sun rises, is the organizing direction for all activities. Hogan doors always face east. When hogans are built, the eastern posts are placed first. Baskets and wool are woven and spun in a clockwise (sunwise) direction. South is the direction of daily tasks and responsibilities. People keep their farming and herding implements on the south side of the hogan. Looms, when not outside for the summer months, are also placed along the south wall. Weaving is as much about the process – from raising the sheep to the actual weaving on the looms – as it is about the finished product. As one weaves, one gives thanks for the sheep, the plants that make the dyes, and for the trees that provide the parts of the loom and other weaving tools. The patterns woven into the textile, stylized male and female lightning stripes, mist, and clouds are a way to give thanks that these elements visited. The west is the direction of social and family responsibility. Sheepskins are kept along the west wall of a hogan and are used for family storytelling sessions in the evening, when visitors come, and for sleeping. The North is the direction of ceremonial knowledge and objects. Herbs, minerals, and other items used in ceremonies are kept along the north wall of a hogan. There are two primary types of ceremonies: Blessingway ceremonies that give thanks and reaffirm the balance, beauty, and harmony of life as it is supposed to be and Protectionway ceremonies that address situations when illness or other forces are present and indicating a life

out of balance. Protectionway ceremonies are led by a singer for the benefit of a particular patient, but the attendance of family members is an important part of the total healing process. The sand paintings that often accompany such ceremonies are visual reminders for the patient and attending family members alike of the way the *Dinyin Dine'é* first created the world in a perfect state of harmony and balance.

Asdzáá Nádleehé (Changing Woman) was born when a dark cloud passed over *Ch'óol'í'í* (Governador Knob in northwest New Mexico) and lived most of her life within the bounds of the four sacred mountains. The *Dinyin Dine'é* told First Man and First Woman how to care for her and they fed her pollen and dew. *Asdzáá Nádleehé* grew into adulthood quickly, in four days or four years depending on the particular version of the story. When she reached maturity, *Dinyin Dine'é* held a ceremony for her. This is still an important ceremony held for girls as they reach maturity. She taught the animals and people how to live well within the four mountains. She gave birth to twin sons, *Naayéé' Neizghaní* (Monster Slayer) and *Tó Bájishchíní* (Child Born of Water) whose job it was to try and rid the world of evil. *Asdzáá Nádleehé* also created the four original Navajo clans: *Kin yaa'áannii* (Towering House Clan), *Honágháahnii* (One Who Walks around You Clan), *Tó dich'ii'nii* (Bitter Water Clan), and *Hashtl'ishnii* (Mud Clan). Eventually *Asdzáá Nádleehé's* husband, the Sun, asked her to live with him in the Western Ocean. *Asdzáá Nádleehé* performed a Blessingway ceremony on herself and left blessings for the people who lived between the mountains. The passing of the days and the passing of the seasons are reflections of the rapid life stages of *Asdzáá Nádleehé* from birth to maturity to old age.

Many people continue to orient their lives in accordance to these cultural beliefs and traditional ceremonies. Many also continue to make a living through livestock husbandry. Tourism and arts and crafts also provide some income. The Navajo are known for their skilled weavers (typically, but not exclusively, women) of wool blankets and rugs, as well as their silver jewelry. The Navajo Tribe takes an interest in managing cultural resources on Navajo controlled lands. The Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department (NNHPD), created in 1986, oversees permitting of archaeological and anthropological work performed on Navajo land and develops policies and standards for such work. The NNHPD also reviews federal antiquities permits and actions taken outside of Navajo lands but within a 200 mile radius around them for their potential effect on Navajo culture.

White Mountain Apache

The Fort Apache Reservation bounds the proposed Little Colorado Heritage area on the south along the Mogollon Rim. The Reservation, ranging from 2,700 feet to almost 11,500 feet in elevation, includes the traditional territories of the Cibecue and White Mountain Western Apache groups (collectively, the Coyoteros) north of the Salt and Black rivers. The Apache, or *Ndee* (the People), as they call themselves, were once part of a larger group of Athapaskan-speakers who moved into the Southwest around A.D. 1400. Limited archaeological and anthropological evidence indicates that they initially were buffalo hunters living in areas where the mountains met the plains. The Western Apache (the San Carlos, White Mountain, Cibecue, and Tonto people of central Arizona) and the Navajo probably

moved westward early. The Lipan and Jicarilla Apache of the west Texas plains and northern New Mexico mountains, respectively, split off by about 1600. The Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache moved into southern New Mexico by the early 17th century.

At first, Pueblo and Apache people seem to have coexisted relatively peacefully. Spanish explorers found Apaches lived in the mountains surrounding Pueblo villages, where they had established regular trade relationships. Confrontation began when Apaches raided Spanish expeditions for food and horses. The soldiers retaliated, initiating full-blown hostilities between the two groups. Relationships among Pueblos, Apaches, and Spaniards deteriorated through the 1600s. Sonora and Chihuahua were the earliest and most intense areas of conflict. By the early 1700s, the Apaches held sway as far north as Zuni Pueblo. Western Apache groups ranged through nearly 90,000 square miles of territory, an area equivalent to three-fourths of the state of Arizona. Eventually, the northern limits of New Spain were defined by the extent of Apache territory, called *Apachería* by the Spaniards. Explorers also gave Spanish names to each Apache band they encountered.

Within *Apachería*, the Apaches developed their culture through the 18th century, often remaining protected in rough mountain strongholds. Raiding became a way of life, something that the Apache viewed as a necessity of the times due to the fact that Spanish land grants limited the ability of the Apache to access much of their previous hunting and gathering spaces. The Apache essentially cut off New Mexican settlements near Santa Fe from the Sonora-Chihuahua frontier.

Constant conflict with the Apache weakened the Spaniards and contributed to their defeat during the 1680 Pueblo Revolt.

Finally, in 1786, the governor of New Spain tried a different approach, one that eventually was devastating to the Apache, especially the southern bands. He instructed Spanish populations to make peace with the Apache, convince them to live near presidios, and supply them with food and drink. His goal was to make them dependent on the Spaniards. The Spaniards also sought to undermine any solidarity among the various bands by stirring up trouble among them. During the Mexican period of the early 1800s, Mexico's fledgling revolutionary government could not afford to buy the Apaches' dependency. By 1835, the Apaches had returned to raiding, which was full-blown when the United States took control of *Apachería* in 1847.

Initially, the Apache welcomed the Americans as potential trade partners. When the U.S. authorities objected to the Apaches' continued raiding of Mexican homesteaders, however, relations rapidly deteriorated. From the Apache point of view, raiding was necessary for their survival—even more after Anglo settlers began appropriating Apache land and disrupting traditional food gathering rounds. The U.S. responded by constructing a series of forts across Apache territory. These were no more effective than the Spanish presidios at preventing raids or protecting settlers, but they did house large numbers of troops, which repeatedly conducted punitive attacks. A number of brutal massacres eventually culminated in a formal U.S. peace policy in 1871, which called for the concentration of Apache bands on reservations. The Camp Verde, San Carlos, and Fort Apache

reservations of Arizona were all founded at this time.

Throughout the 1800s, the White Mountain and Cibecue bands largely avoided conflicts with the Americans. They did not outwardly resist the founding of the military outpost that became Fort Apache in 1863, even when the Army restricted hunting. Since animal skins became hard to obtain as a result, tipi use ended and styles of dress changed. Encouraged by the respected White Mountain chief Alchesay, many Apache men joined the U.S. forces in their fight against the southern Apache in order to earn wages.

White Mountain Apache territory was mostly outside the areas most affected by pioneering and mineral prospecting in the late 1800s and early 1900s, and they were able to continue their traditional lifeways longer than other Apache groups. This meant that they were on the move for most of the year following the seasonal availability of plants and animals. Traditionally important wild plants included yucca, tule roots and pollen, mescal, locust flowers, wild onion, ponderosa pine bark, sumac berries, juniper berries, strawberries, chokecherries, wild potatoes, mulberries, pitahaya cactus, screwbean mesquite, saguaro fruit, prickly pear, mesquite, walnuts, piñon nuts, greens, acorns, grasses, amaranth, sunflower seeds, and honey. About one-quarter of their diet also came from cultivated crops.

Grenville Goodwin's anthropological research among the White Mountain Apache is one of the key sources of information on traditional Western Apache kinship and social organization. The Apache traditionally lived in extended families organized into local groups (35-200 people) that

were loosely connected into bands. Neighboring bands with shared cultural traits were interpreted by outsiders as tribes, but to the Apache, the local group was always the most important unit of social organization. Chiefs with limited power were elected to lead small groups; their influence depended upon bringing success to their followers in hunting, raiding, and warfare. Clan membership further tied families and local groups together.

Apache families revolved around women; sisters and daughters lived together throughout their lives. Women established camp, building wickiups in the mountains and setting up tipis on the plains. Women also did most of the gathering and cooking, as well as tending of farm plots. Men became part of a family and local group via marriage. They were responsible for hunting, raiding, and warfare. Men or women could conduct ceremonies and curing rites, although most ritual specialists were men. Both men and women carried on oral histories and group traditions.

Apache religion is characterized by two elements: the individualistic, visionary shaman and the learned priest, or "singer", who conducts standardized rituals. Neither person carries any authority other than his own knowledge and ritual power. Rituals are conducted to mark major changes in an individual's life-cycle, when a person is sick or threatened, or to bless an undertaking. Traditions and ceremonies remain strong today, and many sacred sites still lie within sight of modern Apache homes.

Like their Athapaskan cousins the Navajo, White Mountain Apache also have a belief in Changing Woman and elaborate, four-day ceremonies are held for girls when they reach the stage of

physical maturity. The ceremony incorporates some of the moments of Changing Woman's life and the whole ceremony is a symbol of her rapid growth from a baby to adulthood. Apache girls are seen as essentially changing from girls to women during the four days. Most of the ceremony takes place under a ceremonial tipi made of four poles of four different woods common to the region and decorated with the four colors associated with the four cardinal directions: black for the east, blue for the south, yellow for the west, and white for the north. Four represents the four days during which the world was created (everything began as black and in the east the earth was created, then in the south the sky became blue, the yellow sun appeared in the west, and lastly white clouds were made in the north), the four stages of life (birth, childhood, adulthood, and old age), the four directions, and the four seasons. During the ceremony, the girls take on the personage of Changing Woman and have the power of healing. *Gaan* spirits appear each night and dance to protect the girl during her transition from girlhood to womanhood. *Gaan* come from the four directions of the world and their primary job is to keep it steady. Accompanying the *Gaan* is *Libaiyé*, a type of "clown" who is also called the "Gray One." He is guide, messengers, and protector for the *Gaan* and he also represents whirlwinds and the unpredictability of life.

Just as east is the direction of life, since that is where the life-giving sun rises, west is the direction of death.

Traditionally, when an Apache person died, they were removed from their wickiup through a hole in the west side.

Many changes affect the Apache of the 20th and 21st centuries. Whiteriver became the dominant reservation town

after Fort Apache was decommissioned in 1922. Many Apache have started to follow, at least partially, more non-Native American ways, although Apaches continue to retain their distinct culture. By 1952, about 80 percent of Arizona Apaches spoke English. Today, Fort Apache has bilingual/bicultural public schools. New communities have divided traditional bands and disrupted intermarriage rules. Newly unified clans, once dispersed among isolated local groups, now define much of an Apache's social identity. Family and kin ties remain strong and highly valued. Although nuclear families have replaced the family cluster and local group, women continue to form the core of Apache society.

Of all the Apache groups, the White Mountain Apache may be the most economically successful in the modern era. Since the Depression of the 1930s, when the last Anglo grazing lease on Apache land expired, the cattle and timber industries have become integral to the community economy. The tribe owns a sawmill that generates \$30 million annually and employs over 400 people, 90 percent of them Apache. The tribal Recreation Enterprise, begun in 1954, now includes Sunrise Ski Area and resort, with about \$9 million in revenues per year. Summer cabin leases and camping, fishing, and hunting permits provide additional income as well as revenues from the Hon-Dah Casino.

DISTINCTIVENESS OF THEME

The diverse and vital Native American history and cultural traditions of the Little Colorado region make it distinctive among National Heritage Areas. Particularly significant are the ongoing relationships that living Native

American groups maintain with the archaeological landscape. Native peoples have occupied the Little Colorado area for thousands of years, and many archaeological and historical sites continue to play a key role in the Native American oral history, religion, economy, and politics (see also Chapter 5). Therefore, the proposed Little Colorado National Heritage Area would play a key role in preserving and conveying Native American values and lifeways.

RELATED RESOURCES

Numerous museums, parks, fairs, and other events and institutions, both within and beyond the Little Colorado area, provide opportunities for the public to experience the area's rich Native American cultures. A sampling of these (see also Resources Table) includes the Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff, the A:shiwi A:wam Museum and Heritage Center at Zuni Pueblo, the Explore Navajo Nation Interactive Museum in Tuba City, and the Hopi Cultural Center and Restaurant at Hopi. Farther afield, the Heard Museum in Phoenix and the

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Arizona State Museum in Tucson highlight Native American cultures of Arizona. Numerous arts and crafts markets, such as the Museum of Northern Arizona Indian and Spanish Shows, and the Pueblo Grande and Heard Museum shows in the Phoenix area, showcase the rich artistic traditions of Little Colorado area tribes. Many reservation communities also regularly host arts and crafts markets. Powwows, fairs, and dances at various pueblos and Navajo chapters and in towns like Gallup and Flagstaff often are open to the public, and many reservation communities welcome visitors. Significant historic sites and buildings include the areas many trading posts, like the Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, as well as other historic sites like Fort Wingate.

RELATED RESOURCES LIST

See Related Resources List after "Archaeology" section of this chapter. Lists for Native Nations and Archaeology have been combined due to the overlapping affiliation of many of the resources.

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