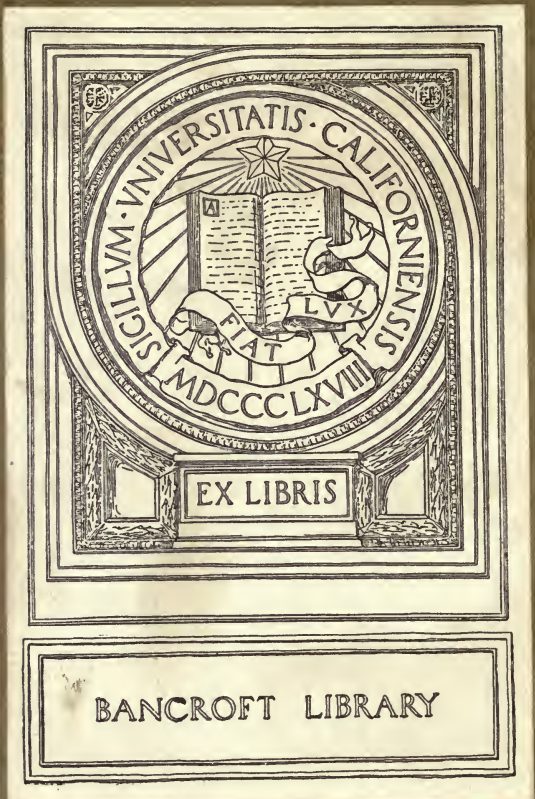


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THE GENTILE SYSTEM  
OF  
THE NAVAJO INDIANS

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THE GENTILE SYSTEM OF THE NAVAJO INDIANS.

1. IN the most extensive and, to my mind, the most reliable version which I have recorded of the great creation and migration myth of the Navajos, more than two thirds of the story is told before the first mention of an existing gens is made. Men (or anthropomorphic animals and anthropomorphic gods, as they may better be considered) had ascended through four lower worlds to this world; they had passed through many dire vicissitudes; they had increased and warred and wandered; they had been almost exterminated by evil powers; the sacred brothers — the Navajo war-gods — had been born, had grown to manhood, and had in turn slain the evil tormentors of their race, before the ancestors of the nuclear gens of the Navajos were created.

2. That portion of the legend which gives an account of the origin and accession of each gens, and the origin of its name, fills fifty closely written folio manuscript pages. To repeat it in its entirety would make this paper too long, and would convey much information that is foreign to the matter now under consideration; therefore it is thought best to give only an abridgment of the story in this connection, reserving the unabridged tale for future publication.

3. When the goddess Estsánatlehi went, at the bidding of the sun, to live in the western ocean, and the divine brothers, the war-gods, went to Thoyétli in the San Juan valley to dwell, Yolkái Estsán, the White Shell Woman, went alone into the San Juan mountains, and there she wandered around sadly for four days and four nights, constantly mourning her lonely condition, and thinking how people might be created to keep her company. On the morning of the fifth day the god Qastècyalçi came to see her, and having heard her plaint, promised to return in four days more. When he came back he brought with him several other gods, whose long names need not be mentioned here, and all these powers, with their combined efforts, and by means of many ceremonies, created a hu-

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man pair out of two ears of corn, — a yellow ear for the female and a white ear for the male. The wind-god gave to these the breath of life; the god of the white rock crystal gave them their minds; and the goddess of the grasshoppers gave them their voices. This pair, being regarded as brother and sister, could not marry one another; but a divine pair was found to intermarry with them, and from these are descended the gens of Tse'jinkini, which signifies Dark Cliff House, or House of the Dark Cliffs. They are so called because the gods brought from the houses in the cliffs of Tse'gihi the ears of corn of which the first pair was made. [In the language of the legend, "Seven times old age has killed" since this pair was created. This Navajo expression would be rendered by interpreters, "Seven ages of old men." Some Indians have told me that this "age of an old man" is a definite cycle of 102 years, — the number of counters used in the game of *kesitè*. Others have said that it is "threescore years and ten," which they say is the ordinary life of an old man, while others declare that it is an indefinite period marked by the death of some very old man. If this Indian estimate were accepted, it would give for the existence of the nuclear gens of the present composite Navajo nation a period of from 500 to 700 years.]

4. At the lodge of Yolkái Estsán, in the San Juan mountains, these two couples remained for four years, and here a boy and a girl was born to each. From the mountains they removed to a place called Tse'lakaiiá, or White Standing Rock, and here they had lived for thirteen years when the following incident occurred: One night from their hut they saw the gleam of a distant fire, and the next day went to look for it, but sought in vain. The next night they once more saw the gleam, and the next day looked again vainly for signs of the fire. On the third night they stuck a forked stick in the ground, and took sight on the fire, and the next day, looking over the forked stick, they were guided to a small grove on the side of a distant mountain; to this they at once repaired, but found no sign of the presence of man, and no remains of a fire. They were about to give up the search, when the wind-god whispered to them that they had been deceived, that the fire they had seen shone through the mountain, and he bade them search on the other side. So they crossed the mountain, and there in a bend or turn in a cañon they found a group of twelve persons of various ages. The joy of both parties was great at thus finding beings like themselves in the wilderness, and they embraced one another in joy. The strangers said that they had lived in that cañon only a few days, and that they had come thither from a distant and miserable land where they had lived on ducks and snakes. They were given the name of Tse'tlani, which signifies Turn-in-a-Cañon People, from the place in which they were

found. As they did not claim for themselves a special creation, they were supposed to have escaped the fury of the destroyers (anaye) by virtue of some divine quality. Hence they were called *øine øigini*, holy or sacred people, as were other gentes who joined afterwards.

5. From the place where they met, this combined people moved to *Ço'øokò<sup>n</sup>ji*, or Bitter Water, where they remained only a few days. Then they went to *Tca'olgåqasdji*, where they lived long and cultivated corn. When they had been here fourteen years, another small group of people came into their neighborhood: these were also considered *øine øigini*, as they had escaped from the alien gods. They said they came from the mountain of *Dsilnaoçil*, and they were therefore given the name of *Dsilnaoçilni*, or *Dsilnaoçiløine*. They did not camp at first with the older gentes; they dwelt a little distance from the latter, and often sent to them to borrow pots and metates; but they finally came and lived beside the older gentes, and have ever since been close friends with them (*i. e.*, became members of the same phratry). The new arrivals dug in the old pueblo ruins and found pots and stone axes; with the aid of the latter they built themselves houses.

6. At the end of seven years from the accession of the third gens, another party arrived. This people said they had been following the *Dsilnaoçilni* all over the land for many years. Sometimes they would discover the dead bushes that remained from their old camps; sometimes they would find the bushes still partly green; occasionally they would find old and nearly defaced footprints; but again they would lose all traces of them. Now they rejoiced that they had at last found those whom they had so long and wearily pursued. The new-comers were observed to have arrow-cases (unlike the modern Indian quivers) similar to those carried by the *Dsilnaoçilni*; for this reason they were regarded as related to the latter, and therefore these two gentes became very close friends (*i. e.*, formed one phratry). The strangers said they came from a land where there was much yucca, and which they called for this reason *Qackà<sup>n</sup>qatsò*. They said they were the *Qackà<sup>n</sup>øine* or Yucca People; but the older gentes called them from their former home, *Qackà<sup>n</sup>qatsò*, or *Qackà<sup>n</sup>qatsòøine*.

7. Fourteen years after the advent of the fourth or Yucca gens, all these Indians (let us now call them Navajos) moved to the neighborhood of *Kintyèli*, a ruin in the Chaco Cañon, which was even then in ruins. They were now a good-sized party, and their scattered campfires at night were so numerous that some strangers dwelling on a far-distant mountain, observing the lights, came down to see to whom all these fires could belong. These strangers camped with the *Qackà<sup>n</sup>qatsò* and *Dsilnaoçilni*. They came from a place south

of where is now Zúñi, near the salt lake called Naqopà', which means a horizontal brown streak on the ground, and for this reason they were called Naqopà'-zine or Naqopàni.

8. After this occurrence the Navajos moved to a place on the banks of the San Juan called Tsinçòbetlo, or Tree Sweeping the Water (probably a birch). It was now autumn, and concluding to remain here all winter or longer, they built warm qogans (huts) and cleared land to be planted with corn in the spring. Six years after they had settled in the San Juan, a sixth band came from a place called Tsinajíni or Black Horizontal Forest, and it bore this name in the tribe ever after. The myth states with much particularity the social condition of the Navajos at this time. It says they had as yet no herds; they made their clothes mostly of cedar-bark and other vegetable fibres, and built stone store-houses among the cliffs.

9. Eight years after the Tsinajíni joined the tribe, some strange campfires were observed on a distant eminence on the north side of the river, and couriers being sent out returned with the news that the fires belonged to a strange people camped at a place called Çqa'-nesá'. These joined the Navajos as a new gens, and were called Çqa'nesá'ni, from the place where they were found in camp.

10. Another band, making now eight in all, joined the tribe five years later, while it still sojourned in the neighborhood of Tsinçòbetlo. These people came, they said, from a place called Dsiltlá', or Base of Mountain, where an arroyo runs out from the mountain into the plain, and they were therefore called Dsiltlá'ni. As they were seen to have similar head-dresses, bows, arrows, and arrow-cases to those of the Çqa'nesá'ni, they were considered kindred of the latter, with whom they are now closely related and cannot intermarry. They introduced the art of making wicker bottles and pottery.

11. Five years later they had a very important accession to their ranks in a numerous tribe from Çqa'paha-qalkái (White Valley among the Waters), near the present city of Santa Fé. These had long viewed in the western distance the mountains where the Navajos dwelt, and wondered if any one lived there. After a time they decided to go to the mountains. They journeyed westward twelve days until they reached the mountains, and they spent eighteen days travelling among them before they encountered the Navajos. When they met the latter people, they could discover no evidence of relationship with them, especially in language; so for twelve years the two tribes dwelt apart, but always on friendly terms. In the mean time, however, intermarriages had taken place, and the feelings of friendship grew until at length the Çqa'paha-zine were adopted by the Navajos as a new gens.

12. The Çqa'paha settled, near the rest of the tribe, at a point in



the San Juan valley named Hyleçin (Trails Leading Upwards). 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<sup>n</sup>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 were usually the plainest and best, so the present Navajo language resembles more the old Çqá'paha than the old Navajo. [It is well to relate that this compliment to the Çqá'paha tongue was uttered by one who was himself of this gens.]

13. Some years after the removal to Hyleçin, a party of Utes visited the Navajos, and stayed all summer. In the autumn all departed, except one family, which remained behind with the Çqá'paha. At first they intended to stay but a short while, but they lingered along year after year, and ended by never going away. In this Ute family there was a girl named Tsa'yiskiz, or Sage-brush Hill, who married a Navajo and became the mother of a large family. Her descendants are now the gens of Tsa'yiskizni, who are closely allied to the Çqá'paha (in the same phratry), and cannot intermarry with the latter.

14. Not long subsequent to the visit of the Utes, the Navajos were joined by more people ; as these came from Çqá'paha-qalkài, and spoke the same language as those who first came from that place, they were not formed into a separate gens, but were adopted into the Çqá'pahazinë.

15. About this time, or a little later, a large band of Apaches came from the south to the settlement on the San Juan. "We come not to visit you, but to join you," they said. "We have left the Apaches forever." They were all members of one gens among the Apaches, that of Tsejingiài, or Black Standing Rocks (*i. e.*, a trap dyke), under which name the Navajos adopted them as a gens. They are now affiliated with the Çqá'paha, with whom they cannot intermarry. Another (small) party of Apaches came later from the same place as the last, and were added to the same gens.

16. In those days, there being famine in Zuñi, some persons, including women, came over from that pueblo to the valley of the San Juan to dwell with the Navajos. They came first to the Çqá'paha, and were adopted directly into this gens. The gens of Zuñi (Nanac-çéji<sup>n</sup>) was formed later.

17. About the same time that the famine occurred at Zuñi, it prevailed also at Klògi, an old pueblo now in ruins, somewhere in Rio Grande valley, not far from the present pueblo of Jemez. Fugitives from this place formed the gens of Klògi, which affiliated with Çqá'paha.

18. The next accession was a family of seven adults from a place called Çò'qani, or Near the Water; under this name, as a gens, its members affiliated with Dsiltlá'ni, the people among whom they first came to dwell.

19. The people who next joined the Navajos came from some place west of the San Juan settlement. They were not a newly created people; they had escaped in some way from the alien gods, and were therefore regarded as *çine çigini*. They represented two different gentes, Çqá'tcini and Kái-çine, or Willow-people, and for a while they formed two gentes in the tribe; but in these days all traces of this division has been lost, and they are all now called without distinction Çqá'tcini or Kài.

20. Previous to this time the Navajos had been a peaceable tribe; but now they found themselves becoming a numerous people, and some began to talk of war. Of late years they had heard much of the great pueblos along the Rio Grande; but how their people had saved themselves from the anaye, or alien gods, was not known. A man named Napàil-inçà got up a war party and made a raid on a pueblo named Kinlitçi, or Red House, and returned with some captive women, from whom the gens of Kinlitçi or Kinlitçini, is descended.

21. Next came a band of Apaches from the south, representing two gentes, Çestcini (Red Streak) and Tlastcini (Red Flat Ground). These were adopted as two separate gentes by the Navajos, and became affiliated with the Tsinajíni (*i. e.*, entered the same phratry).

22. Not long after the arrival of these Apache bands, some Utes came into the neighborhood of the Navajos, camping at a place called Tse'çi'yikani (a ridge or promontory projecting into the river), not far from Hyieçin. They had good arms of all kinds and two varieties of shields, one with a crescentic indentation at the top. They lived for a while by themselves, and were at first inclined to be unruly and impertinent; but in the course of time they merged into the Navajos, forming the gens of Noçà or Noçàçine (Ute people).

23. About the time they were incorporated by the Navajos, or soon after, a party of these Utes made a raid on the Mexican settlements somewhere in the neighborhood of Socorro, and captured a Spanish woman. She was their slave; but her descendants became free among the Navajos, and formed the Nakài-çine (People of the White Stranger), or Mexican gens, who are affiliated with the Noçàçine.

24. At the period of Navajo history which we have now reached [evidently after the advent of the Spaniards], Big Knee, the chief of the Çqá'paha, was still alive, but he was a very old and feeble man. In those days they had a healing dance called natçig, which lasted

all winter ; but it has long ago fallen into disuse, and its rites are forgotten. During one eventful winter, this dance was held for the benefit of Big Knee at the sacred place called Ço'yétli, in the San Juan valley. One night, as the dance was in progress, some strangers joined them, coming from the direction of the river. Adopted by the Navajos, they formed the gens of Ço'yetlini, and became affiliated with the gentes of Noçàzine and Nakàizine.

25. On another occasion, during the same winter, some Apaches came from their country to witness the dance of natciç. Among the women of the Çqá'paha was a wanton who became attached to a young Apache, and secretly absconded with him when he left. For a long time her people did not know what had become of her ; but after many years, learning where she was, some of them went down into the Apache country to induce her to return. She came back, bringing with her two daughters, who had unusually fair skins, and were much admired. They became the mothers of a new gens, named Qáltso, or Yellow Bodies.<sup>1</sup>

26. On another night of the same winter, while the dance for Big Knee was in progress, two strange men entered the Navajo camp. They announced themselves as the advanced couriers of a multitude of wanderers who had left the shores of the great waters in the west to join the Navajos. And now we shall hear the story of the people who came from the western sea.

27. As before related (paragraph 3) Estsánatlehi, the goddess of the west (who was created in the Navajo land and became the wife of the sun), went at the bidding of the sun to dwell in the western ocean. After she had lived there some time on a floating home in the sea, she longed for the society of man, and determined to make something of the human kind to keep her company. From epidermis scratched from her left side, under the arm, she made four persons (two men and two women), who became the progenitors of the gens of Qonagá'ni ; from the epidermis of her right side, under the arm, she made four persons, from whom came the gens of Ki'paá'ni. In like manner, from her left breast she made the four ancestors of the gens of Ço'çitcìni ; from the right breast the ancestors of Biçá'ni ; from the middle of her chest the ancestors of Qacklìjni, and from the middle of her back, between the shoulders, the ancestors of Biçàni.<sup>2</sup> These groups did not at first bear the names by which they are now known. They were always recognized as distinct from one another, but they received their names later, as will be told.

28. After a while she transferred them from her floating house on the ocean to the adjacent coast of the mainland, and here they lived

<sup>1</sup> Some explain this name as meaning Yellow Valley, and give it a local origin.

<sup>2</sup> This gens is not mentioned again in the myth.

thirty-four years and had many children. At the end of that time certain mythic personages, called the twelve brothers, visited them, and told them that there was a numerous and prosperous nation like themselves dwelling far to the east. "We do not visit them," said the twelve brothers, "but we stand on the mountains and view them from afar." This news produced a great commotion among the western people; they discussed the matter for many days, and finally determined to travel eastward till they found the race that was like themselves.

29. Before they went, Estsánatlehi called them to council and said, "It is a very long and dangerous journey that you are about to undertake, and it is well you should be protected on the way. I will give you five of my pets for guardians;" so she gave them a bear, a great serpent, a deer, a puma, and a porcupine. She gave them, too, five mystic wands: to those who became Qonagá'ni she gave a wand of turquoise; to those who became Ki'aá'ni, a wand of white shell; to those who became Ço'žitcini, a wand of red shell; to those who became Biçá'ni, a wand of black stone; and to those who became Qaclíj'ni, a wand of red stone. Four days after this council with Estsánatlehi they set out on their journey.

30. Between the twelfth and sixteenth days of their eastward march they went four days without water, and great were the sufferings of the children. At the noon halt on the fourth day the bearer of the turquoise wand stuck his wand in the sand, worked it from side to side in the hole he made, and soon a stream of water rushed up through the hole. A woman of a different gens to that of the turquoise wand-bearer stooped down, tasted the water, and exclaimed, "It is bitter water." At once the people named her Ço'žitcini, or "Bitter Water," and her gens has borne the same name ever since.

31. They made but a short stay at the Bitter Water — long enough to prepare and eat a meal — and then hurried on, in order that they might reach, before night fell, a mountain they saw in the eastern distance. When they came to the mountain they found at its base a spring around which some Indians were living. The people of the spring, who greeted the wanderers pleasantly, and made them welcome, said that they had been created at the spring, and had always dwelt there; that the place was called Maiço' or Coyote Spring, and that they were the Mazine or Coyote People. The wanderers stayed four days at the spring, during which time they used every persuasion to make the Coyote People accompany them. This the latter hesitated to do, as they knew of no other water for many days' journey around them; but at length they yielded, and on the fifth day from the arrival of the wanderers Coyote Spring was deserted. To-day among the Navajos this people are more often called Maiçò'-

gine, from the locality where they were first found, than Màiçine, which was their original name.

32. After leaving Coyote Spring they travelled all day, but found no water. The next day the bearer of the white shell wand stuck his wand into the sand and manipulated it, as the bearer of the turquoise wand had done on a previous occasion, and, as before, water came forth from the hole he made. A woman, not of the wand-bearer's gens, stooped to drink. "It is muddy," she cried. "Then your name shall be Qaclíj" (Mud), said those who heard her, and her gens has borne the name of Qaclíjni, or Mud-people, ever since.

33. They journeyed on (resting at night) until the following noon without water; when then they halted, the red shell wand was thrust into the ground, water came forth, and one of the Maiço' women knelt down to drink. She declared the water to be saline, or alkaline (çoko<sup>n</sup>ji), so to her and to her descendants was given the name of Ço'çoko<sup>n</sup>ji, or Saline Water. (See paragraph 60.)

34. They travelled until night, and again until noon of the next day without finding water; then they rested, and the bearers of the black wand tried their power. As usual water rose, but this time it was sweet and clear. All drank heartily and filled their vessels, except one boy and one girl, who stood by and gazed at the water. "Why do you not come and drink before the water is all gone?" some one said; but they only stood still and looked. As the girl had her arms folded under her dress (the Navajo woman's dress is open at the axillæ, so that the arms may be folded under it in cold weather), the people turned to her and called her Biçá'ni, which signifies Folded Arms, and thus her gens has been called ever since.

35. The next march was again a dry one, and on the following noon the power of the red stone wand was tried. The water sprang up as before; but on this occasion no gens was named. In about twenty-seven days from this time they arrived in the neighborhood of the San Francisco mountains. They had lived by the way mostly on seeds and very small animals, such as hares and marmots, only occasionally killing a deer.

36. At a spring to the east of the San Francisco mountains they stopped for several days, and built a stone wall, which still stands. Here the puma killed a deer. The bear sometimes killed rabbits. The deer ran along with the crowd, doing neither good nor harm. The snake and the porcupine were not only of no use, but they were an annoyance, for they had to be carried along; so the people determined to part with them. When they reached Natsisàn (now called Navajo Mountain) they turned their porcupine pet loose, and this is the reason there are so many porcupines there now. At a place called Tsé'jintcilyà, in the land of the Oraibes, they released the

snake among the lava rocks, and this is why snakes are so abundant there.

37. It was late in the autumn when they arrived at a place called Yotso, or Big Bead, and saw some human footprints which were not very recent. This discovery occasioned great excitement, for the tracks it was thought might have been made by the people whom they wished to find. The majority of the wanderers determined to sojourn at Yotso all winter, but the remainder, including parts of different gentes, became impatient, hurried on, and were not seen again. The present Jicarilla Apaches are supposed to be descended from a portion of these rash seceders. Those who remained at Yotso sent, at different times, two pairs of couriers to follow the fugitives and induce them to return. One pair of couriers came back after an unsuccessful pursuit; the other pair kept on, eventually reached the Navajo camps at Ço'yétli, as before related (paragraph 27), and remained there all winter.

38. When spring came, the wanderers set out again on their journey. They had not travelled many days until they reached a place marked by one great lone tree, and here some of the Ço'zítçini said, "Our children are weary and feeble; their knees are swollen; their feet are blistered; we will go no farther. In the course of time the people will come here and find us." So they remained, and became the gens of the Tsinsakázni, or People of the (Lone) Tree, and they are now affiliated with the Ço'zítçini, from whom they separated.

39. Soon after this event the wanderers reached a place called Pi<sup>n</sup>biçò', or Deer Spring, and here another party left the Ço'zítçini, giving excuses similar to those of the former deserters. They became the gens of Pi<sup>n</sup>biçò', or Pi<sup>n</sup>biçò'zine (Deer Spring People), and they are now affiliated with the Ço'zítçini. At Pi<sup>n</sup>biçò' the wanderers desired their pet deer to go; but he refused to depart, and he remained with the gens of Pi<sup>n</sup>biçò'zine. What finally became of him is not known.

40. In the course of time, all that was left of the western wanderers, after these various desertions, arrived at Hyleçin. Big Knee still lived, but he was feeble and in his dotage, and he was not respected and obeyed as of old. Some of his gens, the Çqá'paha, fancied they detected a relationship between themselves and the newly arrived Qacljñi, because their names had a somewhat similar meaning, and their head-dresses and accoutrements were fashioned alike; therefore they invited the Qacljñi to dwell with them. These two gentes have ever since been close friends, yet Çqá'paha may marry with Qacljñi.

41. The bear was the last pet which the wanderers retained. When their journey was done they said to him, "Our pet, you have served

us well ; but we are now safe among our friends and need your services no more. If you wish you may leave us. There are many of your kind in Tcùckai (the Chusca Mountains). Go there and play with them." So they turned him loose in Tcùckai, and bears have been very abundant there ever since.

42. One of the gentes of the western immigrants was still nameless — the people to whom Estsánatlehi had given the wand of turquoise. They did not remain long in the San Juan valley, but soon after their arrival set out on a journey toward the south. After some days' travel they encountered, among some high overhanging rocks, a small band of strangers speaking a language like their own, — a poor people who lived mostly on wild seeds and small animals. They said that they had been created in the place where they were then living, only seven years previously and that they called themselves Tse'zine, or Rock People. The nameless gens, however, gave them the name of Tse'nahapílni, or Overhanging Rock People.

43. The new-found people told the nameless gens of some Apaches who dwelt farther to the south, but not far away ; and thither both bands repaired. They found the Apaches at a place called Tcòhonaa, where they all recognized each other as friends and embraced one another. When the visitors had been three years among the Apaches, the Tse'nahapílni left for the north to join the Navajos ; but the nameless gens stayed longer. At the end of that time, having determined to return to the Navajo camps on the San Juan, they packed up their goods and prepared to leave. As they stood all ready to depart, an old woman was observed walking around them. When she had made a complete circuit around the party she turned to them and said, " You came to us without a name, and have dwelt seven years without a name among us ; but you shall be nameless no longer ; you are henceforth Qonagá'ni, or Walked-around People " [literally, People of the Walking-place].

44. When the Qonagá'ni returned to the Navajos they found that their friends the Tse'nahapílni had arrived before them, and had become close friends with the Tlastcìni, the Øestcìni, the Kinlìtcìni, and the Tsinajìni. The Qonagá'ni became in time affiliated with the gentes of Çò'qani, Naqopàni, Dsiltlá'ni, and Çqa'nezá'ni, and these five gentes are now as one people ; no man of one gens can marry a woman of another.

45. There are two of the original gentes who came from the Pacific coast, namely, Ki'aa'ni and Biçàni, of whom it is not told when they received their names. The former signifies a high-standing stone building or pueblo. The people were not thus named because they had ever built or inhabited such a house, but because they were

for a long time encamped near an old ruined pueblo. [The stone wall mentioned in paragraph 36 probably has relation to their name.]

46. About the time of the return of the Qonagá'ni, while some of the gens of Çqá'paha were dwelling at Agàhala' (Scattered Wool), these sent out at nightfall two of their children to a neighboring spring for water. When the children returned they brought with them two extra water-bottles, and being questioned, they said they had taken them away from two strange children whom they met at the spring. The parents denounced the theft, and went towards the spring to seek the strange children. When the latter were found they said: "We belong to a band of wanderers who have come from a distance and are now encamped on yonder mountain. They sent us two here to look for water." "Then we can give your people a name," said the Çqá'paha. "We will call them Ço'bajnaàji" (Two Come for Water Together). The kind-hearted Çqá'paha bade the strange children rest in the lodge, and sent their own sons back to the camp of the strangers with water, and an invitation for the latter to join them. From this it came that Ço'bajnaàji is affiliated with Çqá'paha.

47. The legend next tells us of two bands of Apaches and one band of Utes who joined the Navajos, and were not regarded as new gentes, but were adopted by the Çqá'paha; it also tells of a third band of Apaches who dwelt first with Ço'zoko'ji, but afterwards joined the Çqá'paha, among whom their descendants are now called Ço'zoko'ji.

48. We next hear of parties of Zuñi Indians, who came voluntarily to live among the Çqá'paha during periods of starvation in the Zuñi villages, and who formed the gens Nanacçéji'. This is the Navajo name for the Zuñis, and is said to mean Black Horizontal Streak.

49. About the time of the advent of the Zuñis, or a little later, there came from the west a strange people with painted faces, who were named Çildjèhi, and were supposed to have been a part of the nation now called Mojaves in the Colorado Cañon. The Çildjèhi first affiliated with the Nanacçéji', but to-day they are better friends with the Çqá'tcini than with the Nanacçéji'.

50. On one occasion a war party containing members of different gentes went from the San Juan settlements to a pueblo called Càibeqogan, or House of Sand. Here two girls were captured by men of Tse'jinkíni and brought home as slaves. There was a salt lake near the House of Sand, and they had in the pueblo a gens of Salt People to which the girls belonged. From these girls have descended a numerous race, who bear the name Ácihi, or Salt People, and who are affiliated with the capturing gens of Tse'jinkíni.

51. Later, in a season of scarcity, some people voluntarily left the House of Sand to live with the Navajos. They said that in their own



pueblo there was a gens of Çqá'paha, and hearing there was such a gens among the Navajos, they had come to join them; thus they became a part of Çqá'paha, and were not formed into a new gens.

52. A war party which went to raid around the pueblo of Jemez (called Maizeckíj, or Coyote Pass, by the Navajos) brought back with them a girl. She was captured by one of the Tlastcìni; was sold by her captors to one of the Tse'jinkíni; and became the progenitor of the gens of Maizeckíjni, or Coyote Pass People, who are now affiliated with Tse'jinkíni, the gens of the purchaser.<sup>1</sup>

53. At some time, just when it is now forgotten, seven people voluntarily joined the Navajos, coming from a place called Tse'yanaçò'ni, or Horizontal Water under the Cliffs. They came at first for a short visit only; but, deferring their departure from time to time, they remained as long as they lived. The gens of the Tse'yanaçòni is now extinct.

54. Once, while some of the gens of Biçá'ni were encamped at a place called Çò'tso (Big Water, or Big Spring), near the Carrizo Mountains, a man and a woman came out of the water and entered their camp. They formed the gens of Çò'tsoni, or Great Water People, who are affiliated with the Biçá'ni.

55. We must now consider to what extent this legend may be of aid to us in the study of the social organization of the Navajos. It seems, like the traditions of all primitive races, to consist of material of three sorts: The first is unquestionable myth, which, though it may not contain a word of truth, is pregnant with instruction to the discriminating seeker after truth; the second lies across the dividing line between myth and history, — material in which the gaps of imperfect tradition have been filled by the imagination of minds taught in the mythic school; the third is historic, — not absolutely veritable history (for where is such history to be found?), but consisting of oral traditions not sufficiently antiquated to be greatly corrupted. It must be studied throughout inferentially, and with the correcting aid of all pertinent accessories; with the aid of comparative mythology, of comparative history, of geography and topography, of the philology and sociology of the Navajos and surrounding tribes, with the aid of the traditions of surrounding tribes and of the written history of the Spanish, Mexican, and American occupations of New Mexico. It will be observed that much of the tale relates to events which occurred after the advent of the Spanish, and a very high antiquity is not claimed for the most remote events. With these observations concerning the legend kept in view, we will find it a valuable auxiliary to the study of the present division of the Navajos into gentes and phratries.

<sup>1</sup> Fugitives from Spanish persecution at Jemez, were added to this gens later.

56. As previously intimated, I have collected other versions of this legend from Indians, but none as complete as the one presented. They all agree pretty well as to the main points; the differences are mostly in the less important particulars, such as the mythic circumstances under which the names originated. Usually the differences are easily reconcilable, or apparent differences vanish on close examination.

57. This story, as I give it, is an epitome of one related by a venerable shaman named *Qaçali Nez*, or Tall Chanter. It accounts for only thirty-eight gentes; but this informant named for me on this and other occasions forty-three gentes in all, two of which, he said, were extinct. Among the various lists in my possession none give a higher number than this; in some I find names not included in the list of Tall Chanter, but these are offset by the omission of names which he mentions. If each name represents a different organization, we have at least fifty-one gentes in the tribe; but since we find in the legend instances of one gens having two names (paragraphs 19, 31), it is not improbable that some names are duplicates. It is quite possible, however, that gentes derived from captive or enslaved women added to the tribe since it has grown wealthy and powerful, and scattered over a wide territory, may exist in one part of the tribal domain unknown to the best-informed persons in another part. Extinct gentes may be forgotten by one informant and remembered by another.

58. I present below (paragraph 61) a complete list of these names. The first forty-three are those of Tall Chanter, arranged to the thirty-eighth in the order in which they are introduced in the legend. Beside lists which I have obtained directly from Indians, I have had opportunities of consulting two others, unpublished, one of which was collected by Captain John G. Bourke, U. S. Army, and the other by Mr. R. L. Packard. Both were procured at Fort Defiance, Arizona, through the same interpreter, Mr. Henry Dodge. The legend, as I have said, accounts for thirty-eight gentes; it may be only a coincidence that in the following list of fifty-one names only thirty-eight are well corroborated. For those marked with a star (\*) I have the authority of one informant only, while upon those not so marked all, or nearly all, agree.

59. In many cases two forms of the name of a gens have been noted, one with and one without a termination (*zine*, *ni*, or *i*) meaning "people." When two such forms are on record in my notes, I give here the simpler form first, and the other after in parenthesis; but in all cases, to simplify study, I omit the word "people" from the English equivalents.

60. Where more than one translation has been given me, I record

in the list that which I regard with the most favor; some of the translations are necessarily very liberal. There are names for which no brief English equivalents could be found, and for which, therefore, approximate equivalents had to be given; names which require explanation rather than definition or synonymy, and names whose etymological definitions do not convey their true meanings. For instance, Tse'jinçiaì signifies a long line of black rocks standing up like a wall. This might mean an artificial wall of blackish stones, but as the result of much inquiry I learned that the name refers to a locality where there exists a formation known in geology as trap-dyke. This is the equivalent which I give for Tse'jinçiaì in the following list, and yet I would not venture to put both words in a dictionary as synonyms. In the name Ço'çokò"ji the element çokò"j refers to anything which has a distinct but not repulsive taste; it has synonyms in other Indian languages, but not in English; it applies to sugar and salt, but not to bitter barks. "Sapid" is not an equivalent. I know from explanation only that the water is supposed to have had an agreeable saline taste.

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61. LIST OF THE NAVAJO GENTES.

1. Tse'jinkíni,	House of the Black Cliffs.
2. Tse'tlàni,	Bend of a Cañon.
3. Dsilanoçíni,	Encircled Mountain.
4. Qackà"qatsò (Qackà"qatsòçíne),	Much Yucca.
5. Naqopàni,	Brown Streak; Horizontal on the Ground.
6. Tsinajíni,	Black Horizontal Forest.
7. Çqa'nezá' (Çqa'neza'ni),	Among the Scattered (Hills).
8. Dsiltlá'ni,	Base of the Mountain.
9. Çqá'paha (Çqá'pahaçíne),	Among the Waters.
10. Tsa'yiskíçni,	Sage-brush Hill.
11. Tse'jinçiaì (Tse'jinçiaìçíne),	Trap-dyke (see paragraph 60).
12. Klògi (Klògiçíne),	(Name of an old pueblo.)
13. Çò'qani,	Beside the Water.
14. Çqá'tcini,	Among the Red (Waters or Banks).
15. Kai (Kàiçíne),	Willows.
16. Kinlitçì (Kinlitçini),	Red House (of Stone).
17. Çestçini,	Red Streak.
18. Tlastçini,	Red Flat.
19. Noçà (Noçàçíne),	Ute.
20. Nakài (Nakàiçíne),	White Stranger (Mexican).
21. Ço'yetlìni,	Junction of the Rivers.
22. Qàlto (Qaltsoçíne),	Yellow Bodies (see paragraph 25, note).
23. Ço'çitçini,	Bitter Water.
*24. Maiçò' (Maiçò'çíne),	Coyote Spring.
25. Qaclíj (Qaclíjini),	Mud.
26. Ço'çokò"ji,	Saline Water (see paragraph 60).
27. Biçá'ni,	Folded Arms.
28. Tsinsakáçni,	Lone Tree.
29. Pi"biçò' (Pi"biçò'çíne),	Deer Spring.

30. Tse'nahapfni,	Overhanging Rocks.
31. Qonagá'ni,	Place of Walking.
32. Kí'aá'ni,	High-standing House.
33. Co'bajnaàj (Co'bajnaàji),	Two Come for Water.
34. Nanacchéji,	Black Horizontal Stripe Aliens (Zuñi).
*35. Çildjèhi,	(Not translated.)
36. Ácihi (Ácihiçine),	Salt.
37. Maiçeckíj (Maiçeckíjni),	Coyote Pass (Jemez).
*38. Tse'yanaçò'ni [extinct],	Horizontal Water under Cliffs.
39. Çò'tsoni,	Great Water.
40. Biçàni or Dsilçàni,	Brow of Mountain.
41. Tse'yikèhe (Tse'yikèheçine),	Rocks Standing near One Another.
*42. Tlizilàni,	Many Goats.
*43. Ço'tcalsiçaya [extinct],	Water under the "Sitting Frog" (?).
*44. Aatsòsni,	Narrow Gorge.
*45. Naá'f (Naá'fçine),	Monocline.
*46. Yòo,	Beads.
*47. Ka'nàni,	Living Arrows.
*48. Tse'çqáni,	Among the Rocks.
*49. Lòka (Lòkaçine),	Reeds ( <i>Phragmites</i> ).
*50. Tse'çekíjni,	Rocky Pass.
*51. Qoganlàni,	Many Huts.

62. There is little doubt that in the majority of cases the names of Navajo gentes, which are not the names of tribes, are simply designations of localities. We do not arrive at this conclusion from the teachings of the legend alone, but from the meanings of the names themselves, so often unquestionably local. Indeed, in some cases, where we feel certain of a local origin for the appellation of a gens, the legend presents a different origin, as in the cases of the western immigrants who are said to be named from women who, in turn, were known by words they uttered when they first tasted of the different magic fountains. Where the legend positively states that a gens was named after a locality where it lived, we have little reason to doubt its truth, even though the interpretation of the name may not be above criticism. We are told in the above story not only that many of the gentes originated in localities whose names they bear, that often they had lived so long in these localities that the memory of man ran not to the contrary, that they believed themselves created in these localities, but we are told that after they had become incorporated with the Navajo nation they often continued to live more or less apart down to a very recent day. Even when they lived in close proximity to one another in the valley of the San Juan, they did not mingle houses and farms promiscuously, but members of the same gens held somewhat together. Members of each and every gens may now be found scattered all over the Navajo country, and chiefs seem to exercise only local authority; yet if you ask a Navajo what people any particular chief controls, he will invariably

give you the name of the gens, and not of the modern local group, to which such chief belongs. I have some reasons for believing that to this day, much as the gentes are scattered, some of them are still more prevalent than others in certain localities. However, leaving all uncertainties aside, we have facts enough to warrant us in concluding that most of these gentes were originally, and until quite recently, local exogamous groups, and not true gentes, according to Morgan's definition. Whenever, as mentioned in the tradition, from an alien race a new accession came, it received, as a rule, the name of the tribe or pueblo from which it was derived, as if the whole people thereof was regarded as an exogamous group. In few cases (paragraphs 15, 50, 51) do we find any regard paid to the former gentes of the new arrivals.

63. Of tribes allied in language to the Navajos and Apaches, — that is, Athabascan tribes, — among the nearest, geographically, are those of the Siletz Agency in Oregon. These Indians have been recently well studied, particularly with regard to their social organization, by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, to whom I am indebted for the information I here impart concerning them. They are now collected on a government reservation, and are divided into a series of exogamous clans (gentes we may call them), but each clan represents a different village in the Rogue River valley occupied by the Siletz Indians within the memory of men now living, and bears the name of the village from whence it came. As now no man may marry within his own clan, so in former days no man might marry within his own village; he was obliged to seek his wife elsewhere. In short, the village was an exogamous group, such as the Navajo gens seems to have been. The names of the Siletz villages bear a general formative resemblance to the names of the Navajo gentes, but only in one instance do I find a close similarity; this is in the name of the village of Tutuni, which has much the same sound and quite the same meaning as that of the Navajo gens *Çò'tsoni*, or People of the Great Water. Having in view only such resemblances between these two branches of the same Athabascan stock, it is easy for us to suppose that they had at no distant day similar clan organizations. But a difficulty seems to arise when we learn that they have different laws with regard to the line of descent. Among the Navajos the child belongs to the gens of his mother; among the Siletz Indians, he belongs to that of his father. There are some ethnologists who maintain that the change from mother-right to father-right involves a great advance in civilization or in social organization, and a great lapse of time. There are others who consider the change a facile one, and cite instances where they have known it to occur. Among the Navajos it seems to involve no change at all, if we may judge

from the legend in which, as I will presently point out, descent in both lines seems to be recognized as determining consanguinity. If we have among the Navajos evidence of the existence of both father-right and mother-right, and among the Rogue River Indians evidence of father-right and no evidence to show that some regard is not paid to mother-right, the argument in favor of a former identity of laws regulating descent and a similar origin of gentes, among these two tribes, will not appear unreasonable.

64. Although the names of the Navajo gentes are not now totemic, the legend seems to indicate that some of them once were; and although I have not discovered the existence of clan totems among the Navajos to-day, there are passages in the legend, and there are customs now existing among the people, which can be well explained by assuming that such totems once existed. The original gentes of the immigrants from the Pacific shore had, says the legend (paragraph 27) no names when the goddess Estsánatlehi sent them forth on their eastward journey; later they acquired names apparently of local origin, like the older Navajo clan names. But when they set out on their journey each clan was provided with a different pet, a bear, a puma, a deer, snake, and a porcupine (paragraph 29). The Navajo word (*li<sup>n</sup>*), which in this connection I translate as "pet," means a domestic animal of any kind, of late years especially a horse; it also means an animal fetich or personal animal totem. In the myth of the Mountain Chant, a Navajo youth is made to address his deer mask as "*cili<sup>n</sup>*," my pet.<sup>1</sup> I might, then, have given the translation of this word as totem, and thus have avoided all argument at the expense of the reader's enlightenment. Again, when these clans had received local names, the pets were set free. These passages, and others in the legend, allude in all likelihood, to the former use of totemic clan-symbols, probably to the existence of totemic clan-names, and possibly to a custom, not now practised by the Navajos, of keeping in captivity live totemic animals,— a custom common to the ancient Mexicans and the modern Pueblos. The story of the Deer Spring People (paragraph 39) affords, perhaps, the best evidence in favor of totemic names to be found in the legend. It is related that a portion of the Bitter Water People (*Ço'zitcini*), becoming weary of travel, remained at a place called Deer Spring, where they became afterwards known as the *Pi<sup>n</sup>biçò'çine*, or Deer Spring People; that here the deer was desired to depart, but refused to do so, and remained with the people who stopped behind at the spring, and that what finally became of him is not known. Assuming that the immigrants from the west had once totemic names, we

<sup>1</sup> *The Mountain Chant: A Navajo Ceremony.* Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1888, pp. 395, 466.

explain this part of the tale by saying that it was people of the deer gens who stayed behind, and naturally gave their name to the spring where they remained, that in the course of time they became as the People of the Deer Spring, and that, as they still retain their old totemic name in a changed form, the story-teller is constrained to say that the fate of the deer is not known. On the same assumption, an explanation similar in part to the above may be given for the origin of the names of some gentes not derived from the western immigrants, such as the Maiçò'zine, or Coyote People, who were picked up by immigrants *en route*. These called themselves Mài'zine, or Coyote People; but they are called now by the Navajos after the spring (Maiçò') where they lived, — the spring probably being named from the people who dwelt there. The gens of Qackà<sup>n</sup>qatsò'zine, or Much Yucca People, we are told (paragraph 6), was originally called Qacka<sup>n</sup>zine, or Yucca People, and the land where it dwelt Qackà<sup>n</sup>qatso, "because many yuccas grew there," say my informants. May we not say instead, "because many people of the Yucca clan lived there"? Another circumstance which may be regarded as pointing to a former clan totemism is the existence among the Navajos of certain taboos; these are chiefly fish and natatorial birds. When we read, in the legend, that before they joined the Navajos the Tse'tlàni lived on duck and snakes (paragraph 4), we need not suppose that this is said with a view to commiserate them on the inferiority of their diet, but merely, perhaps, to show that they had not the same taboo as the original gentes, and that, whatever other things they may have had in common with the latter, they differed in this particular.

65. As we follow the tale, we observe that different gentes are received into the tribe with different degrees of willingness on both sides. In some cases two parties, meeting for the first time, throw themselves at once into each other's arms. Clans dwelling on the Pacific coast hear of the existence of kindred tribes far to the east, set out over a long and dangerous route to join them and, arriving among the Navajos, are received at once and without question. On the other hand, we hear of clans who remain for a long time neighbors of the Navajos before they enter into tribal relations with them; of other clans descended from captives taken from hostile tribes; and of others who only seek a refuge among the Navajos from starvation or persecution. We can broadly divide the accessions into two classes, the ready and the reluctant, and it remains for us to conjecture what social element produced this difference. I have little doubt that this element was language. We observe that all gentes derived from the Apaches, a tribe allied in language to the Navajos, are to be classed among the ready, while all accessions from tribes which we now know to speak tongues alien to the Navajo, belong to

the reluctant. Reasoning then from the known to the unknown, we can, if we accept the legend, without much difficulty distinguish the gentes of Tinneh or Athabaskan origin from those of alien origin in the present highly complex tribe known as the Navajos. What language the Çqá'paha spoke we do not know, but the legend tells us that it was different to the Navajo. I have procured a short list of ancient Navajo words (before the advent of the Çqá'paha) with their modern synonyms. Perhaps I may yet succeed in getting a list of the Çqá'paha as it was. It is not, however, until all the languages of the Southwest have been thoroughly studied that we can even approximately determine all the elements of the Navajo tongue, — a tongue which will no doubt reveal an interesting array of loan-words to the future philologist.

66. It may be noted that in the legend frequent allusions are made to gentes forming with other gentes special friendships and affiliations, which were often of such a nature as to preclude marriage between members of different gentes. This system of affiliation divides the Navajo gentes into a number of groups which have no special names, and which in other respects differ somewhat from the subtribal groups of other races. Yet they are so closely analogous to the phratry as defined by Morgan that I can do no better than apply to them this name, which he has adopted for us from the Greeks.

67. Different informants divide the tribe into somewhat different phratral groups. Tall Chanter made but nine phratries. Captain Bourke's informant made eleven, with three independent gentes. The numbers made by others range from eight to twelve. The arrangement of gentes into phratries are somewhat different. The majority of these discrepancies may be accounted for otherwise than by supposing ignorance on the part of the informants, or error on the part of the recorders. It is to be observed that in the legend mention is made of cases in which gentes have in the course of time changed their phratral affiliations, and there is one case given where one gens belongs to two phratries (paragraphs 40, 68). Inquiry on this point has elicited the information that such cases are not uncommon; and again there are sub-phratries, *i. e.*, a certain number of gentes in a phratry are more intimately related to one another than they are to the other affiliated gentes. In short, the Navajo phratry is not always a homogeneous organization, and informants may differ without invalidating each other's testimony. It would have been well had I found an intelligent man for each gens to give me his own phratral affiliations; but this plan did not occur to me until quite recently, when the opportunity to pursue it was lacking, and when I had advanced far in the study and comparison of my records.



68. The nine phratries, as given by Tall Chanter, are as follows :—

- I. 1, Çqá'paha; 2, Tsa'yiskíçni; 3, Tse'jinçiaì; 4, Klògi; 5, Qàltso; 6, Ço'bajnaàj.
  - II. 1, Tsinajfni; 2, Kinlitci; 3, Çestcini; 4, Tlastcini; 5, Tse'nahapfni; 6, Tlizilàni.
  - III. 1, Tse'jinkfni; 2, Acihi; 3, Maiçeckfj; 4, Dsilnaoçfni; 5, Qackà'qatsò; 6, Tse'tlàni.
  - IV. 1, Çqá'tcini; 2, Kai; 3, Nanacçéji<sup>a</sup>; 4, Tse'yikèhe; 5, Çildjèhi.
  - V. 1, Ço'yetlìni; 2, Noçà; 3, Nakài.
  - VI. 1, Çò'tsoni; 2, Biçá'ni; 3, Qaclfj; 4, Biçàni; 5, Ki'aá'ni.
  - VII. 1, Ço'çitcini; 2, Pi'biçò'; 3, Tsinsakáçni.
  - VIII. 1, Çò'qani; 2, Dsiltlá'ni; 3, Naqopàni; 4, Çqa'nezá'; 5, Qonagá'ni.
  - IX. 1, Maiçò'; 2, Ço'çokò'ji.
- Tse'yanaçò'ni and Ço'tcalsiçàya are extinct.

69. The following are the eleven phratries recorded by Captain Bourke :—

- I. 1, Çò'tsoni; 2, Biçàni; 3, Qaclfj; 4, Tse'çeckfjni.
  - II. 1, Qonagá'ni; 2, Dsiltlá'ni; 3, Çò'qani; 4, Çqa'nezá'; 5, Naqopàni.
  - III. 1, Acihi; 2, Tse'jinkfni; 3, Maiçeckfj.
  - IV. 1, Çqá'paha; 2, Qàltso; 3, Tsa'yiskíçni; 4, Ço'bajnaàj.
  - V. 1, Ço'çitcini; 2, Tsinsakáçni; 3, Pi'biçò'; 4, Aço'tsòsni.
  - VI. 1, Ço'çokò'ji; 2, Tse'jinçiaì; 3, Klògi.
  - VII. 1, Nanacçéji<sup>a</sup>; 2, Çqá'tcini.
  - VIII. 1, Dsilnaoçfni; 2, Yòo; 3, Tse'yikèhe; 4, Tse'nahapfni.
  - IX. 1, Tlastcini; 2, Kinlitci; 3, Tsinajfni; 4, Çestcini; 5, Ka'nàni; 6, Lòka.
  - X. 1, Nakài; 2, Ço'yetlìni.
  - XI. 1, Ki'aá'ni; 2, Biçá'ni; 3, Dsilçàni.
- Qackà'qatsò, Qoganlàni, and Kai are unaffiliated gentes.

70. At the first glance the above lists would seem to be widely different; but on examination this apparent difference is found to depend largely on difference of arrangement. For twenty-nine of the thirty-eight best authenticated gentes the two lists agree, as shown in the following table, where the phratries of Tall Chanter are indicated in Arabic numerals, and those of Captain Bourke in Roman :—

1. (IV.) Çqá'paha, Tsa'yiskíçni, Qàltso, Ço'bajnaàj.
2. (IX.) Tsinajfni, Kinlitci, Çestcini, Tlastcini.
3. (III.) Tse'jinkfni, Acihi, Maiçeckfj.
4. (VII.) Çqá'tcini, Nanacçéji<sup>a</sup>.
5. (X.) Ço'yetlìni, Nakài.
6. (I.) Çò'tsoni, Qaclfj, Biçàni; (XI.) Biçá'ni, Ki'aá'ni.
7. (V.) Ço'çitcini, Pi'biçò', Tsinsakáçni.
8. (II.) Çò'qani, Dsiltlá'ni, Naqopàni, Çqa'nezá'.
9. (VI.) Ço'çokò'ji.

Among all phratry lists in my possession I find an equal or greater agreement than the above concerning the well-authenticated gentes; it is in giving the affinities of the ill-authenticated that the diversities mostly occur.

71. The reasons assigned in the legend for the incorporation of gentes into phratries are various. Sometimes two or more gentes live as near neighbors for a long time and gradually become affiliated (paragraphs 5, 7, 13, *et al.*); on other occasions two gentes discover that their names are synonymous (paragraph 40), or that their dress and accoutrements are alike (paragraphs 6, 10), and hence conclude that some old relationship must exist between them; but when we come to recent and historic days, we find reasons of a different character given. A man of the Noça or Ute gens captures a Mexican woman; her children take the name of Nakài, or Mexican, as a gens, but they belong to the phratry of her captor (paragraph 23). Why? Is it not because her captor became the father of her children? Again, men of Tse'jinkíni capture a woman of the Salt gens of Càibehogan; her children form the gens of Ácihi or Salt, and belong to the phratry of Tse'jinkíni (paragraph 50). A man of Tlastcini takes captive a woman of Jemez, but sells her to a man of Tse'jinkíni; in this case the descendants belong to the gens of Jemez, or Maizeckjini, and to the phratry of Tse'jinkíni; that is, not to the phratry of the captor, but to that of the purchaser, who is also no doubt the father of her children. We have some evidence, then, that as the gens transmits mother-right, so the phratry transmits father-right. Can the modern Navajo marry into the phratry of his father? I regret that I cannot answer this question.

72. It is held by Morgan and others that modern gentes are but divisions of parent gentes which are now represented by the phratries; in other words, that gentes have arisen by a process of segmentation. According to the legend, some such segmentation has taken place to a limited extent among the Navajos (paragraphs 33, 38, 39), but in the majority of instances phratries are formed by the aggregation of gentes, a process exactly opposite to that described by Morgan. We do not rely on the legend alone for evidence of this; it requires no argument to show that at least the gentes derived from alien tribes must be additions to the phratry from without. Morgan finds that among the tribes which he has studied the phratry bears the name of one of its gentes,—the gens which is supposed to have suffered division. The Navajos give no formal name to their phratries; yet I find a tendency among them, when speaking of their phratral affiliations, to refer more frequently to some one gens—usually the most ancient or most numerous—than to any other in the phratry. Thus a man of the gens of Tsa'yiskízi in the first phratry (paragraph 68) is more likely to say he belongs to the phratry of Çqá'paha than to that of Qàltso. It is easy to believe that this tendency might in time culminate in the permanent selection of a name for a phratry.

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