

# To Shear a Sheep

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Navajo History and Land Use

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## **The *Diné* People**

The Navajo Indians are a culturally rich tribe that currently inhabits a reservation in the Southwestern United States.<sup>1</sup> Throughout their existence, the *Diné* (the name that the Navajos gave themselves) people interacted with other Pueblo tribes and European settlers. These interactions played a crucial role in Navajo history, and the events that led to the establishment of the Navajo Reservation. More importantly, these interactions, and their relocation onto the reservation, marked a major shift in the Navajo lifestyle. Their relations with the vast array of people that they encountered led to the introduction of new livestock, crops, and ideas of how to use resources. These new discoveries, along with the Navajos' previous knowledge of the land around them created the means to develop a whole new tribal lifestyle. Over time, the Navajos migrated from a lifestyle of raiding and became a pastoral and agricultural society that utilized both the natural resources around them. The Navajos relied on their newly acquired knowledge of herding and agriculture for subsistence. This shift to a pastoral and agricultural lifestyle also created an opportunity for the Navajos to become one of the most modernized and included Native American societies in the United States.

## **Navajo History**

From the seventeenth century to 1846, the primary interactions the Navajos had outside of their own tribe were with other Pueblos (as the tribes that inhabited the Southwestern region of the United States were commonly called), and the Spanish settlers that arrived at the end of the sixteenth century. Throughout these years, the relationships that the Navajo people forged with these groups were hostile, which created a long period of raiding and warfare.

The first Spanish settlers arrived in what is now the Southwestern portion of the United States in July of 1598.<sup>2</sup> The early Spanish colonists travelled to the Americas primarily in search of land to be used for ranching.<sup>3</sup> They brought with them many domesticated animals that had been unknown to the Native American groups up until this time, including sheep and horses. The Spanish colonists also brought along missionaries to spread Christianity to the inhabitants of the new world.<sup>4</sup>

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Navajos were but one tribe within a spread out population of Southwestern tribal villages, or “pueblos.” Their primary means of survival was through raiding other tribes within the area. Navajo warriors raided surrounding settlements in order to gain supplies such as food, domesticated animals, and tools. The raiders often captured inhabitants of these settlements in order to integrate them into Navajo society. When the Navajo people first encountered these Spanish settlers, they saw yet another opportunity for advancement through raiding.<sup>5</sup> The allure of raiding was exacerbated in 1610, when the settlers moved their colony to present-day Santa Fe. This site was on the same side of the Rio Grande that the Navajos inhabited.<sup>6</sup> Navajo raiding of Spanish settlements began soon thereafter.

Navajo raiding of Spanish settlements provided this group of Native Americans with the beginning of a significant change in lifestyle. It was through raiding the Spanish that the Navajos gained their first herds of livestock, which consisted of mainly sheep and horses.<sup>7</sup> The herding of sheep became one of the single most important aspects of Navajo culture, and the Navajos have the Spanish to thank for the introduction.<sup>8</sup> The settlements also housed metal, munitions, food, and firearms.<sup>9</sup> This is not to say that *all* Navajo livestock and other goods were collected through means of raiding. There are records of Navajo trade with the Spanish settlers by way of other

tribes being used as “middlemen”; however raiding was a key means of acquiring new resources for the Navajo throughout their history.<sup>10</sup>

The raiding of Spanish settlers, however useful for the Navajo, did not produce very friendly relationships with the colonists. Over the next two decades, the Spanish ventured into their own retaliatory raiding of Navajo villages.<sup>11</sup> The Spanish captured Navajo women and children and forced them into servitude. In addition, the Spanish raided the Navajo livestock, which had vastly expanded since the time of the first Navajo raiding.

Although the back and forth incidents of raiding did spark hostile relations between the colonists and the Navajos, it is important to realize the transfer of ideas and resources that was occurring. In addition to the new livestock and resources brought back through raiding, many captured Navajo who managed to escape the colonies brought new ideas and technologies back to their tribe. Women and children who returned from the colonies acted as a catalyst for the adoption of Spanish methods of agriculture and livestock herding, and thus, Navajo women and children became the main overseers of the household, livestock, and agricultural production while the men became more focused on raiding.<sup>12</sup>

The relationships that were being created through raiding rather than trading began to create a very hostile atmosphere between the Navajos and the Spanish. Navajo raids increased through the seventeenth century and with them so too did Spanish raids on the Navajo become more frequent. During the latter half of the seventeenth century, many other Pueblo tribes became allies of the Spanish against the Navajos. The late 1600s were a time of increased Navajo hostility towards both the Spanish settlers and other Pueblo tribes. Major attacks were carried out on Navajo villages by the Spaniards and their Native American allies in 1669 and 1675.

In 1680, the Pueblo Revolt against the Spanish also had a great influence on the Navajos. Although the Navajo were not directly involved with the uprising against the Spaniards, the Pueblos who fled their villages after the war were forced to move onto Navajo territory. The Navajos were able to assimilate these tribes into their culture by adopting Pueblo architecture, pottery, weaving, and farming. The mass immigration of other tribes into Navajo culture continued with the Spanish conquest of New Mexico led by Don Diego de Vargas in 1692. This new wave of Spaniards into Navajo territory also sparked a new hostility towards the Spanish as raiding once again became common amongst both groups.<sup>13</sup>

The early 1700s was a period of further Spanish military campaign against the Navajos, which included nine different campaigns in 1709. However, in 1720, the Spanish government ordered a reform to decrease aggression towards the Navajos. The Navajos actually became allies with the Spanish military and other Pueblos during an assault on the Apaches during the Battle of Sierra Zul in 1785.<sup>14</sup> Even though the Navajos still warred with other Native American nations such as the Utes and Comanches; their contact with the Spaniards waned during this period as a result of the reform.<sup>15</sup>

The period of absence from relations with settlers had some helpful advantages for the Navajo. Since the Navajos had limited contact with the Spaniards after the reform of 1720, they were less susceptible to the smallpox epidemic that wiped out many of the other Pueblo tribes. This allowed for much greater territorial expansion with much less risk of conflict with neighboring tribes. Expansion allowed for more area to herd livestock and raise crops.

The 1700s also saw the Navajos' arrival at the Canyon De Chelly which eventually became the cultural center for the Navajo. Peter Iverson describes the Canyon De Chelly as "...fully the heart of Diné..."<sup>16</sup> The canyon became the main homestead of the Navajo because

its location was also advantageous for growing corn and peach trees, and also for keeping out unwanted attackers; an attribute that would become important when the Spanish returned near the beginning of the 1800s.<sup>17</sup>

In 1786, the Spanish attempted to bring all of the loosely knit groups of Navajo people under one Spanish-chosen ruler. In opposition to the Spanish attempts of unification under Spanish rule, the Navajos continued raiding. The renewal of raiding eventually set off what would become sixty-five years of war between the Spaniards and the Navajos.<sup>18</sup> One of the greatest examples of the warring of the nineteenth century was the confrontation known as Massacre Cave. In 1805, a Spaniard named Antonio Narbona enlisted one hundred Spaniards and one hundred New Mexicans to launch an attack on the major Navajo settlement at Canyon De Chelly. Many of the tribe's women, children, and elders went into hiding in a cave in the nearby Canyon Del Muerto. The confrontation between the makeshift militia and the hidden Navajos resulted in the deaths of over one hundred Navajo, while thirty-three were taken as captives.<sup>19</sup>

Tension between the Navajos and the inhabitants of New Spain (renamed Mexico in 1821) continued during the first half of the 1800s.<sup>20</sup> In addition, the 1830s marked a period of hostility between the Navajo and the neighboring Hopi tribe when the Navajos staged a coup on the Hopi village of Oraibi.<sup>21</sup> An 1835 campaign by the colonists against the Navajos was launched in an effort to bring obedience to Navajo in punishment for their continued raiding. On this particular attack, one thousand men marched into the Navajo heartland. The battle ended up being a monumental victory for the Navajo who were aware of the oncoming Hispanics, and ambushed the unsuspecting army upon their arrival at the canyon.<sup>22</sup> A peace treaty was signed between the Hispanic settlers and the Navajo in July of 1839. Although the treaty did not halt all hostile

relations between the Navajo people and the colonists, the fighting did decrease as the Navajo returned some of the captives and livestock that they had taken from the settlements.<sup>23</sup>

During the time of Spanish presence in Navajo land, many important changes occurred to the Navajo lifestyle. The Navajos' contact with other groups allowed them to expand their influence and become an economically successful tribe with a growing population. The introduction of sheep, other livestock, and agricultural commodities helped lay the groundwork for a pastoral lifestyle for these Native Americans. This new found pastoralist way of life eventually fostered the development of Navajo weaving and silver-working.

The Navajo heartland once again became a place of warfare once again in 1846 as the area experienced a new invasion: that of the Americans. The Americans annexed the New Mexico Territory in 1846, and with their arrival came a continuation of the aggressive relations that the Navajos faced under the Spanish. Upon the Americans' arrival, the Navajo continued the raiding that had created much of their interactions with the Spanish. This led Stephen Kearny, the first military governor of the territory, to order several groups of militia into the Navajo territory. The Navajos, however, seemed intent on maintaining peace, and a Navajo-American peace treaty was signed in November of 1846. The treaty called for "...lasting peace, mutual trade, and return of stolen property..."<sup>24</sup> The treaty was short lived, and only maintained peace for five days, when a band of Navajos killed two American soldiers. This event began a period of conflict between the Navajos and Americans that would not be extinguished until 1864.<sup>25</sup>

The Navajo lifestyle was becoming more pastoral during this time. More and more, the Navajos found themselves relying on their herds and crops for sustainability. In an 1846 letter, Governor Charles Bent wrote that the Navajos' "principal wealth consists of immense herds of

horses, mules, sheep, and cattle... These Indians have permanent villages, and cultivate all the grains and fruits known to the Spaniards in this climate.”<sup>26</sup>

Navajo livestock and agricultural commodities thus became a major target for the Americans during their battles with the Navajos. A militia led by Colonel Christopher Carson led such an attack on the Navajos. Carson and his men “...searched for Navajo fields, and burned them or broke the growing plans. They searched for Navajo flocks and herds and killed the sheep and cattle.”<sup>27</sup> During the period of American occupancy on Navajo land, instances of American slaughtering of Navajo livestock were common. Thus, many Navajos could no longer sustain themselves, and were forced to surrender and move into the American internment camp at Fort Sumner. The journey to Fort Sumner brought hardship to the Navajos who often travelled “...under armed guard, [and] poorly fed...”<sup>28</sup> The period of Navajo relocation, between February of 1864 and March of 1865<sup>29</sup>, is referred to as “The Long Walk,” and in the Navajos’ perspective, it marked their realization that the American settlers sought dominion over them.<sup>30</sup>

The Navajos’ fortunes began to take a turn in 1865. Groups of white settlers began to take notice to the inhumane treatment of the Indians at the camps. The Department of the Interior was influenced to investigate the camps and in January of 1867, control of the Navajos was handed from the Army to the Indian Service in the Department of the Interior. A treaty was signed in June of 1868 that sent the Navajo back to a section of their original territory that equaled less than ten percent of its original size.<sup>31</sup>

The conditions of the treaty helped foster the growth of the Navajos’ pastoral and agricultural lifestyle. For example, one such condition stated that the federal government would give \$150,000 to the Navajo people towards their new reservation. The government also allocated funds for 15,000 sheep and goats, 1,000,000 pounds of corn, and 500 beef cattle in an

effort to promote a pastoral lifestyle for the Navajos on the new reservation. To aid the Navajos in agriculture, the government also provided a subsidy of \$100 for Navajos who cultivated land. This subsidy was used for seeds and other farming equipment.<sup>32</sup>

The treaty also placed restrictions on the Navajos. One major agreement from the Navajos was to permanently reside within the borders of the reservation without occupying any of the land outside of it. The Navajos were required to allow other tribes to move onto the land at a future time.<sup>33</sup> Another key agreement from the treaty was the requirement that Navajo children between six and sixteen years of age attend Americanized school. The United States felt that education was a key factor in “civilizing” this group of Native Americans.<sup>34</sup>

1868 marked the end of “The Long Walk” and a new beginning for the Navajos. Although their space was reduced considerably and much of their livestock and crops had been destroyed, the Navajos nonetheless returned to prominence among the Southwestern tribes. The invasion of the Americans allowed the Navajos to realize the implications of weaving, agriculture, and metal working. Navajo textiles and metal works became highly marketable products for the Navajo economy, and agriculture provided an alternative to raiding in terms of sustainability. Above all, their contact with the Americans allowed them to develop their own sense of identity as a people.<sup>35</sup> In 1868 the federal government of the United States recognized the Navajo Indian Reservation. Once again the Navajo had a home, and a land to use to further their evolution into a pastoral and agricultural society.

## **Land Use**

The shift to such a society can be seen through their use of the land. The Navajo Reservation is located in a system of canyons in the Southwest United States. The physical

environment of the canyon system is described as "...semiarid, and the canyons ordinarily receive low levels of mean annual precipitation...because of their location in a high desert plateau surrounded by mountains to the northeast, east, and southeast."<sup>36</sup> The majority of Navajo farming on the reservation occurred in the lower parts of the canyons. Since the land was often inhospitable to agriculture and livestock grazing, the Navajos adopted a system of seasonal grazing and cropping; moving from site to site depending on the land's usefulness.<sup>37</sup>

Navajo livestock holdings revolved around herds of sheep, goats, and cattle.<sup>38</sup> Although each animal played a role in Navajo pastoral society, it was the herding of sheep that played the largest part for the Navajos. When the Spanish arrived in the Americas in the 16th century, they brought with them a particular breed of sheep: the Churro. This unique breed of sheep became crucial to Navajo life. After their introduction to the Churros in the seventeenth century, the Navajos acquired their own herds through means of raid and trade.

The Navajo-Churro was ideal for the Native Americans inhabiting the canyon system for several reasons. The sheep were able to become well adapted to living in the desert environment. The Navajos used a system of migratory grazing which their sheep flourished under. The Navajo-Churros were also a larger, wider and heavier breed of sheep which allowed for a larger yield of wool. Finally, the Churro ewes were extremely fertile and often gave birth to sets of twins and triplets.<sup>39</sup>

The Navajo-Churro became a key source of meat and wool for the Navajos.<sup>40</sup> The wool in particular played an important part in Navajo culture with the advent of weaving. The sheep were considered to be possessions of Navajo women because they did the weaving.<sup>41</sup> However, children were trained to herd the sheep when they were as young as five years old.<sup>42</sup> After

gaining experience with the wool, Navajo women weaved blankets, rugs, and clothing textiles which eventually became prized commodities and contributed greatly to Navajo livelihood.

Navajo-Churro wool was in high demand amongst trading partners because of its “...creamy white, black, light tan, gray, blue-gray, brown, red-brown, and multicolored...” hues.<sup>43</sup> The introduction of indigo dye by the Spanish settlers also enhanced the demand for Navajo woven goods.<sup>44</sup> In fact, Navajo weaving and herding was so important to tribal well being that ownership of flocks became a symbol of material wealth and was considered, “...a strong component of cultural identity.”<sup>45</sup> In sum, the introduction of sheep herding to Navajo lifestyle was an event that had great contributions to Navajo life, and thus marked an important step toward a pastoral lifestyle. By 1930, the total number of sheep on the Navajo Reservation reached over 574,000.<sup>46</sup>

The Treaty of 1868 that established the Navajo Reservation had an underlying goal of promoting agriculture as the main contributor to the Navajo economy. After the relocation of the Navajos onto the reservation, the federal government provided more funding for farming equipment than it did for livestock. Some important crops that were produced on the reservation included corn, wheat, peach orchards, and beans.<sup>47</sup>

Agricultural commodities gradually became more significant to Navajo sustainability. Originally, surpluses of livestock were necessary in order to provide enough wool to trade for agricultural commodities such as coffee, sugar, and flour.<sup>48</sup> Coffee was particularly important as the Navajos’ favorite non-alcoholic drink.<sup>49</sup> The twentieth century brought a necessity for agricultural production for the Navajos, however. By 1900, the high demand for livestock related products had led to fierce competition among Native American ranchers for an already sparse abundance of public grazing land. As the 1900s wore on, it became difficult for Navajo ranchers

to adequately supply their herds with proper grazing, and eventually it became imperative for the Navajos to explore other means of subsistence in addition to their livestock.<sup>50</sup>

The federal government aided in such exploration with a mandatory livestock-reduction program in the 1930s. The program put limits on the size of herds, and eventually led to poverty among many Navajo families. This sparked a period of increased government involvement on the reservation, as irrigation projects were put in place in an effort to make the canyon environment more suited for agriculture and grazing.<sup>51</sup>

Further strides towards increased agriculture on the reservation were made in the latter half of the twentieth century, and by 1992 approximately 45,000 acres of reservation land were in use for the cultivation of agricultural crops. The Navajo farmers adopted a cyclical land use pattern which divided up the land depending on its specified use. This allowed for crop yield with minimal depletion of the land. Major crops during this time included corn, beans, and alfalfa. Many acres were also devoted to feed crops in order to support Navajo livestock herds.<sup>52</sup> The addition of agricultural subsistence into Navajo society supplied a necessary economic balance to compliment their pastoral system.

Silver played a large part in the development of the Navajo reservation economy. The Navajos began working with iron in the 1850s. After their return from Fort Sumner, the Navajos began the art of silversmithing. The first Navajo silversmith was a man named Atsidi Chon, who first introduced silversmithing in 1872 by working with U.S. metal currency. It is understood that the Navajo silversmiths learned their craft from witnessing decorative silver on the clothing of many Spanish and Mexican settlers. Like the settlers they interacted with, the Navajo silver workers produced many varieties of silver jewelry such as necklaces and earrings.<sup>53</sup> Silver works were originally traded to other Native American tribes such as the Utes for goods like buck skins,

bison hides, clothing, and mountain lion pellets.<sup>54</sup> Most importantly, the trading of silver also played a part in the move towards a pastoral lifestyle when the Navajos began trading their silver jewelry for livestock.<sup>55</sup> As previously mentioned, the livestock that the Navajos gained through raiding and trading became the basis of Navajo subsistence for many years.

The Navajo people relied on the surrounding forest for sustainability on the reservation as well. The Navajos found many uses for trees in the Southwest.<sup>56</sup> Of the trees used by Navajos, juniper, pinyon pine, and ponderosa pine were the most popular. These trees became culturally modified through burning and axe-cutting. Navajo forestry served a variety of functions. The logs, foliated branches, bark, and poles were used for building shelters, fences, and livestock corrals. The Southwestern foliage was also used for firewood. The charred remains of burnt trees were used for rituals such as body-blackening.<sup>57</sup>

One of uses of the reservation foliage that was most characteristic of the Navajo was the cradleboards that were used to construct infant cradles.<sup>58</sup> The cradleboards were carved from fir for boys, and made out of Engelmann spruce for girls. Cradleboards were also made from other trees such as ponderosa or pinyon pine; however juniper was never use because of its image as a symbol of war among the Navajo people. The cradleboard took on a deep ritualistic meaning, and the tree from which the cradleboard would be cut was carefully selected. A tree that was to be used for a cradleboard "...must not have been struck by lightning or badly broken or rubbed against by a bear..."<sup>59</sup> The cradleboard was a symbol of the child's characteristics in life, as exemplified by the "...perception of sympathetic transfer of the tall, straight, long-living qualities of the tree to the desired strength, stature, and long life of the offspring."<sup>60</sup>

Like most Native American tribes, the Navajos used their surrounding forest environment for a variety of functions. The forests of the Southwestern U.S. played a crucial role in the

development of the Navajo lifestyle. Their uses of such trees as pinyon pine, ponderosa pine, and juniper created opportunities to further the advancement of their newfound pastoral and agricultural lifestyle through the building of a variety of structures, including the spiritually important cradleboard.

## **Modernization**

The twentieth and twenty-first centuries have seen the Navajo people become a modernized tribe that has become more incorporated into American society. The evolution of the Navajo economy is a prime example of this modernization, and has led to a much bigger role for the Navajos outside of the reservation. During the 1950s, the Navajo reservation became increasingly urbanized as agricultural settlements gave way to cities and township communities. Eventually, many inhabitants of the urban areas of the reservation sought wage work, such as railroad construction, off the reservation. The move towards off-reservation wage work led to the assimilation of the Navajos into the American workforce.<sup>61</sup>

Economic modernization occurred on the reservation as well. During the early half of the twentieth century, the reservation was discovered to be a prime area for mining. The resources that are mined on the reservation include coal, oil, and uranium.<sup>62</sup> These resources are mined and sold to outside industries. Of these resources, uranium and oil have proven to be the most valuable; accounting for more than \$80 million in tribal income.<sup>63</sup> In addition to mining, Navajo lumber has become a valuable economic resource as well. About 458,457 acres have been devoted to the harvest of Ponderosa pine for the Navajo saw mills.<sup>64</sup>

Despite the modernization that has taken place economically on the reservation, many traditions are still upheld. For example, weaving is still an important aspect of Navajo life, and

Navajo textiles continue to in high demand. Although the numbers of herds have been declining over the years, many Navajo women still keep sheep.<sup>65</sup>

The modernization and incorporation of the Navajos into American society can be seen in other areas as well. During World War II, the U.S. military used Navajo “code talkers.” These Navajos used their language as a code to relay messages for the Marines. The code talkers were used from 1942-1945 on all Marine expeditions, and were extremely effective, as exemplified by Major Howard Connor’s statement that, “Were it not for the Navajos, the Marines would never have taken Iwo Jima.”<sup>66</sup> In 2001, the group of Navajo code talkers was recognized with the Congressional Medal of Honor in Washington, D.C.<sup>67</sup>

The creation of a modernized form of tribal government in 1923 led to a variety of new architecture and land use practices. Window Rock, a small park, was created and now houses tribal government offices. A Veteran’s Memorial for the Navajos who died in WWII was also constructed. The Navajos also explored architectural development with the construction of the Navajo Museum, which includes an auditorium, outdoor amphitheatre, and a library.<sup>68</sup> These sites have become major tourist attractions in the Southwestern United States and have created more opportunities for interactions between the Navajos and off-reservation citizens.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore; in 1968 the Diné College was constructed on the reservation. The college is a public institution and currently enrolls over 2000 students within the Navajo Nation.<sup>70</sup>

## **The Navajo Experience**

The Navajos have been on a long journey to establish their tribe as the great Native American nation that they are today. They have come into contact with many different Pueblo tribes and European settlers. Their contacts with the Spanish brought them their first livestock

herds, along with their first feelings of persecution. The Americans brought more hostile relations which ended with the Treaty of 1868 that established the Navajo Reservation, while their contacts with other Pueblo tribes resulted in an intricate web of alliances, enemies, trade relations, and raiding.

Through these interactions, a great shift can be seen in the Navajo way of life. These interactions created the means for the Navajo to move away from their lifestyle as raiders, and become subsistent through means of livestock herding and agriculture. Their use of natural resources such as silver, and the forest around their canyon home also contributed to their means of survival and furthered the development of their pastoral and agricultural lifestyle. By the start of the twentieth century, their shift from raiding to a pastoral and agricultural society had come full circle. The sustainability on the reservation that resulted from this shift in lifestyle paved the way for later developments in the Navajo economy, schooling, tribal government, and architecture. These Diné people have been through the long walk, but more importantly they have survived a bigger journey to become the people they are today, weaving their historical blanket one strand of wool at a time.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Ruth M. Underhill, *The Navajos* (Norman, OK.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), 3.

<sup>2</sup> Underhill, *The Navajos*, 33.

<sup>3</sup> Underhill, *The Navajos*, 35.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 24.

<sup>5</sup> Henry F. Dobyns and Robert C. Euler, *The Navajo People* (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1972), 10.

<sup>6</sup> Laurance D. Linford, *Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000), 5.

<sup>7</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 23.

<sup>8</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 24.

<sup>9</sup> Dobyns, *The Navajo People*, 20.

<sup>10</sup> Linford, *Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape*, 5.

<sup>11</sup> Linford, *Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape*, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Dobyns, *The Navajo People*, 21.

<sup>13</sup> Linford, *Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape*, 5.

<sup>14</sup> Linford, *Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape*, 6.

- <sup>15</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 28.
- <sup>16</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 28.
- <sup>17</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 28.
- <sup>18</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 28-29.
- <sup>19</sup> Dobyns, *The Navajo People*, 25.
- <sup>20</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 31.
- <sup>21</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 31.
- <sup>22</sup> Linford, *Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape*, 7.
- <sup>23</sup> Linford, *Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape*, 7.
- <sup>24</sup> Linford, *Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape*, 7-8.
- <sup>25</sup> Linford, *Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape*, 8.
- <sup>26</sup> Dobyns, *The Navajo People*, 34.
- <sup>27</sup> Dobyns, *The Navajo People*, 35.
- <sup>28</sup> Linford, *Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape*, 12.
- <sup>29</sup> Dobyns, *The Navajo People*, 36.
- <sup>30</sup> Linford, *Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape*, 13.
- <sup>31</sup> Dobyns, *The Navajo People*, 40.
- <sup>32</sup> Dobyns, *The Navajo People*, 38.
- <sup>33</sup> Dobyns, *The Navajo People*, 39.
- <sup>34</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 64.
- <sup>35</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 64.
- <sup>36</sup> Tracy J. Andrews, "Crops, Cattle, and Capital: Agrarian Political Ecology in Canyons de Chelly and del Muerto," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 22, no. 3 (1998): 34.
- <sup>37</sup> Andrews, "Crops, Cattle, and Capital," 35.
- <sup>38</sup> Andrews, "Crops, Cattle, and Capital," 37.

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<sup>39</sup> Navajo-Churro Sheep Association, “Navajo-Churro Sheep Association,” <http://www.navajo-churrosheep.com/sheep-origin.html> (4 March, 2009).

<sup>40</sup> Susan M. Strawn, “Returning Navajo-Churro Sheep for Navajo Weaving,” *Textile* 5, no.3 (2007): 303.

<sup>41</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 24.

<sup>42</sup> Underhill, *The Navajos*, 156.

<sup>43</sup> Strawn, “Returning Navajo-Churro Sheep for Navajo Weaving,” 303

<sup>44</sup> Strawn, “Returning Navajo-Churro Sheep for Navajo Weaving,” 304

<sup>45</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 24

<sup>46</sup> Navajo-Churro Sheep Association, “Navajo-Churro Sheep Association,” <http://www.navajo-churrosheep.com/sheep-origin.html> (4 March, 2009).

<sup>47</sup> Andrews, “Crops, Cattle, and Capital,” 40.

<sup>48</sup> Dobyns, *The Navajo People*, 43.

<sup>49</sup> Dobyns, *The Navajo People*, 42.

<sup>50</sup> Andrews, “Crops, Cattle, and Capital,” 41.

<sup>51</sup> Andrews, “Crops, Cattle, and Capital,” 42.

<sup>52</sup> Andrews, “Crops, Cattle, and Capital,” 43.

<sup>53</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 32.

<sup>54</sup> Dobyns, *The Navajo People*, 49-50.

<sup>55</sup> C. Falkenstein-Doyle, “The First Phase: Early Navajo Textiles and Silver,” *Ornament* 29, no. 5 (2006): 38.

<sup>56</sup> Stephen C. Jett, “Navajo-Modifies Living Trees and Cradleboard Manufacture,” *Material Culture* 37, no.1 (2005):133.

<sup>57</sup> Jett, “Navajo-Navajo Modifies Living Trees and Cradleboard Manufacture,” 134.

<sup>58</sup> Jett, “Navajo-Navajo Modifies Living Trees and Cradleboard Manufacture,” 134.

<sup>59</sup> Jett, “Navajo-Navajo Modifies Living Trees and Cradleboard Manufacture,” 134.

<sup>60</sup> Jett, “Navajo-Navajo Modifies Living Trees and Cradleboard Manufacture,” 136.

<sup>61</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 218.

<sup>62</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 276

<sup>63</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 219-220.

<sup>64</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 222.

<sup>65</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 274.

<sup>66</sup> Navajo Department of Information Technology, “Navajo Nation,”  
<http://www.navajo.org/history.htm> (10 March, 2009)

<sup>67</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 318.

<sup>68</sup> Navajo Department of Information Technology, “Navajo Nation,”  
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<sup>69</sup> Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos*, 223.

<sup>70</sup> Diné College, “Diné College: The Higher Education Institution of the Navajo Since 1968”  
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