

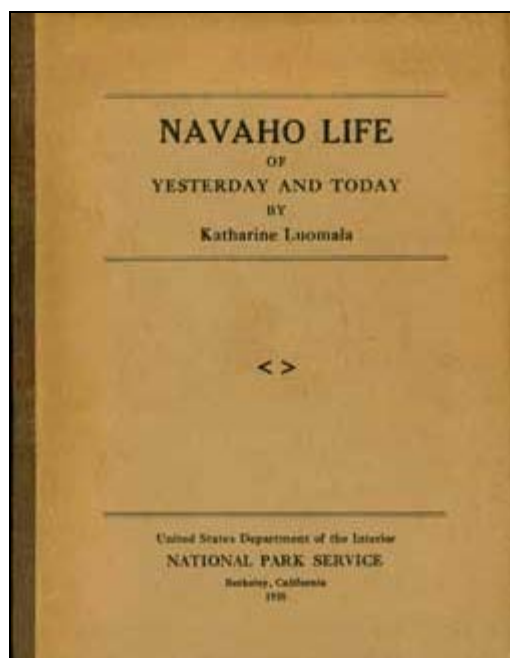


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NAVAHO LIFE OF YESTERDAY AND TODAY

by
Katharine Luomala

Western Museum Laboratories

United States
Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Berkeley, California

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

PREFACE

"Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today," written for the needs of the National Park Service, is a summary of some of the essential features of the prehistory, history and customs of the Navaho Indians of Arizona and New Mexico. Professional anthropologists will find little that is new to them in these pages, as the information was compiled from published and unpublished material relating to the Navaho and their neighbors.

My thanks go to those who kindly read the manuscript and offered information and suggestions. Dr. W.W. Hill of the University of New Mexico loaned me his unpublished manuscript on Navaho agriculture and hunting; Dr. Harry Hoijer of the University of Chicago contributed information on linguistics; and Mr. Ben Wetherill drew on his long experience and understanding of the tribe to give me data on customs and beliefs. Dr. Phileo Nash and Dr. F. R. Eggan of the University of Chicago; Father Berard Haile, O. F. M.; and John Provinse of the Soil Conservation Service have also read the manuscript and made suggestions. The staff of the Museum of Anthropology, University of California, graciously permitted the artist, Miss Elizabeth Ginno, to sketch the Navaho artifacts. In addition to these, I wish to thank the members of the staff of the National Park Service and the Works Progress Administration for their assistance.

Hazel Hunt Voth I wish to thank for her intelligent and conscientious editing, and the uncounted hours she spent in verifying and correcting references and preparing the manuscript for mimeographing I also owe thanks to Mr William Lippincott who was of much assistance to me at every step of the way in getting this manuscript ready.

In this paper, the references are included in the text in order to simplify the problem of mimeographing. A foreign term is underlined only the first time it is used.

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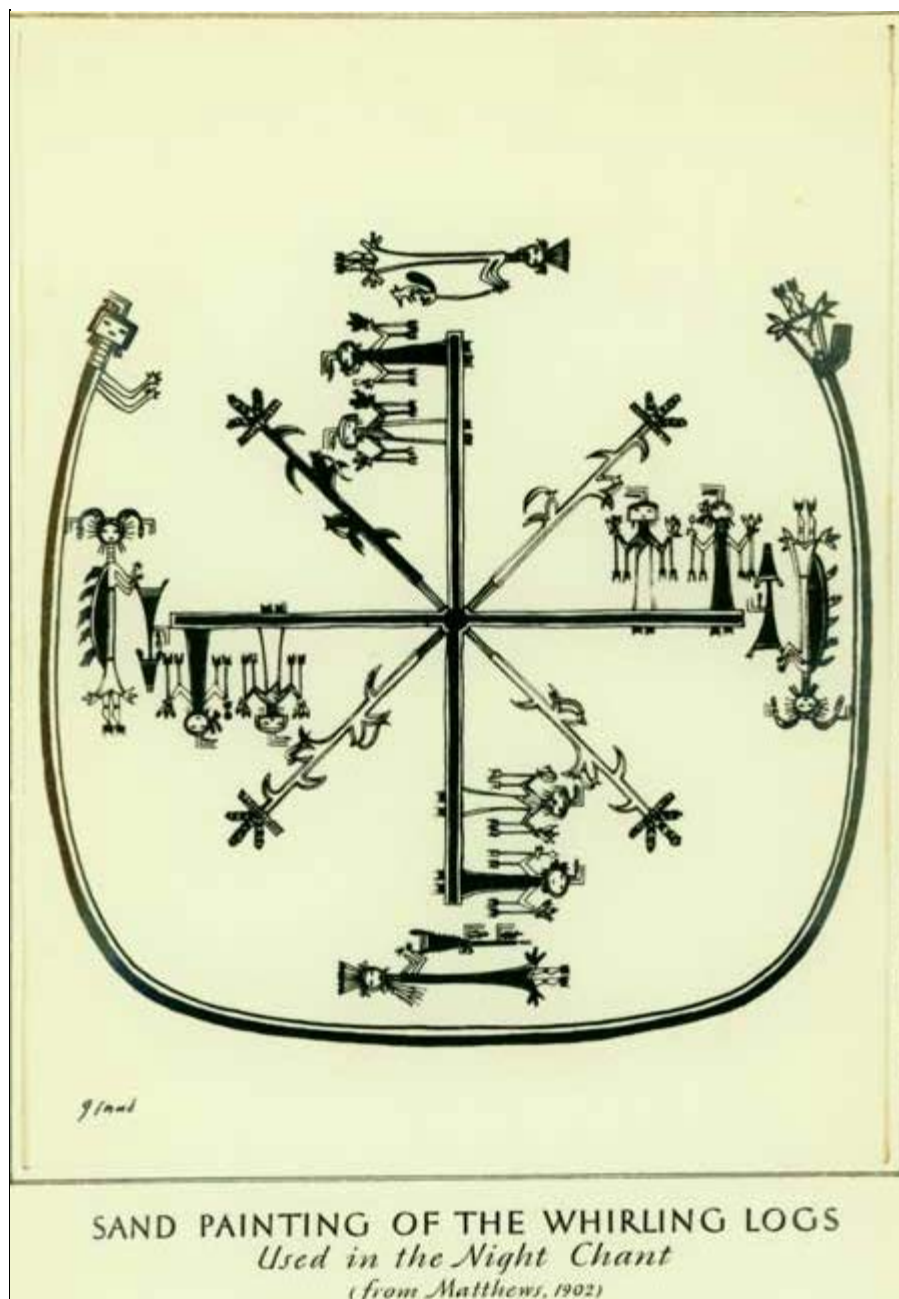


PLATE I.—SAND PAINTING OF THE WHIRLING GODS. Used in the Night Chant. (from Matthews, 1902).

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter I: INTRODUCTION

Forty-five thousand Navaho* Indians and their flocks of sheep and goats and herds of horses, totalling in 1937 about 1,000,000 head, range over a reservation of fifteen million acres in northeastern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico and over the border in to southern Utah. They also wander far beyond the reservation. One can expect to see Navaho anywhere between the Rio Grande River in the east, the Colorado River in the west, the San Juan River in the north, and the Little Colorado River in the south. Unlike other tribes which have decreased in numbers or disappeared entirely, the Navaho have doubled their population in the last thirty years. They are now the largest Indian tribe in the United States, and their reservation is the most extensive. It is estimated that the Navaho are ninety-eight per cent pure blood. The slight mixture with white people is found only in the districts near the towns and railroads.

*The anglicized form, "Navaho," is used in this paper, except in quotations which retain the Spanish form "Navajo." The Indian Bureau estimates the population for 1937 as 50,000.

Geologists describe the reservation as part of the great Colorado Plateau, where erosion and other natural forces, acting upon the sandstone, limestone, and conglomerate, have carved deep gorges and isolated badland forms, above which the mountains rise. The rugged and colorful landscape with its deserts, canyons, mountains, and mesas is one of startling beauty. Erosion has created fantastic forms in the rocks resembling ships, cathedral spires, and other impressive objects, and produced natural bridges like the famous Rainbow Bridge. The reservation has "a painted landscape with patches and bands of yellow, ash-gray, drab, lavender, rose, pink, slate, maroon, sienna, lilac, cream, and various shades of red and brown (Gregory, 1917:42). The myriad colors have given this region the name, 'The Painted Desert'." It is a country of contrasts in landscape, vegetation, altitude, rainfall, and temperature.

The Navaho are believed to have been in this region since the thirteenth or fourteenth century A. D. Everywhere around them they have impressive reminders of the past in the archaeology and geology of their present homeland. Dinosaurs have left their tracks in canyons; in the desert is petrified wood; and in the cliffs are the ruins of an ancient people who lived under the protective shade of massive canyon walls of red sandstone. The Navaho have no memory of these people who came

before them, although some of the Navaho clans attempt, in their myths, to trace their descent from the cliff dwellers. They regard the cliff dwellings as the home of some of their gods, and avoid the ruins, preferring to build their hogans of brush and mud on the flat canyon floors near their gardens and peach orchards.

Economically, the value of the Navaho country is variable. Reverend Anselm Weber, of the Franciscan Mission at St. Michael's Arizona, who had a thorough knowledge of Navaho land problems, summed up the situation in passing, in terms of popular folklore (quoted in "Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the U. S., Pt. 34:17557), "... we are living in a country, as the cowboy put it, where there are more rivers and less water, more cows and less milk, where a person can look farther and see less than anywhere in God's creation; or, as Mr. Charles S. Lummis puts it, where a horned toad may scratch a living if it remains single, but is doomed to starvation if led into matrimony." It has become a commonplace to state that only the industrious Navaho could scrape a living from such a country and become proudly self-supporting. The tribe is at present going through a crisis of economic adjustment because erosion, aggravated by the great floods which exceed the carrying capacity of the pasture land, has become more than a local Navaho problem and has required the intervention of the Government to prevent further damage. Torrential rains strip off the top soil, which is carried down the San Juan and Colorado Rivers, coming to rest in Boulder Dam. Engineers assert that the dam will be filled up with silt in a few years if erosion is not checked. The Navaho, in cooperation with the soil conservationists, have been reducing their herds and developing irrigation in order to arrive at a better balance between herding and farming.

ROUND OF LIFE Unlike the ancient cliff dwellers and the modern Pueblo tribes who live in large communities, the Navaho are camp dwellers. They are not true nomads, however, for each family does not roam aimlessly over the entire reservation, but herds its sheep and goats within a limited locality. Formerly this area might have a radius of thirty or forty miles. Now, when there are many small herds and a large population, the radius is more likely to be about ten or fifteen miles. Before automobiles were used, the average Navaho rarely knew much about the region beyond his pastures. Now, as a result of the economic crisis and the reorganization of the local government, the Navaho have acquired more knowledge of their fellow tribesmen who live elsewhere on the fifteen million acres.

On his range, the Navaho Indian has a series of hogans and corrals built at various sheltered places conveniently near water, grass, and fuel. Usually the flocks are kept in corrals at night and driven out to graze in the morning. The mountains are open to all for pastures, so when the lowlands are parched and barren in summer, those who live near the high mountains delegate certain members of the family to take all or part of the stock to the green highlands watered by mountain streams. In the winter the family goes to the foothills and mesas where it can find fuel. In the spring it returns to the desert to take advantage of the fresh vegetation and water renewed by the spring rains. The garden is planted with maize, pumpkins, and beans in April and May. Lambing generally

takes place in early spring, the season varying in different parts of the reservation as breeding is not yet controlled in all areas. Shearing begins when the weather is sufficiently warm so that the animals will not suffer.

The Navaho rise at dawn because then the Talking Gods are believed to wander over the earth, blessing the people who are awake. Before beginning the day's chores, the family chants a blessing and makes an offering of corn pollen to the gods. The Navaho who keep to the customs of earlier times say grace before their meals. The children and some of the women herd the sheep, while the men care for their horses or work in the gardens. The women also share in the gardening work, and in their spare moments weave the blankets which have made the name "Navaho" known over the world. The men in their leisure moments train their ponies for races. In the evening the father may play and talk to his children, telling them stories or making them toys. If the father is a good story teller, men gather from miles around to hear his stories (Wetherill).

Personal property is owned by individuals without discriminations based on age or sex. A person may possess "hard goods" in the form of jewelry, saddles, and cash; or "soft goods" like blankets, sheepskins, and clothing; or herds of sheep and horses; or intangible property like knowledge of secret magic names, ceremonies, and lore of many kinds. This latter type of property is highly regarded, for anyone with magical knowledge, it is believed, can control natural forces to bring good fortune and ward off evil. A man who has some knowledge of magic, and knows songs with magic power, exerts a great influence among the people. One Navaho said sadly and apologetically to Dr. W. W. Hill, "I have always been a poor man. I do not know a single song." Women have a high and respected position, own their own property, and sometimes are wealthier than the men. Women usually own most of the sheep.

During the long winters, "when the snakes are asleep and the thunder silent," the Navaho hold their great religious ceremonies, or "chants" as they are popularly called. The purpose of a chant is to cure disease in an individual, and also to invoke the blessings of the gods on the people in general. Some of the chants have ceremonies lasting from five to nine days. These ceremonies are charged with much religious and poetical feeling. The impersonation of spirits and gods in elaborate costumes and the making of beautiful sandpaintings are two notable features. The family of a sick person spends hundreds of dollars to pay the medicine man who takes charge of the chant, and to secure the proper religious paraphernalia. People come from all over the reservation, and even from other tribes, to share in the religious and social life which goes on. Many spend the winter travelling from one "dance" to another.

Everyone wears all the finest jewelry of silver, turquoise, coral, and shell he owns and can get out of pawn from the trader. The women wear colorful velvet blouses and voluminous calico skirts, a style copied from the costumes worn by the officers' wives at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, where the Navaho were once kept in captivity. The men, if they do not dress in American overalls and shirts, wear velvet tunics and trousers of bright calico, a Spanish-American style. A light weight Pendleton blanket, preferred to the native heavy blankets, is thrown over the

shoulders.

A stranger is certain of finding hospitality. The Navaho have the trait, shared with all human beings except the most sophisticated, of liking to find that a stranger is related by marriage or blood. And since there are all of fifty clans in the tribe, many of which have names similar to clans in neighboring tribes, some kind of relationship is usually traceable between the interested host and guest. The generosity and hospitality of the Navaho is such that they will deny themselves necessities in order to share the little they have with their less fortunate relatives and friends.

In earlier times the Navaho married outside both their father's and mother's clans. An individual belongs to the clan of his mother, and traces descent through her. When a man marries, he goes to live with his wife's people, but is careful to avoid showing disrespect to his mother-in-law by speaking to, or even seeing, her. Tradition sternly requires, even to this day, that this custom be observed. A family group consists of maternal grandparents, parents, unmarried children, and daughters with their husbands and children.

As might be expected of a tribe with such a large population and extensive territory, there is considerable variety in the practices, beliefs, and physical characteristics in various districts. Cultural factors such as contacts with white people or with neighboring tribes, and natural factors such as geography and rainfall have been important in creating local variations. Just as differences in design, yarn, size, and color in hundreds of Navaho blankets do not prevent one from seeing that as a group they are peculiarly Navaho, so it is with the culture as a whole.

The income of the Navaho is derived from the sale of agricultural and livestock products, crafts, and, in some areas, from lumber and pinyon nuts. In recent years, the income per capita has been increased by wages obtained on reservation work projects financed by the United States Government. In 1936 this amounted to \$40 per capita. The average income of the Navaho is not definitely known. Various estimates have been made. The most recent estimate, by the Soil Conservation Service, of the per capita income, including the commercial income and the non-commercial (the cash value of produce raised and consumed at home), is about \$85. For a consumption group (the economic unit used by the Service), which averages 7 plus, the total income, together with the wages, is estimated at \$900.

TRADING POSTS The meat, wool, hides, jewelry, and pinyon nuts are purchased by traders who are licensed by the American Government to conduct trading posts on the reservation. One cannot discuss Navaho life since 1868 without taking into account the influence of traders. An intensive study of the history and functions of the trading post system among the Navaho was made by B. Youngblood of the United States Department of Agriculture (Survey of Conditions, Pt. 34:18036-115). The information presented here is drawn largely from this report.

The trading post system is described as one of the best remaining examples of frontier commerce. "The trader extends unsecured credit on open accounts in anticipation of the Indians' wool and lamb crops, and

he also extends minor credits secured by pawn, including silver bracelets, rings, and belts, beads, guns, saddle blankets, rugs or other articles of value." He advances provisions and craft supplies to makers of jewelry and blankets. He supplies merchandise on credit to encourage the Indian ceremonies. He acts as a middleman between White and Indian cultures, purchasing the goods of the Indians and selling them products of White manufacture. "Most traders counsel the Indians on business and personal affairs. With few exceptions, they, at one time or another, have advised the Indians relative to sheep breeding and wool, lamb, and rug improvement from the viewpoint of the commercial markets." They work in cooperation with the wholesalers who supply them with goods and purchase the trader's Indian produce, and they work with the Government. "The traders are also called upon frequently for aid and advice concerning Indian family and community affairs, such as marital difficulties, illness, deaths, and inheritances."

Names, famous in Navaho history, occur in the roster of traders: Joseph Lee, S. E. Aldrich, C. N. Cotton, J. Lorenzo Hubbell, J. B. Moore, T. V. Keam, J. Wetherill, and others. Of the 50 trading posts studied by Youngblood, 35 were conducted by individuals, 15 by corporations and partnerships. Most of the traders were of old Anglo-American stock, with a few of Spanish and Indian descent.

The Navaho apply to trading the same genius they displayed in diplomatic relations with the early Spanish and Americans. Trading is a social and business event. Nothing can make a Navaho hurry in his debate between canned peaches and tomatoes, or stem his oratory when he wishes the trader to throw in a sack of candy as a friendship gift. If there is a cash balance after his charge account has been settled, he prefers to get silver for each item he has sold. Then he pays it out again, coin by coin, for each new purchase. The Navaho women are particularly shrewd bargainers. Books written by or about traders and their experiences in the Navaho country are listed in the bibliography.

ADMINISTRATION The Navaho were never organized under one chief, nor did they have hereditary chiefs. A capable and intelligent person might take charge during a crisis, but he had no influence other than that exerted by his personality or wealth. A wealthy man had many followers and slaves whom he commanded. A man who organized and carried out a war party was a War Chief only for the duration of the raid.

The early Spanish and American officials found it impossible to deal with such a truly democratic people, so they nominated some of the natural leaders as "chiefs" to act as negotiators between the Navaho and the Whites. They gave each "chief" a silver medal and a cane as symbols of his position. The Navaho tribe has produced men of outstanding character and leadership. Narbona and Manuelito, who lived during the trying years of the nineteenth century, when Navaho and Whites were at odds, were two of the great Navaho whose memories are now respected by Indians and Whites alike.

In 1923 a tribal council of twelve members and twelve alternates was organized to work in cooperation with the Indian Bureau and the Indian Agents of the six administrative districts of the reservation. Since 1935 a

new system of local administration has been developing. The United States Indian Bureau now has a central agency or "Navaho capital" to carry out the administrative work. In addition the reservation has been divided into eighteen districts to carry out the land management program. Each district has a supervisor who is directly responsible to the General Superintendent at Window Rock, Arizona, the central agency.

Between July 1, 1933, and July 1, 1936, the United States Government has spent over ten million dollars on physical improvements within the reservation and over one million on improvements in the areas just outside the reservation which the Navaho also occupy. The development of educational facilities for both children and adults has always aroused disputes. Opinion is divided over boarding versus day schools, and whether the education for young people should prepare them for possible absorption into the general population of the United States, or for life on the reservation. The present administration has improved the educational facilities by establishing about fifty day schools for children, constructing and furnishing the buildings so that they can be used by adults as community centers. Despite this improvement there are an estimated 6,000 Navaho children still without schools. The educational policy at the present time is to educate the children nearer their homes and parents, and along lines which fit them for a better life right in their own country. (Survey of Conditions, 34:17580-17601.)

CULTURE PERIODS Before the Spanish introduced sheep, horses, and cattle into America, in the sixteenth century, the Navaho were a small and insignificant tribe which lived by raising a little maize, hunting wild animals, raiding the Pueblos and gathering roots and seeds. Quickly appreciating the value of the domesticated animals left by the Spanish among the Pueblos, the Navaho acquired some by theft. Instead of eating the stolen animals or killing them upon the death of the owner, as the Apache did, the Navaho carefully tended their flocks, thus taking the first step toward becoming a pastoral people. The change in their lives was revolutionary. The flocks increased through natural growth and further theft until the Navaho became a wealthy tribe. The raids on their neighbors brought them not only possessions, and captives who would work in the fields and care for the flocks, but also arts and a complex religion. During this time their weaving, perhaps learned from the Pueblos, developed, and Navaho blankets were soon prized throughout the Southwest by both Indians and Whites. The scanty yucca-fiber clothing of the aboriginal Navaho was replaced by buckskin, by woolen garments woven by the women, and by cotton cloth secured by trade with the Pueblos and Mexicans.

The Spanish governors, and later the American, were helpless to stop the raids of the "American Bedouins," or the "Pirates of the Desert," or the "Shepherd Kings," to use some of the more polite epithets applied to the Navaho. Each officer returned to report that he had made a "lasting peace" with the Navaho; that he had found them a handsome, intelligent, hospitable, and high-spirited people with broad fields and large herds; that they possessed fine blankets and silver ornaments; that they were better dressed than any other tribe; and treated their women with unusual respect. In 1863 Christopher Carson, the great Indian fighter, succeeded in conquering the Navaho by ignoring their brilliant oratory and refusing

to make treaties. Instead he destroyed the fields ready for harvest, and killed off flocks and warriors. The survivors were sent east into captivity at Bosque Redondo, the site of Fort Sumner, on the Pecos River. In 1868 the subdued Navaho were sent home to take up again a pastoral life and the care of their farms. Their progressive and adaptable nature soon re-asserted itself, and by hard and honest work they have recouped their losses.

The history of the Navaho during their life in the Southwest is then of four general periods: 1. The aboriginal or pre-Spanish period. 2. The pre-captivity, or the early historical period, which began with the arrival of the Spanish in the last years of the sixteenth century. Actually it was not until 1630 that Navaho and Spanish met, but the Navaho had apparently come into indirect contact with the white civilization before this time through the Pueblo Indians, on whom the Spanish concentrated their attention. The year 1846 marks the transfer from Spanish to American intervention in Navaho affairs; it was in this year that the first American treaty with the warlike Navaho was made. The entire early historical period marks the change of the Navaho to a semi-pastoral life and their growth into an important and populous tribe. This period ends in 1863 with most of the tribe in captivity as a punishment for more than a century and a half of profitable raiding. 3. The captivity, or transition period, extends from 1863 to 1868 when about three-fourths of the tribe was exposed to American culture at Bosque Redondo under control of the American army. 4. The modern period begins with their return from captivity in 1863, and continues into the present.

If one excepts the prevalent theory that the Navaho were newcomers into the Southwest, having been there only about 200 years before the Spanish, these four periods total only 500 years.

Summary of Periods

- 1. Aboriginal or pre-Spanish
- 2. Early historical or pre-captivity
 - 1630-1846 Spanish
 - 1846-1863 American
- 3. Captivity
 - 1863-1868
- 4. Modern
 - 1868-

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter II: THE ORIGIN AND PREHISTORY OF THE NAVAHO

As yet there is little to be said definitely about the origin of the Navaho, and of the number of years they had been in the Southwest when the Spanish first saw them in the early part of the seventeenth century. A study of the language, culture, and physical type uncovers such composite and heterogeneous characteristics as to lead most investigators inevitably to the conclusions that the Navaho and their close linguistic relatives, the Apache, are not native to the Southwest, but entered it about two hundred years before the Spanish. During this period they intermarried with the Pueblo people and adopted features of their religion and material culture. Where they came from originally and the history of their migration may never be known definitely. Evidence points to the north as the homeland, for in a vast area in northwestern America there are tribes which speak languages similar to that of the Navaho and Apache groups.

The following sections will summarize the scanty data, and the reconstructions of the history and origin of the Navaho, which have been based on them. As one sometimes encounters references to the direct Asiatic origin and affinities of the Navaho, it may be well to go into the matter in some detail to get an anthropological perspective of the situation.

RACE Like all other Indians of North and South America, the Navaho belonged to the race of Homo sapiens known as Americanoid, which has many similarities in physical appearance with the Mongoloid race. The Mongoloids inhabit a wide region in the eastern hemisphere ranging from the fringes of central Europe across north and central Asia to the islands of the Pacific. The Americanoids and the Mongoloids both have black straight hair on the head, very little hair on the face and body, dark eyes, and high cheekbones. The skin varies from yellow to brown. How is one to interpret these and other striking physical resemblances? Wissler (1922:349) answers the question: "That the New World native is a direct descendant of the Asiatic Mongolian is not to be inferred, for the differentiation is evidently remote; what is implied, is that somewhere in the distant past the Asiatic wing of the generalized type diverged into strains, one of which we now know as Mongolian, and another as American."

The representatives of this American strain began to leave the Asiatic mainland at least as early as 15,000 years ago in families or bands. Most of them, apparently, crossed over by way of Bering Strait and then slowly spread over the continent. Inbreeding took place in these small groups, and the different physical types of the American Indian gradually evolved.

In the Southwest the problem of race is complex. Goddard (1931:18) writes, "... the inhabitants of the Southwest are of two, perhaps three, physical types which have either migrated into the region from different places and at different times, or which, after long residence in the Southwest, have resulted from the breaking up of a previously uniform type." The Navaho are very much mixed, although the mixture is not recent, according to Hrdlicka (1900:340). What they looked like when they entered the Southwest is unknown. Now they are very closely related to the Pueblos in blood and possibly to the Yuma-Mohave peoples (Hrdlicka, 1908:134). The Apache groups, who are linguistic cousins of the Navaho, represent a distinctly different physical type from them and most of their other neighbors (Hrdlicka, 1908:8).

Because of their mixed type it is well-nigh impossible to define the physical characteristics of a typical Navaho. Observers from Spanish to modern times are in harmony only in agreeing that the Navaho are good looking, with well formed features and bodies, and pleasant, merry, and intelligent expressions. Matthews (1910) noted among them a variation between the gentle, nondescript type of face usually seen among the Pueblos, and the haughty, sculptured features characteristic of the Plains. On the other hand, Hrdlicka, who visited different parts of the reservation between 1898 and 1905, wrote in his paper, "Medical and Physiological Observations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico" (1908:9): "Notwithstanding their mixed Indian origin, the Navaho possess a characteristic physiognomy, a great degree of uniformity in physical features, and practically the same habits throughout their extensive territory." As the title reveals, he observed the Indians of a wide region, a procedure which would make the Navaho stand out as a distinct type in comparison with other Southwestern tribes despite the local variability in practices and appearances of different Navaho groups. In giving the measurements of height and skin color of the Navaho in his paper on Navaho physique (1900), Hrdlicka remarked on their wide variability. Thus, height varies from 162.4 to 183.0 centimeters for men, and 148.4 to 166.3 centimeters for women. Skin color ranges all the way from light tan to dark sepia.

Usually the features are well shaped with a moderately projecting jaw and straight nose. The teeth are prominent. As among most Indians, the hands, feet, and legs are smaller than in Whites. Though the hair is black, exposure to the sun and too frequent washing with yucca-root suds bleaches it to a rusty brown and red. Both men and women wear their hair long and without bangs, except when influenced by Whites. The men commonly knot their hair up and wear a brightly colored bandana around the head. The Navaho are somewhat hairier than most American Indians, perhaps because of mixture with the Mexicans; many men cultivate straggly moustaches. A decided peculiarity is the very broad head, flattened at the occiput. This flattening, regarded as beautiful by the Navaho, is neither congenital nor intentional. It results from laying the baby on a flat cradle with only bark for a pillow. (See photographs, Matthews, 1897.)

POPULATION Whereas other tribes have not survived the shock of contact with white culture, the Navaho have thrived, seemingly turning every disadvantage of harsh climate, poor soil, and indifferent treatment to

fortune and strength. The old, who often appear more aged than their years because of their many wrinkles, are hardy and work vigorously almost to the day of death. Everyone is industrious and children learn to herd sheep and to weave when they are scarcely beyond the toddling state. Reichard, in "Spider Woman," tells the story of a child genius, Atlnaba, who at five was weaving fine blankets.

To date it has been impossible to take an accurate census of the Navaho, so the figures must be taken as only approximate. Added to the rough terrain and the scattering of the Navaho far outside the reservation into Hopi and Zuni territories, the census taker must struggle with names and addresses. A Navaho will have at least a summer and winter residence, perhaps with several lean-tos between them. He is reluctant to give his name when directly questioned; if pressed, he may give a "a school name," provided he has one, or a name by which he is known to white people. His friends usually call him by a name that is personally descriptive, while his immediate family, if the old customs have been followed, also know another name, suggestive of war, which is revealed only on certain great occasions. Formerly, too, the Navaho custom of polygamy complicated the census taker's task.

The Indian Bureau (Survey of Conditions, Pt. 34:17534) states that the Navaho population is increasing at the rate of 1.08 per cent a year. Hrdlicka (1908:37) observed a slightly higher proportion of males than females, which he thought might be due to a higher rate of birth of male children. The absence of vital statistics makes this impossible to check. At the present time the health of the people is most affected by tuberculosis, trachoma, and malnutrition of children, due to smoky, crowded hogans; dirt; poor diet; and too much dependence on native medicine men for the treatment of disease. The isolation in which the Navaho dwell protects them somewhat from the ravages of epidemics, although the influenza epidemic of 1918 took a heavy toll; and Matthews (1897) also mentions disastrous epidemics which occurred during his time.

In 1867, when the Navaho were in captivity at Bosque Redondo, the American officers counted 7,300. Many more had escaped the drag-net to find refuge as far west as among the Havasupai in the Grand Canyon region. There were thought to be more than 12,000 Navaho in all. Stragglers came into Bosque Redondo during the winter to increase the total in captivity until, in 1869, the officers counted close to 9,000 as receiving supplies on their return to the old reservation. In the succeeding years the population steadily increased. In 1900 the estimate was 21,826; by 1934 the figure was set at 42,989--almost double the number. The estimate for 1937 is customarily given as 50,000.

LANGUAGE The problem of Navaho language is as knotty as that of the physical type. No American language can be traced back ultimately to any Asiatic form as was the physical type, because no old language links between the two hemispheres have been established as yet. Identical simple words do occur occasionally in some of the languages of Asia and North America, but these are far too few to establish a genetic relationship. The similarities are due perhaps to chance only.

The first man to enter North America certainly had a language when he

arrived, over 10,000 years ago or more. Even the most primitive species of man, Sinanthropus, who lived thousands of years before Homo sapiens evolved, had speech centers developed in his brain, indicating that some kind of system of articulate communication existed among human beings.

Dr. H. Hoijer, a specialist in linguistics at the University of Chicago, and an authority on the Southern Athapaskan speech family to which the Navaho language belongs, writes in a letter to the National Park Service: "It seems quite clear from the evidence of the modern American Indian languages that the earliest immigrants to America were already divided into several distinct linguistic stocks. The present day languages are so divergent, in many cases, as to make it improbable that these divergences were developed in the relatively short time the Indians have been in America. It is quite possible, however, that there were fewer language groups among the original migrants than among the American Indians of today and that the majority of the sub-groupings of modern Indian language stocks were developed in America."

He goes on to say, "The Navaho language, together with the languages of the several Apache tribes of the Southwest and the Plains, forms a homogeneous linguistic stock or family called Athapaskan. A linguistic stock may be defined as a group of languages which, because of numerous and systematic similarities in vocabulary and grammatical structure, are assumed to be descendants of a single earlier language. The Southern Athapaskan stock, as a whole, shows considerable similarity to two other large groups of American Indian languages: the Pacific Coast Athapaskan stock (which includes such languages as Hupa and Mattole) and the Northern Athapaskan stock (in western Canada and Alaska). The similarities between these three groups have led linguists to construct the larger Athapaskan stock. Navaho is, therefore, in origin, related to languages spoken on the Pacific Coast, in western Canada, and in the interior of Alaska."

Thirty years ago the theory that the homeland of the parent language of the Southern Athapaskan stock lay in the northern area of North America had little concrete evidence to support it. Goddard's counter-theory (1906) was equally plausible at the time. It is presented here as a matter of historical information and to illustrate the advancement in our concrete knowledge of Athapaskan linguistics since 1906.

Goddard maintained that the Athapascans might once have occupied a continuous area over northern and western America, and than been pushed back or absorbed by intrusive immigrants of other language stocks. This is exactly the opposite of the established theory that the Athapascans were the intrusive tribes.

In 1915 Sapir published a preliminary report with evidence to support his belief that the hypothetical parent language of the Athapaskan which he called Na-Dene, grew in the Northwest, and that the different dialects and languages of the Athapaskan tongue were offshoots of it. Boas (1920) continued to maintain, however, that we still had not advanced far beyond the theoretical stage in determining the character of original American languages, especially of the Athapaskan.

Hoijer writes that "the controversy ... is no longer significant, There can now be no doubt that the original homeland of the Athapaskan speaking peoples was in the North and that the Pacific Coast peoples and the Southern Athapaskan speaking peoples are migrants from the North at a relatively recent date. This is shown clearly by the fact that both the Pacific Coast stock and the southern Athapaskan stock are homogeneous groups; whereas the Northern stock is, in reality, divisible into at least four distinct sub-stocks. Dr. Fang-Kuei-Li's work on the northern languages has proved this point (see the International Journal of American Linguistics, Volume VI, No. 1 and Volume VII, Nos. 3 and 4)."

Hoijer adds: "The theory of northern origin means that centuries ago the ancestors of the present Athapaskan speaking peoples lived somewhere in northwestern Canada or Alaska. Gradually this group may have expanded in numbers and, perhaps by the necessity of the food quest or by pressure of other immigrants from the Asiatic mainland, they moved southward. At some period in their history, not more than a thousand or fifteen hundred years ago, two groups broke off from the main group and wandered still farther south. One of these presumably followed the Pacific coastline into California and Oregon, and the other skirted the eastern edge of the Rockies and ended up in the Southwest. The first of these groups became the modern Pacific Coast stock and the second the Southern Athapaskan family."

Though the culture and the physique of the Navaho have been changed through Pueblo contact, Goddard (1906:351) pointed out that there is "very slight, if any, evidence of admixture of language, certainly none with non-Athapascan tongues." Amsden (p. 125) was informed by Sapir, who is at present making an intensive study of the Navaho language, that "the Navaho speech is Athapascan of surprising purity, considering the obvious vicissitudes of tribal development." For the most part, the Navaho have coined new descriptive terms for unfamiliar objects on the basis of their former vocabulary instead of twisting American, Spanish, or other alien words to Athapascan pronunciation. See also the "Ethnologic Dictionary" by the Franciscan Fathers, and Father Haile's "Navaho Grammar."

The older theory, held by Matthews and Hodge, was that the language showed much mixture, especially of Pueblo. Hodge (1890) assumed this largely on the basis of a myth in the origin legend. The myth relates that the Navaho clans, which increased through the adoption of alien bands, met with one such foreign group, thought by Hodge to be Tanoan (Pueblo). The chiefs decided to choose which of the two groups had the plainest and most expressive words. The winning language was to be standardized as the tribal speech. The myth relates that the foreign tongue was chosen, and its vocabulary imposed on the Navaho.

The difficulties in accepting this myth as history are many. First, of course, is the recent linguistic study which shows the language to be relatively free of foreign influence. Second, changes in a language are usually unconscious and not deliberate. The grammarians organize their societies to protect or to sanctify the vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation of the common man only after the forms have been standardized by common usage. Goddard (1906:351) considers the talceas pure myth invented by the Navaho to explain archaic words in their

ceremonial vocabulary, whose original meaning they had forgotten.

As Hoijer stated above, the Navaho language, together with the language of the several Apache tribes who live in the Southwest and in the Plains, constitutes a homogeneous linguistic family called Southern Athapaskan. This must not be taken to mean, however, that the languages spoken by the Navaho and by the many groups forming the Eastern and Western divisions of the Apache are mutually intelligible. This is not the case. The point is emphasized in view of Hodge's clever but somewhat misleading summary of the situation in which he quoted ("Land of Sunshine," 1900: footnote, p.438), the Navaho maintaining that the Apache speak bad Navaho, while the Apache declared that the Navaho language was merely poor Apache. Apache and Navaho coming in contact with each other might recognize occasional words which are similar in their languages, but that is about all. As a matter of fact, except for the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache, the members of the Apache group could not understand the members of another (information from Hoijer).

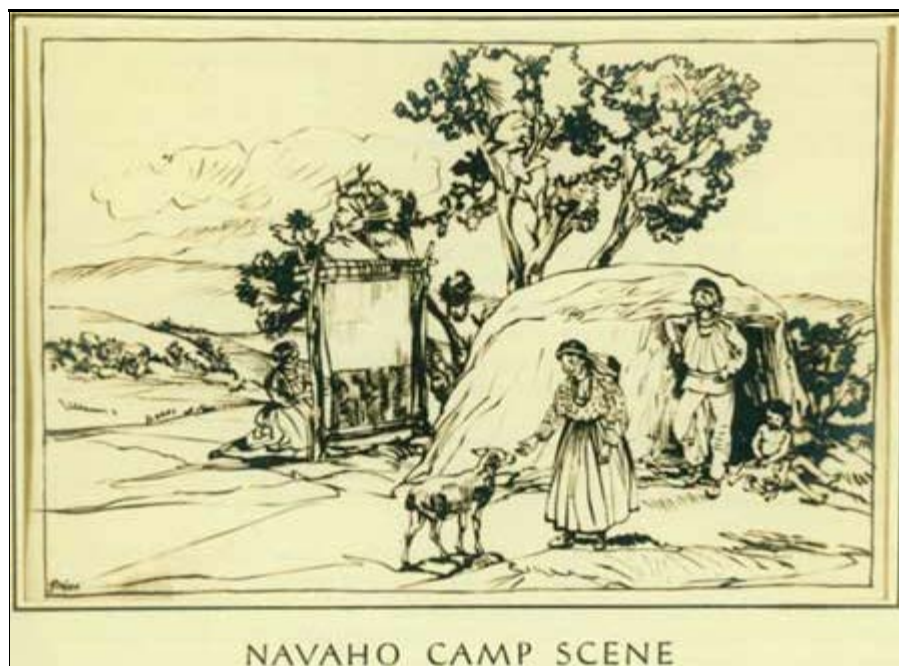


PLATE II. NAVAHO CAMP SCENE

EARLY NAVAHO CULTURE What kind of culture the Navaho had before coming into the Southwest and just after their arrival, we can only guess in our present state of knowledge. They must have had at least those simple weapons and household tools which the ancestors of the Indians brought with them from Asia. The northern Athapascans of today, who proudly call themselves Dene (meaning "the people"), exactly as the Navaho always refer to themselves, never got far beyond the primitive life of the ancients. Swanton (1910:110) suggests that if there ever was a mode of life which all the now widely scattered Athapascans once had in common before their dispersal from the north, it was probably something like that of these northern Denes, who lived poorly by hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild vegetables and seeds.

RELATION TO SOUTHWESTERN CULTURES The basic structure of the Navaho culture is similar to that of the Apache groups of the Southwest. This culture has been affected by contact with the Pueblo

tribes. In his "Preliminary Report on the Ethnography of the Southwest" (1935), Dr. Ralph Beals has a convenient summary of the cultural groupings in the Southwest which brings out, incidentally, the position of the Navaho in relation to the other tribes.

Dr. Beals states (1935:4): "The modern tribes of the Southwest present striking differences in culture. It is, in fact, almost impossible to speak longer of a Southwestern culture area....

"The first and most obvious group is the Pueblos, those Indians who live in large communities... (characterized by) massive and permanent architecture and who subsist almost entirely from agriculture. This group, although homogeneous in culture in contrast to the other Southwestern tribes, displays certain internal differences and speaks a diversity of languages.

"Next in the cultural scale are the rancheria tribes, characterized by more or less scattered villages of unpretentious architecture, lacking stone or adobe constructions, and with less dependence upon agriculture than is the case with the Pueblos. This group probably includes the Opata of northeastern Sonora (about whom little is known; they possibly belong with the Pueblo group), the Pima and Maricopa on the Gila River in south central Arizona, the Papago, extending south of the Gila River into Sonora, and the Cocopa, Yuma, Mohave, Walapai, and Havasupai in ascending order from the mouth of the Colorado River to Cataract Canyon. The last two rather shade into the next cultural group.

"The third group may be termed marginal agriculturists, from the fact they had no fixed habitations and practised agriculture in only the most sporadic and desultory fashion. They include the western Apache of Arizona and southeastern New Mexico, the Yavapai of western Arizona, the Navaho, and the Paiute groups of southern Utah.

"The final group is the least clearly defined. For convenience the tribes of this group may be called nomads. The really coherent feature of this grouping is the close Plains affiliations of the members. All are predominantly hunting peoples without fixed habitations and depending originally, to some extent, upon the buffalo for subsistence. Probably some of them practised agriculture in a rudimentary fashion, but in the main they more resemble typical Plains Indians than they do any of the Southwestern groups. They include Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Comanche, Southern Ute, and Eastern Apache...."

Formerly it was believed that the Navaho had learned all their higher arts of life from the Pueblo tribes after their arrival in the Southwest. There is a growing tendency among anthropologists today toward the opinion that the Navaho may have acquired, or become familiar with, some of these arts during their assumed stay in the Plains before entering the Southwest. Thus far, there is very little concrete evidence to favor this opinion, but research along these lines has been stimulated, and we may some day have more facts to support the logic of this theory.

Pottery is one of the arts the Navaho almost certainly learned in the Plains rather than from Pueblo teachers. The Navaho are not good potters like the

Hopi and Zuni. Their efforts, according to Kidder (Reichard, 1936:169), are more like potsherds from archeological sites in western Nebraska than like any southwestern pottery. The Navaho are also like the Plains in their methods of hunting, their type of sod houses, free use of gestures, and their former abundant use of wild seeds. Also there is something very reminiscent of Plains attitudes in the bold courage and versatility of the Navaho, which is in decided contrast to the conservatism of the Pueblos. Nevertheless, the influence of the Plains tribes cannot compare with the stimuli given to Navaho culture by contact with the people of the Pueblos, who were far superior to the newcomers in religion and material culture.

The possibility that the Navaho are descendants of the prehistoric peoples of the Southwest does not have the support of archaeology. In the Navaho reservation there are great ruins, such as Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon on the eastern side of the Lukachukai mountain range, and the ruins in Canyons de Chelly (a corruption of an Indian name, popularly pronounced "shay") and del Muerto on the western side of the mountains. There is no evidence that the Navaho drove out the inhabitants of these great cliff dwellings and caused their abandonment. The ingenious tree ring calculations by Douglass (1929) have shown that Pueblo Bonito was occupied as late as 1167 AD, while the western ruins at Canyon de Chelly were inhabited in the thirteenth century. Archaeological discoveries do not give any indication that the Navaho knew these cliff-dwellings when they were inhabited, though a few of the Navaho believe that their ancestors were cliff dwellers. The Navaho apparently came after the dwellings been abandoned.

It is a disputed point whether the Navaho and Apache came into the Southwest at the same time, forming a single group, which later broke up and became differentiated; or whether, as Hodge (1895) assumes, the two had separated before coming into the Southwest, and the Apache were already in southern Arizona when the Navaho straggled into the San Juan River area. When the Spanish came, they classed both tribes under the name of Apache. They distinguished the various bands according to location--thus, the "Apaches de Xi1a" (Gila River), and the "Apaches de Nabajo." A third theory is that of Bandelier (1890:175), who believes that the Navaho are the main body of the two, while the Apache are "ramifications, degenerated and vagrant, of the Navajos." As mentioned earlier, the two tribes are distinct in physical type now despite the similarity of dialects. Although both tribes are camp dwellers, the Navaho culture is more complex.

It is obvious that the origin and prehistory of the Navaho tribe is an open question, with abundant theorizing on scant data. Future archaeological and comparative cultural studies among the Navaho, Plains, Pueblo, and Canadian tribes will furnish us with better information on this early period. Unfortunately, we must still depend largely on the accounts of Navaho life as portrayed in their origin legend, or in the archaic customs preserved in ceremonies, to form a picture of their mode of life in pre-Spanish times.

THE ORIGIN LEGEND OF THE NAVAHO The Navaho themselves have no record, other than their myths, of their ancient life before they entered the Southwest. The long legend (Matthews 1897), which serves

them as the semi-mythological history of their tribe, begins with the origin of their gods in the twelve divisions of the underworld, and the emergence of the ancestors of the Navaho and Pueblo tribes into the upper world at a place in the San Juan Mountains, in the northern part of Navaho territory. The land of the Navaho was bounded by four sacred mountains, one at each of the cardinal points. The mountains considered sacred depend somewhat on the area inhabited by the Navaho who tells the story. Generally the mountains are Pelado Peak in the east, Mt. Taylor in the south, San Francisco Mountain in the west, and San Juan Mountain in the north. These boundaries are still recognized, though some of the Navaho have moved beyond them.

"First Man" shaped the world into its present appearance, while "Changing Woman," the benevolent and eternally young goddess of the Navaho, taught the people how to live and made the clans from her own body. These clans became the nucleus of Navaho social life. The original number was increased by the formation of new clans from descendants of captives and slaves, as well as from small, vagrant bands of Pueblo, Apache, Ute, and Mexican people.

The myth also tells us that the original clans lived very simply along the San Juan River. The men hunted rabbits, rats, prairie dogs, and other small game with throwing sticks or a wooden bow. The arrows were reeds tipped with wood. Deer were captured by driving them over a precipice, or by using steep-sided box canyons as corrals.

For vegetable food, the people depended on wild fruits and berries, and on the harvest of maize from their little farms in the valleys. Food for winter was stored in niches in the cliff walls or in pits. The hut was semi-underground and covered with brush and mud. Woven cedar bark served as door curtains. People slept about the fire under the smoke hole, and protected themselves from draughts with blankets of cedar bark, yucca fibre, or a number of skins sewed together. The clothing was primitive. Men tied the forelegs of two large skins together and tossed them over a shoulder, while the women wore two webs of cedar bark, which served as a front and back apron. They wore moccasins of yucca fibre or cedar bark only for long trips. A headdress was fashioned of weasel and rat skins with the tails hanging behind; or it was decorated with artificial horns of wood or with the horns of a female mountain sheep shaved thin.

No one would think of accepting a tribal tradition like the Origin Legend as the true history of the Navaho; myth and fact are almost inextricably interwoven in it. Also there are many different versions of it; and each narrator varies it to give his own clan a noble history. However, a tradition like this may contain nuggets which inspire the scientist to investigate new research leads. Such was the case when Boas (1897) read the Origin Legend and noticed that certain of the folktales in it about boy heroes and mischievous Coyote were similar to stories in northwestern America. His comparisons led him to the conclusions that the Navaho tales were "undoubtedly derived from the same sources from which the northern tales sprung. Most of them are so complex and curious that, taken in connection with the known northern affiliations of the Navaho, they must be considered as a definite proof of either a survival of ancient myths or as proving a later connection."

Hodge (1895) in his well-known paper, "The Early Navaho and Apache," attempted to determine how much true history; there was in that later section of the Origin Legend which tells of the addition of alien groups to the original Navaho clans in the Southwest. His method was to correlate parts of the tradition, which concerned historic times, with Spanish record of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Hodge's paper is important because he brought together in 1895 practically the sum total of our still fragmentary knowledge of Navaho events. With the data he attempted to reconstruct a connected account of Navaho history in the Southwest. Some of his broad conclusions are still accepted--for instance, that the Navaho are recent comers into this southern region, arriving about 600 or 700 years ago; that at first they were a small weak group which grew by assimilating bands from other Indian tribes. Early in the seventeenth century, they were strong enough to become a menace to the Pueblos and their neighbors. The arrival of the Spaniards gave an impetus to their development because of the sheep, cattle, and horses introduced for the first time into the New World by Coronado in 1540 and Onate in 1598. The Navaho stole herds from the Pueblos and began their career as shepherds.

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Western Museum Laboratories



Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter III: THE PERIOD OF SPANISH RULE

TRIBAL NAME The origin and meaning of the name "Navaho" is important in solving the mystery of location and mode of living of the tribe just before the arrival of the Spanish. Largely on evidence derived from the study of this name, it is assumed that in the early seventeenth century the Navaho were an agricultural tribe living a sedentary community life in the northwestern corner of New Mexico.

It is common practice among American Indian tribes to refer to their own group simply and grandly, albeit provincially, as "the people." A neighboring tribe, however, will give them a name descriptive of some peculiarity in their habits or location. Occasionally this descriptive term comes into the vocabulary of "the people" as an alternate tribal name. Such has been the case among the Navaho. Like most of the Athapascans, they call themselves Dene, "the people" or "men." The name "Navaho," popularized by the Spanish among both Whites and Indians, was not quickly taken over by the Navaho because of the difficulty in pronouncing the letter "v" which is unknown in their language. They now use the name "Navaho" principally in talking to outsiders (Matthews, 1910).

The term "Navaho" did not appear in print until almost a century after the Spaniards had come to the Southwest. This absence of reference has been taken to indicate that the Spaniards neither met nor heard of the Navaho in the sixteenth century. Amsden (1934:122) summarized the situation in the following statement, "All accounts indicate clearly that the northernmost line of Pueblos marked the limit of Spanish exploration in the 16th century, and it seems proper to conclude that the Navaho were not encountered because they live somewhere north of this line, where all but a few of them live today." (Amsden summarizes and quotes old Spanish sources and other important data on this period.)

FIRST REFERENCES TO THE NAVAHO In 1629 Fray Geronimo Zarate-Salmeron (translated, 1900), who was in the Southwest between 1538 and 1626, wrote that the people of Jemez told him of a route which led to some far-off heathen Indians in the west whom he wished to convert. This route led by way of the Chama River near which, the Jemez told him lived the nation of the "Apaches de Nabaju." As the name "Apaches de Nabaju" suggests, even at this early time the Navaho were classed with the Apache.

In 1630 another reference also places the Navaho in the Chama River area. Fray Benavides, in his "Memorial to the King of Spain" (translated,

1900), said, "This province (of the Navaho) is the most bellicose of all the Apache nation." Other Indians had to get alum for dyeing from this territory and there was much fighting. He wished to make peace between the Navaho and Pueblos by uniting them at his Santa Clara pueblo mission where he had gathered a few Navaho. He stated that the province of "Los Apaches de Nauajo" was more than fifty leagues north of the "Apache de Xila." Unlike the Gila Apaches, who were nomadic hunters, the Navaho Apaches lived in communities and farmed extensively, a fact which their name indicates, Benavides wrote, it means "great planted fields." He also mentioned briefly their hunting, leather work, and hogans. He did not mention weaving, which the Navaho may not have had at that time. Benavides usually was careful to describe each tribe at its best in order to impress the King of Spain.

Hewett (1906) found that a pueblo ruin of a pre-Spanish period in Pajarito Park of northwestern New Mexico, in the Chama River region, was known to the Tewa as "Navahu," meaning "the large area of cultivated lands." Nearby were extensive agricultural lands. Hewett concluded that either "Apaches de Navajo" referred to an intrusive band which invaded Tewa territory and occupied this particular region; or the Navaho occupied similar extensive agricultural lands elsewhere, so that their habitat would always be known to the Tewa as Navahu, "great planted fields". The people would be called Apaches of Navahu until they came to be known simply by the name of their habitat, Navahu or Navaho.

The Navaho, according to the Ethnologic Dictionary, still speak of dineta ("Dene country"), where their fathers lived before coming to their present habitat. Traditions point to the modern Jemez and Tewa regions as the locality of dineta.

Linguists have interpreted the name "Navaho" in different ways. An old interpretation by Matthews (1897) was that "Navaho" was derived either from "navaja," Spanish for stone knife, referring to the knives of the Indians; or from "navajo," a pool or small lake. The Ethnologic Dictionary suggests the combination of "nava," meaning field, and "ajo," an old Spanish suffix which gives a depreciative significance to a word. Thus, "Navajo" would mean a large, but more or less worthless, field. Harrington (1920) also interprets "nava" as field, but thinks the ending is derived from the Tewa word "hu'u," meaning canyon.

In summary, scientists are substantially in agreement that when the Spanish arrived the Navaho were living by farming and hunting in the neighborhood of the Jemez and Tewa pueblos, in the northwestern part of New Mexico along the Chama River.

THE SPANISH AND NAVAHO The Spanish paid only a little attention to the Navaho and Apache groups at first. Their major energies were devoted to converting and exploiting the wealthier and more docile Pueblos, who, because of their concentration in communities, were more accessible than the mercurial Navaho. Bancroft (1890:222) reports that the Spanish and Navaho were friendly until 1700, when the Navaho committed some depredations for which the governor sent an expedition to punish them. It is hard to believe that the Navaho had not run afoul of

Spanish authority before this.

Benavides, at Santa Clara in 1630, attempted to convert the Navaho to Christianity. Another important attempt was made in 1746 at Cebolleta, where Fray M. Menchero built a mission to accommodate 400 to 500 Navaho. A second mission was built for them at near-by Encinal. A year of sedentary life was sufficient to weary the Navaho. They departed, grumbling that they had not received the presents promised them for becoming Christians. In 1804 some asked to return, but were refused. Even as late as 1865 and later, the Cebolletano Navaho were the only Christianized members of the tribe; the others were still pagan. (Hodge, 1910, on Cebolleta and Encinal; Bandelier, 1890:305, note 2 on Spanish MS.)

After 1700 the Spanish found the Navaho to be an ever growing scourge because of their raids and alliances. The tribe always managed to be at peace with some tribes, while it fought and raided others. They feared only the Utes, who had learned war in the Plains area. Once the Plains tribes acquired the horse, they developed Indian warfare into an art. The annual efforts of the Spanish to break up alliances and outwit the Navaho are reported in the letters of the Spanish governor de Anza, 1777-87. (Thomas, 1932). These efforts were fruitlessly continued until, in 1846, the United States relieved the Spanish of the Southwest and their Navaho problem.

THE FRENCH The French, like the Spanish, were attempting to gather some of the rich prizes of the Southwest for themselves, and they had scrimmages with Navaho and Apache warriors. Bancroft (1890:222) states that in 1698 the French almost annihilated a Navaho force of 4000 men. This figure sounds decidedly exaggerated because as late as 1785 there were said to be only 700 Navaho families with five or six members in each (Thomas, 1932:350); the whole tribe had only 1000 warriors. Amsden (1934:132) thinks that even this figure is too high for a population of about 3500.

THE PUEBLO AND NAVAHO FIGHT It was a hard time for the Pueblos, who were harassed by the Whites, Navaho, Utes, and Apaches, as well as by internal dissensions. The Navaho took advantage of the Pueblo pre-occupation with the Spanish invaders to raid towns, drive off the herds, gather up the harvest, and steal women. Their attacks were constant and devastating enough to force the Jemez to abandon two of their pueblos in 1622. Later they became the deadly enemies of the Zuni, whom they forced back to inaccessible mesa villages. The Zuni tried to trap the marauding Navaho, who came on horseback at night, into pits, ten feet deep, filled with sharp stakes and artfully concealed by branches (Ten Broeck, 1860:81).

The Jemez and Navaho relationship is of particular interest historically, and it reveals Navaho tactics. Although the Navaho had driven the Jemez from their homes in 1622, they were in alliance with them a half century later against the Spaniards. A plot failed and twenty-nine were hung (Bandelier, 1890:209). Next, Jemez, Navaho, and Tigua united in another uprising.

The unsuccessful Pueblo Rebellion of 1680 against the Spanish drove many Pueblo refugees into the wilderness of Navaho territory. The Jemez Pueblo was unsubdued, until in 1696 their last important insurrection failed after the desertion of their allies from Acoma and Zuni. They abandoned their valley and disappeared for about ten years, after which time they were again seen in their former habitat (Bandelier, 1890:215). Kidder (1920:328) found, in the northern San Juan area, abandoned sites with remains of both Navaho and Jemez cultures, showing that these peoples had lived together. He states: "That the Jemez eventually returned to their none too fertile old range, in close proximity to the hated Spanish, is evidence enough that they were not in the most enviable of positions in the country of their notoriously fickle allies." Davis (1857:83) mentions a case of successful treachery by the Jemez against the Navaho in 1820, when they murdered a visiting party of peaceful Navaho.

THE NAVAHO TRIBE GROWS By the end of the seventeenth century there were many Pueblo refugees and captives in Navaho territory. It may well be that, if the Navaho are as recent in the Southwest as generally believed, most of the Pueblo mixture in the present physical type of the Navaho may date from this period of Southwestern rebellion. Bandelier (1890:262) declares that the Jemez were more than half Navaho, so the Pueblos too were affected.

Without doubt this period marked a turning point in Navaho life. The eighteenth century saw them increasing in culture, numbers, and territory. A map of "Provincia de Nabajoo" of 1776 (reproduced from Spanish manuscripts by Amsden, 1934:Plate 57A) shows the rapid westward expansion of the tribe. They were well over on the west side of the Chuska Mountains in the region of the great canyons. Their territory in 1785 constituted five main geographical divisions: Cebolleta (mentioned above) and San Matheo on the east side of the mountains; Chusca, Chelly, and Hozo (Bear Spring) on the west (Thomas, 1932:350).

Raids had brought to the Navaho substantial herds of cattle, sheep, and horses to start them on a semi-pastoral life. In 1705 (Thomas, 1932:350) they were reported to have "500 tame horses; 600 mares with their corresponding stallions and young; about 700 black ewes; 40 cows also with their bulls and calves, all looked after with the greatest care and diligence for their increase...."The raiders had also brought slaves and Pueblo women, who taught the Navaho to weave, The Navaho blanket soon became a desirable trade article among both Whites and Indians.

A Navaho anecdote told to Hill (1936), picturesquely presents the change in values and mode in life. The Navaho claim that formerly Canyons de Chelly and del Muerto--in later times their great fortresses--were occupied by people who came originally of Hopi stock. These people were farmers and rated as "poor" by the Navaho, who now counted wealth in terms of stock and not in fields. These canyon people had beautiful women--prettier than the Navaho girls--so the Navaho braves would sneak on horses into canyons to steal the women. The canyon people would then work off their rage by attacking the Mexicans. The people of the canyons, because of their devotion to farming, have kept

even into modern times the reputation of being "poor folks." Mindeleff (1898: 483) states that the farmers of Canyon de Chelly were looked down upon by their sheep-raising relatives, who, nevertheless, always showed up at harvest time to gorge at the great feasts of their country cousins.

TRADE Trade was extensive and brisk during the Spanish, as well as the later American, rule. The Pecos River Indians brought buffalo skins to the Pueblos; Zuni offered salt; Tanos, turquoise; San Felipe, mineral paint for pottery; Santo Domingo beads; Acoma, cotton mantles; Utes, hides and basketry; and the Navaho brought their blankets and deer hides (Bandelier, 1890). The Navaho "captains" were already wearing silver jewelry, traded perhaps from the Mexicans. The Navaho spoke good Spanish, being "more adept in speaking Castilian than any other Gentile nation," according to a Spanish writer of 1795 (Amsden, 1934, 132). Agriculture became work for slaves; women did the weaving; the proper occupation of Navaho men--and of some women, too--was war.

NAVAHO AND PUEBLO CULTURAL RELATIONS Although the Navaho coveted the wealth which the Pueblos so industriously developed and accumulated, they felt toward the latter as they did toward the canyon farmers. They still refer to the Hopi as the "Moki" or "Dead People," while the Hopi make no secret of their feelings that the Navaho are upstart invaders. Apparently the term "Moki" comes from Hopi custom of burying the dead in shallow graves near their village. Although the Pueblos are primarily agricultural and the Navaho depend largely on their flocks, the two have much in common in the higher arts of life--weaving, religion, mythology, and so on. The flow of these higher arts has usually been from the Pueblos to the Navaho, who have reinterpreted them and given them their own peculiar stamp.

Kroeber, in discussing the interrelations of the pastoral and agricultural tribes of the Southwest, states (1928:386): "In one respect the heart of the American Southwest is unique in North America. This is its possession. of two parallel and heavily interinfluencing streams of culture, the agricultural and nonagricultural. These evidently behave toward each other somewhat like classes in a single society. Navaho and Hopi, to be sure, feel toward each other like two adjacent European nationalities of separate cultural tradition. But, also like these, they impart culture material to each other. And the economic base of society is so thoroughly different that a remarkable contrast has become established between the essential uniformity in the formal or upper levels of the two cultures and the diversity in the underlying ones. The Navaho sandpainting altars and meteorological and fertilization symbolism, for instance, must inevitably have been taken over from the agricultural Pueblos, and fitted into an old, anarchic, priestless scheme of more or less shamanistic curing ritual, with little other effect than to invest this with vividness and picturesque interest. In fact, freed from the close intent and official tradition of the Pueblos, the paintings of the Navaho took on an aesthetic quality superior to that of their masters. Navaho myth and legend are similarly filled with Pueblo material, again treated with a freedom which the better defined purposes of the Pueblo did not allow. The martilineal reckoning of the Navaho, so anomalous in combination with their unsettled life..., is also almost certainly taken over

from the Pueblos; and so with their weaving--a strange art to occur among a people practically without baskets and pottery.... How far there was reaction upon the Pueblos is as yet less clear. Their culture has been avowedly on the defensive for three or four centuries, and probably so in the grain for as long, before. Yet some discernible interaction is expectable."

THE MEXICANS The Mexicans became the bitterest enemies of the Navaho. The former were the mixed-blood descendants of the Spanish and the Indians. Spanish and American accounts report with horror the slaughter by Mexicans of Navaho who came peacefully to trade, or the slaughter of innocent Mexican traders by the Navaho. No matter what the case, a war of reprisal was necessary--either to steal what had been left behind, or to avenge murder. The Mexicans were forced to abandon several cities because of the Navaho attacks; and generally it was conceded that the Navaho were better warriors than the Mexicans. Eaton (1854), an American officer, sourly maintained that the Navaho were not good warriors, but that they seemed so because the Mexicans were cowards. The Mexicans called the Navaho their slaves, and scornfully declared that they furnished them (the Mexicans) with good weavers, whom they could sell to the Spanish at a high price. The Navaho stole the Mexicans' sheep, but refrained from completely annihilating the enemy because, so they said, they wished to leave a few as shepherds to raise more flocks for the Dene.

SLAVERY The Navaho stole hundreds of slaves from the Mexicans and the native tribes. In turn they also lost some of their tribesmen to Mexican raiders. Intelligent and industrious Navaho women who knew how to weave were highly prized. A beautiful and healthy girl of eight was sold for as high as \$400 worth of horses and goods. Poor people frequently sold orphans or their own children for a horse or an ox. It was once estimated that there were from 2000 to 3000 Navaho working as slaves in Spanish or American families (Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report of 1867:325 ff.). Children born to the Navaho women who were Spanish slaves had the rights of citizens and free men.

The Navaho treated their slaves well, although there was no hesitation in killing them when ritual duties required the sacrifice. Two slaves were given the duty of preparing and burying a corpse, after which they were killed on the grave. Slaves were sometimes adopted into a family; they married Navaho, and their descendants might form a new clan. That "slave" clans existed, the Navaho admit, but no one will acknowledge that his clan was founded by captives. (Reichard, 1928:15; Ethnologic Dictionary, 1910:424).

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter IV: WAR

WAR TECHNIQUE As the Navaho were constantly at war during the Spanish period, and until their conquest by the United States, an account of their procedure in war is introduced here. Hill (1936) describes the ritual, weapons, and procedure in detail, and gives a photograph of a warrior in regalia. Amsden (1934:Plate 57a) illustrates a warrior. Simpson (1850) has a sketch of Narbona in war clothes. The Ethnologic Dictionary has notes on war and detailed descriptions of weapons. The 1915 Annual of the Franciscan Missions tells the story of Narbona's grandson, who grew up during the period of the greatest raiding.

The following information is largely based on Hill's description (1936): Peaceful bands, which did not wish to fight, avoided dangerous encounters and had look-outs posted to light signal fires in case of danger. The Navaho did not conduct war as a tribal affair. Rather, a leader-shaman would ask members of his locality to accompany him. One or two women might join the party of warriors, as women too could gain martial distinction. There were many different "ways" of going to war, referring to the important ritual accompaniments of preparation, departure, attack, and return. For a reprisal, which required thirty to two hundred men, the three most important ways were the Monster Slayer Way, the Enemy Way, and the Yei Hastin Way. For raids, which required only four to ten men, there were many other ways, each with different songs and prayers. The leader-shaman usually knew the ritual of only one of the important ways. For his services in organizing and leading the party, he would receive a large share of plunder. (A manuscript by Father Berard Haile, dealing with the Enemy Way, is to be published soon by the Yale University Press.)

Every able bodied man was a potential warrior, trained from boyhood in the use of weapons. Before their first war party, boys were under special taboos. They must not look off into distance, eat hot food, or sleep on their backs or stomachs. After killing an enemy, the boy was given the scalp to chew, which made him a full fledged warrior. If he wished to become a leader-shaman, he was taught by a leader who knew the way the boy wished to learn.

After the formation of a war party, the warriors spent three to five days in ritually purifying themselves, and in making the weapons and equipment under ritual conditions. Each man carried with him an awl, some sinew, soles and uppers for extra moccasins, an extra pair of pants, and a shirt. The warriors took only a little dried yucca, fruit, grass seed, and jerky with them, for they expected to eat heartily from the

storehouses of the enemy.

The war shirt was made of thick buckskin, laced across the chest. A rich man might use four layers of buckskin. Eight buckskins made a knee length shirt so heavy that only a mounted warrior could wear it. The warriors decorated their hide helmets, made of two thicknesses of buckskin, with shells, and feathers from the eagle and owl. Just before the attack, a special plume was added. A wristlet made of the claws of bears, mountain lions, eagles, and owls gave extra strength and power.

Weapons were simple. In pre-Spanish times the American Indian did not have iron-tipped weapons, guns, or horses. When Backus (1860) and Simpson (1850) visited the Navaho, they saw very few rifles. A warrior had instead a sinew-backed bow, and about fifty arrows, tipped with "poison," which he kept in a quiver of mountain lion skin. He protected himself with an elliptical or round shield of buckskin or other hide. He fought with a lance if he rode one of the carefully trained war horses.

Once the party had departed, there were additional ceremonies to be performed along the way. Prophets foretold events by "stargazing" or "listening" until they had a vision; "Hand tremblers" interpreted the motions of their quivering hands in prophetic terms. The party would return if faced by an evil omen, such as a coyote crossing their trail. Ceremonies were performed immediately before the attack, and the warriors painted themselves and put on their special moccasins with snakes painted on the soles.

With much whooping, the warriors made a surprise attack. If they were attacking a pueblo, they would first scalp the people working in the corn fields, then they would wave the scalps at the villagers and kill adults and babies. They took young people for slaves. A captor sometimes adopted his prisoner as a relative. Prisoners were usually well treated. Colonel Washington reported that a captive who had married two Navaho wives preferred to remain with the tribe rather than be "rescued" and returned to his own people. Usually the Navaho plundered and took slaves without burning down the villages.

POST-WAR CEREMONIES After a successful attack, the leader, with a flint arrow point, drew in the sand four symbolic lines, charged with magical power to prevent the enemy from overtaking the party. At home, a ceremony called "swaying singing" was performed before the hogan of each warrior who had taken a scalp. The singers gathered about the scalp, shot arrows at it, swayed and sang to the accompaniment of a pottery drum. The serenaded warrior then threw some of his plunder to the singers. Gifts and "saying singing" are today part of the popular War Dance (Hill, 1936).

WAR DANCE Because scalps were magically dangerous and contaminating "medicine," they were hidden out of reach in rocks far from the hogans. If, in spite of purification by sweat baths and singing, a warrior, or his wife or children, fell prey to "war sickness" derived from contact with weapons, scalps, or clothes of the enemy, a five day War Dance was held to drive away the ghosts of the dead enemies haunting the sick. According to the *Ethnologic Dictionary* (1910:362), which has

information about the old dances, there were two types of War Dance: one for dispelling native enemies, and one for foreign enemies; though ordinarily the term "War Dance" refers to the dance for dispelling the ghosts of foreign enemies.

In modern times, although there are no more wars, the disease can still be contracted by men or women. Parents may have brought the disease on an unborn child by seeing the bodies of Navaho slain by an enemy. If, when the child has become an old person, he should fall ill, a medicine man may diagnose the disease as "war sickness" and recommend that the War Dance (which nowadays is only three days long) be held as a cure. The Navaho believe that most diseases are due to evil spirits or the violation of a taboo. The Navaho told Hill (1936:18) that women were more frequently patients at a War Dance in modern times because, if they had been away to school and washed white men's clothes, the steam from the water brought on the old war sickness. Sickness can also be contracted by entering the ruins of the cliff dwellers, where rest bones of the Ancient People.

According to the Ethnologic Dictionary (1910:366) the War Dance originated with a mythological being, the mother of the two legendary heroes, Slaver of Monsters and Child of Water. After the two heroes had killed a monster, they hung his scalp on a tree and went off to tell their mother. They fainted; and to cure them of their "war sickness," she sprinkled an herbal concoction on them and shot an arrow over them.

After the patient had selected a Chanter to conduct the rites of the War Dance, those who have previously taken the cure or had war experience assist in the procedure. The rites vary in different districts of the reservation. Only the principal features are mentioned.

First, the Chanter's assistants prepare a yard-long wand of juniper or cedar, which has been trimmed so that only a bunch of leaves is left at the top. After it had been rubbed with deer fat and soot, a bow design is painted on it. Next, various decorations are added--turkey feathers; two eagle feathers; a spliced buckskin thong attached to the small toes of a deer; bunches of sage; a package of "medicine" containing magical objects with curative value; and in earlier years, the scalp of a foreigner. Reichard (1928:116) states that a bone from a ruin might be used; it is not clear, however, whether a bone from the ruins will serve when the War Dance is directed toward expelling the ghosts of "foreign enemies," or only when witches or other native enemies are being exorcised. The elaborate wand is finally decorated with red streamers which later are removed and presented to the guests, who welcome them because of their magical properties. They tie the streamers to the bridles of the horses, or the women treasure them to weave later into saddle blankets. For the three days of the chant, the wand is carried by a virgin who has been selected for the occasion.

The evening of the day when the wand was prepared, the men gather after dark to dance and sing. Two lines, each with a leader, face each other and take turns in chanting to the accompaniment of a pottery drum. Every night of the War Dance the picturesque "Squaw Dance," which has always aroused the interest of white spectators, may take place.

Young girls choose men from the hundreds of visitors at the chant and urge them into the dancing place by tugging at their coats. The girl usually stands behind her partner and holds him by the coat as they shuffle back and forth a few times. To be released, the man pays a small sum of money. This little dance creates much amusement for the spectators.

At dawn of the second day the men divide into two parties and conduct a sham battle. In the afternoon, a minor rite, known as the "Mud Dance," may take place. Thirteen men daub themselves with mud and join the crowd, offering to cure the sick by tossing them in a blanket. This ceremony is said to have been learned from the Jemez (Reichard, 1928: 132).

At the ceremonial hogan the patient and the warriors prepare for further rites, while guests come in to leave presents, which later are thrown through the smoke hole and scattered amongst the crowd. At the western end of the hogan, opposite the door (which in any hogan faces east), sits the medicine man at an altar, preparing the soot with which the patient and his warrior attendants are to be blackened. A warrior who has killed an enemy is covered with the black substance to prevent the spirit of the dead from recognizing the killer.

The patient is then daubed with herbal mixtures, massaged, and painted. A tail feather of a roadrunner wrapped with eagle down is tied into the patient's hair; or a sacred deerskin bag containing pollen and feathers. After these rites, the patient puts on his silver jewelry and goes outside to attack and kill the ghost of the enemy who has caused the war sickness. When the unruly spirit has been overcome, the patient puts white clay on his body and shares with his warrior assistants a ceremonial repast of white cornmeal mush. For further information on the War Dance, which has frequently been described, see the *Ethnologic Dictionary*, 1910; Hill, 1936, (lists other sources); and Reichard, 1928.

NATC'IT Hill (1936) calls the nac'tit the "gesture dance," or a victory celebration. He states (p.18): "When a Navaho was killed by an enemy a party was formed to avenge his death. If this party was victorious the leader would decide to give a nac'tit. This ceremony was considered a 'tribal' affair and everyone assisted in building the ceremonial hogan. Next a patient was chosen. This was usually a warrior who had accomplished something notable in the battle. 'The patient was necessary because the Navaho cannot hold a ceremony without a patient.' A Hopi scalp was one of the essentials of the ceremony even though the victory was over another people. The hogan was built in the fall or winter and 'gesture dances' held at irregular intervals until spring.... The dancers performed around the edge of this crowd (of visitors) and when they came to a warrior they stamped their feet in front of him and called out his name. At other times the men and women formed opposing lines and danced backward and forward, the men singing and making obscene gestures.

"When spring came this 'gesture dance' was brought to a close by the performance of the 'present day War or Squaw Dance.' '... At the end of the War or Squaw Dance everyone took their digging sticks and began to

plant the same day."

Hill goes on to say, "Reichard (1928:108-11) has described the natc'it as being primarily political in character and this may be true. However, my own informants denied that it has any such connotation. The above account certainly lacks any political phase and suggests rather an introduced ceremonial, probably a derivative of the Plains, which failed to be absorbed into Navaho culture. This was further substantiated by one informant who said, 'They dance this dance after a war. They used to make war in the north at that time. The Navaho were friends of and fought with the Utes.' The accounts of this ceremony are traditional. There is no one alive today who has ever seen the ritual performed.

There is a certain diversity of opinion among anthropologists, a Navaho informants, too, apparently, as to what the natc'it was. Reichard (1928:108) quotes Matthews as mentioning it as a ceremony lasting all winter and which was held for a prominent Navaho, Big Knee, presumably as a curative ceremony. According to Reichard's data, the natc'it was a tribal assembly, showing much Plains influence, held at two- or four-year intervals, or whenever the tribe faced a crisis caused by famine or by the need to organize for war. The assembly gathered for ceremonies occasionally through the winter, ending with the spring planting. Special brush hogans were built, with twelve Peace Chiefs living on the north side, twelve War Chiefs on the south. Women might be among the War Chiefs if they had been to war and had earned distinction. If the assembly was held because of famine, the Peace Chiefs piled up garden tools, lectured the people on farming, and conducted rites to bring good crops. In case of war, the War Chiefs led the assembly. Sick people might attend in order to be cured, but curing was an incidental purpose of the gathering.

The consistent elements regarding the natc'it thus appear to be that it was a ceremony, of Plains influence or origin, held at intervals during the winter, and involving some curative rites, and that it ended in time for the spring planting.

PEACEMAKING Peace Chiefs sent messengers to the enemy to arrange for a peace conference. The delegates smoked either pipes or cigarettes, according to their tribal customs. The Utes had long-stemmed pipes with the bowl resting on the toe of the smoker, whereas the Hopi were cigarette smokers. The versatile Navaho smoked either cigarettes or short, tubular pipes, adjusting their smoking to the customs of the negotiating tribe. Gifts and trading ended the sessions (Hill, 1936).

WAR NAMES AND NAMING Both women and men are sometimes given names referring to war. These names are usually kept secret, being revealed only in case of necessity. During the War Dance the family of the patient tells the Chanter the war name and he incorporates it into a song. For everyday reference to identify a person, the Navaho use nicknames and relationship terms, supplementing them with reference to the relative age of the individual. A person may be referred to as the son of such and such a man or woman; and if he is married and has children of his own, he may also be referred to as the father of such and such a child (Reichard 1928:100). "The name is part of one's personal power. 'It

is not told in a person's presence. It should only be used in a tight pinch. When a person is in danger he may get out of it by having someone pronounce his name. Using the name wears it out." (Ibid., p. 96). This applies to the names that suggest war. The repetition of the names of the gods and the secret names of animals to gain the attention of the supernatural beings, is a characteristic feature of Navaho mythology and chants.

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter V: THE AMERICAN CONQUEST

EARLY TREATIES As part of the campaign for conquering New Mexico for the United States, General S. W. Kearney sent Colonel A. W. Doniphan, in 1846, to impress the Navaho with the authority of the United States. After marching around Navaho territory, Doniphan met some of the headmen and warriors at Ojo del Oso (Bear Spring), where a treaty was signed. The old and honored Narbona was spokesman. There was much oratory, an accomplishment at which the Navaho excel. Narbona's wife, who attended the council, almost incited the warriors to massacre the Americans. Chief Largo, in an oft-quoted speech, asked the Americans why they themselves killed Mexicans, yet demanded now that the Navaho cease defending themselves against their ancient enemy (Connelly, 1907:306).

The treaty was soon broken. The Navaho had begun their brilliant career in diplomacy under the Spanish; now it was in full bloom. Their raids continued until harvest time drew near, when there was danger of the Americans spoiling the crops, so the Navaho then sued for peace, signed a treaty, and gracefully accepted gifts. The Americans made perennial marches farther and farther into the country. Major Washington drew within eight or nine miles of Canyon de Chelly in 1849 to make a new treaty and obtain the release of prisoners. The friendly settlement was marred by the killing of Narbona by Washington's men during an argument over a stolen horse. Before Washington had returned to his Santa Fe headquarters, the Indians were raiding again, the new treaty broken. In 1851 Sumner negotiated with them.

Calhoun's collected letters (edited by Abel, 1915) cite the daily reports of murder and stock running by Navaho, Mexicans, Apaches, and Utes during Calhoun's career as Indian Agent, Indian Superintendent, and finally as Governor of New Mexico. Prosperous towns were abandoned because of Navaho attacks (Davis, 1857:357). In 1863 the murders and robberies committed by the Navaho in five counties of the territory amounted to 55,040 sheep; 4,178 cattle; 224 horses; 5901 goats; and several human beings.

In 1851, a fort, appropriately named Fort Defiance, was begun at an Indian crossroad, Canyon Bonito, to hold the Navaho in check. Major Backus was put in charge, and H. L. Dodge was appointed the first Indian Agent of the Navaho. Peace prevailed from 1851 to 1859 because of the tactful and authoritative control of the fort and agency by Backus and Dodge.

War broke out in 1859 after a change in the personnel of the fort. Conflicting reports of the direct cause have been given, but apparently the strained feelings existing between the Navaho and the new head of the fort were contributing factors. A Navaho killed a Negro servant belonging to the fort and Major Brooks demanded that the Navaho surrender the murderer. They refused, but offered either to substitute another Navaho for the murderer or to pay for the servant killed. This was consistent with their tribal custom of dealing with murder, but the fort rejected such a compromise and continued to demand the murderer. The Navaho in vain pleaded that the murderer had acted according to accepted tribal custom in committing the murder, and that their attempts at settlement also followed their customs. It seems that the murderer's wife had quarrelled with him and left him. (There has been great equality between men and women among the Navaho ever since their history has been known, and a wife has considerable freedom.) The husband felt disgraced, and as was customary among his people, sought to wipe out his disgrace by killing anyone handy; the Negro servant of the fort was unhappily the victim. In 1860 strained feelings were climaxed by a Navaho attack on the fort. Colonel Miles and Colonel Bonneville led expeditions into the country; later General Canby attempted to subdue the Indians.

NAVAHO CULTURE IN 1855 This period between the arrival of the Spanish and the end of the American Civil War was the Golden Age of the Navaho. Davis, in "El Gringo" (1857: Chap. 17), tells of his trip in 1855 as secretary to Governor Meriwether, who was treaty-making with the Navaho. On this occasion "Head Chief" Largo resigned his medal and staff, symbolic of his position as representative of the United States, and declared that he could not control his people and stop their depredations. Manuelito was appointed by the governor to take his place.

Davis states that the Navaho were better dressed than any other tribe he had seen. They had good woolen blankets, for this was the period of the finest weaving, when bayeta blankets were made. The men wore knitted stockings and fitted buckskin trousers and shirts, fastened at the waist with broad leather belts trimmed with much silver and brass. Coral was also a popular trimming. The men knitted their own stockings and made their own clothing. They were expert blacksmiths and manufactured bridles, saddles, bits, and other equipment.

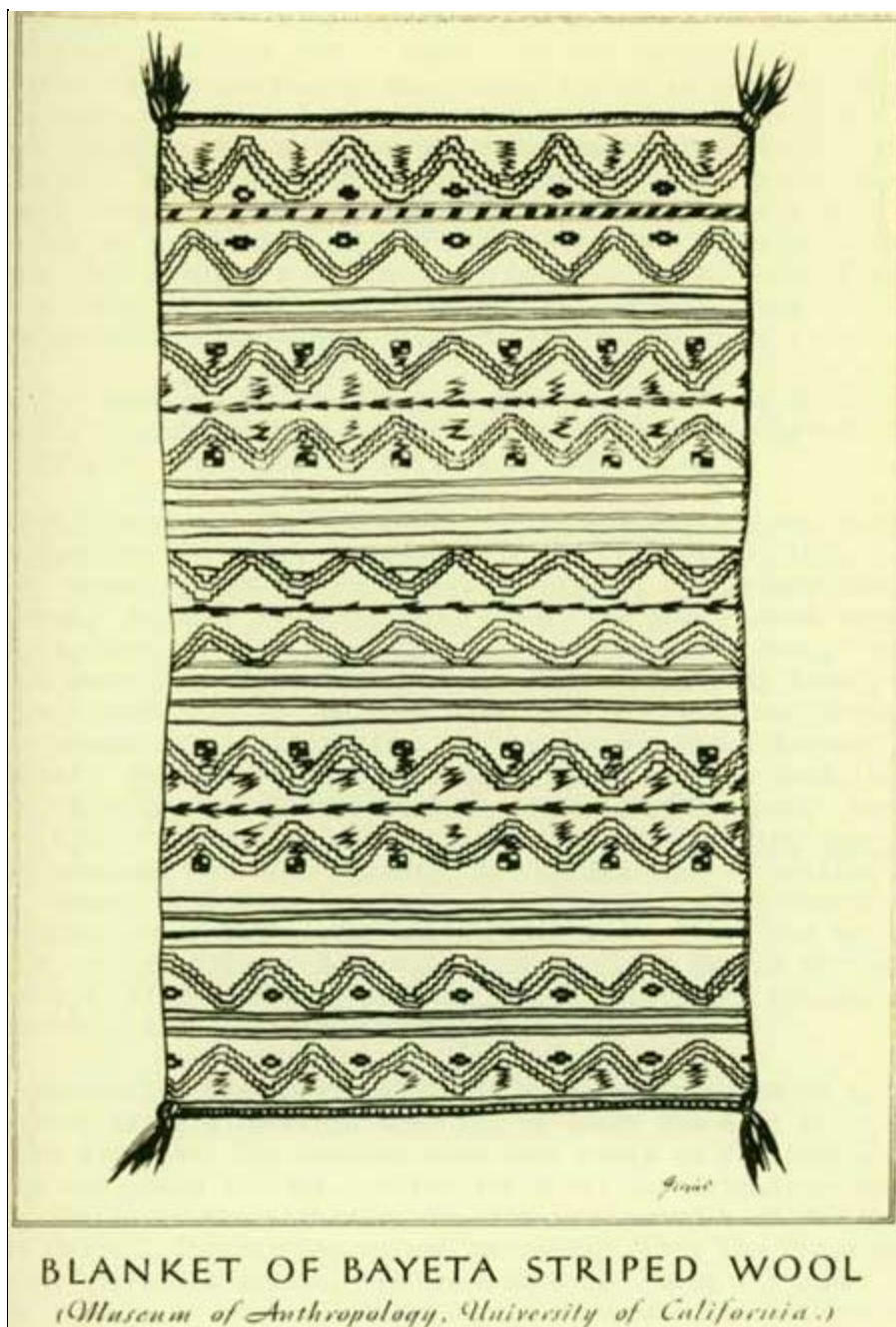


PLATE III. BLANK OF BAYETA STRIPED WOOL. Museum of Anthropology,
University of California.

The population was estimated at 12,000, of which 2,500 were mounted warriors. There was no central government other than that which the Americans imposed so ineffectually at that time. Councils were held in large circles made of cedar boughs. The people lived in hogans of grass and poles of the kind used today, and abandoned them after a death in the family. Other customs which have survived into the present day were observed by Davis. The marriage ceremony consisted in having the couple eat out of the same basket. Every white visitor of the period commented with wonder on the high position and wealth of the Navaho women, for the position of women was much higher among the Navaho than among the White people. Slaves did the menial work, and Davis relates that if there were not a slave to saddle a horse, a man would saddle his own, never expecting his wife to do so. The property of women consisted of goods and herds over which the husband had no control. When a wife

wished to get rid of a husband, she put his possessions outside the house. He could then return to his mother's home or to the home of another wife. A woman, no matter how old, with a flock of sheep and the ability to weave fine bayeta blankets could always get a husband.

Other accounts of the tribe at this period are in Schoolcraft's "Archives," which has essays by Backus and Eaton. Letherman, Simpson, and Gregg also are important writers of this time.

THE PUEBLOS SUFFER The badgered Pueblos quarreled among themselves and fended off the Navaho. Repeatedly and hopelessly, they begged the Government, which had forbidden reprisals, to protect them from the Navaho. Calhoun (1915:31) wrote that the Navaho were perversely "gathering their winter supplies where they have not sown," though they had excellent fields of their own. The Pueblo of Jemez, as usual, was undecided in its loyalties; now it fought the Government, now the Navaho (Davis 1857:83). The Navaho were also divided among themselves. Bands of vagrants, encouraged by unscrupulous itinerant traders, flouted the treaties and the counsel of headmen. Reverend Weber (1914:4) tells of how renegade Navaho, called Dine Ana'i or "Navaho enemies," acted as guides for the Mexicans in raiding Navaho bands. Chusca Mountains and Canyons de Chelly and del Muerto were the strongholds of the wilder sections of the tribe. The eastern division, represented by Sandoval, "chief of the Pueblo Navaho near Cebolleta," offered to help Calhoun punish the unruly kinsmen, but Calhoun could not trust any Navaho.

NAVAHO DOWNFALL The American Civil War began; the Texans invaded New Mexico, and the American army had to leave the wild tribes to their own devices. The Pueblos were once again at the complete mercy of the nomad Indians. After the Civil War Brigadier-General James H. Carleton was appointed Department Commander of New Mexico. He sent Colonel Christopher Carson to subdue first the Mescalero Apache and then the Navaho. The orders were always the same: kill all men capable of bearing arms; bring the women and children into the fort; make no more treaties. In 1862 Fort Wingate was established; then Fort Canby, a temporary post, was erected near Ganado. Carleton gave the Navaho until July 20, 1863, to surrender and come peacefully to the reservation, Bosque Redondo, on the Pecos River, where Fort Sumner was located. After that date, Carson with the aid of liberal bounties to Navaho enemies--Utes, Pueblos, Mexicans, and Whites--killed Navaho, and destroyed crops and herds. The Government paid a bounty of \$20 for a horse, \$1 for a sheep or goat. No Navaho could be taken as a slave. Carson followed them in midwinter into supposedly impenetrable Canyon de Chelly, where the Navaho had hidden in the shelter of its walls, which rise to a height of more than 700 feet in some places. The starving Navaho surrendered and were sent to Bosque Redondo; some of them, who had fled to the west or to the Pueblos, including a band under the great leader Manuelito, straggled in later. The Government now had the problem of caring for about 400 Mescalero Apache and over 8000 Navaho, while outside the reservation the fierce Comanche lay in wait to pounce on the beaten tribes.

Repeated crop failures, no wood, alkaline water, poor food, Comanches, homesickness, quarrels, illness, boredom--all weakened Navaho spirit,

until at last they refused to plant another crop, and begged to go home. In 1868 General W. T. Sherman offered to ship them to an eastern reservation where they could learn to be small farmers. The horrified war lords and shepherds exaggerated the wealth and productivity of their deserts and mountains until Sherman agreed to send them home. He still hoped to make farmers of them, and in the treaty offered each head of a family a title to 160 acres of homestead land, implements, and seeds; besides, provision was made for clothing, supplies, and schools. Each of the 9,000 Navaho who left Fort Sumner were given sheep and goats-- animals which formed the nucleus of the great flocks now to be seen on the reservation.

Despite the hard times which followed, the Indian Agent was able to report ten years later that the Navaho "have grown from a band of Paupers to a nation of prosperous, industrious, shrewd, and (for barbarians), intelligent people." They were estimated at 11,800, with 20,000 horses; 1,500 cattle, and 500,000 sheep; comparable development has characterized the years following. The history of the Navaho since this time can be read in the annual reports on Indian Conditions, issued by the Indian Commissioners. The Indian Report of 1867 gives the correspondence of Carleton, Carson, and others involved in subduing and rehabilitating the Navaho; see also Sabin's "Kit Carson Days."

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter VI: HABITAT

THE NAVAHO RESERVATION From the Chama River region, where the Spanish first encountered them in the early seventeenth century, the Navaho spread during the next two centuries over the Chaco area, then westward over the mountains into the great Canyons de Chelly and del Muerto. They were ranging far beyond this region in 1863 when they became prisoners of war at Fort Sumner.

The treaty of 1868, which ended their captivity, specified the boundaries of the reservation as follows: the northern edge 37 degrees of north latitude (the present Arizona-Utah, Colorado-New Mexico boundaries); on the south by an east-west line passing through the site of old Fort Defiance; on the east by a meridian passing through Bear Spring; west by meridian of longitude 109 degrees 30 minutes (just west of Canyons de Chelly and del Muerto)--an area which constituted somewhat over three million acres. Just as in the case of a census of the population, the acreage occupied by the Navaho, on or off the reservation, has never been definitely known; figures represent merely the estimated or approximate average.

Ten years after the treaty, the increase in the number of Navaho and of their flocks resulted in a grant of additional land. Since then the population has increased five times that of 1868, and the reservation has been increased to about fifteen million acres. The odd-numbered sections of this acreage belong to the Santa Fe Railroad or to private interests. Off the reservation, the Navaho occupy about 2,304,000 acres in addition to the lands they use which belong to the Hopi reserve.

Formerly the constant plea of the Navaho for just "one more little piece of land" could be answered by extending the reservation; these pleas can no longer be answered so easily. Now the Navaho have been cooperating with governmental agencies to alleviate the sorry conditions and to improve the present reservation. During the last few years thousands of worthless horses, and excess rams and goats have been slaughtered; the number of sheep has also been reduced. The purpose is to improve the quality of the livestock kept on the reservation and to keep the number within the limits of the carrying capacity of the ranges. Windmills, dams, artesian wells, and other means of developing a water supply have been established where practical. It is hoped that eventually sufficient water can be developed to enable the Navaho to become more dependent on agriculture.

THE LAND QUESTION One fifth of the total area is useless because

of its rugged character, and the rest of the land is of unequal quality. The water shortage, the inequality in the value of the land, the necessity for summer and winter pastures, the need for more land for the enormous flocks, and conflicts with white stockmen, have kept the tribe in constant agitation for the protection of their lands, additional allotments, and the development of water resources.

Erosion is one of the most troublesome aspects of the land question--natural forces of heat, cold, drought, and floods are constantly at work, decreasing the quality of the land and washing away the soil. These natural forces have been aggravated by overgrazing and mismanaged grazing. Formerly there were a few large herds which could be transferred to other pastures, leaving the land to regain its natural coverage; now there are numerous small herds and fewer opportunities for moving to new ranges.

The land question on the reservation is not one which affects the Navaho Indians alone. The reservation "occupies a crucial position in the Southwest region, containing within it the potentiality of considerable damage to the watersheds of the San Juan, Little Colorado, and Colorado Rivers in general and Boulder Dam in particular" (Survey of Conditions, 1937:Part 34:17931). Engineers have reported that within a few years Boulder Dam will be filled with sediment from the Navaho country unless soil erosion is checked in the entire area drained by the Colorado River (*ibid.*, 17986). One report (*ibid.*, 17614) states: "On old Geological Survey maps (of the Navaho country) are found records of lakes now completely dry, due to siltation or drainage through gully cutting. Streams once perennial and known to have contained beaver now are alternately dry and rushing with silt-detritus-laden torrents. Untold quantities of rain water that formerly soaked into the earth, part of it to enter into the underground water supplies, now--loaded with millions of tons of silt--rush to the Colorado River, with the result that artesian-water supplies are tending to fail and moisture necessary for growing of range grasses has been reduced. Thus the desert area has been increased, for in effect the utility of rainfall has become less, since less of it goes into the soil to become available for plant growth and underground water supplies.

"The water not only left the land, never to return, but also left destruction in its path. Alluvial valley bottoms once covered with dense strands of grass now became completely denuded. Greatly increased, and frequently torrential, flows of water now concentrated as gushing streams of great cutting power in the centers of these alluvial valleys and cut out great washes. From these washes long fingering gullies worked out toward the edge of the alluvial fill, with the result that in certain instances almost the entire valley fill has been removed to bedrock. As a part of this erosive process, not only were the grasslands devastated but also large areas formerly cultivable by floodwater irrigation were either destroyed or made inaccessible to such water through its concentration in gully bottoms and rapid runoff and loss from such areas."

For further information on this subject, consult "Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the U. S.," Pt. 18 (especially p. 9121 ff., the report of Forester W. H. Zeh), Part 22 (Indian Grazing), and Part 34; Weber, 1914

(also included in Survey of Conditions, Pt. 34); FM Annual, 1922.

GEOGRAPHY The following notes are based largely on Gregory's "Geology of the Navaho country," 1917, the standard source on the subject. It has maps and fine photographs of the landscape.

"The Navaho country is part of the Colorado Plateau province, a region of folded and faulted sedimentary rocks, traversed by innumerable canyons. Parts of the area are so intricately dissected by interlaced gorges that the original surface of the plateau appears to have been destroyed and is now represented by a bewildering array of scattered mesas, buttes, isolated ridges, and towering spires, among which dwindling streams follow their tortuous paths" (p. 11). In elevation the country varies from 4,500 to 8,000 and 10,000 feet; about half is more than 6,000 feet above the sea. Navaho Mountain, the highest point, rises to 10,416 feet.

Cross-bedded sandstone predominates, but there are some limestone and conglomerate. Although the soil is fertile, it is so porous that water immediately sinks into the ground, and in some places planting of corn ten or twelve inches deep taps this water. Erosion has been, and still is, of great significance in shaping the landscape into its characteristic elements of mesa, butte, canyon, and wash. Rainbow Bridge is a famous example of the work of erosion. In Monument Valley, east of Rainbow Plateau, fantastic forms eroded from sandstone are in brilliant contrast to the dark spires of volcanic necks. The Chinle formation, named after the valley where it is prominent, supplies much of the beautiful coloring characteristic of the western part of the reservation, especially the Painted Desert.

MOUNTAINS A chain of mountains, the Lukachukai-Tunitcha-Chuska range, rises above the arid desert plateau and cuts across the Arizona and New Mexico boundary in a northwest to southeast direction. Beyond the Lukachukai Mountains to the north, is a cluster known as Carrizo Mountains, where prospectors continue to search in vain for gold. No minerals of any value have been reported from the reservation, but some oil and deposits of bituminous coal have been discovered. Funds from the sale or lease of oil lands go into the tribal fund for reservation improvement, and coal is mined for use in the hospitals and schools. The Navaho did not mine in aboriginal times.

The mountain range separates the eastern and western sections of the reservation, which differ in culture, physique of the natives, and geography. The eastern has been much influenced by contact with white people from earliest times, while Navaho on the west side of the mountains still cling to the old customs. The district from Keam's Canyon to the Little Colorado River, particularly, has kept the old culture though influenced by Hopi customs. It is said that there are Indians around Black Mountain, northwest of Keam's Canyon, who have never seen a white man (Reichard, 1928:2).

The east side of the mountain range falls sharply to a barren desert where wood and water are scarce. Streams are rare on the east slope; and Chaco Wash, the principal drainage channel, is dry most of the year,

though in some places the underflow can be reached by digging.

The western side of the range is well watered by streams which rise near the top of the mountains, and the landscape over which they flow changes gradually to a tableland or mesa. The streams drain into ravines and flat-bottomed canyons, such as de Chelly and del Muerto, which are almost perpendicular to the mountains and Chinle Valley receives some of the water. Because of the streams the western region is more thickly populated than the eastern. There are numerous small farms in the canyon region which raise fine crops of peaches, alfalfa, maize, and vegetables.

The Lukachukai-Tunitcha-Chuska range becomes a beautiful flowery parkland with abundant grass and water in the summertime, and then the Navaho drive their flocks to the mountains in search of fresh pastures.

The forested area of the reservation consists of about three million acres of pinyon-juniper growth and three hundred thousand acres of saw timber, such as yellow pine, spruce, and fir. Besides these major varieties, there are about two hundred thousand acres of other growth such as aspen, alder, cottonwood, box elder, and scrub oak.

CLIMATE "The keynote of the climate of the Navaho country is variability, marked by sudden changes in temperature and wide fluctuations in rainfall. An intensely hot summer day may be followed by a chilly night; sunlight is synonymous with heat, shade with cold. The high temperature of the forenoon may be lowered by a cold rain or by a hailstorm, only to become reestablished within an hour. When storms come the country is flooded; at other times the task of finding water for man and beast taxes the skill of the most experienced explorer" (Gregory, 1917:13-14). "Within the reservation topography is of primary importance in determining the climate. At stations in the Little Colorado and San Juan Valleys the weather is warmer and drier than at higher altitudes near the center of the area.... The floor of a canyon may have a climate quite unlike that of the canyon rim, and the cliff dwellers long ago learned that one canyon wall may afford favorable sites for settlement that are not to be found on the opposite wall" (ibid., p. 13).

There is much seepage of water from the rocks, and springs abound in the cliffs. In such places, on the sunny side of the wall, away from the prevailing southwest wind and not far from the water and fuel supply, the Navaho build their hogans.

RAINFALL The averages of the annual mean rainfall and temperature, as recorded at the meteorological stations, vary considerably at different altitudes and from year to year. The annual mean precipitation is about 8.29 inches. Thirty-seven per cent of the rain comes in July, August, and September. The storms are short and violent, with thunder and lightning which cause forest fires and do much damage to the flocks and to the soil. The winters are severe: snow may fall even in the Painted Desert. The reservation streams are dry most of the year, but during the rainy seasons floods may raise them as high as from five to ten inches within a short time. Most of the drainage is into the turbulent San Juan River, called by the Navaho the "Water of Old Age" because its foaming

whiteness suggests the hair of an old person.

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter VII: HUNTING

IMPORTANCE OF HUNTING In aboriginal times the Navaho diet was based on wild plants and game; later, farms supplied them with some of their vegetable food, but hunting remained, the only source of meat. Their only domesticated animal was the dog, but unlike the Zuni and Hopi, the Navaho did not eat dog meat. When they obtained the domesticated animals of the New World, they began to eat the flesh of sheep, goats, horses, mules, and burros. Hunting decreased in importance as a source of meat because of this change in diet and because of the growing scarcity of large game.

FAUNA Black bear are still plentiful in the mountains. Of the prairie dog, Bourke wrote in 1884 (p.54 ff.) that it was scarce in Arizona except along the eastern boundary. Now the prairie dogs are so numerous that the Government is urging the Navaho to kill off as many as possible because these rodents eat good grass and destroy the land. The Biological Survey found "that less than a dozen prairie dogs can eat and destroy enough range to keep a sheep during the entire year" (Zeh, 1932:9127). Prairie dogs are a favorite meat of the Navaho; during the rainy seasons they can catch them easily by waiting for the drowning dogs to float up to the mouths of their burrows. Coyotes, too, are a nuisance, but for superstitious reasons the Navaho avoid them, preferring not to kill them or to touch a dead one. Once while trapping coyotes, Mr. Wetherill managed to get the aid of a Navaho in gathering up the dead animals by smearing trout oil on the Indian's shoe soles and assuring him that this "magic" treatment would render him immune to any danger arising from contact with a dead coyote. Jackrabbits were a pest, according to Mr. Wetherill, until the Navaho made a popular game, played on horseback, of rounding up the rabbits.

Letherman (1856:286) lists some of the animals and birds he observed, which are similar to those given in the Ethnologic Dictionary (1910:138 ff.): deer, elk, antelope, mountain lion, puma, coyote, squirrel, badger, skunk, porcupine, beaver, muskrat, otter; a great variety of birds, such as eagle, raven, hawk, wild turkey, duck, crane, woodpecker, wren, and bluebird. The Dictionary gives a comprehensive account of Navaho hunting, weapons, and knowledge of native flora and fauna. Hill has in preparation a long and important manuscript which deals with hunting and agriculture, particularly in relation to the Navaho daily and seasonal life, and the religious beliefs and practices associated with gardens and the chase.

TECHNIQUES Matthews (1897:5) called the Navaho "poor hunters,"

and Doniphan reported that they were "not addicted to the chase except where the game may be taken on horseback" (Connelly, 1907:315). The hunting methods are those common to many American Indian tribes, especially of the Great Plains. As the gun is a post-Columbian introduction into the New World and primitive weapons are not suitable for killing animals at a distance, it was the practice to run or stalk an animal until it fell of exhaustion and could easily be killed with a bow and arrow. The Indians used many cunning traps, pit falls, and stalking techniques; later when they combined these methods with the use of guns and horses, or shot arrows from horseback with deadly aim, the country was soon devoid of game.

A man might go out singly or with a group of men to hunt, and all would share in the spoil, though the man who first sighted the game would get the hide (Ethnologic Dictionary, 1910:475). A southern Californian Indian, who visited a remote, western section of Navaho country in the 1880's, stated, in recounting his impressions to the writer, that it was no place for lazy people. The custom of polygamy kept a Navaho hunter "on the jump," he said, furnishing meat for his wives and children, and dodging his many mothers-in-law. When my informant hunted with his Navaho host, the deer were allowed to remain where they fell because the women were following to pick them up. On the return of the hunters at night, they found that the energetic women had staked out the hides, had some of the meat cooking, and were preparing the rest for jerky.

When a group of hunters went out, they camped at the water holes to keep the game from drinking; then they would move from the springs to let the animals slake their thirst. After that it was easier to exhaust them and shoot them with arrows. Birds were run down, too, Ben Wetherill states. Once, when the feathers of a roadrunner were needed for a chant, several Navaho set out on foot to catch a bird. In three minutes they had captured a roadrunner, extracted the feathers required, and set the bird free.

Usually the hunters scattered out in a rough circle and drove the game into an open place where they gathered to slay the animals; or the brush was burned in a semicircle against a cliff, forcing the game until it literally had "its back to the wall." Another method was to build a brush corral of two converging lines. The hunters drove the deer or antelope to the narrow parts where they were killed by waiting men. Antelope corralling was done in February, and deer hunting began in November after the Indians had moved to the foothills for the winter.

Sometimes a series of pits filled with sharp stakes and covered with branches were prepared and the game driven into them. To trap an eagle, which is very sacred and must not be harmed, the hunters hid in brush-covered pits and caught the eagle as it tried to take the rabbit decoy staked before the pit (Ethnologic Dictionary, 1910:476). This was usually done in December (Hill MS). Disguises of many kinds were used. Matthews (1887) gives a graphic account of hunting with the aid of disguises and fall traps in the origin story of "The Mountain Chant." He describes the ritual preparation of the deerhead disguises, and the prayers and rituals the hunter had to know to use the disguises effectively.

ANIMALS AND RELIGION There is scarcely a wild creature in Navaho land which does not have some religious or mythological association. Personified animals are prominent in the Emergence Legend, the story of Navaho genesis. When the world was being made, Coyote, the trickster, spoiled many of the best laid plans of the gods and men for beautifying the world. For instance, when the gods were arranging the stars in pretty patterns or figures of animals over the sky, Coyote stole the buckskin bag containing the stars, and scattered them helter-skelter in the heavens. The gambling songs of the Navaho are also based on an animal story, a legend of a memorable game between several animal and element deities and Noqoilpi, the gambling god (Matthews, 1809). Animals are said to have taught a youth those sandpaintings, prayers, masks, costumes, and rituals of the Mountain Chant which particularly honor them. Many of the sandpaintings have representations of birds, beasts, and reptiles.

RITUAL USE OF ANIMALS Pollen is of great importance in Navaho religion. Large animals when hunted for the ritual use of their various parts, are run down, sprinkled with pollen and smothered to death. The hunter sprinkles corn pollen in a line from head to tail along the stomach, then across the legs from right to left. He must use an old fashioned stone knife in perfect condition for the slaying, which follows the pollen lines. Such an animal is worth \$50. The Navaho believe that if they follow the proper procedure, the element of life is not completely destroyed: one soul may depart but not all. If the hunter makes mistakes, the life element is destroyed; the "medicine" is "dead," and the hunter will fall ill. Birds from which feathers have been plucked, or on which pollen has been shaken, must not be killed for this reason--the pollen will "die" when the animal perishes. Many special adaptations are made by placing corn pollen on birds or animals, and that which is shaken off is gathered up and named after the creature.

Costumes, masks, curtains, and so forth are made of the hides. Bird feathers have multiple uses for decorating prayer sticks and costumes of spirit impersonators. Eagle feathers add magic power to the warrior's spear or helmet, and crow feathers are also prized. From the claws of cunning or ferocious animals, he makes amulets to wear around his wrist.

HUNTING RITES Because of the religious significance of wild animals, the hunter had many taboos to observe when he went hunting, either for food or for some religious requirement. Hill (MS) states that the Indians distinguished between the mere "killing" of animals which involves no esoteric rites, and "hunting," which is highly ritualized. The mountain lion is "killed," but deer, antelope, eagle, and bear are "hunted." When hunting, the men concentrate on gloomy thoughts and dreams of killing and death. No jokes are permitted. Just as in war, there are many ritual "ways" of hunting, so a young man who wants to become a hunter studies under a shaman who knows some of these "ways."

HUNTING SICKNESS Disrespect toward the animals or violation of a hunting taboo were believed to cause serious illness. It was taboo to use the wood from a hunting corral for fire or any other purpose, for even smoke from a fire of such wood, which is sacred to the hunting gods,

would cause serious illness (Stephen, 1893:358). To be cured of an illness resulting from a broken taboo, the hunter must get a medicine man to determine which rule was broken and which ceremony would placate the animal and remove the evil. If an eagle had been offended, the Chanter performed the Eagle or Bead Chant.

The Navaho do not kill bears except in self defense or for ritual reason; indeed Stephen says they will not even touch a bearskin robe. Their reverence for bears is a feeling shared with many tribes of America, Asia, and northern Europe, where the killer of a bear must soothe the dead animal's spirit by offering it a sacrifice. The Navaho hunter usually has a special prayer stick made, and to this he adds gifts of tobacco, turquoise and other Navaho jewels, and pollen. These he offers to the animal, calling it by its sacred name, as he sings and chants the appropriate prayers,

FISH One of the strongest taboos is against eating fish. In a desert country there would not be much chance of violating such a taboo, were it not for the canned fish introduced by white men. Travellers tell many humorous stories of situations arising from the fish taboo. Matthews (1897:239) said the Navaho would not even touch candy shaped like fish. Fish for dinner meant there would be no Indian guests, invited or uninvited, at the table. Reverend Weber (1914:4) exclaimed that the Navaho could be driven back more quickly by a brigade armed with fishes tied to switches than with several regiments of soldiers with modern firearms. But even the fish taboo is being undermined. Ben Wetherill relates how the taboo was broken down on the northwestern part of the reservation. One of the Indians there had done some travelling beyond the reservation and had married a Paiute woman. While on his travels, he had acquired a taste for sardines. His family let him indulge alone in what they regarded as an irreligious and perverted taste, but when he repeatedly ate fish without incurring the anger of the gods, they and their neighbors began to follow suit.

RATTLESNAKES Some Indian tribes regard roasted rattlesnake as a delicacy. The Navaho, however, do not like to kill a rattler, and they avoid a dead one. A prank played by Ben Wetherill and his sister as children was to bring a dead rattler among a group of their Navaho friends who were getting ready for a horse race. The Indians, in great confusion, scattered to the four winds, racing their horses madly and breaking speed records to get away from the dead snake and its bad magic.

TOTEMISM It is a disputed point among anthropologists whether the Navaho clans are totemic or not; that is, whether the members of a clan believe that they are descended from some animal after whom their clan is named. There seems to be very little proof that the Navaho have such belief. Most of their clans are named for places at which some memorable event took place in the early history of the band. Some of the clans consider the mountain lion, or some other animal, as the special "pet" of their clan because the goddess, Changing Woman, sent it to accompany the people to their present homes. She made this gift after she had created the original clans, so the people do not regard the pet as an ancestor (Ethnologic Dictionary, 1910:356, 424). The Navaho

occasionally cage a wild animal or a bird for a pet, and an eagle is sometimes caged until its feathers have been plucked for a chant. The custom of not killing certain animals is not related to any belief that the animals must be spared because of their connection with clan origins. (See Reichard, 1928:34; Matthews, 1890:106.)

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter VIII: FOOD

MODERN DIET Just as domestic animals have largely displaced wild game in the diet of the Navaho flour and canned goods from the trader have almost eliminated the use of wild plants and other native foods. Corn and garden products have always been of importance, and still are when drought or frost do not ruin them.

The standard diet, established in tribal habits at Bosque Redondo (which was in effect a military boarding school for the "Americanization" of the Navaho), consists of mutton, fried bread, vast quantities of coffee with sugar and goat milk. The Navaho tell many amusing anecdotes of their adjustment to the food of white people at Bosque Redondo. Those who came from the Navaho backwoods, beyond the forts, had never seen coffee. At first they tried frying the coffee beans, which did not improve the flavor; next they made porridge of them. The Navaho of today claim that their dislike of pork and bacon dates from Bosque Redondo days when so many people fell ill from eating poorly cooked pork. This is a rationalization for their abhorrence, however, because as early as 1855 Davis observed that they loathed hogs.

The Navaho are very fond of goat meat. Reichard (1936:7) quotes a Navaho as philosophising: "It seems like you're getting more to eat if it's tough." The Navaho children drink some of the goat milk, but the tribe did not take over the European fondness for dairy products along with domesticated animals. Malnourishment of children is one of the gravest health problems of the Navaho; hospitals and boarding schools, in an effort to correct the condition have tried to educate the children to drink milk, but without much success. The only reference I have encountered to the use of cheese among the Navaho is Letherman's statement that they ate a curd of soured cow's milk.

The Ethnologic Dictionary, which was published in 1910, states that at the time the Navaho did not have chickens and cared very little for eggs. Now a few chickens are kept, but chickens and pigs do not fit easily into the life of semi-nomads, who must transport their possessions on horseback and move at least twice a year. Water fowl are tabooed as food among the Navaho, and Stephen (1893) reports that wild turkey also was on the forbidden list.

WILD PLANTS Wild plants which were gathered for food in early times included greens from beeweed; seed from the hedge mustard, pigweed and mountain grass; tubers of wild onions and wild potato; fruit like yucca, prickly pear, grapes; wild berries such as currants,

chokecherries, sumac, rose, and raspberries. Parties of women went into the mountains each year to gather acorns, pinyon nuts, and walnuts. In olden times, when a drought ruined crops, the pinyon nuts were the major food of some of the Indians. The nuts are now an important source of income to the mountain people. The gathering begins in the fall after the family has moved to the foothills for the winter, and in March, when the weather is better, the women gather more of the nuts. They do most of the seed gathering in June and July, while the men stay at home to hoe the gardens.

Wild potatoes, no larger than hickory nuts, formerly grew in abundance in certain parts of the Navaho territory, especially around Fort Defiance. Early travelers commented frequently on the broad fields of wild potatoes in the southern part of the reservation. From April till June these tubers served the Navaho as fresh vegetables. The potato has a very bad taste, so clay is used as a seasoning for it.

Yucca or "Spanish bayonet" was important as a relish and for adding variety to a meal. It was dried and baked, ground, roasted, and dried again before being made into cakes and stored away. Before being eaten, the cakes were mixed with water to make a syrup.

CEREMONIAL FOODS Foods of the kind eaten in aboriginal and early historical times are rarely to be tasted now except at ceremonies. Like the rest of the world at holiday seasons, the Navaho prepare their traditional foods for gala occasions. At the chants, the important guests, as well as the shaman and his assistants, must be fed, and special cakes and porridges are required for many of the rites. Stevenson (1891:256) gives a long list of foods, mostly concocted of corn, which were eaten on the fourth day of a Yeibitcai ceremony he attended. The public at large is served with modern store foods, mutton, which is cooked in many ways, prairie dogs, and other available meats. A wealthy family, when giving a chant, naturally has a greater variety and abundance of food for the guests than a poor family. The Navaho do not have any native beverages of an intoxicating kind, but since historical times they have been making a corn liquor by a process learned from the Apache. They drink hard and soft drinks of American manufacture.

Three examples will illustrate the ritual use of foods as an integral part of ceremonies. At a wedding the marriage ties are formally bound by having the young couple eat cornmeal gruel together from a new basket, which is then passed around to the guests. Before the gruel is eaten, however, the bride's father places pollen on it. After orienting the basket so that its closed seams point eastward, he sprinkles white corn pollen, symbolizing the female, from east to west over the porridge, and then yellow pollen, symbolizing the male, from south to north.

On another important occasion, the concluding public ceremony for a young girl who had just entered womanhood, a corn cake baked overnight in a pit oven is shared with the guests. This custom of having a corn cake at the adolescence ceremony is not an old one, according to the *Ethnologic Dictionary* (p.446).

A third example of the ceremonial use of food is of a different order.

Sometimes the chanter places gruel on the mouths of the masks which represent the gods; and special cakes are made as part of the sacrifices for a god. For instance, on the ninth day of the Night Chant, the Fire God is presented with four small perforated cakes strung on a yucca fiber. He swings these over his arm before he begins his long journey from sunrise to sunset.

COOKING AND EQUIPMENT The Navaho cook has very meager equipment, and she does not have a room set aside as a kitchen because the typical hogan has only a single room. She does not have a stove, chimney, or fireplace. (The Indians of America did not have such things before the white people came.) Navaho cooking is done over a fire of cedar, built on the hogan floor, under a hole in the roof through which the smoke is supposed to rise. Anyone who has put his head into a Navaho hogan must wonder if any of the smoke ever does leave the hut. When warm weather comes, the women cook out of doors over an open fire or in a pit oven.

Utensils, though simple, can be converted to many uses. The pots, bowls, and spoons are of poor earthenware or of scooped-out gourds. Now, of course, the cooks often have tin pans from the store. A flat, heated stone serves as a griddle for the fried breads and a thick slab of stone is used as a base for grinding corn, seeds, and coffee beans. The women kneel before this metate and grind the meal with a smaller, rounded stone. This is hard, tedious, and back-breaking work when there is a large family to be fed, as the corn is ground several times before it is ready to be used.

FOOD PREPARATION After the grain has been ground, it is mixed with boiling water or goat's milk, and cooked into mush. Mush forms the basis for an endless variety of recipes. It may be wrapped in corn husks--and there are many fancy ways of wrapping--and baked in ashes or in the pit oven. Fried mush, rolled out into bread and cakes, dried mush, mush with wild potatoes and wild onions, mush with meat--these are some of the variations on cornmeal porridge or the mush of wild seed meal.

To make dough, the cook chews some of the meal and then adds it to the batter; her saliva furnishes the glucose. For flavoring corn bread, she mixes into the dough cedar ashes, which gives the bread a bluish color; but when no ashes are added to a dough of blue corn, red bread is produced. The Navaho eat some of their corn green because of their eagerness to have it fresh, and, most important, because of the danger of frost ??? biting the crop before it is ripe. Corn for the winter is husked, ripened, and dried in the sun, taken off the cob, and stored in bags. Pumpkins are buried in the ground till needed. Other garden products are put into sacks and stored in an empty hogan, a secluded niche in a cliff, or in a pit lined with the inner bark of cedar and roofed with cedar poles and earth.

GRACE As in every other part of Navaho life, there are religious observances connected with food preparation and eating. The ritual requires that the first thing a woman should do as she sets about her household duties in the morning is to take the ashes from the evening

fire out of doors. Grace is said at the beginning of a meal and a small sacrifice is made to the gods. The Ethnologic Dictionary (p.220) states that the cleaned mush stirrer is held up and a blessing recited.

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter IX: AGRICULTURE

IMPORTANCE OF FARMING Even though the first historical reference to the Navaho--that of Benavides in 1630--mentions the tribe's fine fields, from which the tribal name "Navaho" is supposedly derived, farming appears to have become the stepchild of Navaho culture in historical times. When the Navaho took up a pastoral and predatory career, the men devoted their time to war and running off the sheep of outlying tribes. They no longer worked their fields themselves, but left them to the care of slaves whom they had taken on raids. The fields remained well cared for and productive, however, as we know from the admiring reports from travelers and military officials. Davis, who visited Agent Dodge at Fort Defiance in 1855, remarked on the fields of corn, wheat, beans, pumpkins, melons, and peaches which the Navaho raised. He was told that 5,000 acres were under cultivation, and that 60,000 bushels of corn were raised each season.

It is surprising that regardless of the great size of the herds and the rather casual gardening, the Navaho still describe themselves as farmers and consider themselves quite a sedentary folk (Hill MS). Actually, the demands of the herds and not the fields have come to determine the course of Navaho daily and seasonal life, a life spent, as Father Haile says (1922:36), "between points," between pastures, corrals, and hogans. Livestock, and not farm acreage, forms the criterion of Navaho wealth except in the western canyons. There the people have been exclusively agricultural, except for a couple of goats and a few sheep to a family, since the days when the Hopi lived in the region. The poor folks in Navaho domestic economy, the people without herds, are the ones to whom farms are still of primary importance.

Economic factors exert their influence on the proportion between the farming and herding carried on by those who customarily specialize in livestock. When heavy losses of sheep occur because of a long, hard winter, or when wool and mutton are low in price, the Navaho plant larger corn patches and depend less on food from the trader's shelves. The western part of the reservation, always slower in coming under White influence and more conservative than the eastern part, was still in 1910 entirely dependent on gardens and wild plants for vegetables and flour. A good balance was maintained between farming and herding (Wetherill).

GEOGRAPHICAL AND TRADITIONAL INFLUENCES The geographical handicaps of the country--the deserts, rocks, erosion, frost, and short growing seasons--did not determine the secondary place of

farming among the Navaho. The Pueblos faced the same handicaps, in addition to having to keep uninvited Navaho from harvesting the crops. The Navaho became shepherds, while the Pueblos, from whom the Navaho got their first stock, did not shift their devotion from their farms and crowded communities. The ancestral pattern of life was too firmly rooted among the Pueblos. They were, and have remained, characteristically conservative in their adherence to traditional customs and in their resistance to change. The Navaho, although newcomers with a simple culture, "a parvenu people like their ultimate conquerors, the Americans" (Amsden, 1934:125), were very alert to new ideas.

It would be a worth-while study to unearth from old Spanish manuscripts the historical details of Navaho cultural development during the 1700's, the mystery century of their historical period, when weaving and herding were getting under way. We might learn, too, why the Apaches, who have the finest grazing lands in the Southwest--even better than the Navaho lands at their best--did not become shepherds or intensive farmers. They were sheep runners, but they either ate the meat or killed the sheep over the grave of the dead owner. The Apache are still so devoted to their simple hunting existence and their small corn patches (Benavides taught the Gila Apaches to farm) that they have stubbornly resisted the efforts of the Government to teach them the care of the livestock which the Indian Bureau has placed for them on the grazing lands.

GOVERNMENTAL INFLUENCE The dream of Government officials from early times appears to have been to see the Navaho as keepers of tidy little farms, each family with a small herd of sheep, a few good horses, and one or two goats. Sherman, in the Bosque Redondo days, wanted to move the tribe to a middle western reservation to realize this dream. The cunning Navaho, with wits sharpened by homesickness for their deserts and their shepherd life, exaggerated, as previously indicated, the amount and character of beautiful corn which could be raised on their land. When they were sent home, the treaty provided that each head of a family was to have a title to 160 acres of land to be homesteaded, seeds, and farm tools of the kind which he had learned to use at the Fort. One hundred dollars for farm supplies was granted for the first year and \$25 for each of the next two years. Each Navaho was also given two sheep. The sheep increased mightily, but no land allotments were made under the treaty. The plan was impractical because of geographical and social conditions. One hundred and sixty acres is of no value in a country with land of uneven quality, as not every plot will have water or suitable forage. Furthermore, very few Navaho, even today, understand our principles of land ownership.

The years to come may see a marked increase in Navaho farm acreage, with more fields of the kind described by Benavides, Christopher Carson, and Davis, as the result of attempts to solve the extremely serious land problem facing the tribe, and which has already required drastic measures by the Government to prevent further destruction of the soil. One facet of the complex situation is that whereas the population is large and is increasing, it is quite unlikely that the boundaries of the reservation will be extended beyond the present ranges. Another aspect, not completely appreciated by the Navaho, and one which explains some

of their reluctance to depend more on farms and less on herds, is the extent to which the soil destruction by erosion has already gone, necessitating the reduction of stock to the carrying capacity of the ranges, and the prohibition of overgrazing.

One solution, as the Indian Bureau and the soil conservation experts see it, is to develop farming--dry, flood, and irrigated types--and store water in the San Juan for irrigation purposes. At the present time the Navaho have an estimated 42,232 acres of farming land, of which 9,547 are irrigated; 27,962 flood-irrigated; and 4,723 acres are in dry farms. The income is estimated as follows: from the irrigated land, assuming that all of it is in alfalfa, the income is about \$403,620; from the flood and dry farms, assuming that they are all planted in corn, the income is \$345,366 (Survey of Conditions, Pt. 34:17613).

The Navaho apparently do not dislike farming. Their interest in it has become desultory, however, since they shifted the emphasis from gardens to sheep. To them sheep raising, for all its hazards, appears a more stable means of livelihood because of their traditional dependence on it and their consideration of it as the criterion of wealth. They will doubtless come through this present crisis of adjustment (precipitated by land problems and the depression) with the remarkable adaptability which has characterized them in the past.

OWNERSHIP OF FARMS Ethnographers differ on the details of land ownership; these differences perhaps reflect the diversity of Navaho land customs. Stephen (1893:349) says that a man prepared a garden for his bride and she owned it.* The Ethnologic Dictionary states (p.265) that the man owned the farm and could dispose of it before his death. Usually a man leaves his property to his sister's son, while his wife leaves her goods to her children. Reichard (1928: 91-92) maintains that there is no ownership of land any more than ownership of water or houses; use and need give one a claim on both. In recent years land allotments with legal titles have been made in a few districts.

*That is, he prepared a separate cornfield for his bride if she did not already possess one. -- Editor

The principles of land ownership among the Navaho are quite different from the American. Clan members live near each other and trace descent through the mother. And since the custom prevails of having the husband move to the home of his wife and her people, one finds the female relatives of the same clan living together. A family group usually holds a certain part of the area by hereditary claims, and an outsider wishing to use idle land politely asks the former residents regarding his right to farm or graze it. People without herds, who depend entirely on their farms, may have farms adjoining those of their own relatives and use the irrigation ditches and other facilities in common (Ethnologic Dictionary).

PLANTING The porous sandstone and clay soil is fertile and gives fine crops when there is water. Good yields are obtained in the better watered regions along the San Juan River, Red Rock and Chinle Valleys, and in Canyons del Muerto and De Chelly, where irrigation is possible. During

the rainy season, the farms are flooded. The land is banked up around the field to keep the water in and to keep the soil from being washed away. The fields are usually cleared in March, flooded in April, and the planting done in May (Hill MS). Because of the short growing season of 100 days and the constant danger of frost, the corn is harvested green late in August and ripened in the sun. The other crops are harvested in September and October, and the whole family is busy then harvesting and storing food for winter. A man frequently has two farms: one in the valley where he raises squash, melons, and corn; and another in the mountains where he raises wheat, oats, potatoes, and beans.

Most of the farming is dry farming. The water sinks quickly in to the porous soil, and by digging to a depth of a foot, the seeds can be planted deep enough to draw on underground moisture. In ancient days, custom dictated the shape of the rows planted and the division of the farm into parts. The Ethnologic Dictionary describes (p.263) a "circle farm" on which the farmer planted maize in the form of a helix with the rows going sunwise. Another farm was divided into blocks of twelve running north and south and planted sunwise. One type of farm was called the "silvery or speckled shore" farm because of the pretty appearance of the vegetables in the garden.

The songs and rituals needed for a successful planting and harvest are known to all, and are carefully observed as part of the routine of farming. "Mother Maize" is highly revered and the prayers and songs dedicated to her are very beautiful. The Seed Blessing Ceremony, the Rain Ceremony, and the Corn or Farm Ceremony are three of the most important rites for the farmer. Dr. W. W. Hill has a good collection of the chants, and his descriptions of the planting and related ceremonies will be of interest both to anthropologists and laymen.

The tools in olden times were simple--a pointed greasewood stick, sometimes with a foot rest above the point, and various kinds of simple wooden hoes, one type being made of the shoulder blade of a deer or elk. The family works together in caring for the gardens, the men doing the heavy digging while the women plant the seeds, pull the weeds, and keep the children busy frightening off birds and animals. The men also look after the irrigating. If the old hogan has been discarded because of death in the family, the farm near it also is likely to be abandoned and a new house and farm must then be made. Frequently the storms wash away a garden so that the family has to look for a new site. When a new farm is being made, the gardeners call in a party of friends to assist them.

CROPS The planting techniques and religious observances connected with agriculture among the Navaho are so much like those of the Pueblos that it is assumed that the Pueblos taught them to farm. Corn, beans, and squash, aboriginal food plants of America, were planted by the Navaho and Pueblo. The Navaho acquired wheat, alfalfa, oats, and such things from the white people. It is interesting that the first planting of wheat among the Navaho followed the same technique used for corn. The Indians did not sow broadcast like the Europeans; they planted the corn and other seeds in hills. Letherman saw Navaho throw ten to fifteen grains of wheat into a single hill exactly as they did with grains of corn,

but now they broadcast wheat like Europeans. They reap it with a knife or sickle, and throw it into a corral, where the preliminary threshing is done by the trampling of horses. The peach, which was brought into America by the Spanish, was raised only in Canyons de Chelly and del Muerto when Letherman visited the Navaho. The tomato was first domesticated by the Indians of Mexico in prehistoric times, but the Navaho did not taste this fruit until it was introduced by white people. Today among the Navaho canned tomatoes are a popular thirst quencher.

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter X: LIVESTOCK

IMPORTANCE OF LIVESTOCK The importance of livestock, particularly sheep and horses, cannot be over estimated with respect to the influence on Navaho history and habits of life. Sheep made the former Chama River farmers the large and important tribe which they are today: herds represent seventy-five per cent of their wealth. The sale of meat, wool, and blankets brings millions of dollars into the tribe each year, although the amount per individual is relatively small. Instead of being engulfed by the new tide of European civilization sweeping over the Southwest in the early sixteenth century, the Navaho rode on the crest of the wave as if the world had been created for the Dene alone. On horseback they ran off the stock of the Pueblos, Mexicans, and Spanish, and the herds which the Americans drove across the desert to California gave the Navaho a field holiday of raiding.

HISTORY OF HERDING Coronado brought the first sheep, cattle, and horses to America in 1540. It is thought that his sheep died. Onate's sheep of 1598 are believed to have been the ancestors of those kept by the Navaho. Experts debate among themselves whether these sheep were originally of Merino or Chourro breed. At any rate, inbreeding, degeneration, and the animals' necessity for adapting themselves to the geography and vegetation of the country, resulted, before long, in the typical small Navaho sheep with a hardy constitution.

EARLY INCREASE IN STOCK Any figures relating to the Navaho must be considered as mere approximations. They do, however, give some idea of the situation. We have already mentioned the Spanish report of 1785 (Thomas, 1932:350) which states that in a population of about 3,500, of whom 1,000 were warriors, the Navaho had "500 tame horses; 600 mares with their corresponding stallions and young; about 700 black ewes, 40 cows also with their bulls and calves, all looked after with the greatest care and diligence for their increase." At first the sheep were kept only to furnish the tribe with meat and wool for its own use.

In 1846 the Indian Bureau reported 500,000 sheep among the Navaho, with individuals owning as many as 5,000 to 10,000 head. Davis, in 1855, figured that the population of 12,000 had only 200,000 sheep and 10,000 horses; Letherman estimated 50,000 to 60,000 horses. Davis heard of one man who was worth \$15,000 in stock. The wealth and livestock of the tribe were concentrated in the hands of a few leaders, whereas today there are many small herds, with only an occasional wealthy Navaho running a large herd.

RAIDING Calhoun reported* that in one night in 1850 the Navaho ran off 10,000 sheep from a ranch which was annoyingly near the military post at Cebolleta. A snow storm prevented the soldiers from tracking the thieves. Poor men united with the wealthy to serve as warriors and retainers; or they raided independently; again, they might join the Mexicans as spies on their own tribe.

*In Abel, 1915:268.

Letherman wrote that anyone with a few horses and sheep was a "headman" and must have his word in councils. The juntas or councils were composed of the richest men, each one a self-constituted member, whose decisions were unimportant if not approved by the people. The wealthy leaders, the "Ricos," were the ones who signed American treaties and promised an end to raiding. They had authority only over their followers, and it lasted as long as they continued successfully to raid and acquire property for division among the warriors. They could not speak for the vagabonds, who immediately took advantage of the temporary lull after a new treaty to go on raids, when they did not have competition from their wealthy tribesmen.

The Navaho, however, overreached themselves. The combination of General Carleton and Colonel Carson swiftly stripped the tribe of its herds, crops, and warriors, until in December, 1864, at Bosque Redondo, the 8,354 Navaho who had fallen captive had only 6,967 sheep and 2,757 goats. Carleton's bonus of \$20 for each good horse taken by the army had reduced the number of horses to only 3,038, and 143 mules. The Indian Report mentions that they still had 630 looms, which rapidly fell into disuse without sheep to furnish enough wool for weaving. Four years later, when leaving Fort Sumner, the Navaho had even less--940 sheep, 1,025 goats 1,550 horses, and 20 mules. The Government purchased 14,000 sheep and 1,000 goats for them from Vicente Romero in New Mexico (Haskett, 1936).

MODERN PROBLEMS The statistics for the years following the return show a steady increase until, in 1931, they reached a peak of 1,370,--554 head, of which 631,427 were grown sheep, 345,242 were lambs, and 393,885 were goats. Partly as the result of the Government's attempt to reduce the number to the carrying capacity of the depleted ranges, the figures for 1935 show a total of 944,910, of which 548,579 are sheep, 250,508 are lambs, and 145,823 are goats. The greatest reduction has been in goats; sheep have increased since 1934 despite the number purchased by the Government; the number of lambs has decreased since 1931 but is only about 7,000 less than in 1932. The purchase plan of the Indian Bureau, which was worked out with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, was not entirely successful in its operation and results, in that the small owners suffered and the carrying capacity of the range is still exceeded. (Survey of Conditions, Part 34: 17538 ff.)

The present capacity of the range, according to the soil conservation specialists, is 560,000 sheep units. The range is carrying not only the 944,910 sheep, lambs, and goats but also 25,000 head of cattle and 45,000 horses, mules, and burros. "Cattle and horses are converted to the

basis of sheep units by considering that one horse consumes five times as much forage and one cow consumes four times as much forage as one sheep." The excess stock, figured in sheep units, is 709,910 (ibid., p.17,615). The income from livestock, excepting horses is estimated at \$1,600,000.

In earlier days, a family group had a range with a radius of thirty miles; now it is more likely to be ten or fifteen miles. It has been estimated that at present, while there are about nine acres of suitable grazing land available per head of sheep, twenty to thirty acres are required to feed one sheep properly (Zeh, 1932).

The physical condition of the range was discussed under Habitat. As the Survey of Conditions states (Part 34:17,614): "Scientific recognition of the critical range conditions had long been given, but it is only recently that steps have been made toward correction." Navaho who do not understand the problem of erosion feel that a good rain would settle their pasture difficulties and that they could then not only support their present stock, but also continue their former program of herd increase. The conservationists, in explaining their program (ibid., p.17,616), liken the production of vegetation to a sum of money out on interest. The vegetation grown on a range capable of carrying 560,000 sheep units is the equivalent of interest on capital, if only 560,000 units feed on the new forage. If, however, a greater number of sheep units use the pasture, the forage-producing capacity of the range, the equivalent of capital, is reduced.

The amount and quality of forage differ in various parts of the reservation. This was true in 1855 and in 1937. Letherman considered the grazing and agricultural lands of the Navaho vastly overrated as to extent in spite of the abundant grama grass he saw. Today, grasses like grama, galeta, needle, and sacaton, and shrubs like chemise, greasewood, and shadscale, which are the natural coverage of the grazing lands, are being replaced by the hardier Russian thistle, trailing daisy, and other weeds without forage value and often actually poisonous to the herds.

NAVAHO AS HERDERS The Navaho have improved as herders through the years. There is a slow but steady improvement in the care and breeding of their stock. Letherman wrote that the flocks did not increase very rapidly through natural means because the rams were allowed to run with the flocks at all times, with the result that many lambs were born during inclement weather and died. More attention is paid to breeding in modern times, yet it is still frequently haphazard and unregulated.

Navaho care of sheep is still far from being as efficient and practical as that of white stockmen under similar conditions. On the other hand, the Navaho do not have behind them several centuries of traditions of herding and attending domestic animals as do stockmen of European descent. Likewise, their initiation into the business was under awkward and surreptitious circumstances, and in a pioneer country where fine points of care were not possible. Opinion differs regarding the merits of the Navaho as herdsman, but most commentators maintain that the Navaho are "natural-born" shepherds. Their devotion to their herds is

unsurpassed, and they have strong, affectionate feelings toward their sheep and goats. A lamb or two is kept as a family pet and allowed to play inside and outside the hogan.

BREEDS The Navaho sheep is scrubby, with long legs, a long neck, and little meat. It has about three or four pounds of coarse, long stapled wool, which does not gather dirt as easily as the curlier and oilier wools. At the Ganado Demonstration Area, the Indian Bureau found that with proper feeding and care a larger animal which yields an average of eight pounds of wool, could be raised on a range with the carrying capacity estimated by the grazing surveys. The Bureau also obtained a ninety-three per cent lamb crop (Survey of Conditions, 34:17,618). In the past there was no consistent program; now the Indian Bureau is developing a systematic program to eliminate poor stock and improve the quality and care of sheep, horses, and cattle. Before the program was instituted, a number of different breeds of sheep were introduced by various agents and traders in an effort to breed stock with more meat and wool. Reichard (1936:7) wrote that there were "white sheep with long hair, white sheep with wavy hair, black sheep, brown sheep, brown with black spots, black with brown spots, grayish brown sheep and brownish gray. As is true for the Navaho dogs, no combination seems impossible."

SHEARING Shearing techniques have improved decidedly since the day when Schoolcraft (1854:436) mourned the poor sheep, which yielded its wool at the cost of its life. He said that the Navaho, in their ignorance, killed the sheep to get the wool. This sounds extreme, but the shearing methods were certainly crude, and the sheep in their struggle for existence had obvious need to develop fortitude. Shears were gradually being introduced around 1855 (Welsh, p.25), and whereas the wool was formerly pulled off or hacked off with a knife or a piece of tin, a good shepherd now tries to shear the pelt in one piece.

SEPARATION OF SHEEP AND GOATS The Navaho have always permitted goats and sheep to graze together, for reasons which seemed excellent to themselves. Those interested in the welfare of the sheep and the vegetation urge their reasons for separating sheep and goats, and the Navaho are slowly being convinced that there may be something to this idea. But they like their goats; they like the meat; and if they drink milk at all, it is goat milk. A few are experimenting with mohair for weaving. The flocks are more easily herded if there are a few bright goats among the sheep to lead the way. Moreover, many ewes are unable to nurse their offspring because of an inadequate diet, and such lambs, as well as those orphaned by death or desertion, may be suckled by a goat as foster mother.

On the other hand, the lively and more aggressive goat travels faster than the sheep and gets the choicest vegetation and seedlings, varying its diet by denuding the trees of twigs as high as it can reach. The sheep trail far behind, getting the little food that is left. Were the goats eliminated, the sheep could obtain better forage, mortality among ewes and lambs would be lower, and there would be no need to keep goats to nurse the lambs. Many of the Navaho appreciate the vicious circle which has developed; yet they would be reluctant to see their beloved goats removed.

ROUTINE CARE OF STOCK The daily care of the sheep falls largely to the women and children, but during the busy spring, summer, and early fall, when lambing, shearing, dipping, and the selling of stock take place, everyone in the family helps to do whatever is urgent. Early spring is a rush season for the Navaho because they are both shepherds and farmers. The condition of the weather determines when they can begin their work, and when the weather warms up, everything may need to be done at the same time.

The garden has to be cleaned and made ready for flooding and planting. Once the lambs begin to arrive, however (in March), there is no time for any other work. The ewes with their lambs are kept near the hogan in small corrals, and the children, who also do much of the herding, care for the lambs. About the time the garden is ready for planting, the weather may be warm enough to shear the sheep so that they will not suffer from cold. Then shearing is out of the way, the gardening can get some attention.

During midsummer, a daughter and her husband, or an unmarried son, may drive some of the flocks to the highlands, while the rest of the family stay in the valley to care for the garden and the remaining sheep. Those who go to the highlands will, perhaps, have their own small garden in a mountain valley; or they may be asked to look after the family's mountain farm where oats, hay, and potatoes are raised. Children drive the flocks out to graze in the morning, and at night they return them to the corrals near the hogan. To prevent sun-and-wind burn, the Navaho rub a mixture of red ochre and fat on their faces.

The range of the family group progressively deteriorates as the flocks have to be driven farther each day. Twice a day they trample their former pastures as they leave and return to the corrals, and the herding is not always managed so as to make the most of the available forage. The sheep are permitted to travel at their own rate, and over as much ground during the day as they like, instead of being kept longer in one place. Also, they are not released from the corrals until late in the morning, so that they graze during the hottest part of the day.

Dipping the sheep as a prevention against scabies breaks into the summer routine. It usually means four more long journeys for the sheep--twice to and from the vats. The Indian Bureau now has about sixty dipping vats in operation in order to eliminate these long treks, which are hard on the sheep and on the land. The men usually put the sheep through the vats. The women, who own most of the sheep, are right at the men's elbows, however, to see that the stock is not handled carelessly, or roughly.

Late in the summer, after the herders come back to the valley from the mountains, a busy season of harvesting and storing crops and selling spring lambs begins. With the first snows, when the family is through with the fall shearing and the sale of wool and stock, they move to the foothills within their range, where they can get enough fuel for the winter. There is less work in the winter, and much time is spent visiting "chants." The sheep now depend largely on the brush and dried grass they find in their daily grazing, for few of the Navaho stall-feed their

sheep. The alfalfa and hay, which a few raise around Black Mesa, Chinle Valley, and the region between Ganado and Keams Canyon, is principally for the cattle and better horses. The sheep are given stacks of juniper and cedar branches for browsing when the snow is too deep for them to leave the corrals. Desperate emergencies arise during the long, snowy winters, and large numbers of sheep perish through cold and starvation.

HORSES Of Navaho horses, Letherman wrote that they were small, fleet, sure-footed, and enduring. The description still fits. Backus* of the same period, the middle-nineteenth century, maintained that their speed and endurance were exaggerated, although they were better performers than any American horse given the same treatment. Like the sheep, they are not beauties, but natural selection has developed a type with the endurance to live remarkably long on the borderline between slow starvation and actual death. They have acquired a peculiarly effective, passive resistance to the damage done them by the Navaho's inability to understand horses. No authority has yet described the Navaho as a good horseman, in spite of the fact that he spends, during the course of a lifetime, a large number of his waking and sleeping hours on horseback. Indeed, there is not another tribe in the Southwest which uses horses more than the Navaho.

*In Schoolcraft, Pt. IV:212-213.

Droves of horses are on the reservation, but there are too many horses of poor quality and not enough good ones. One phase of the Navaho stock reduction campaign has been to cut out the poorer specimens. Each person needs several ponies because trails are poor, automobiles are scarce, and there are long distances to be traveled to trading posts, "chants," dipping vats, and around the pastures. The men are fond of horse racing and spend hours training their ponies or in discussing the merits of their horses. The riding gear with ornaments of silver which the Navaho manufacture is of Mexican style.

Formerly, a man gave from five to fifteen horses to a girl's family when he desired her for his wife. This was not a payment but a courtesy gift required by tradition, and the girl had some choice in the matter of marriage, since by refusing to feed or water the horses left by the man, she indicated that she was not interested. A beautiful, modest, neat, and fairly well washed girl was worth the larger number of horses.

OWNERSHIP Everyone except the poorest people own sheep and horses, but the size of the herds owned by each individual, or each family, varies in different parts of the reservation. Using figures from the years before the reduction in herds, Ben Wetherill informally estimated that the average family of five had about one hundred and fifty sheep, sixty goats, and ten horses. Now the figures would be lower because of the stock reduction program on the reservation.

Parents give their children presents of sheep and goats, and these, with all their offspring born from the time of presentation, belong to the children. A flock derived from parental gifts forms the nucleus of the

individual's wealth. A popular subject for discussion in American farm magazines in past decades, and one which can still arouse editors and subscribers to earnest debate on its legal and moral aspects--namely, whether son's colt should become dad's horse--would not be understood by the Navaho. The Navaho Indians respect a child's right to the property given it during its minority and they will manage such property as carefully as their own. They would demand no pay for such a service whether it was done for a child or an adult. Family ties are thus strengthened, and in case of necessity the trustees would expect these relatives to offer their assistance.

The Navaho take for granted the right of women to hold property before and after their marriage. (The high position of women is duplicated among the Pueblo tribes, which apparently influenced Navaho customs in this respect.) While Navaho men usually own most of the cattle and droves of horses, the women more frequently are the owners of the sheep. A man would not sell a sheep from his wife's flocks to a passing traveler without asking her permission. She, of course, would get the money, for her property is distinct from that of her husband's. If the wife should die, the property goes to her children; or, if they are minors, her brother gets the possessions. Actually, however, it works out that he is only holding this property in custody for his sister's children, for according to custom, they are his heirs, and he is responsible for their welfare. The father is not relieved of any responsibility. He is devoted to his children, of course, and makes them many presents, but his first obligations are to his sisters and to their children, since blood ties, not marriage, determine obligations and inheritance to a great extent. Thus a Navaho man, whom we shall call Hastinneze (Mr. 'Tall'), looks first to the welfare of his sisters, the sisters' children, and his mother. He knows that the brother of his wife, Slim Woman, will look out for the welfare of Slim Woman and the children of Slim Woman and Mr. Tall.

"Mother's place" is home to daughters and to sons, and descent is traced through the mother. The daughter usually stays on the same range throughout her lifetime; the families of her mother, mother's mother, and sisters are not far away. A son leaves when he marries, and goes to live with his wife's people. If his wife dies, or he is divorced, or if his mother needs a man to help her, he will go back to his mother's residence. Formerly when there was more polygamy than today, and if a man had not been lucky enough to marry two sisters (which would save him much traveling), it would be more convenient to keep his flocks on his mother's place. Otherwise, if one of his marriages failed and his flocks were with those of the spouse who divorced him, he would have the inconvenience of moving them back to his mother's place or to another wife's.

In modern times changing conditions have altered time old usages. Flocks herded together may include the sheep owned by both maternal and paternal sides of the family. Mr. Wetherill tells of a wealthy family in the western part of the reservation which had large flocks of sheep, fine pastures, many sons, and not one daughter. When the boys married, their parents naturally did not wish to lose the benefits of their labor, so they transferred the daughters-in-law and their relatives to the range occupied by the boys.

Hereditary claims established the right to use grazing lands, although, as in the case of gardens and water rights, need must be respected. According to Father Berard Haile (1922), relatives and clan members may live amicably near each other for years, sharing the grazing lands; yet should someone with large herds need more land during a drought, old ties would be overlooked, and the small owner squeezed out. They may protest violently, knowing that they would do likewise under the same circumstances.

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter XI: CRAFTS

IMPORTANCE OF JEWELRY AND WEAVING The silver and turquoise jewelry, and the colorful woolen rugs created by the Navaho have made the name of this tribe a household word among the American people. Neither silversmithing nor the weaving of wool is old in Navaho history; both developed in post-Spanish times. In a short period, however, the Navaho transformed them from crafts into fine arts. That is more remarkable to artists is that the Navaho have made their arts economically successful. Weaving alone brings a million dollars into the tribe during a good year, and as nearly every household has a weaver or two, every part of the reservation shares in the income. The proceeds from the sale of silver ornaments are not so steady nor so evenly distributed because the silver workers are concentrated principally in the southern part of the reservation around Gallup, New Mexico, and other important stations on the Santa Fe Railway, where a tourist market exists.

All except the poorest Navaho own jewelry which, aside from its aesthetic and religious value, constitutes an investment comparable to our stocks, bonds, or diamonds. Fine blankets, too, are a form of wealth. Blankets are called "soft goods;" jewelry, "hard goods." Parents give their children jewelry of silver, turquoise, coral, and shell. By the time an individual is adult, he or she has a small fortune in ornaments to wear at fiestas and chants. Some of the jewelry is kept in pawn at a trading post, a trader acting as an easy going banker, who loans out money or groceries on the ornaments and waits a lifetime, if necessary, before selling the unredeemed items as "dead stock."

THEIR EARLY HISTORY The two arts did not develop contemporaneously among the Navaho. Weaving is almost two centuries older than silversmithing, for whereas the latter dates from about 1850, weaving began in the late seventeenth century, getting under way about the time of the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680. It is fairly certain that the Pueblos taught the Navaho to weave and that the Mexicans were their teachers in silver work. But according to a Navaho myth, it was two legendary beings, Spider Man and Spider Woman, who taught them to weave.

In the American Southwest the weaving of wool and silversmithing originated through Spanish influence, Coronado's arrival fixing 1540 as the earliest date for the beginning of the crafts. This point is particularly interesting because long before Europeans came to the New World, beautiful metal work and weaving, which rank with the finest in the world, were developed in northern and western South America and to a lesser

extent in Central America. North of the Mexican region, however, the Indians were still in the Stone Age without a knowledge of metallurgy. Some of these Indians, like the mysterious mound builders of eastern America, did beat copper, meteoric iron ore, and gold into shape, but they did not have true metallurgy, which presumes a knowledge of the casting and smelting of metals.

The weaving done by the Indians north of Mexico was likewise more primitive than that of the South American Indians; still it did not lag as far behind as the metal work. Almost every tribe from the northwest coast of North America to the Southwest had weaving of a kind. Some areas produced beautifully designed blankets from the hair of bison or mountain goats. Naturally such blankets were not common since one first had to catch the bison or the mountain goat--not an easy task with primitive weapons. Tribes with even a very simple culture knew how to prepare and plait rabbit skins into warm robes. The southwestern tribes, including the Navaho, also used yucca fiber and cedar bark to weave squares for crude blankets and clothing. The Pueblos even cultivated cotton and wove it on looms of the kind still used today by both Navaho and Pueblo weavers for wool. The Navaho did not raise cotton, nor are they known ever to have woven it, although Simpson (1852:79) vaguely mentions that the Navaho purchased Pueblo cotton, without stating whether or not it was already woven.

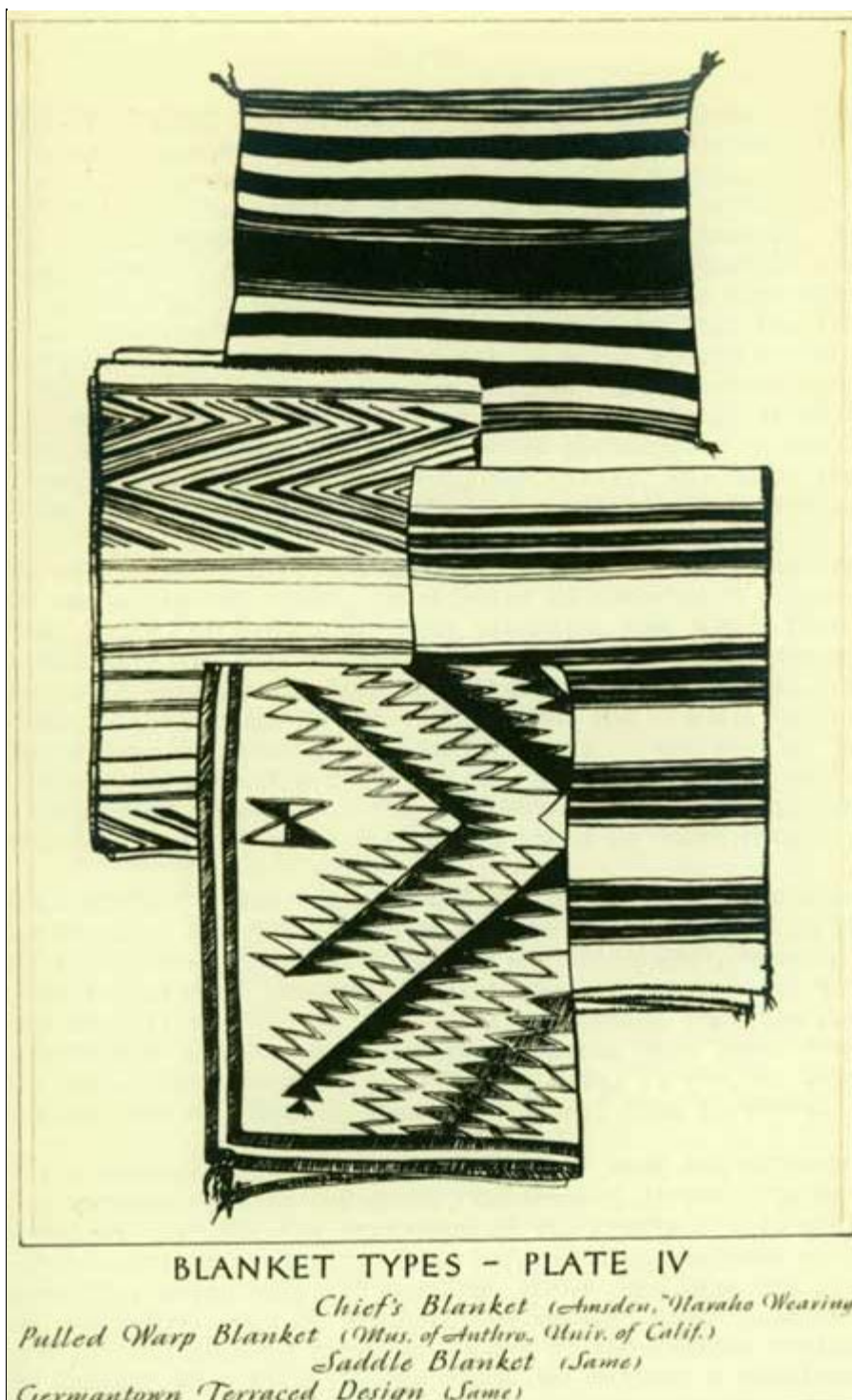


PLATE IV. BLANKET TYPES. Chief's Blanket (Amsden, "Navaho Weavings").
Pulled Warp Blanket (Mus. of Anthro., Univ. of Calif.). Saddle Blanket (Same).
Germantown Terraced Design (Same).

WEAVING

BEGINNING OF NAVAHO WEAVING When the Spanish came into the Southwest, lured by fantastic myths of the golden cities of Cibola, the Pueblo were doing fine work in cotton and creating delicate mosaics of turquoise. As the result of Spanish suggestion or tutelage, the Pueblos made their first attempts at weaving sheep wool. By 1680, when the Pueblos were gathering their forces in a final effort to oust their Spanish conquerors, the weaving of wool was well established as a tribal craft.

Many of the Pueblo dwellers--we have already discussed the experiences of the Jemez--fled to the Navaho wilderness for refuge. It is believed that these refugees taught the Navaho to weave.

Amsden's masterly book, "Navaho Weaving," traces the history of this craft, which is also the history of the Navaho. Two paragraphs (p.133) summarize the development of weaving during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries: "Of these four earliest known references to Navaho weaving (Spanish documents), each is more definite and emphatic than its predecessor. Croix in 1780 merely mentions the Navaho as weavers. Chacon in 1795 concedes them supremacy over the Spaniards in 'delicacy and taste' in weaving. Cortez in 1799 makes it clear that the production of blankets more than suffices for tribal needs. Pino in 1812 categorically places Navaho weaving at the head of the textile industry in three large provinces: significantly ahead even of the Pueblo craft, which mothered that of the Navaho.

"On abundant evidence, then, the Navaho had gained a recognized supremacy in native Southwestern weaving in wool as early as the opening of the 19th century; and down to the present day that supremacy has never been relinquished. The Hopi craftsman may have shown more conscience and conservatism at certain times, but the Navaho women have proved the more versatile, imaginative and progressive, and the Navaho blanket has always been the favored child of that odd marriage of the native American loom with the fleece of European sheep."

PERIODS OF WEAVING Amsden (p.223) distinguishes two definite cycles in the history of Navaho weaving: the intra-tribal or native, and the commercial or transition ("the era of the reservation and the trading post"). He states: "Each rested upon an economic basis and was molded by and to the needs of the time--for this is a craft, an industry, and like all such its existence depends on a human want." In addition to these two cycles, Amsden indicates that, although "this (second) phase is still (1934) in full vigor, yet there are signs of an impending readjustment to the changing times." This readjustment he calls the Revival, and dates it from 1920.

NATIVE PERIOD The native period dates from the beginning of Navaho weaving in wool, when they wove clothes and blankets for tribal use only, and continues until that time during the late eighteenth century when they began to weave for neighboring tribes and the Spanish. The weavers spun the natural, undyed sheep wool of black, gray, brown, and white and wove the yarn into designs of plain stripes of varying widths. The most characteristic product was a two-piece dress for women. Some of the finest weaving ever to be achieved by the Navaho women was produced in this intra-tribal period, when the weavers toiled only to satisfy their high standards of workmanship. Though they obtained their first weaving equipment and designs from their Pueblo teachers, the Navaho soon surpassed the Pueblos in quality of work. The Spanish began to seek Navaho women as slaves to weave for their households, and outlying tribes demanded blankets in trade.

THE COMMERCIAL PERIOD, which continues into the present, was thus begun. There are three major divisions of this period: the "Golden Age," characterized by the use of red bayeta; the Bosque Redondo and

Reservation era; and the Revival.

THE GOLDEN AGE The reference of Cortez to trade in Navaho blankets shows that by 1799 the commercial period was well under way. Innovations developed, particularly in the use of colors and in such designs as depended largely on color for effect. The Navaho acquired indigo, their first commercial dye, from the Mexicans. The Spanish and Mexicans always had a variety of colors in their woolen materials, whereas the Pueblo weavers, who had pretty, vegetable dyes for cotton cloth, were quite conservative in dyeing their wool. The Navaho utilized the knowledge of dyes among their neighbors and experimented further with native plants to discover new dyes which might be adapted to wool.

From 1799 to 1863 the Navaho were prosperous and they spent these busy, successful years raiding, farming, herding, and weaving. During the early years of the Golden Age, the Spanish contributed one more item to the prosperity which they had indirectly brought to the Navaho. A common trade article of the time was flannel or baize, generally known in the Southwest by its Spanish name, bayeta. The Spaniards bought bayeta in England for trade purposes and for gifts to the Indians. It was made in many glorious colors, but so common and popular was red in the Southwest that red and bayeta have become synonymous to the lay person. About 1800 the Navaho obtained this flannel, which has a long nap on one surface, unraveled the cloth, respun the yarn into a single ply, and wove it into their blankets.

Of the influence of bayeta, Amsden writes (p.150): "The bayeta period marked the high point, the 'Golden Age' of Navaho weaving, for this rich fabric called forth the best in every phase of the craft--in spinning, dyeing, weaving, pattern creation. Only an expert could wed native wool and bayeta fiber in a harmonious and happy union. Only an artist could realize the full potentialities of such fine smooth wefts, such rich colorings, as bayeta afforded and inspired. And the Navaho woman responded to the stimulus, proved herself an expert and an artist--by grace of bayeta." (See Plate III, p.35.)

The Navaho now had red and blue, in addition to the natural colors of wool, and bayeta red, indigo blue, black, and white were predominant colors for wool. Striped designs continued in popularity, but achieved new interest through the use of red and blue. The conservative Pueblo weaver clung to stripes, but the Navaho craftswoman restlessly experimented with simple geometric patterns and color combinations. She developed the terraced design, which became the most characteristic form of the era between 1800 and 1863, just before Kit Carson put a stop to further progress.

The weavers still produced dresses and shirts for tribal use, but to satisfy trade demands they created new styles. Navaho blankets were worn by Indians and white people as far north as the northern Great Plains and as far west as the Pacific. Amsden (p.206) mentions an engraving of 1822 which shows Indians of the San Francisco Bay region wearing Navaho blankets. The most popular style of garment was the man's shoulder blanket, of which the chief's blanket, with its broad horizontal stripes of black, white, red, and sometimes blue, is a special type.

The poncho serape made abundant use of bayeta, and was bought by wealthy Spaniards and the Indians. Essentially it was a blanket, longer than wide, with a slit in the center to slide the garment over the head and around the shoulders. It was sometimes gathered closer to the body by a leather belt ornamented with silver discs, or by a woolen sash. Amsden states (p.103): "The serape, modified though it has been in many details, must be considered the universal type garment of the Navaho, the type that more than all others is behind the broad phrase of 'Indian blanket.' The wealthy tribesmen might flaunt his chief's blanket or bayeta poncho, but the humbler men and women of the nation contented themselves with a coarser blanket of similar size and general proportions.... Burdens of every description, from firewood to babies, were carried in its folds.... It was a garment by day, a blanket by night, an inseparable companion in all seasons.... Its form and proportion survive still in the longish-rectangular rugs, five by eight feet or thereabouts in size, which are among the characteristic products of the modern Navaho loom."

BOSQUE REDONDO AND RESERVATION ERA In 1863 Christopher Carson conquered the Navaho, who were then transferred to Bosque Redondo. The women did very little weaving in captivity and suffered intensely from idleness and inertia. When the Navaho returned in 1868 to their old home, which was now a reservation controlled by the U. S. Government, captivity had reduced them to a "poor white" standard of living, especially in food and clothes. The Government had given them cotton clothing, which gradually came to replace entirely their woolen and buckskin garments. (They had earlier given up wearing their own shoulder blankets because of the weight; a Pendleton blanket was lighter, and when it got wet, it dried quickly.) The flocks upon which the tribe depended for wool had died or been killed. The two sheep per capita granted by the Government to replace the slaughtered stock were insufficient to furnish enough wool for practical purposes. The old market for Navaho blankets had been lost during the absence of the tribe; no longer was there any need to weave them. The tribe was in a sad state.

THE REVIVAL PERIOD After the return of the Navaho, the Government licensed traders to live on the reservation and barter with the Indians. In this way there was initiated a new era in weaving. Traders Hubbell and Cotton were among the first to see the economic value of blankets in their business. The Navaho had little goods to exchange, and if the making and selling of blankets could be stimulated, the traders would profit both by the sale of these products outside the reservation, and by the sale of goods to the Navaho. To this day the relation between trader and weaver has remained extremely close. Youngblood (1937:18,042) reports in his study, "Navaho Trading": "Most traders advance provisions, wool, and dyes to the women for the weaving of rugs. The rug income is of greater economic significance to the Navahos than the values involved would indicate. It is practically the only income they can normally depend upon between wool and lamb marketing seasons." The weaver sells her rugs by the pound. About the year 1880, traders paid her 25 cents a pound; now the prices vary from 65 cents to \$1.50 a pound. Thus a large blanket with shoddy weaving, poor dyes, and inartistic designs is expensive simply because of its weight. However, experienced traders recognize quality of work and pattern. They encourage the good weavers by paying extra for their creative ability and by using their blankets as an example to other

workers. Conscientious traders refuse to accept poor blankets in order to discourage careless work which reacts unfavorably upon both themselves and the weavers.

In 1890 the tribe sold \$25,000 worth of rugs; in 1931 the sum ran into a million dollars (Amsden, p.182). Besides the blankets sold, additional ones are made for home use. The Shiprock Trading Company conducted an experiment to see how much it costs to produce a rug. An experienced weaver came to the store and wove at the rate of 20 cents an hour, producing a 2-1/2 x 5 feet rug of simple pattern which cost the company \$40.80, but which in the market was worth only \$12. The experiment enabled the company to estimate that a weaver customarily wove rugs at a wage of 5 cents an hour (Amsden, p.236).

The effort of Hubbell and Cotton to stimulate the sale of Navaho blankets was very successful. Other traders followed their example, but the lure of easy profits led many, after 1880, to sell aniline dyes, commercial yarns, like Germantown, and cotton warp to the weavers in order to simplify the work of blanket making and to promote sales. Indeed, they even stipulated the patterns. This resulted in standardization which was alien to the natural versatility and imagination of the weaver. Business boomed until 1900, when the traders and the Navaho weavers discovered that they had defeated their own ends in trying to secure a wide market quickly by lowering the standards of raw materials and the workmanship of an article expensive and tedious to produce. Men like Moore, Hubbell, and Fred Harvey realized what was happening, and they urged the weavers to return to their old standards of work, designs, and colors, and the more careful cleaning and spinning of the wool. They also fought the imitation of Navaho rugs by factories.

To summarize, the revival, dating from 1920, represents a marked effort by associations and traders to encourage the weavers to make again the truly Navaho, geometric designs of strong simplicity in native wool, colored with soft dyes from native plants. They want more Navaho in the rugs and wish "to modify present-day Navaho weaving along old-time lines" (Amsden, p.223).

BLANKET STYLES The traders purchased three major types of blankets: heavy, coarse blankets sold to the American housewife as rugs; saddle blankets; and shoulder blankets which were related to the poncho serape of earlier days. Of the blankets which had become rugs, Amsden writes (p 223): "The Navaho rug came into being because the American demanded a textile meeting his needs and satisfying his graphic concepts; that it retained something (of) the tribal flavor is not due to him but to the weaver, who either could not or would not divest herself completely of her racial individuality."

Bayeta had vanished from the scene by 1975. The garish colors of the later day Germantown yarn and the native wool, both dyed with aniline dyes, replaced bayeta. "As the terraced style was characteristic expression of bayeta, so is the diamond of Germantown" (Amsden, p.213). This pattern was in high favor until 1900, but about 1890 the bordered style had begun to compete with it for popularity. The double-faced blanket, an unusual innovation of this era, never became common.

WEAVING TRADITIONS This post-Redondo period of weaving, which extends into the present, violated almost every tradition and standard of the Navaho weaver. The traditional design, as Amsden (p.216) points out, has a regular, continuous, and horizontal flow, as if cut from a bolt of cloth; whereas the bordered pattern with a central design and emphasis on vertical figures is alien to Indian craft, though a favorite of the white man. Formerly the Navaho had a religious aversion to bordered patterns because of the weaver's fear of "weaving herself into the blanket" and causing illness. A contrasting line or color which breaks the pattern was left as the road out for the harassed soul. This broken line is also to be seen in pottery and ceremonial baskets which have a zigzag design encircling the upper edge.

The women avoid overdoing in weaving. Formerly girls, it is said, were not permitted to weave before their marriage, thereby forestalling any temptation to work too intently. To overcome the effects of immoderate weaving, the woman sacrificed to her spindle a prayer stick of yucca, precious stones, feathers, tassels of grass, and pollen (Ethnologic Dictionary, p.222).

SYMBOLISM In this century experimenting weavers have been making Yei-bitcai blankets which reproduce designs of the sacred sandpaintings and figures of the gods. The Navaho at first objected to the production of these blankets. They have had a good sale, however, so other weavers are suppressing their religious scruples and making the Yei-bitcai designs. The Navaho have never woven special blankets for ceremonial use. Amsden states (p.218): "The Navaho blanket...never has had a ceremonial or sacred function: the sandpainting, the 'marriage basket,' the dance mask, yes--but not the blanket." Reichard (1936:183) presents a similar view: "The Navajo have kept the symbolic designs of their religion apart, in a separate compartment of their minds, from their ordinary blanket and silverwork patterns. The form occasionally overlaps; the emotions are kept distinct."

MAKING THE RUG The Navaho differ from the Pueblo tribes in that Navaho women, and not men, do the weaving. The only exceptions are the nadle, men who are psychically or physiologically peculiar. They have a definite and respected place in the culture and are leaders in artistic work. Navaho legends, in fact; credit them with originating agriculture, basketry, and other crafts.

Practically the entire sheep and weaving industries are controlled by the women. Their husbands and male relatives assist in some of the care of the sheep, but this does not affect ownership. The women own the sheep; select the wool they want for weaving; sell the excess wool and meat; spin the yarn; weave the rugs, and sell them.

Reichard's book, "Spider Woman," entertainingly presents her personal experience in learning to weave among the Navaho on the reservation. Her later publication, "Navaho Shepherd and Weaver," gives detailed information on dyes, the selection of wool for weaving, every process in making a blanket, and how different types of weaves are produced. Amsden's book, "Navaho Weaving," deals more with the history and development of weaving, while Reichard has specialized in weaving techniques and the psychology of the weaver. Amsden relates the history

of looms throughout the world, gives basic information on the art, and in addition has numerous photographs, many of which are in color, illustrating scenes from Navaho life, blankets, equipment, and processes of weaving.

PROCESSES The main processes in making a blanket are: selecting the wool, carding, spinning, washing, dyeing, and weaving. The care and the semiannual shearing of the sheep were described under Livestock. The scrawny, native sheep of the Navaho produce a wool particularly suitable for the weaver's purposes, as it is coarse, straight, greaseless, and with a long staple which does not gather dirt and briers as quickly as fine, curly, short wool. Wool for weaving is selected from the back of the sheep, where it is thicker and cleaner than on the belly.

CARDING It is needless to remark on the scarcity of water among the Navaho and why formerly the weaver did not wash her wool or yarn at all. She picks out as much dirt from the wool as she can, and then cards it to clean out more dirt and to lay the fibers evenly and ready for spinning. The first cards were Spanish and consisted merely of teazels--long-spined thistles--clamped into a wooden frame. Now cards with slender, iron spikes, fastened in a wooden frame, are used.

SPINNING Next, a bit of the "curl," into which the carded wool has been evenly fluffed, is fastened to the tip of the spindle with a wet finger and then gently drawn out into a strand. The spindle is a simple instrument--a slender stick with a round disc at its base. (A European weaver uses a spinning wheel to accomplish what the Navaho does with the spindle.) Although the Navaho saw the Spanish use the spinning wheel, they have never shown any inclination to adopt it, perhaps because of its incompatibility with their semi-nomadic existence.

The yarn must be spun several times. Weft is usually spun twice, while warp, the stationary element, is spun as many as five times to make it strong and enduring, so one can understand why the cotton warp sold by the traders was welcome. The weavers still buy it, but some also get warp of native wool from women who specialize in making it.

WASHING AND DYEING Weavers differ among themselves as to when the weft should be washed--if this is to be done. In the earliest times the yarn was not washed at all; later yucca suds were used. Now when water is easier to obtain, because of windmills and artesian wells, the yarn is more likely to be washed. For dyeing, the well-known commercial packaged dyes may be employed, or an ardent craftswoman may go to the trouble of preparing colors from native plants. Those native dyes are far softer and richer in color than the commercial products now being manufactured for the Navaho trade in colors to imitate the old vegetable dyes. The weaver does not dye her warp; in a good blanket it should not show, because the weft is beaten down so closely that it is hidden.

WEAVING The loom is a native American device of the kind used by the ancient cliff dwellers, and it has not changed through the centuries, nor have the spindle and the other weaving implements used with the loom. Generally the men construct the loom which is either inside a hogan or under two trees which may form the side posts, or under a leafy, summer

shade. (See Plate II, p.15.)

A simple description of the loom fellows. The men first erect a rectangular frame of four poles, and a yard beam is slung with a rope to the upper cross pole. The yard beam releases the warp so that it will be within the weaver's reach. Next the men lay out on the ground a frame of the size intended for the finished blanket and the women string it with unbroken warp from top to bottom. Strong cord, used for binding off the completed blanket, is strung along the sides and the top of this frame. Then the men fasten the blanket loom into the frame, and the workers firmly attach it at the bottom so that the warp will be taut. The healds consist of loops of yarn fastened at their upper end to a slender stick which falls across the width of the blanket. The lower ends of the loops are attached to each alternate strand of warp. With the aid of a comb-awl and the healds, the weaver can insert a batten (a long stick) through the alternate threads of the warp. She can then shuttle the weft yarn through. Before removing the batten, she uses it, or the comb, to push down the weft against the finished part of her weaving to make her blanket strong and waterproof.

Weaving is essentially a leisure time activity. Exceptionally artistic weavers may be released from some of the daily chores to devote as much time as possible to their looms. The others weave in winter. In their few spare moments during the busy spring, summer, and fall, they may prefer to do pick-up work like carding, spinning, and dyeing.

The mythical loom built by Spider Man for Spider Woman had cross-poles of sky and earth cords, warp sticks of sun rays, and healds of rock crystal and sheet lightning. A sun halo formed the batten, and white shell the comb. There were four spindles: One was a stick of zigzag lightning with a whorl of cannel coal; the second of flash lightning and turquoise; the third of sheet lightning and an abalone whorl; and the fourth was a rain streamer with a whorl of white shell. (Reichard, 1934.)

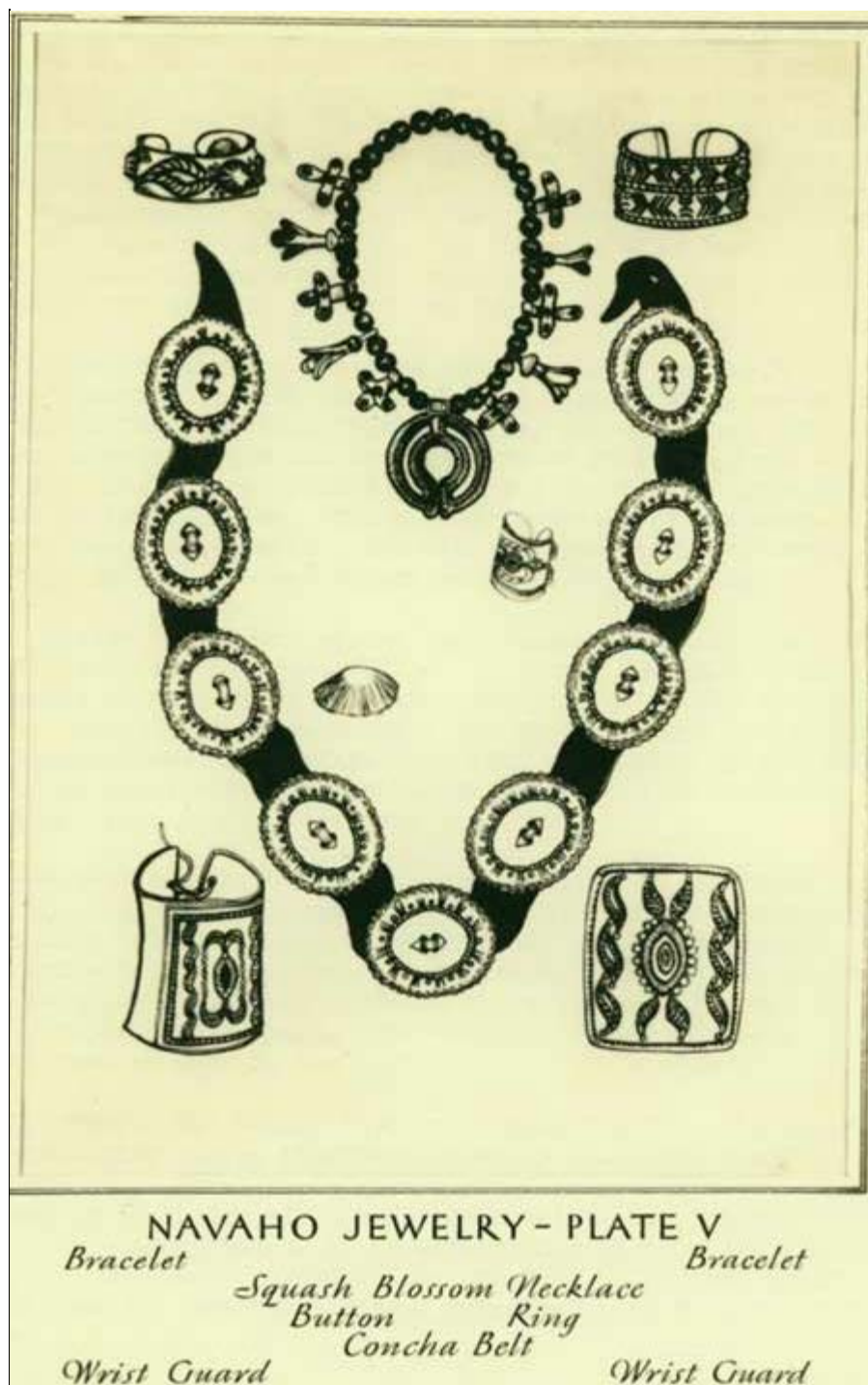


PLATE V. NAVAHO JEWELRY. Bracelets (top left and right). Squash Blossom Necklace (top, center). Button (center left). Ring (center right). Concha Belt (center). Wrist Guards (bottom left and right).

SILVERSMITHING

HISTORY OF SILVER WORK The Navaho had worn silver jewelry for almost century before there is any evidence that they knew how to make it themselves. In 1795 a Spanish reference (Amsden, 1934:132) comment that the Navaho "captains" were rarely seen without their silver ornaments. After that date mention of the silver necklaces and the leather belts decorated with large silver discs is fairly frequent in the early sources. No one states specifically that the Navaho made their own jewelry. Investigators assume that the Mexicans (the American descendants of the

Spanish), who were the leaders in silver work, were the jewelers for the Navaho and the rest of the Southwest.

In 1881 Dr. Washington Matthews ("Navaho Silversmiths," 1883) was told on the reservation that the Navaho had made great progress in silversmithing during the preceding fifteen years and adds that "they attribute this change largely to the ... introduction of fine files and emery paper." The *Ethnologic Dictionary* (p.271) also gives the middle nineteenth century as the time of introduction. The old silversmiths of the tribe claim that the Mexicans taught the Navaho, and cite the case of a colleague, satsidi ani, or "old smith," who was taught by Cassillo, a Mexican.

C. N. Cotton, a trader, stated that when he came, in 1884, Navaho silversmiths were rare (Hodge, 1928). The tribe depended on itinerant Mexican smiths to make up silver ornaments for the Navaho in exchange for horses. Usually the Navaho had a few of their boys working the bellows for the Mexicans, and before long they had picked up knowledge of the craft. As usual when the Navaho are interested in something, they excelled their teachers in silversmithing.

The earliest smiths were on the eastern side of the reservation, which had more contact with the Mexicans. Later the southern part of the reservation took the lead, which it still maintains because of the wholesale and retail trade along the railways. Smiths are uncommon elsewhere on the reservation, although there is generally one in the region of a major trading post. The southern smiths, however, supply most of the jewelry worn in the north.

CRAFT DEVELOPMENT The Navaho then had apparently begun to experiment with silversmithing during the years directly preceding their removal to Basque Redondo. After their return the development of this craft received fresh impetus, largely, as Matthews points out, because of the introduction of modern tools. It is interesting that in silversmithing, as in weaving, the early period is the greatest. The most artistic work was created when the craftsmen worked principally to satisfy tribal needs and tastes.

At first the smiths used brass and copper wire. Later they cast American silver dollars to obtain the metal and they also used the Mexican peso when it fell in price. Now they get sterling silver ounce bars or sheet silver from the traders. Bodinger, who has written a general account of the history of Navaho silver work, states (p.16): "The United States silver is bluish and takes a harder, higher polish. The Mexican is white and has a more 'silver,' frosted appearance when polished by wear."

The most talented of the few smiths in Matthews' time were making such complex articles as powder chargers; tobacco cases shaped like the army canteens; hollow, round beads; and headstalls for horses. In addition they made the more common types of jewelry--bracelets, rings, buttons, ornaments for horse gear and for the leather guards ("gatos") worn to protect the wrist when shooting a bow. The necklaces of hollow, round silver beads were usually finished with a double crescent-shaped pendant or a double-barred cross and a few conventional silver blossoms known to

the trade as "squash blossoms." (See Plate V, p.73.)

Originally the Navaho silversmiths used only the silver without settings. Even after 1900, when they began to use turquoise, garnet, cannel, coal, jet, abalone shell, peridot, and other semi-precious stones valued by the Navaho, they much preferred small settings to enhance the soft sheen of silver. The people of Zuni Pueblo, who, about 1880, learned silver working from the Navaho, are very fond of turquoise settings and use silver principally to hold the pieces of turquoise together, as Bedinger points out. During the recent depression several Zuni women took up silver work; among the Navaho it is still exclusively a man's craft.

Turquoise has been a sacred gem of the Southwest since prehistoric times. The Indians obtained their finest turquoise of a clear blue from the people of Santo Domingo, who mined it at Cerillos near Santa Fe. In early historical times the Navaho traded blankets for the stones. The so-called "Spider Web" turquoise with its black tracery on dark blue comes from Nevada, while a mottled green is mined at Tuba City, Arizona, and a pale blue stone with a robin's egg cast is obtained from secret mines. The finest turquoise is a vivid clear blue. A soft stone absorbs moisture and grease, turns green, and depreciates in value. (Bedinger.)

MODERN WORK Like Navaho rugs, Navaho jewelry is imitated in factories; one even sees "Navaho-style" jewelry in department and ten-cent stores. The present era of silver work is comparable to the boom years of weaving when shoddy materials, poor workmanship, and ornate design were used to bring down the price to a popular level. Navaho craftsman now make objects to order in curio shops or at home, and the employers give them a carefully measured quantity of silver and turquoise, from which the workers are expected to turn out as many articles as possible. The result is that the objects are thin and brittle and sell at a low price. The character and design of the articles also are dictated by trade demands: swastikas, thunderbirds, and arrows predominate in the cluttered patterns on cigarette boxes, ash trays, and ornaments. Artists still make beautiful jewelry, but it is principally for tribal use. It is expensive because of the weight and quality of silver. In this artistic work one still sees the feeling for design and beauty displayed by the jeweler working to please himself. The native design consists of elementary geometrical forms which follow the contour of the article and leave smooth, softly gleaming expanses of silver.

JEWELER'S EQUIPMENT Matthews and the Ethnologic Dictionary describe the crude equipment and tools with which the craftsman in early times turned out beautiful work. The iron tools were obviously acquired directly from white people or indirectly through the Mexicans, because aboriginal Americans did not have iron tools before the Europeans came. The essential equipment consisted of an adobe and stone forge; charcoal from juniper; bellows of sheep or goat skin; a pottery dish for a crucible; moulds cut from sandstone, wood or iron in the shape of the article to be made; scissors for cutting plates of metal and for tongs; hammers to beat out silver in wrought work; an anvil of any piece of hard stone or iron; iron pliers, files, knives, and awls for engraving and chasing; a blowpipe of brass, which was only a wire beaten into a flat strip and bent into a tube, for soldering pieces together with the aid of saliva, borax, or silver

dust; rags soaked in tallow for a soldering flame; almogen and rock salt for blanching tarnished silver; powdered sandstone, ashes, and sandpaper for polishing the completed article.

The silver might be either smelted or wrought, or both processes would be combined in producing such a complicated article as a powder charger. In making conchas (Spanish for "shell"), which are large, round, silver discs strung on a leather belt, from three dollars to four dollars worth of silver is needed to make a single ornament. A leather belt with ten conchas will, therefore, contain as much as \$40 worth of silver. (See Plate V, p.73)

POTTERY

The Navaho women have never made much pottery or basketry. Even as early as 1855 it was so scarce that Letherman reported that they had no pottery at all: they exchanged their blankets for Pueblo pots and Shoshonean baskets. Now they rarely make any baskets and earthen-ware except those required in religious ceremonies, for tin pans, kettles, and buckets from American traders serve everyday needs. The tradition in the Origin Legend, that long ago artistically decorated and fine pottery was made, has no archaeological evidence to support it (Wetherill).

The pottery is of crude, coiled type, which Kidder notes is more like the potsherds off western Nebraska sites than Pueblo designs. It may be, then, that the Navaho had learned to make pottery before they entered the Southwest. In early historic times they made ordinary cooking pots, bowls, dip spoons, and conical pipes through which smoke was blown to produce cloud-like effects during religious chants. The cooking pot is very frequently used ceremonially as a drum, after a hide has been stretched across the mouth. Earthen crucibles for silver work are an innovation of later times. The *Ethnologic Dictionary* (pp. 285-291) has descriptions and sketches of technique and types.

BASKETRY

Navaho basketry is closely woven and durable, although limited in type. Until recently the tribe made water bottles of coiled basketry, globular in shape, narrow-necked with a wide rim and waterproofed with pine or pinyon gum. At one time they also made baskets for gathering seeds and fruits, but Mr. Ben Wetherill states that he has never seen these in use during his thirty-five years residence in the area. These baskets were slung over a shoulder, or carried by means of a tump line, which fastened about the forehead. See the *Ethnologic Dictionary* (pp. 291-300) for a detailed description of basket making and types.

One of the most characteristic types is the "wedding basket," so called by traders because bride and groom eat from such a basket in the native wedding ceremony. It is used, however, in any ceremony which requires a receptacle. Thus, a chanter might keep his religious paraphernalia in it; or use it to hold yucca suds for ceremonial bathing; or, by inverting it, he can even use it as a drum. This sacred basket is shallow, being about three inches deep and twelve to fourteen inches across, and has a zigzag pattern in red and black around the rim. Matthews (1894) describes the rituals involved in the manufacture and use of this basket. The Navaho also

obtained it by trade from the Paiutes, who observed the ritual rules for its manufacture as specified by Navaho tradition.

Aside from its importance in religion, the wedding basket is of interest to anthropologists because its type and design elements are similar to the ware of the early Basket Makers, who lived in the Southwest about a thousand years before the Navaho. The older "sacred basket," designated generally as "Old Navaho," was made with a foundation of two rods and a bundle similar to that of the Basket Makers. Formerly this kind of foundation was widely used in the Southwest by the Shoshoneans, Pueblos, and Apache, as well as by the Navaho. The Navaho may have learned it from the Paiute. It was replaced by the three-rod and other types of foundation among most of these tribes. The Paiutes now employ the three-rod foundation in making the Navaho trade baskets, but use a different technique in making ware for their own use. (Wetherill information; Weltfish, 1930, 1932) The continuity of design elements can be seen in Amsden, Pl. 4; Guernsey & Kidder, 1921: Pl. 28; and F. H. Douglas.

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter XII: CLOTHING

PREHISTORIC COSTUME The ancient Navaho had very poor and simple clothes in contrast to their well-dressed descendants. Women wore merely a two-piece apron effect about the waist, woven from yucca fiber or cedar bark, while men wore breechcloths. For cold weather, animal skins or a woven yucca blanket were wrapped around the body. The feet and legs were protected by yucca leggings and moccasins of badger or wild-cat skin, which were soled with braided yucca.

COSTUME OF EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD At the beginning of the Navaho historical period, about 1630, they were already tanning hides, as Benavides states that the Navaho presented him with some dressed deerskins. Buckskin became the characteristic material for men's clothing until Bosque Redondo times. There seems to be no record of the Navaho women wearing buckskin dresses. When they began to weave, they discarded the primitive, yucca garments for woolen blanket dresses woven on their looms.

There are numerous descriptions of Navaho clothing of this pre-captivity period in the reports of travelers and government officials. The interested reader who wishes details regarding the manufacture of the clothes in the prehistoric and pre-captivity periods and sketches or photographs will find them easily accessible in the Ethnologic Dictionary and in Amsden's "Navaho Weaving."

Davis, a sympathetic observer of the Navaho in 1855, declared that they dressed with greater comfort than any other tribe. Letherman, who, like many army men of the time, deprecated the American idealization of the Navaho, nevertheless describes the tribe as one which lived with a certain degree of material comfort. He saw the men wearing short breeches of brownish-colored buckskin or red baize (bayeta), closely fitting, and buttoned at the knee. Davis noted that the outer seams of the breeches were decorated with brass and silver buttons. The buckskin moccasins and leggings of dyed deerskin were also adorned with buttons. Blue leggings were held up with fancy woven garters of red.

The men made their own clothes and also knitted their own blue legging stocks, as did the Hopi men. The Navaho man made a skirt from a small blanket or a piece of red baize with a hole in it through which to slip the head. He fastened a strip of red cloth over the shoulders to form sleeves, then he sewed up the sides of the garment to the arm holes, and fitted the shirt more closely about his body with a leather belt heavily ornamented with silver discs. The shirt came below the small of the back and covered

the abdomen in front.

Necklaces, bracelets, buttons, and earrings of shell, silver, brass, and coral added other colorful touches to the brown and red ensemble of the Navaho man. The buckskin was sometimes ornamented with embroidery of porcupine quills and beads. The Navaho did not do much of this work themselves; they obtained it by barter from the Utes. The embroidery was highly prized among the Navaho. For a coat, the versatile native blanket, either with stripes or a diamond design of indigo blue, bayeta red, black and white, was indispensable. The elaborate clothing of the Navaho warrior has been described in the section on War.

The native woolen dress of the Navaho women is very interesting. It was discarded after the return from Bosque Redondo, and now such a dress is a valuable museum piece. Amsden (p.97) states that it was "one of the most characteristically and completely native products of the Navaho loom, the more so for the fact that unlike many Navaho textiles, it was used only by the tribe that made it." He goes on to relate that it was copied from the Pueblo women, who were wearing a similar type of dress in cotton when the early Spanish explorers entered the Southwest .

The Navaho did not copy the Pueblo dress exactly; they wove two small blankets instead of one, as did the Pueblo weaver. The two pieces were fastened over the shoulders and sewed together from under the arms almost to the hem, which came just above the ankle. (The Pueblo Women exposed one shoulder as they fastened only a single shoulder seam.) At first the body of the Navaho dress was in black or blue, and bordered and tasseled in blue, with alternating stripes of black and blue at the top and bottom. This somber and dignified garment became very gorgeous when red bayeta was introduced. Stripes of red were added to the black and blue, and the women wove small, geometrical designs of dark color into the brilliant red background. A rod woolen sash, which might be ornamented with silver discs and other jewelry, held the dress around the waist. (See Plate VI, p.80.)

With this dress the women wore leggings of the kind still to be seen of dyed buckskin, the skin being wrapped around the leg from ankle to knee and adorned with flashing silver buttons. They wore many necklaces and bracelets like the men; but until modern times one did not see a married woman with earrings. The Navaho told Stephen (1893:356) that when girls married they took off their earrings and added them to their necklaces, because otherwise their husbands, when angry, might tear the earrings out of the ears. This may be only a story; yet, knowing the family and clan organization of the tribe, one's sympathies incline toward the man when his domestic discipline had its inevitable repercussions in his wife's family.

Both sexes wore their long hair in a fashion which is still maintained: it is bound up in an hour glass shape at the back of the head and tied with some woolen string. The hair is kept neat and shining with a small whisk broom made of rushes. The men bind a bright bandana or rag about their heads, sometimes tying a feather or a Navaho jewel into it. The earrings are sometimes so large and heavy that they jerk the ears painfully as the owner travels at his customary, break-neck speed across the desert;

generally, therefore, they are turned up over the ears.

AFTER BOSQUE REDONDO When American forts were established in Navaho territory before 1863, the wealthy tribesmen who came in contact with the military officers began to wear coats and pantaloons of American style. Then Bosque Redondo experience definitely changed the styles and materials of clothing for the whole tribe. The buckskins and woolens continued to be worn as late as 1890, but more and more they were reserved for fiestas and chants, while cotton clothing made like the garments of the Americans and the Spanish became the popular fashion.

The tribe had always preferred to trade their blankets for the buckskin tanned by the Utes; now, with the boom period of weaving under the direction of traders in full swing, the blankets were sold at the trading posts for cash or in exchange for cloth from American factories. The women devoted their time to filling orders for blankets, and bought material, instead of weaving it as formerly, for their own dresses.

Whatever the Navaho have learned from the Americans, Spanish, or neighboring Indian tribes, they have transformed in terms of their own personality. The women made over the plain Pueblo dress into a two-piece garment fastened on both shoulders, which was then decorated with hanging strands of silver, shell, and coral beads. The simple weave was individualized with balanced lines of red, black, and blue. Similarly, the Navaho women re-created the gown with a full skirt and tight bodice, which was the fashion among Europeans and Americans of the middle nineteenth century, and made it into a style that is now characteristic of them.



PLATE VI. NAVAHO WOMAN'S NATIVE DRESS (Amsden, "Navaho Weavings").

The voluminous, flounced skirts of bright calico, which Reichard (1928) describes; have a width of twelve to fifteen yards. To make the skirt even wider, ruffles are gathered to the foundation with contrasting stripes of material. The skirt is ankle length, and ripples and flares gracefully as the woman walks or rides horseback. With it a brightly colored, velvet blouse is worn. This blouse has a snugly fitting bodice fastened with silver buttons or coins, and extends below the waist, where it is slashed at both sides. Moccasins of dyed buckskins and leggings decorated with silver and brass buttons are frequently worn even today, although American shoes are taking their place. The bright clothing makes a striking background for the necklaces of silver and turquoise, and the strands of coral, shell, and glass beads.

The costume of the men is equally colorful and picturesque: cotton breeches, slit along the calf in the fashion of a Spanish caballero; a long

velvet or calico tunic, which resembles the blouses of the women; quantities of necklaces, rings, conchas, bracelets, and buttons; and a brightly colored headband as the ensemble's distinguishing feature. Many men, however, now prefer Americans jeans and broad-brimmed sombreros. In winter, both men and women wear a gaudy Pendleton blanket about the shoulders, and, for traveling, overshoes made from gunnysacks or animal pelts.

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter XIII: HOUSES

SIMPLICITY The houses, or hogans, of the Navaho are crude, undecorated, and poorly furnished. They are so quickly built that even the winter hogan, which is regarded as the more permanent home of the family, and has many rules of procedure to be observed in its construction, rarely takes the head of the family more than two or three days to build, with the aid of a few friends. The women then bring in their scanty furnishings of sheepskins, blankets, dishes, and baskets, the head of the house sprinkles ceremonial pollen, with a prayer for each of the main house posts, and the hogan is ready. The simplicity of structure appears to arise partly from the pastoral life and partly from the custom of abandoning the hogan when death or repeated hard luck has grieved or frightened the family.

SUITABILITY Mindeleff, the authority on Navaho houses, writes (1898:495): "The kind of house which a man builds depends almost entirely on the purposes which it is to serve and very little on the man or his circumstances. The houses of the richest man in the tribe and of the poorest would be identical unless, as often happens in modern times, the former has a desire to imitate the whites and builds a regular shelter of stone or logs."

ADAPTATION TO GEOGRAPHY AND LIFE The house types are closely adapted to the round of Navaho life and geography. A variety of forms and materials, depending on the timber or stone supply and the expected length of occupancy, are used for seasonal homes. They are built in the locality between desert and mountain, where year after year a family ranges over its pastures. Generally the family has a winter and a summer hogan, and several lean-to shelters for overnight camping. Near these residences are the corrals made of branches for the flocks, and, in a secluded place, a sweat house. The hogans and corrals for great religious ceremonies are patterned after the residential forms, but are of much greater size. Matthews (1837) describes a ceremonial hogan twenty-five feet in diameter built for the Mountain Chant. A corral, the famous "Dark Circle of Branches," was large enough to accomodate several hundred people, according to the same authority.

SUMMER HOUSES The summer houses are informal structures built without ritual, and only a magpie would gaze at them with envy. The family throws down its saddles, blankets, and supplies under a tree, and hangs the meat high on a branch away from the dogs. The head of the house stacks up brush or rocks, sometimes in corral form, under the tree to ward off the prevailing southwest wind. Then he tosses an old blanket,

a hide, or a bit of canvas over one corner of this sketchy structure, and his family lives here temporarily while transferring the flocks from one pasture to another.

Mindeleff describes and sketches about eight types of summer shelters. A popular type is the lean-to, and the variations of its basic design are legion. A well-made one which is to be occupied all summer is constructed of four forked posts with cross pieces covered with whatever kind of textile or branch is handy. If only stunted pinyons are available, height is obtained by excavating the floor. (A comparable type of dug-out was used in ancient times and roofed with a grass-and-yucca mat.) The summer house is built near the gardens in the valleys or in the mountains.

WINTER HOGANS The winter hogans are located in the lower altitudes among the foothills and mesas that are wooded with cedar, pinyon or juniper-trees which are important for building material and fuel. Some of the valley sites, like Canyon de Chelly, are occupied the year around, so the family moves out of its winter hogan to a near-by summer windbreak, which is freshly covered with leafy branches each season. The winter hogan can be used as a dwelling in summer, also, when its cracks have been chinked against the rain; again, it may serve as a storehouse for food.

A good winter hogan must be near abundant fuel because Navaho winters are severe. The house is built two or three hundred yards away from a spring in order not to frighten off the game. The builder avoids sites with nests of red ants, which are a painful nuisance; besides, they made First Man leave the company of the gods because he could not endure their house, which was infested with red ants. A Navaho selects the warm side of a cliff or a hill for a site, and considers himself fortunate if there is a box canyon nearby which can serve as a corral for the horses.

The high mountains are too cold and snowbound for winter residence and pasture, but occasionally a lucky family may find a sheltered valley in the mountains and not return to the lowlands in the early fall. They will build a fine, spacious, polygonal hogan of cedar logs laid horizontally to a height of six feet and roofed with small timbers, cedar bark, and earth. On the lower mesas, where only stunted trees grow, the builder puts up a hogan with a square foundation and a flat roof. This was a new type in Matthews' time.

THE HOGAN OF THE GODS The most characteristic house type of the Navaho is the conical-shaped, one-room, winter hogan with a five-pole foundation. The Origin Legend lays down the rules for building this house, and these specifications are still observed today, although the mortal Navaho must use less durable materials than did the gods.

The gods built the first hogan of the precious jewels cherished by the Navaho and with the beautiful, filmy fabrics of which they also created the world. They followed the color symbolism for the cardinal points in arranging their building material: The five foundation poles were of white shell for the east (the two door posts, which must face east, count

as one); turquoise for the south; abalone shell for the west and cannel coal for the north. The brilliantly colored stuff of sunbeams, mist, rainbow, and sunset covered this sparkling frame. At the doorway the gods hung layers of dawn, blue sky, twilight, and darkness, while a rug of four layers of the sacred jewels was laid on the floor.

Other legendary houses, located at the four corners of the earth, were made of clouds for the eastern house; blue fog for the southern; mirage for the western; and green duckweed for the northern hogan. A Yei-bitcai house was made of corn pollen with a ceiling of rainbows supported on white spruce trees.

THE CONICAL HOGAN The Navaho uses cedar or juniper instead of jewels, but the type is the same as that of the gods. Three sturdy forked timbers form an interlocking frame, and two straight poles the doorway. When the builder uses poles from 10 to 12 feet in length, the interior height of the frame is from 6 to 8 feet and the diameter about 13 to 14 feet. Each of the three main poles is laid out so that the butt of one is to the west; the second to the south; the third to the north. Touching this T-shape are the tips of the two door timbers which are to the east. After post holes have been dug, the floor is excavated to the depth of a foot and leveled off. The excavation is begun about two feet from the post holes, which leaves a ledge to strengthen the wall and furnishes a shelf for the family possessions. The three poles are raised and interlocked, and then firmly lashed together and grounded.

One door post is set against the northern pole; the other against the southern. This five-pole frame is then supported with small timbers and branches stacked on the inner shelf and outside the house. Two short, forked poles, about four feet high, with their cross pieces, are set up near the door posts, forming the framework of a low entrance, about three and a half feet high which one must stoop to enter. A space is left between the tall door posts and the apex of the hut for a smoke hole. A rude cribwork of sticks may be laid around the hole to make the smoke rise better from the fire, which is built on the sandy floor of the finished house. The hogan is covered and chinked with layers of branches, bark, sod, and mud; old blankets are hung in the entrance; and the house is ready to be occupied.

The finished house is not perfectly conical, since the eastern end projects because of the storm door. In a large hogan the western end projects slightly to form an inner niche, where a shaman can keep his paraphernalia when the dwelling is used for ceremonies. For a Mountain Chant the building is extended on the north instead of the west to accommodate a masked dancer, clad in evergreens, who must come from the north. The sweathouse is built in a style similar to the conical hogan, but is so small that it looks like a low mound of sod.

The Navaho hogan is smoky and drafty, a breeding place for trachoma and tuberculosis. Most of the women, however, keep the possessions tidily arranged, air out the blankets and sheepskins, and take out the ashes each morning. If another hogan should be near, it is probably occupied by the wife's father and mother and the unmarried members of the family. When the mother wishes to inspect the new hogan; Navaho

custom demands that she wait until her son-in-law has left it, so that the two will not meet. Authorities differ as to the ownership of the house; some claim that it belongs to the woman. Reichard (1928:92) states that no one owns the house--it belongs to the user.

HOUSE DEDICATION AND PURIFICATION When a new hogan has been completed, the head of the house sprinkles ceremonial white cornmeal on the supporting posts at the cardinal points: the floor, fire, smoke hole, and doorway--always going sunwise from east to south, to west and to north--while he utters appropriate prayers, and asks for an increase in his riches, both spiritual and material. The well-known dedicatory ritual with the twelve House Songs, described by Mindeleff, does not take place, according to the *Ethnologic Dictionary* (p.32), right after the completion of the house: it is better to have a few other ceremonies performed first.

When any hogan, residential or exclusively ceremonial is used for a chant, a purification ceremony is performed for the house, its inhabitants, and their possessions. Reichard (1934) gives an example of such a house purification before the Shooting Chant. One of the Chanter's household, where she lived, was ill. The diagnosis was that in the patient's youth she had been in a house struck by lightning; and the proper ceremony for illness caused by lightning, snakes, and arrows was the Shooting Chant.

First the hogan was swept and cleaned. The dried scrub-oak twigs on the rafters were removed and set near the door, and a fresh twig was placed at each post. Prayers were chanted, while each post and the floor was sprinkled with white pollen. Then a version of the oft-quoted prayer of house dedication was given. It begins:

"May the house be beautiful within.
May the house be beautiful at the back.
May the house be beautiful at the center of the fireplace.
May the house be beautiful near the door where the metate rests.
May the cross pieces of the door posts be beautiful...."

and so on (Reichard, 1934:150).

Now the old withered twigs could be thrown into a tree, and the other rites could proceed. In a similar rite of blessing for a house, pokers are ceremonially placed at each cardinal point on the rafters with the tips pointing towards the fire, as all pokers should be placed when not in use.

FAREWELL TO THE HOME Reichard (1934:131-132) tells of an unusual poker ceremony performed on her departure from the reservation one fall. The poker is sacred, being one of the first tools the Navaho acquired, and it must never be destroyed. On this occasion, the Chanter sang the poker song as he pointed the stick at the fire outside the door. Then he placed the poker on the ridge pole with its handle on the western rafter. This little ceremony was to insure good health and fortune while the house owner was away.

CHINDI HOGAN When a streak of hard luck hits the family--illness,

quarreling, loss of sheep, for example--a Chanter may be called in to perform some chant to restore grace to the household. If the ill fortune continues, the family may abandon such a house and build a new one; likewise, if some one dies in the house it must be abandoned, because the Navaho have great fear and respect for the dead. The northern end of the structure is usually torn out, for from the north come all disease and evil. No Navaho will ever again live in the house or go near it. It is said that he will not use even a stick from such a hogan for fire, or eat food cooked with wood from it, for it has become a chindi hogan, or devil house. One of the blessings which accompanied the arrival of the Whites was that they would sometimes see that the dead were properly buried.

MODERN HOUSES When a Navaho builds a house of American architecture, he has glass windows, wooden doors, chairs, stoves, chimneys, and fireplaces, all of which were unknown before the white man came. The chindi fear is as strong as ever, and the owner of a new house moves the sick or dying to a near-by lean-to, in order that his fine place may not be sacrificed as a chindi hogan.

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter XIV: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In August, 1881, Captain Bourke (1884) traveled through the southern Navaho country on his way to a Hopi Snake Dance. He painted an idyllic picture of the landscape, freshly watered by August showers; and his impressionistic style gives one a vivid and living, though not a detailed, account of many Navaho customs. The region he traversed was covered with "the enchanting enamel of wild-flowers, which in every hue--yellow, scarlet, white, purple, and blue--matted the ground with the effect of a Persian carpet."

CAMP DWELLERS He came across several Navaho camps, set in green valleys, or between mesas of sugar-loaf shape, each camp with no more than two to four hogans with food caches of cedar bark before them. Off to one side were as many corn patches, guarded by scarecrows. Herds of sheep and goats grazed a few miles away in fields glittering with the "interminable emerald of the juicy grass." He writes (p.87) "The baaing of sheep and the bleating of goats prepared us for encountering a wandering band of Navajoes, but a sharp bend in the trail brought us in upon...three or four 'hogans'; two old squaws, half a dozen children; and a score of snarling, yellow curs, made up the resident population. The squaws were weaving the loveliest of blankets upon crude looms of cottonwood branches; the children and puppies were quarrelling for the possession of the meat bones scattered over the cayote fur coverlid...; while a young girl moved with an air of importance about the ground-ovens, where sweet-smelling loaves of bread were baking."

The Navaho of today are still camp dwellers. They do not lead a village life like the Ancient People who once inhabited the many rooms of the great cliff dwellings like White House and Pueblo Bonito.

MATRILOCAL RESIDENCE If Bourke had inquired of his "cheerful and glad-hearted" Navaho guide, "Wrestler" he might have learned the relationship between the two women he saw in one camp busily weaving. They were probably sisters who had lived in the same locality since their birth. Their husbands were certainly of clans different from that of their wives and had grown up in their "mother's place," several miles away as the sons and daughters of a woman not only take her clan name, but they grow up in the same locality as she and her brothers and sisters, her mother and her mother's brothers and sisters, and the family of her mother's mother. It would not be surprising to find that the women of the older generations are still alive and living in hogans nearby or elsewhere in the immediate territory which is traditionally occupied by their family and clan. The men of these families, the brothers and

maternal uncles, move to the region where their wives and mothers-in-law were reared. They still keep the name of their mother's clan, and always regard "mother's place" as home and themselves as the natural protectors of their sisters and their sisters' children.

MARRIAGE PREFERENCES Formerly marriage was outside the clans of both parents and even outside the grandfather's clan (Ethnologic Dictionary, p.427). Reichard (1928:65) states that now the preferential types of marriage are into the father's clan, or into the paternal or maternal grandfather's clan. Ethnologists differ on this point, indicating that the Navaho themselves are in a process of change. Hill, in a letter (October 1, 1937) to the National Park Service, states that his Navaho Indian informants have given him information agreeing with both statements and that both are probably equally correct, depending on the informant. Marriage between parallel and cross cousins, and between other close relatives, is forbidden. Until recently many of the Navaho were polygamous. A wealthy man frequently married sisters; or a woman and her niece; or a woman and her daughter or daughters by another marriage, thus negating the mother-in-law taboo, which he ordinarily would be required to observe had he married only the daughters.

If a man with brothers dies leaving a widow, the widow chooses one of the brothers for her second husband. If there are no brothers, the dead man's clan may still force its claim to the widow by having her marry an eligible clan member. A little ceremony is performed for the second marriage: The woman carries to the hogan of her elected man two baskets ornamented with a cross of wild grape and redbud, one basket filled with cornmeal mush, the other with "paper" bread. Four days later the man comes to her camp with his bows and arrows and spends the night. The next morning the couple bathe in yucca suds and comb each other's hair as the last rite of the ceremony. (Ethnologic Dictionary, p.432.)

For a first marriage, a young man's father brings ten horses or so to the home of the selected girl's family. If the gift is accepted, he makes plans for his son's marriage. As already noted, the horses do not constitute a purchase of the bride; rather they are a gift, traditionally required according to tribal etiquette. Divorce is easy; and the women are usually well treated, since they continue to live right at home near their parents, and keep their rights of ownership to the herds and other property which constitute their personal wealth.

A common type of arrangement is between two families with marriageable sons and daughters. The wedding gift received when the daughter of one family married the son of a second family is exchanged if the first family has a son, and the second a daughter. This arrangement promotes friendship between the two families, and is economically desirable because it does not scatter the wealth. It also strengthens the ties between two clans, since the two families intermarrying are naturally of different clans, and the initial friendship may be extended by further marriages between the two groups.

RELATIONSHIPS The taboo between the mother-in-law and son-in-

law which has already been mentioned has not diminished much in modern times. The feeling between the two is one of great mutual respect. Men who are related by marriage are allowed to play all kinds of rough jokes on each other. Fathers-in-law, sons-in-law, and brothers-in-law are great jokers, and cross-cousins, too, tease each other; but brothers and sisters and parents and children respect each other and do not tease.

CLAN FUNCTIONS The primary function of the Navaho clans, as discussed above, is the regulation of marriage. Although descent is officially traced through the mother, Navaho recognize their relationship to members of their father's clan. They give them gifts and cherish this relationship.

Unlike the Pueblos, among whom religious rites must be performed by certain clans or not at all, the Navaho clans have practically no religious or political importance. A man is a leader of his clan because, temporarily perhaps, he has been successful in advising those who voluntarily requested his assistance, or in leading his people in war or peace making. Because of him and other individuals who have risen to importance and wealth in his clan, the clan may, for the time being, while these individuals are lucky or continue to be wise, share in the glory and get an enviable reputation. It becomes a clan into which members of other clans wish to marry, and grows accordingly in wealth and prestige. The democratic Navaho do not have social classes or distinctions between clans other than those which result from the "cream rising to the top." (Reichard, 1928:46).

CLAN GROUPS Some of the clans become so closely associated through the intermarriage of their members, or other local ties, that they regard themselves as constituting a group of related clans, but not related closely enough to develop marriage taboos. There are about a dozen of these groups scattered about the reservation. They are unnamed.

NUMBER OF CLANS AND NAMES The number of clans among the Navaho has been variously estimated as fifty-one by Matthews, fifty-eight by the Ethnologic Dictionary, and forty-nine by Reichard. The counting of clans is rendered difficult because many clans have duplicate names which may be translated differently by different people. Then, too, names of extinct clans have been forgotten or are known to only a few.

The names of the clans are based, for the most part, on localities figuring in their early history. Also a clan may be named after the alien tribe from which the clan ancestors came--thus, the Zuni, Apache, Ute, or Mexican clans. The specific clan name of a woman in her native tribe was sometimes adopted for the clan name of her Navaho descendants. Goodwin (1937:394) states that among the Western Apache a Navaho captive "retained his native clan identity if such clan were present in the Apache group." Goodwin found that (p.404) "None of the White Mountain Apache clans bear the same name as those of the Navajo, yet duplication is found between the Navajo and other Western Apache groups.... nine of the ten White Mountain clans claim to be directly descended from or related to certain Navajo clans."

CLAN LOCALIZATION The female members of a family are not the only ones to live in the same locality generation after generation. Their clan relatives are also territorially restricted to the pastures and sites of an area, in which the individual families of the clan hold adjoining lands, basing their claims on generations of occupation.

CLAN ORIGIN A local band was the basis of almost every clan. Though the origin legends are a mixture of fact and fancy, they indicate, in a general way, how the tribe grew. Bands of wandering Navaho met other hunting tribes using the same lands, and if their language was similar, relationships were soon established. Pueblo people, who had abandoned their communities because of famine or the attack of enemies, fled to the wilderness, and after a time intermarried with the Navaho.

In the version of the origin legend given by Matthews (1897:148-9), we have a charming mythological account of clan origins, which is summarized here as a matter of literary interest and not for any historical value it may have. The goddess, Esdzanadle, or Changing Woman, was lonely as she lived on the western ocean in her splendid house, so she made people from her epidermis. These people formed the original clans of the Navaho. At last the clans decided to leave her. She said, "It is a long and dangerous journey to where you are going. It is well that you should be cared for and protected on the way. I shall give you five of my pets--a bear, a great snake, a deer, a porcupine, and a puma--to watch over you. They will not desert you. Speak of no evil deeds in the presence of the bear or the snake, for they may do the evil they hear you speak of; but the deer and the porcupine are good--say whatever you please to say in their presence."

She also gave them five magic wands of turquoise, white shell, haliotis, black stone, and red stone. The people, as they wandered, grew thirsty, so a man of the clan with the turquoise wand struck it into the ground and made a water hole. A woman of another clan said the water was bitter, and she gave the clan the name of Bitter Water. Later, they met a band living near a spring, called Coyote Spring, and these people were named Coyote People after the water hole. They met some of the Apache, who begged to marry the Navaho girls. Later some Zuni, driven by famine, came to the San Juan, and joined a Navaho clan. (Later, the Zuni immigrants formed a separate clan.) The Navaho tribe became powerful enough to raid the Pueblos: One man raided Red House, a pueblo, from which he brought back a girl who founded the Red House Clan. In this fashion, so the Navaho relate in their legends, the fifty or so clans of the Navaho tribe of today were created.

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contents

Western Museum Laboratories



Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

Chapter XV: RELIGION

CHRISTIANITY The Navaho, like the Hopi, have clung tenaciously to their native religion. It continues to permeate every part of their life, despite the efforts of physicians and missionaries to replace the old rites with modern medicine and Christian beliefs and practices. Benavides, as we mentioned before, made, about 1630, the first futile attempts to Christianize the Navaho and to make the lion and the lamb lie down peacefully together by bringing representatives of the Navaho and the eastern Pueblos to his Santa Clara mission. The near-by missions at Encinal and Cebolleta, established a century later, were not open for long, but the Navaho in their vicinity retained traces of this early Christian influence. The Navaho were too scattered and wild to receive much attention, and the bloody massacres of 1680 in the Pueblos temporarily halted the missionaries

Now there are several denominations among the Navaho conducting boarding schools, hospitals, and missions. Besides this type of work, one group, the Franciscans, has made notable and scholarly contributions to our scientific knowledge of Navaho language and ethnography: The Ethnologic Dictionary, frequently mentioned in these pages, is one of their publications. It is an encyclopedia on the Navaho, and is a valuable and readable source book for the scientist and layman on any important aspect of Navaho culture.

In many religions the world over one finds supplicants and devotees performing the same kinds of rites: Before beginning an important ceremony, they fast and purify themselves with baths and emetics. The gods are presented with sacrifices to please them and as a preliminary to prayers for rain, good health, fortune, spiritual grace, and whatever else that human beings may desire. Earthly gifts are welcome because the gods live like the people of the earth. They have human weaknesses and virtues to an exaggerated and magnificent degree, and, therefore, have potent powers for creating good and evil. Much of the profound knowledge about the gods is in the keeping of a small, select circle of men and women, variously called priests, medicine men, chanters, witch doctors, or shamans. Their knowledge is derived either through religious education or divine inspiration, and fits them for conducting the formal practices and prayers with which to hold communion with the gods and to direct the spiritual life of individuals. The, daily life of an individual involves many religious taboos and benedictions. The periods before and at birth, adolescence, marriage, death, and after death are major crises to the average person; and to the religious they require special observances.

NAVAHO AND PUEBLO The religion of the Southwest shares the basic attributes of other religions, but its characteristic elements have been organized into a formula of striking individuality and beauty, many details of which are identical among the Navaho and Pueblos, or so similar as to prove the common historical origin of their religion. Some of the tribes as far west as the coast of California and north into the Plains also have occasional similarities to the southwestern rituals and myths. As in material culture, so in religion the Navaho have been much influenced, since their arrival in the Southwest, by contact with the Pueblos. Just as the semi-nomadic life of the Apache tribes suggests to us the lineaments of what Navaho culture originally was, similarly the religion of the Apache might be analyzed to interpret more definitely the character of the early Navaho religion. Unfortunately, there has been no extensive comparative study of the religion of the two groups to enable us to present a summary here.

Stephen's "Hopi Journal" (edited by Parsons) gives numerous parallels between Hopi and Navaho chants and presents the interesting relationship between the two peoples as he observed them in the nineteenth century. Mrs. Parsons writes in the Introduction (p.xxvii): "In Stephen's day several persons on First Mesa could understand or speak Navaho, as is frequently shown in the ritual buffoonery caricaturing the Navaho. And Navaho was the means of communication for Zuni visitors to First Mesa as well as, at first, for Stephen. According to the Mustard clan migration story, when these Eastern immigrants reached First Mesa, after a sojourn among the Navaho, they had forgotten Tewa and spoke Navaho only. An old Tewa told Stephen that in his boyhood the Navaho lived all around on the mesas and came to the pueblos, lots of them, every day. They would bring wood in on their backs and carry up water from the springs. In time of famine they might sell a child or leave it in a Hopi household. In Stephen's day, too, the Navaho were not infrequent visitors to First Mesa and these visitors had ample opportunity to observe the ceremonial life."

Stephen relates how some Navaho were invited by a Hopi, who was half Navaho, to enter a kiva (a sacred underground chamber of the Pueblos) when an important ceremony was in progress. The Navaho invited medicine men from alien tribes to put on acts in the public performances which end a nine-day chant. The Navaho, in turn, visited other tribes, where their juggling tricks and legerdemain, performed in the public rituals, were much admired. They were clever at sword swallowing. They could make corn or yucca grow magically before one's eyes from a seed to a plant in full bloom, which then withered and died. Hopi clowns knew enough about Navaho rituals to burlesque them. The Zuni knew them, too, and incorporated them into their Shalako ceremony (Ethnologic Dictionary, p.393).

Although the contacts of commerce, war, and travel produced outwardly similar features in the southwestern rituals, the motivating forces that united these elements into a local form were psychologically distinct for the pueblo dwellers and for the shepherds. The rites of the Pueblos were performed primarily to make their fields fertile and to bring abundant rain for their crops. Navaho ceremonies, with practices and paraphernalia almost identical with those of the Pueblos, were, however, conducted to

cure illness. Both groups, of course, had ceremonies for every crisis and daily event, but the main emphasis of one was on curing, the other on fertilization and rain.

The Navaho and Pueblo tribes believe that the creation of the heavens and earth, and their occupants, was accomplished by many gods and lesser spirits, some of whom were the prototypes of mankind and the animals. The gods created many worlds, one on top of the other, and the people emerged from the underworld through a lake somewhere north of the San Juan River, and thence they return at death. The Hopi sometimes give Grand Canyon as the locality. This place of emergence is associated in the religion of the Pueblos with ideas of parturition and fertilization. The deified spirits of dead Pueblo Indians, katchinas, dwell in the lake and act as intermediaries between the people and the gods in order to bring rain.

One of the most important and best-loved beings in the southwestern pantheon is called by the Hopi, "Woman of Hard Substances" (coral, turquoise, shell, and so forth). The Navaho, like the other Athapascan tribes, call her Esdzanadle, the "Woman Who Changes." She has the power of being eternally young and beautiful and lives on the western waters in a house like that of her husband, the sun, in the east. The story of how Changing Woman created the Navaho clans, told in a previous chapter, exemplifies her characteristic kindness and concern for the welfare of the people. Some say that she has a younger sister, Yolgai Esdzan, White Shell Woman; but others claim that the two are one and the same being. These two sisters, or one of them, was magically impregnated by the rays of the sun and the water of a waterfall, and bore twin sons, the war gods, Slayer of Monsters and Child of Water. They proved to the sun in a series of tests that they were worthy to claim him as father. He gave them weapons to slay monsters. The war gods did not kill all the native enemies of mankind, like Hunger, Poverty, Old Age, and Dirt, for these beings proved that they were necessary to the world.

The myth of the birth and adventures of the twin heroes is very much alike throughout the Southwest, but as might be expected, the Navaho and the Pueblos interpret it differently. Besides their incorporation into war societies, the rituals, songs, and sacred objects pertaining to the heroes are used by the Pueblos to bring fertility and rain. The gods either meet so forcefully that they make the rain fall and their weapons of lightning flash in the sky, or they intercede with the rainmakers. Among the Navaho the twin gods are concerned with war (see the section on War Dance) and with curing, especially when the patient is suffering from witchcraft. Matthews (1888) relates how his Navaho informant, A Chanter, conducted a night vigil for himself, during which he recited a long prayer based on the idea that he and the two principal war gods should go together into the underworld to recover the Chanter's lost spirit from the Queen of Witches.

The gods of the Navaho and the Pueblos are partial to gifts of pollen, cornmeal, feathers, prayersticks, and semi-precious jewels. They like cigarettes, although tobacco smoke blown into the air four times is often sufficient. Four, with its multiples, is the sacred number, and it is important to orient sacred things with reference to the four cardinal

directions as well as to the nadir and zenith. Those who are to participate in a rite bathe first in yucca suds and recite prayers.

Masked dancers impersonate the gods, and if a dancer wears a mask, he is treated reverently, as if he were a god. In one ceremony among the Hopi, for instance, the dancers impersonate the katchinas who have been staying with the tribe through the winter and summer and in July leave for their western, underworld home after having brought rain and good crops to the Hopi fields. In the Night Chant of the Navaho, masked impersonators of the Holy Ones come to the sick person for whom the chant is being held, and apply ointments, pollen, and sacred objects to the patient's body so that the spell will be removed and his mind and body again "restored to beauty." Sandpaintings, beautifully designed and colored to represent the divine beings and scenes from their lives, constitute the altars of the shepherds and farmers. The Navaho patient sits in the midst of this altar painting, to receive medicinal treatments. The Navaho believe that many of their gods live in the old ruins on their reservation, in such places as Canyon de Chelly.

A convenient summary of the religion and culture of the Pueblos has been written by Beals (1955) for the National Park Service. On the Navaho, see the numerous publications of Dr. Washington Matthews, a surgeon who lived for two decades among them. His works are anthropological classics. The subject of the psychological differences between the Navaho, Pueblos, and other Indian tribes has been analyzed by Haeberlin (1916) and by Benedict (1928; 1932).

NAVAHO RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE Hill, in his manuscript on agriculture and hunting, has classified the religious knowledge of the Navaho as of two principal types: the folk knowledge shared by all members of the tribe; and the esoteric which is limited to special classes like the leaders of chants, hunters, and warriors. Even those with esoteric knowledge, which requires much education from an older specialist, cannot comprehend the totality of the religion, for it is too complex and uncoded. The religious geniuses who conduct the nine-day chants know more than other people, since they acquire considerable information about various chants, but they are not given to the analysis and organization of their knowledge. It is more important for them to know the right words and sequences of the hundreds of songs and practices in their special chant so that not a single mistake will mar its potency.

FOLK KNOWLEDGE includes knowing the songs and rites which accompany the events of daily life from sunrise to sunset--benedictions and sacrifices to the gods for meals, rising in the morning, gambling, dedicating a new house, loom or basket; taboos regarding the avoidance of a corpse or any kind of carcass, lack of moderation, whether in weaving, hunting, gathering wealth, or even in practicing religion. The ardently religious imbue these acts with emotion, while the less emotional perform them perfunctorily and in routine fashion, except on an occasion when they too feel the gods to be very near them personally, or when they wish some divine favor.

LIFE CRISES The average individual gains through practical

experience acquaintance with the general character and procedure of ceremonies and songs performed at marriage, birth, adolescence, and death. When a child is born, a chanter sings a song of benediction. Children are led to believe that the masked dancers of chants are the gods, until during a rite in the Night Chant they are asked to wait and see the gods; then they are told that their tribesmen symbolize the Holy Ones. When new masks are being dedicated, little children symbolically feed the gods by placing gruel on the masks.

At an adolescence ceremony for a girl, which was first performed for Changing Woman, she is sent to race with a young man towards the east and back to the hogan. Then she is bathed and daubed with white clay. Songs of blessing are chanted during these acts and then friends and relatives gather to share the corn cake baked in the girl's honor.

At a wedding, the bridegroom enters the hogan of his bride's parents and goes around by the south side of the fire to the northwest side, where a seat has been arranged. The girl, led by her father, joins him. On a basket of gruel with the closed seam of the basket pointing east, the father draws, in ritual order, a cross and a circle of white-and-yellow cornmeal pollen. He turns the basket so that the seam is toward the young couple. After they have ritually washed each other's hands in water, the groom takes a pinch of porridge from where the pollen touches the circle on the east. Then he takes a bit from the south, west, and north sides. His bride follows him in each of these rites. After prayers to the Holy Ones, the guests eat the remaining sacrament (Ethnologic Dictionary: 447-448).

The rituals for disposing of a corpse emphasize that nothing should prevent the spirit from going as quickly as possible to the underworld. Once the four days of official mourning and fasting are over, the spirit becomes one of the dreaded supernatural beings. The Navaho have a great fear of any kind of corpse or carcass, and this fear is still strong today. When the tribe had slaves, they were given the spiritually contaminating job of preparing the corpse. Now that there are no slaves, the tribe is glad to have white people take over the duty, or they select four official mourners from the clan of the deceased or associated clans to take charge of the funeral. Before bathing the corpse and dressing it in fine garments, the mourners unfasten their hair. They strip to breech cloths, lest their clothing become contaminated or hinder the spirit's flight.

The funeral party takes the corpse out through a hole made in the north side of the hogan and then marches silently and quickly, but carefully, to the niche in the rock where the body is to be deposited with valuable possessions, which will insure the dead a welcome in the other world. His horse is killed to accompany him; and formerly if slaves carried the corpse, they too were killed. The weapons of a warrior are not buried with him, for they may frighten and enrage the spirits. The path followed by the party of mourners is known as the death line, and nobody may cross this path for the four days of mourning; nor would any Navaho knowingly do so. The unwitting passerby is warned by the chief mourner, who turns his back and signals the news over his shoulder. Making a complete circle, the party returns, hopping and skipping, to the chindi hogan, which they burn down. The vessels used for bathing the

corpse are left for the Pot-Carrier, an underworld spirit, who, it is believed, collects them.

HATALI The Navaho religious ceremonies are popularly known as "chants." Indian religious ceremonies are sometimes called "dances," but dancing is only a simple and unimportant part of any Navaho ritual compared with the chanting that may continue for several days almost without interruption. The hatali, or chanters, are the religious geniuses who lead the important nine-day ceremonies, like the Night Chant and the Mountain Chant. They know the rites, sandpaintings, songs, and myths of their chant and have the necessary religious paraphernalia for conducting that ceremony. A great hatali is a man of wealth, for he is well paid in goods and money by the patient and his relatives. Some devote all their time to their profession; others lead fewer rites and depend on their livestock for their livelihood. There was no bar against women becoming chanters, yet very few did. They act mainly in minor religious capacities. A chanter does not necessarily wield political power; his power rests on how well he directs a chant (Ethnologic Dictionary, p.382).

If a young man wishes to become a shaman-leader of hunters or warriors, he must have the right kind of knowledge and experience; otherwise he will be only a "killer." By apprenticeship, practical experience, and the teaching of a shaman-leader, he learns the proper rites and songs, or "ways," as they are called, so that he will not bring upon his followers the wrath of those gods who are sacred protectors and prototypes of the earthly animals.

If a man wants to become a hatali, a leader of a chant, he usually has shown an aptitude for religious life in his boyhood, and has a fine, retentive memory, alertness, and intelligence. A relative or clan member who is a chanter will undertake to teach him, if he is worthy, and pass on his accumulated knowledge. Although it is not proper etiquette for the chanter to ask for payment, the student is expected to pay his teacher while he studies, give him the proceeds of the first four times he conducts the chant alone, and a percentage of all future earnings. If he did not, he would be looked down upon, and his curative powers in conducting a chant would be lessened.

The young man must have keen powers of observation and memory because he has to learn hundreds of songs with their accompanying acts, and must remember the slightest of required details. If he makes a mistake, he diminishes the healing power of the ritual, which may have to be abandoned for the time being.

RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS Besides learning the songs, myths, and rites peculiar to his chant, the novice must know certain fundamental religious elements so well that they become second nature to him. The average person, also, frequently knows these details, either through having assisted a chanter or through having been well brought up in a religious family. He is on the alert, anxious to see that the chanter does not make a mistake. Some of the elements in question occur also among the Pueblo tribes.

Objects and acts are oriented to the cardinal directions, which have attendant ethical and color symbolism. With few exceptions, in performing a ritual act, one begins at the east and then goes to the south, west, and north. The color symbolism is expressed in the jewels and in the colors of the sands used in the sandpainting. The east is white, with crystal sacred to it; the south has blue turquoise; the west is symbolized by yellow and abalone shell; the north is as black as its symbolic cannel coal.

Ordinarily, black is the source of evil, disease, and vexation. When a chanter has finished the rites connected with a sweat house or a sandpainting, his assistants gather up the materials according to the prescribed order and deposit them towards the north, so that the disease transferred to them by the ceremony will be carried back to its origin. Similarly, the northern wall of a chindi hogan is wrecked to remove the corpse for burial. Beneficent influences come from the east, so the hogan door faces east, as does the opening of a ceremonial "dark circle of branches." The seam of a marriage or ceremonial basket is oriented to the east, and the chanter lays the tips of sacrificial prayer sticks and cigarettes in the basket so that they are toward the east. In the underworld and among evil witches, the symbolism for east and north is reversed.

The butts and tips of ceremonial articles are carefully noted. The chanter sprinkles sacred pollen on them from their stumps to their tips. In the Night Chant, the masked impersonators of three yei, or minor gods, have twelve prayer sticks, which they touch to the patient's body, beginning at his soles and going in ritual order to his head. Each yei then takes the sticks and deposits them in the four cardinal directions in places sacred to the gods. The sacrificial pollen comes from plant pollen, the dust where deer, antelope, and other animals have stood, and from cornmeal in which jewels, living birds, or animals have been dipped.

The gods are distinguished as to sex, the differences being represented in ritual articles. The chanter and his selected assistants make a kethawn, or prayer stick (Matthews calls it a message to the gods), for each partner of a godly couple. The wood of a cliff rose, which symbolizes the female, is used for the prayer stick or the cigarette intended for a goddess; her husband gets articles of mountain mahogany, which symbolizes the male. Objects intended for a goddess are further distinguished by a notch. Masks representing a goddess are square; for a god they are round. This sexual distinction is applied by the Navaho not merely to the gods, but to the landscape, weather, rivers, colors, directions, and to almost anything which has an opposite. The black north is male; the blue south is female. Cold winds and heavy storms with lightning and thunder are male; soft rains and warm winds are female. The turbulent San Juan River is male; the placid Rio Grande is female.

The hatali carefully direct their assistants in making the sandpaintings, masks, costumes, sacrifices, and ceremonial hogans and sweat houses, and also sees that the raw materials are obtained in the proper way. To make a sandpainting, the workers first lay down three inches of clean sand in the middle of the hogan. The pigments of white, bluish gray,

yellow, black, and red, obtained from minerals, charcoal, and so on, are ground to a smooth powder on a metate and placed on bark palettes. The men create the figures on the sand by dribbling the pigment slowly from between thumb and forefinger. Every detail is traditionally established, but the artists are allowed to invent the designs on the embroidered pouches of the gods. They work from the center of the painting, which is from four to twelve inches in diameter, towards the sides. After the figures of the mythical beings have been painted, medicinal herbs and pollen are sprinkled over the design. The patient enters and is placed sitting in the middle of the painting, ready to receive the medicine and massage of the priest and yei impersonators. To cure aches in a particular part of the body, the priest applies pinches of pollen to the patient from the corresponding part of the pictured body of the god. Finally after the guests have finished medicating themselves, the painting is reverently wiped out and the sand deposited in a ritually specified place. (Matthews, 1897:44-45).

The masked individuals wear costumes of fur, buckskin, or cloth, decorated with Navaho jewels, fur, feathers, or spruce branches, according to the legendary description of the god impersonated. The gods travel on sunbeams, rainbows, and lightning; as they approach an earthly hogan, they call in their characteristic way, which is frequently only a plaintive "hu-u-hu-u." The impersonator of a god does not speak when masked; he uses the gestures and the call peculiar to the god. To the Navaho he is the god while he is masked, and he receives their prayers and sacrifices.

REASONS FOR HOLDING A CHANT As stated earlier, the primary reason for holding a chant among the Navaho is to cure sickness. Disease, bad luck, and weakening of powers are of magical origin regardless of their physical manifestations. A stronger magic is required to offset the evil magic of a wicked god, or of an enemy practicing black magic by shooting evil into one, or of a god angered by a broken taboo or excess of any kind. The Ethnologic Dictionary (p.362 ff.) lists more than two dozen chants. It divides them into two classes: those which do not deal directly with the yei, or gods; and those which originated with and from the gods. Some of the chants are nine days long; others last five; and some have a duration of only one day or a few hours. If the patient does not recover after a chant, it is because the wrong one was given. At the present time the war dance, or chant to dispel enemy ghosts, is very popular. It was described in the section on War. In Matthews' time, the Night Chant, also called Yeibitcai dance, was a favorite, and still is.

CAUSES OF ILLNESS Morgan (1932) and Stevenson (1891) have given us two specific examples of the preliminary events which resulted in holding a nine-day chant. Morgan tells of a chanter who had specialized in the Shooting Chant, which counteracts the magic of arrows and lightning. This singer was plagued by bad dreams of gods pursuing him and trying to drive him to the mountains to kill him. His family feared that the potent power of the sacred objects he handled might bring him ill health, and wanted a ceremony as a kind of insurance to protect him. The chanter consulted a diviner, who is a specialist in diagnosing illness, finding lost articles, and in prophesy.

The diviner does not investigate the patient's symptoms as thoroughly as he gazes at the stars or at the trembling of his own hands to gain insight into the origin of the patient's bad dreams. In this case he diagnosed the bad dreams as the warning of the yei (gods) that they were becoming hostile. Then he and the patient's family decided that the Night Chant would end the bad dreams and insure the practitioner's health. This "prescription" cost the Shooting Chanter more than \$800 and drew from 500 to 600 families as guests.

The Night Chant which Stevenson attended was conducted for a man who had become blind from looking irreverently at sacred masks. A complication developed when it was discovered that the chosen priest's wife was pregnant. There was danger that the unborn child might be affected by the father's looking at the sacred sandpaintings. The priest, however, finally decided that his magic powers were strong enough to overcome this possibility of evil, and he conducted the ceremony.

Once the diagnostician has determined the cause of the disease and the chant to cure it, a messenger, bearing a gift, requests the hatali who conducts the chosen chant to lead the ceremonies. "He placed a gift before the singer, who in turn passed it from his left foot upward over his forehead, replacing the gift on his right foot. He then held it to his mouth, inhaling its breath, after which he appointed a special day as that of his arrival." The time is usually four days later. (Ethnologic Dictionary, p.381). The chanter confirms the agreement by sending the messenger home with his valuable medicinal pouch, a long buckskin bag full of magical pollen, fetishes from animals, plants, and rocks, and articles symbolic of the owner's specialty.

THE MOUNTAIN CHANT The Mountain Chant is selected as an example of a Navaho nine-day ceremony because it is simpler than the Night Chant in that a single legend, which tells of the chant's origin and first performance, is re-enacted during the nine days.

The story is that long ago an old couple with their two sons and two daughters wandered far north of the San Juan River, the river of Old Age, whose white foam is like the beard of an old man. The men hunted for game while the women gathered wild vegetables and seeds. The men were unsuccessful in hunting, so the father, who knew some hunting rites, taught the boys to build sweat houses of four different kinds of wood at the four cardinal directions. They sweated four times in silence; then the daughters washed the men's hair in yucca suds. After this purification they were ready to make the deer head disguises with which to trap deer and to learn the chants for successful hunting.

One day while the hero of the story was out hunting, he wandered from his course and disobeyed his father's taboo. "Instead of looking south in the direction in which he was going, he looked to the north, the country in which dwelt his people. Before him were the beautiful peaks of Cepentsa, with their forested slopes. The clouds hung over the mountain, the showers of rain fell down its sides, and the country looked beautiful. And he said to the land, 'Aqalani!' (Greeting!), and a feeling of loneliness and homesickness came over him, and he wept and sang this song:

'That flowing water! That flowing water!
My mind wanders across it.
That broad water! That flowing water!
My mind wanders across it.
That old age water! That flowing water!
My mind wanders across it.'

"The gods heard his song and they were about to gratify his wishes. He was destined to return to Cepentsa, but not in the manner he most desired. Had he gazed to the south, when he ascended the hill, instead of to the north, it might have been otherwise." (Matthews, 1887:393).

Some Utes on horseback captured him. (This anachronism--that the Indians had horses in ancient times--does not worry the narrator.) The Utes wrung his hunting secrets from him, and kept him as a slave. Twelve days later, while they were away, the young man began to get advice from the gods. An old woman called, "My grandchild, do something for yourself." That night, while the Utes held a council to determine his fate the hero heard the voice of a Talking God, a Yeibitcai, calling in the distance, "Hu, hu, hu." The god entered the lodge on a streak of white lightning (in the manner of the gods), and he too asked the hero why he did not do something for himself.

The Utes fell into a magic sleep. The hero escaped with the Yeibitcai as a guide. They used lightning for travel and as a lasso. When time Utes woke up and pursued them, the Yeibitcai made a bridge of rainbows. The hero was only a mortal with a heavy tread, and the bridge was too soft. (This incident is very humorous to the Navaho, and as the Utes are gaining on the hero all the while the gods play their jokes, the suspense is great.) Finally they made a rainbow as hard as ice.

The hero took refuge in the splendid mountain homes of the gods and the animals, where he was beautified, massaged, dressed in fine clothes, and taught many secret things. He was given the name of "Reared-Within-the-Mountains." His adventures express the zoölatry of the Navaho. He learned the chants, sandpaintings, costumes, taboos, and sacrifices which today honor each of his protectors. He visited Old Man Bushrat, Bear, Weasel, Great Serpent, The Maiden-Who-Became-a-Bear, the Wind Gods, the Holy Young Men and Women, and many others. He always refused food, for had he eaten the food of the gods he would never have returned home.

At last he came back to his people. First, a medicine man purified him to remove the contact of the Holy Ones and restore him to earthly life. The shadow of his experiences still hung over him, however, so it was decided to give a chant with the ceremonies he had learned in the mountains. After four days of rites, messengers invited other tribes to attend. There was much merrymaking, gambling, racing, and feasting--essential parts of the public events of a ceremony. Like the great chants, gambling can go on only in winter, when the snakes are hibernating and the thunder is silent. Later the Holy Ones took "Reared-Within-the-Mountains" to dwell with them.

Matthews (1887) describes a Mountain Chant held to cure a sick

woman. During the first four days, there was much preparation, and purification with emetics, and sweating in a medicine lodge around a fire made of four different kinds of wood. This purification and "fumigation" with smoke from a coal and the fragrance of pollen took place every day during the period of the chant. Then the patient was touched in a ritual manner with the sacrifices, which consisted of pollen and other sacred objects. On the fifth day, after the assistants had cleaned the lodge and ground the pigments, they made the first sandpainting. First, signs were set outside the lodge to inform the gods that the paintings were being created. These signs were wands with collars of beaver and symbols for the wings to be worn by the messengers on the next day. When the painting was ready, the wands were removed.

At nightfall, the patient sat in the south of the lodge, the shaman in the north. An important character in the evening's events was a dancer, dressed in evergreens, who hid in a niche in the north part of the lodge and appeared four times. (In other chants, the ceremonial niche is in the western end). The chanter began to erase the painting at the western end. The patient lay down on it, facing the east, and was touched with the sacred articles. For two more days, similar rites were performed, and more elaborate paintings were created to depict the visits of "Reared-Within-the-Mountains" to the homes of the gods. On the eighth day, after making a simple painting, the workers stacked wood twelve feet high; and the women baked a special corn cake for the assistants.

The ninth day of a great chant may be private and inside the lodge. However, if the patient wishes, spectacular dances are held on the last night and the public, from miles around and from other tribes, attends. Matthews stated that the day was spent in practicing the tricks and making the equipment according to ritual laws. At sunset, the workers constructed, around the stack of wood, the "dark circle of branches," a corral forty paces in diameter, eight feet high, with an eastern opening ten feet wide. No one may cross the sacred ground before this opening, even if they pass as far as two miles away. (Matthews, 1887: 430 ff.).

The dances continued all night. Fire dancers thrust wands near the fire to burn off the eagle down attached to the tips; others bathed themselves and their fellow dancers in the flames. Sword swallowing was practiced in the sacred, great plumed arrow dance, and later, participants burlesqued these dances by pretending to swallow long pinyon poles. There was much burlesque and comic relief. Porcupine quills were made to dance, and yucca grew in a few minutes from a seed to a full grown plant. Dancers, gorgeously clad in red silk, coral, feathers, and silver-studded belts, represented the sun and the moon.

RITE OF BLESSING AND SONGS Whenever a ceremony is held to cure illness, the chanter always holds a special vigil for the gods, a renewal, or benediction called hozhoji (rite of blessing). This vigil may last one night during a nine-day ceremony, or only an hour in the ceremonies for life crises and in everyday events which need a religious rite. The idea seems to be that so long as one is in contact with the gods to request the cure of an individual, one should hold a special honorary vigil for them and ask them for good health, blessings, and an abundance of "hard" and "soft" goods for the whole tribe. In the midst of turbulent

and anxious chanting to remove evil, the people and the gods think of a happier future. (Matthews, 1888.)

Of Navaho songs, Matthews (1897) wrote: "It is probable that all rhetorical figures of speech known to our poets may be found in these simple compositions of the Navahoes." The imagery with which they describe the ways and homes of the yei is very beautiful. The People-on-the-Earth, as the Navaho call themselves, apply the imagery to their daily life. For instance, the first iron-gray horse made by the gods was of turquoise, the first sorrel horse of carnelian, the first black horse of cannel coal, the first white horse of white shell, and the first pie bald horse of haliotis shell. The People-on-the-Earth today name their horses after the colored jewels of which the first horses were created.

The Mountain Chant has many songs. Matthews lists thirteen major sets, each composed of many individual songs. One must know the associated myth to appreciate the meaning of some poems. There are others with archaic expressions and meaningless syllables, which, nevertheless, must be repeated exactly if the chant is to have any curative value.

A famous poem or chant, from this great nine-day ceremony, illustrates the use of repetition and the contrast of the mighty thunder and the little grasshopper, to achieve poetic beauty: (Matthews, 1897:27):

"The voice that beautifies the land!
The voice above,
The voice of the thunder,
Among the dark clouds
Again and again it sounds,
The voice that beautifies the land.

"The voice that beautifies the land!
The voice below,
The voice of the grasshopper,
Among the flowers and grasses
Again and again it sounds,
The voice that beautifies the land."

The Night Chant, too, has many prayers which illustrate the way in which the Navaho sing the praises of their gods and ask for blessing and renewal. The gods are called from their homes to receive the offerings, to remove the spell on the sick person, and to restore everything to happiness and beauty. They are told that all the people now regard them with happiness, as they prepare to go home.

"Happily, as they scatter in different directions, they will regard you,
Happily, as they approach their homes, they will regard you.
Happily, may their roads be on the trail of pollen (peace).
Happily may they all get back."

The concluding lines of most Navaho prayers are similar to the following, a kind of Amen:

"In beauty I walk.

With beauty before me, may I walk.
With beauty behind me, may I walk.
With beauty above me, may I walk.
With beauty below me, may I walk.
With beauty all around me may I walk.
In old age wandering on a trail of beauty, lively, may I
walk.
In old age wandering on a trail of beauty, living again, may
I walk.
It is finished in beauty. It is finished in beauty."

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Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today

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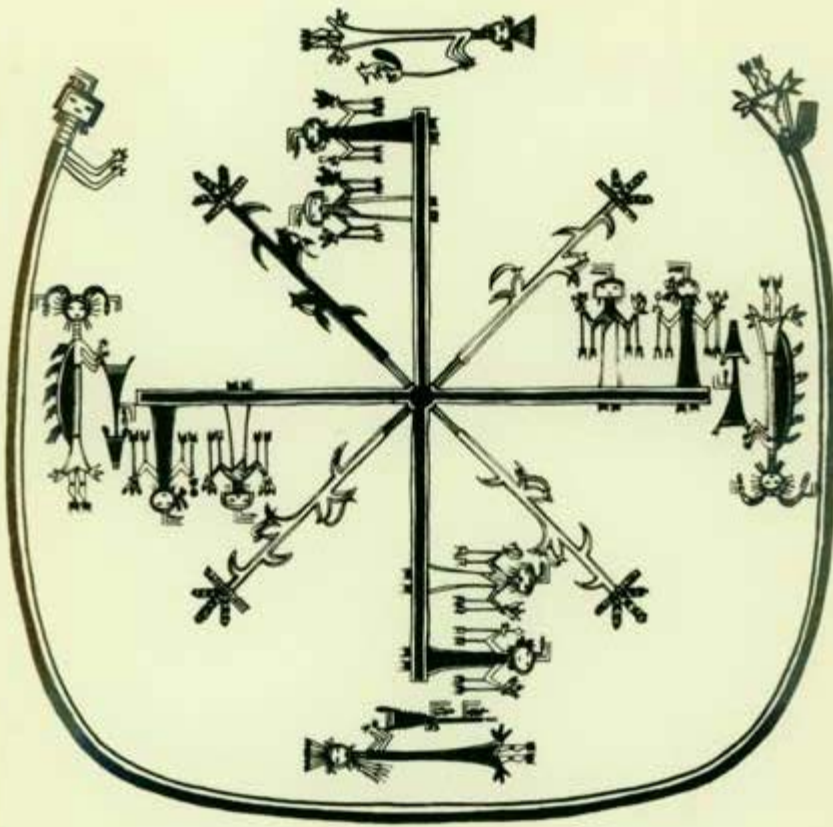
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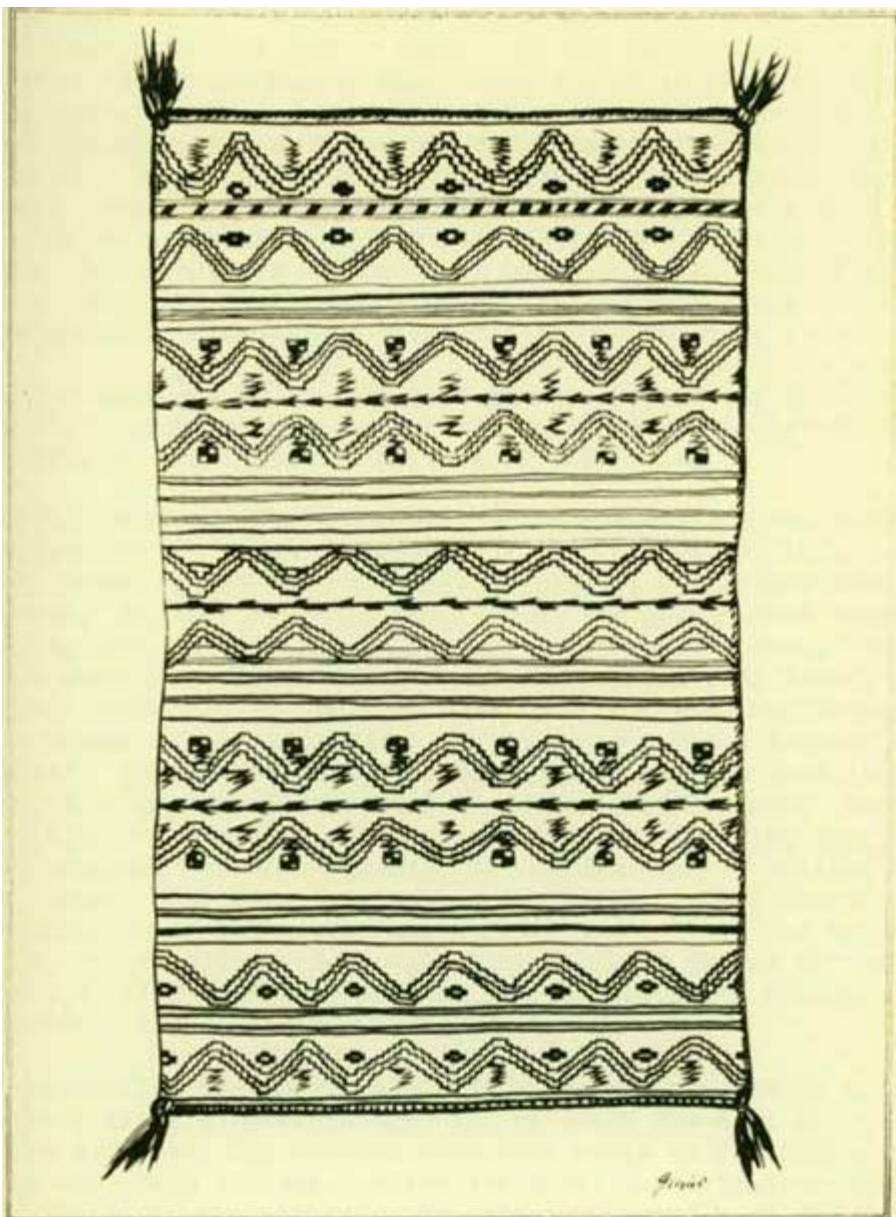


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SAND PAINTING OF THE WHIRLING LOGS
Used in the Night Chant
(from Matthews, 1902)

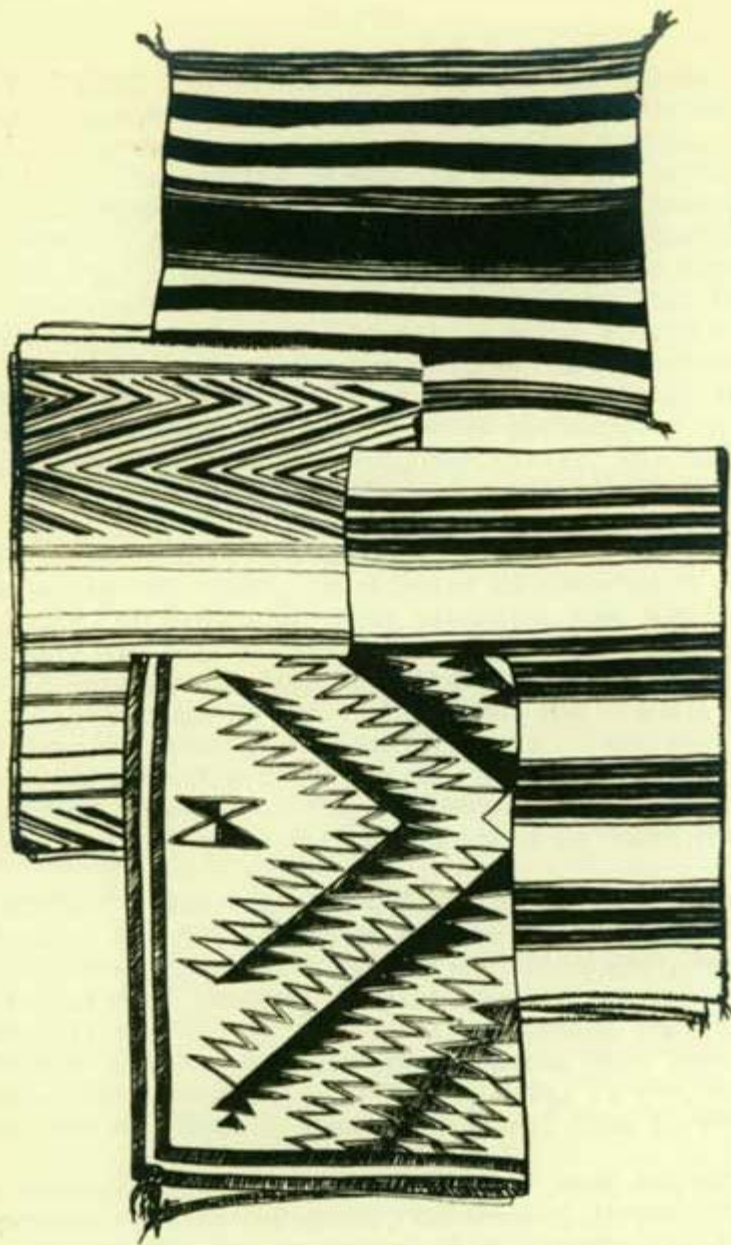


NAVAHO CAMP SCENE



BLANKET OF BAYETA STRIPED WOOL

(Museum of Anthropology, University of California.)



BLANKET TYPES - PLATE IV

Chief's Blanket (Ansdon, "Maraho Weaving")
Pulled Warp Blanket (Mus. of Anthro., Univ. of Calif.)
Saddle Blanket (Same)
Germantown Terraced Design (Same)



NAVAHO JEWELRY - PLATE V

Bracelet

Bracelet

Squash Blossom Necklace

Button

Ring

Concha Belt

Wrist Guard

Wrist Guard



NAVAHO WOMAN'S NATIVE DRESS
(Amsden, "Navaho Weaving")