

THE
ENDURING NAVAHO

By

L A U R A G I L P I N

PUBLISHERS

THE ENDURING NAVAHO

THE FERNING
A Carson Chronicle
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THE PUEBLOS

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In past years nature provided sufficient pasture for their flocks, sufficient arable land for their simple farming, while the trading posts offered a market for their products.

DEDICATED
TO
ELIZABETH WARHAM FORSTER, R.N.

Dear Betsy:-

This is as much your book as mine. not only have you shared completely in the making of it, but also you have taught me to understand the Navaho People. Our association with the Navaho goes back to a vacation trip in the fall of 1930 when we were mis-directed (by a white man) on the road from Kayenta to Chinle, Arizona on the western side of the reservation, and got ourselves wonderfully lost ending with an empty gasoline tank. How we laugh now over that experience. Yet how important it was, for it led you to a position as field nurse to the Navaho the following year.

I can see us now, sitting in the old Buick wondering what we should do. I, for some reason, thought I had to do something immediately. We were in the middle of a vast semi-desert, visibility in every direction was fifty miles or more, but we saw nothing, not a distant hogan, nor a horse, nor a flock of sheep,- just empty land. so I set forth on foot leaving you to guard the car (from what I dont quite know!) with hope that another traveler might come along who would give you gasoline. How well I remember my thoughts as I trudged along, recalling every tale I had ever heard of a similar experience. How mortified I was at having lost my way. I remember meeting a Navaho man and little boy in a wagon, coming out of a wash. I tried to talk to them but they spoke no English. I pointed in the direction of Chinle, indicating that I would pay them to take me there, but the man shook his head, then reaching for something under a canvass in the wagon bed, handed me three cool, delicious peaches. Finally after an

emotionally stimulated walk of two and one half hours, I reached Frazer's trading post. The trader was away, but his understanding wife took me and the needed gasoline back to you and the car, a distance of more than ten miles. I remember imagining how worried you must be over my long absence. Never will I forget topping a gentle rise in the undulating desert and seeing the lonely car completely surrounded by NAVAHO INDIANS, like a swarm of bees about a honey-suckle. When we arrived, there you were in the midst of the gathering, happily playing cards with your visitors! Your ensuing tale of how the Navaho had arrived, two or three at a time, seemingly from nowhere to find out what the trouble was and to offer help, both surprised and interested me.

A year later, I recall my concern when you told me you were accepting a position as a field nurse to the Navaho, sponsored by a private organization. I wondered where and how you would live, what your work would consist of, whom you would have to help you. Later when I came to visit, I found you in snug though primitive quarters. As I listened to tales of your experiences, I, too, became interested in these people, impressed by their rugged character and their mode of life. From time to time my visits revealed the work you were doing, your understanding, your patience, your kindness and generosity, for you literally gave of your substance as well as your knowledge and nursing skill. I saw the response of the Navaho People to your attitude toward them, your willingness to go anywhere at any time when a call came for help. I know too, the lives you saved and the succor you gave.

When the depression came and there were no more funds to continue your work, you had to leave. I helped you pack and move. I can re-live that final morning when six of your best friends arrived, watched our every act, then suddenly, solmenly, and without warning,

they all stood, bowed their heads and wept in unison.

During the past fourteen years, together we have hunted for old friends after a lapse of more than twenty years, finding many, making many new ones, and exploring nearly the whole of the reservation. I have watched old friends turn to you for medical aid the moment they saw your face. What fun we have had evolving this book. Your help when I was after difficult pictures, your sound criticism and encouragement, finally have brought the book to completion. So as a tribute to our long and happy friendship, this is your book.

PREFACE

Within the boundries of their twenty five thousand square mile reservation, more than one hundred thousand Navaho People, the largest tribe of Indians in North America, are striving for existence on a land not productive enough to sustain their increased population. They are striving not only to exist, but also to meet an encroaching way of life with which they are in a large measure, unfamiliar. It is within the last thirty years that the Navaho have been faced with this growing needssity for change- a change so great for them, that we can scarcely comprehend it. Their traditional mode of living- simple, carefree, undisturbed by the great pressures of our complex civilization, has required changes needing adaptation to an existence utterly alien to them. In past years nature provided sufficient pasture for their flocks, sufficient arable land for their simple farming, ^{while} the trading posts ^{offered} a market for their products.

To-day the Navaho find themselves with a population more than three times greater than their land can support. Thirty years ago, they felt the white man far away, save for those few with whom they traded, but to-day they are surrounded by a constantly growing white population. Navaholand is no longer the far away wild country of the Southwest. This encroaching pressure is sharply felt, and the Navaho are rising to meet it. Thirty years ago, many were reluctant to go to the reservation schools; they were shy and diffident about learning the ways of our people. To-day, they are clamoring for education and there are many more children wanting to go to school than there are schools or teachers to fill this demand.

It has been my privilege to know some of the old life, and to observe much of this transition. It has been intensely interesting, often heartbreaking, sometimes amusing, and in general filling me with

admiration for these people. Photography is essentially the medium to record and interpret such change. There is no pretense here of scientific or ethnologic approach, but all factual statements have been checked with some of our leading scientists and finally with the Navaho People as well. This book is rather the presentation of the Navaho people as human beings- what they look like, how they live, the things they do. Some of these pictures were made more than thirty years ago, most of them during the past fourteen years.

There are many books about the Navaho; books by scientists, ethnologists, physicians and psychologists. Many of the authors have far greater knowledge of the Navaho than I. My endeavor has been to create an image of the people, their life and their country, carrying it through important phases. I am well aware of many gaps, but it is my hope that these pages will stir an understanding ^{of} in this energetic tribe, and awaken an interest in their imagination^{ve} and poetic background.

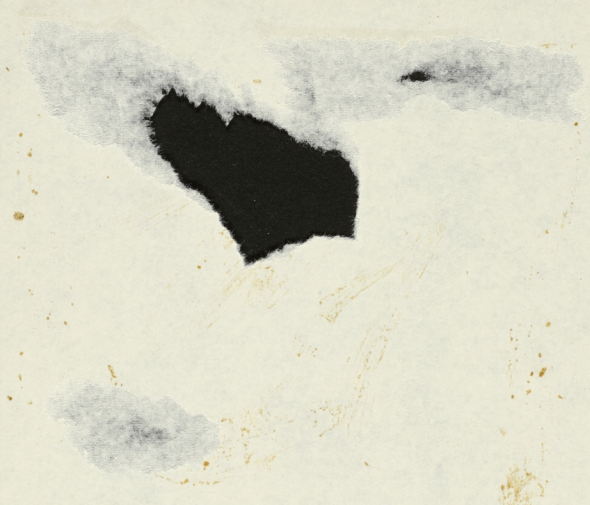
I have been fortunate indeed in the friends I have made, and the co-operation I have received from the interested Navaho People. This, therefore, is an interpretation of a wonderful people just as I have found them, a people having great pride, dignity and ability and who deserve our sincere respect.

Laura Gilpin
Santa Fe,
New Mexico.
1964.

PART I

A.

CREATION ^{STORY}~~MYTH~~



THE CREATION ^{Story} ~~MYTH~~

To understand the Navaho People, even in small measure, it is essential to know at least some part of their symbolic ritual. That they have so rich a tradition comes as a surprise to those unfamiliar with their background. The Navaho have retained their culture through centuries without the use of written language, without centers of education, without a religious head, for there is no such office. It simply exists in every person, in every family, in every part of their land. As the ^{Legends} ~~myths~~, the chants and the symbolism are myriad, and as knowledge of these must be handed down by word of mouth or they perish, Navaho capacity for memory has become very great. There is always a medicine man who carries on these beliefs, who conducts the ceremonies, who teaches others. The Creation ^{Story} ~~Myth~~, as its title indicates, contains the roots of this symbolism, and signifies Navaho relation to all of nature. Like our Old Testament, the Navaho story contains a flood, expulsion from one world to another, and throughout, a strong suggestion of evolution.

Beginning with Dr. Washington Matthews, an Army surgeon stationed at Fort Wingate in the 1880s, and followed by a number of students and ethnologists who gathered their information from many medicine men, this myth has been recorded, and though there are variations, the basic characters are similar. From the myths has come the Blessing Way Ceremony- the most sacred to the Navaho People- and also the great variety of symbolic uses of plants and animals, birds and insects, colors and substances. Four colors and substances are associated with the four directions and the four sacred mountains- white and white shell indicate the East; blue and turquoise, the South; yellow and coral or abalone, the West;; black and jet the North. Then there is the sacred number Four (or multiples thereof), the four seasons, the

the four directions, the four major colors, the four sacred mountains.

The Navaho believe that the People came from lower worlds, passing through four of them (some say twelve) to emerge into this present Fifth World. Early Navaho concept, like that of all races, was that the world was flat, that the sky was supported by supernatural beings, and that the sun came in the morning and left at night, that the moon and stars were hung in the sky to be seen after the sun had departed. They believe that the next world is the world of the spirit, and beyond that a world where everything merges into the cosmos. Their only concern, however, is with this present life in the Fifth World.

The ^{Story} ~~Myth~~ tells of life beginning in a lower world, the First World, where it was predestined that the prototypes of living creatures, as well as inanimate elements, came into being. Here began the duality of life, male and female. There were twelve kinds of people inhabiting this First World, which was dark, and though they are spoken of as people, they ~~were~~ insects as we know them. There were DARK ANTS-RED ANTS- DRAGON FLIES- YELLOW BEETLES- STONE CARRIER BEETLES- DUNG BEETLES- HARD BEETLES- BLACK BEETLES- BATS- WHITE FACED BEETLES- LOCUSTS- AND WHITE LOCUSTS. There were oceans far off in each direction, and in each ocean a chief or deity. The people quarreled among themselves and the chiefs told them they must go elsewhere.

Entering a hole in the East, the People emerged into the Second World. Here they found the Bird People with whom they made friends. They sent out their couriers, Locust and White Locust, to explore the land, but though ^{they} reached the edge of the world, they found only bare ground. After a while there was more quarreling, and the Bird People told them they must go away.

Once more they flew upwards and finding a cleft in the sky, they found their way into the Third World. Again the couriers went out to explore and again found bare land except for a great river flowing

to the East. This was the female river, and flowing into it was the male river, thus symbolizing generation. Grasshopper People lived in the Third World and the People mingled with them asking them to join them that they might be as one tribe. But once again there was quarreling, and once more they were expelled. They flew upward in wide circles but found the sky hard and smooth. As they searched for an exit, a red head emerged from the sky. It was the Red Wind who told them to fly to the West. Here they found a spiral passage made by the Wind, and flying up through it they reached the Fourth World. Four Grasshopper People went with them one white, one blue, one yellow, and one black, and to this day the People have grasshoppers of these colors.

When the People entered the Fourth World, They saw four great snow covered mountains on the far horizon of each direction. Once again the couriers went out to explore. To the East they found no sign of life, to the South they saw tracks of the deer and the turkey, and to the West again no sign of life. But when they returned from the North, the couriers told of finding a race of strange men who cut their hair square in front, and who lived in houses on the ground, and who cultivated fields. The following day, two of these strangers- the Kiis'aani (the Pueblo People) came to the exiles' camp and later guided them to water. The water was red and the Kiis'aani told the People that they must not cross the river on foot or their feet would be injured. The Kiis'aani showed the People a square raft made of logs- a white pine, a blue spruce, a yellow pine, and a black spruce. So the People crossed the river to visit the homes of these friends who gave them corn pumpkins to eat. This land had neither rain nor snow and the crops were raised by irrigation.

Late in the autumn the People heard the sound of a distant voice calling. It came from the East. Three times more they heard the voice, each time nearer than before. At last four mysterious beings appeared. They were White Body, Blue Body, Yellow Body and Black Body. These beings made signs to the People but did not speak, and after they had gone the People wondered what these signs meant. Three times the gods visited them but still did not talk. On the fourth day Black Body stayed ~~astand~~ the others had gone and spoke to the People in their own language. "You do not understand the signs the gods make to you. I will tell you what they mean. They wish to ^{make} more people, but they want the forms of these people to be like themselves. You have bodies like theirs, but you have the teeth, the feet and the claws of insects. The new people will have hands and feet like ours. Have yourselves well cleansed when we return which will be in twelve days."

On the morning of the twelfth day, the People washed themselves thoroughly, the women drying themselves with yellow corn meal, the men with white corn meal. Soon they heard the call of the gods shouted four times, each time nearer than before, and after the fourth call, the gods appeared. Blue Body and Black Body each carried a sacred buckskin. White Body carried two ears of corn, one white and one yellow, each perfect with grains to the tip. One buckskin was laid on the ground with the head to the West. On it they placed the two ears of corn with the tips to the East. Under the white ear they put the feather from the white eagle, and under the yellow ear, a feather from the yellow eagle. Over all they spread the other buckskin.

The gods told the People to stand away to allow the Wind to enter. The White Wind blew from the East and the Yellow Wind from the West,

said- that the women thought they could get along without the men. "Let us leave them" he said, "and see if they can till the fields and hunt game, and let us take the Kiis'aani with us". So Spey crossed the river on the raft taking with them the things they had made. The Kiis'aani went too, but they took their wives with them.

The first year all went well, the women had plenty of food, and they sang and had a merry time. As the men had to start new fields, they did not have so much to eat. The second year the women did not do so well, while the men increased their fields and crops. In the third year, the women did still less well, and the men better still; In the fourth year the women had little to eat and the men much more than they needed.

And First Man began to think about what he had done and that the race might perish. He sent a man to the bank of the river who called to First Woman asking her if she still thought she could live alone. The answer came back that the women could not live without their husbands. So amidst great rejoicing, the women were brought across the river on the raft. It was soon discovered that three were missing, a woman and her two daughters. After nightfall the voices of the missing ones were heard begging to be ferried across, but they were told to wait until morning. The mother could not wait and swam across, but the daughters disappeared. For three days and nights the People heard nothing of the missing ones.

On the morning of the fourth day the call of the gods was heard, and after the fourth call White Body appeared holding up two fingers and pointing to the river. White Body went away but soon returned with Blue Body, each carrying a bowl, one white and one blue. They put the bowls on the water spinning them as they did so, and the water parted beneath the bowls giving entrance to a house with four rooms, one in each direction. The mother and her husband entered the house, Coyote following them, and then the first three empty, they entered the

fourth room to the north. Here they saw Water Monster, with two of his children, and sitting beside him were their own two daughters. The man and woman demanded their daughters, and, as Water Monster said nothing, they took them and went away. While no one was looking, Coyote slyly stole the children of the Water Monster, hiding them under his robe. No one noticed this as Coyote always wore his robe folded around himself.

The next day the People were surprised to see all sorts of game running past them, going from East to West. This went on for three days, and on the morning of the fourth day They saw a strange gleam after the white light rose in the East. They sent the Locust Couriers to see what it was. They returned to say that there was a vast flood approaching from the East. The People and the Klis'aani assembled, bemoaning their fate and knew not what to do. They climbed a hill to hold a council. Then they saw two men drawing near, one was old and had grey hair, the other young. They passed right through the crowd without speaking and sat down on top of the hill, the young man in front, the old man behind him, and Locust behind them both, and they all turned and faced the East. The old man took seven bags from his robe telling the People that he had bits of earth from the Seven Sacred Mountains. The People asked him if he could help them, and he replied that perhaps his son could, but the People must face the West for they must not see him at his work.

Soon the People were called and they saw the sacred earth spread out on the ground. Planted in it were four reeds with four joints, and as they watched, the roots spread out going into the earth, and the reeds jointed into one, growing rapidly, and in the Eastern side of the big reed was a great hole. The young man told the People to enter and when they were all in, the hole closed behind them and they heard the splashing of the waters as the flood came near. Turkey was the last to enter the reed and his tail got wet with the foam from the flood, and

that is why Turkey has white tips to his tail feathers.

The People climbed inside the reed and soon it began to sway, but Black Body blew a great breath through the top of the reed and a black cloud formed around the top holding it steady. As the People climbed, the reed grew higher and again it began to sway. Black Body took a plume from his headband and stuck it through the top of the reed, fastening it to the sky. And that is why the reed now always carries a plume. The People sent Locust up to find a hole in the sky, and finding a small opening into the upper world, heo the upper world, coming out on a island in the middle of a lake. But the hole was too small for the People to get through, so they sent Badger to dig it out. When Badger returned his legs were all covered with mud and that is why the legs of badgers have been black ever since.

Then First Man and First Woman led the way and they all emerged to the surface of this, the Fifth World. On the fourth day, someone looked down through the hole and saw the water rushing up. First Man called a council and pointing to Coyote, said that there was something wrong about Coyote for he never took off his robe. So the People searched Coyote and two strange objects fell to the ground. These were the children of the Water Monster whom Coyote had stolen from under the river. The People threw the children into the hole and at once the water subsided.

On the fifth night one of the hermaphrodite twins stopped breathing and they all wondered what had become of her breath; they hunted for it everywhere. While the People were hunting for the lost breath, two men looked down the hole of emergence, and there they saw the hermaphrodite sitting on a rock combing her hair. They told the People what they had seen, but on the fourth day both men died, and ever since the People have feared to look upon the dead.

Now the Kiis'aanii were camped some little distance from the others,

and one of the People found that they had brought an ear of corn with them from the lower world. Some wanted to take this away from the Kiis'aanii, others said that that would be wrong, but some young men went to demand the corn and angry words followed. But the friendly Kiis'aanii offered to break the ear in two and give the People their choice of the pieces. While the young men were considering which piece to take, Coyote grabbed the tip and ran away with it, leaving the butt end for the Kiis'aanii, and that is why the Pueblo People have always had better corn than the Navaho. After the angry words, the Kiis'aanii moved away from the People, which is why they and the Navaho live apart to-day.

Then First Man and First Woman, Black Body and Blue Body, built seven sacred mountains with the earth brought from the lower world. And the four Great Mountains were SISNAAJINI to the East, TSOODZIL to the South, DOK'OOSLIID to the West, and BIBENTSAA to the North. Within these boundaries were the three lesser mountains, CH'OL'I'I, DZIL NA'OODILII, and NAATSIS'AAN. These are still the Sacred Mountains of the Dineh, the Navaho People.

But times were bad and there were many Enemy Monsters who killed and ate people. One day First Man was standing in DZIL NA'OODILII, and looking to the East he saw a rain cloud resting on CH'OL'I'I. Each day it enveloped the mountain more and more, and on the fourth day it completely covered it. He told First Woman that something unusual was happening, and set forth to see what it was, singing a Blessing Song as he went.

When First Man reached CH'OL'I'I, he heard a baby cry; it was lying with its head toward the West. Its cradle was made of two short rainbows; over the baby's chest and feet lay the red beams of the rising sun. Arched over its face was another short rainbow. Four blankets covered the baby; one black, one blue, one yellow, and the fourth was a white cloud. Along both sides were rows of loops made of lightening, and through these, sunbeams were laced back and forth. First Man did not know what to do with the fastenings, so he took the

baby back to DZIL NA'OODILII to First Woman, telling her where he had found the baby in the rain and darkness. Soon they heard the call of Talking God, and then the call of House God, as they came. Talking God clapped his hands over his mouth saying that something important had happened, for the baby was what the Holy People had been wishing for. Talking God placed the cradle on the ground and with one pull of the strings, the lacings came free.

"This is my daughter" First Woman said, and First Man said the same. Days passed which were the same as years, and when two days passed, the baby sat up, and in four days she walked. Then she was dressed in white shell. On the tenth day she was named WHITE SHELL WOMAN (she was also called CHANGING WOMAN), and thus she was brought by the Holy People to become, perhaps, the most pre-eminent of the supernatural beings, for she symbolizes fertility, and re-generation, and bringing all green things to life year after year.

This is a part of the Creation ^{Story} ~~Myth~~ of the Dineh-the Navaho People.

THE SACRED MOUNTAINS

SISNAAJINI	Mount Blanca, San Luis Valley, Colorado
TSOODZIL	Mount Taylor, north to Laguna, New Mexico
DOKO'OOSLIID	The San Francisco Peaks, near Flagstaff, Arizona
DIBENTSA	Mount Hesperus, La Platta Mountains, Colorado

THE THREE LESSER SACRED MOUNTAINS

CH'OO'L'I'I	Gobernador Knob. In Old Navaholand of the reservoir
DZIL NA'OODILII	Huerfano Mesa, south of Farmington, New Mexico
NAATSIS'AAN	Navaho Mountain, southeastern Utah.

Just below the junction of the San Juan and the Pine Rivers in north central New Mexico, where the new Navaho Dam is now creating a large reservoir, there was a meadow on the eastern side of the San Juan. Along one side of the meadow was a cliff of reddish sandstone, and etched into this facade was a series of petroglyphs chipped out of the rock with obsidian tools centuries ago. Here were the remnants of petroglyphs of the Twin Hero Gods (Twin War Gods), sons of Changing Woman and the Sun, who slew the monsters on this earth that the Diné might safely live here. On this sheer slab of rock ^{with all the attributes} also was another petroglyph of Changing Woman Herself- she who symbolizes the continuance of life- who renews growth, who benefits all living things. In one hand she holds an ear of corn, in the other ^{a cantarel containing pollen; around her neck, the rainbow necklace.} a cantarel containing pollen; around her neck, the rainbow necklace.

The story relates how a ray of light from the sun passed through drops of water from a water fall, impregnating Changing Woman. When twins were born, one was named Monster Slayer, the other Child-of-the-Water. ~~This is possibly the only image of this sacred Navaho Deity, for she is never depicted in any sand painting, or in any way.~~

^{these petroglyphs}
Now ~~she and her Hero sons~~ are submerged beneath the waters of the reservoir, but surely the Spirit of Changing Woman will bless this walter as it goes forth onto the dry and barren land, fulfilling her mission of renewing life, and bringing new crops and a richer life to many of the Diné.

MAIZE

The domestication and hybridization of maize, or corn, has been perhaps the most important achievement of the American Indian, giving the Western Hemisphere its most stable food. For many years scientists have searched for the true ancestor of corn such as was found in the Americas at the time of the arrival of the first European explorers. A good many years ago, scientists found two wild grasses related to corn, but not true corn itself. Recently the great antiquity of corn was proved with the finding of corn pollen in drilled cores taken from strata at the bottom of the lake site on which Mexico City now stands. These pollen grains are estimated to be 80,000, years old.

Following this discovery a systematic search has been under way since 1960 headed by Dr. Richard MacNeish of Canada, and his associates. Some previous findings in New Mexico and northern Mexico had produced corncobs which, when tested by the remarkable carbon 14 method of dating substances, were approximately five thousand years old. Now, after four years of excavation and research, cave sites in the valley of Mexico Tehuacan, south of Mexico City, have yielded the final evidence of the true corn plant and the proof of its domestication and hybridization. In these caves beneath twenty eight layers of human occupation, corncobs from the true wild plant were found dating back to 5000 B.C. Each era of occupation left its evidence, and in later levels dating about 4000 B.C., cobs from early domesticated corn were found; then an early hybrid variety dating 3000 B.C.; and finally cobs from modern corn, such as ~~that~~ found by ~~European~~ ~~that~~ ~~by~~ ~~Europeans~~, dating 1000 B.C.

Dr. MacNeish's team which included archaeologists, botanists, and scientists of other related subjects, have found that this hybridization was achieved with the use of the wild corn plant itself and the two related wild grasses, the Teosinte and Tripsacum, thus producing the early

* Scientific American, November 1964.

and here the ancient Navaho came to hunt, seeing always their sacred mountain before them. To the West, over the continental divide, the new Navaho Dam has now been completed at the confluence of the San Juan and Pine Rivers. Just above the dam site during the field seasons of 1959, 1960, and 1961, the salvage archaeology project of the Museum of New Mexico uncovered more comprehensive data of the early whereabouts of the Navaho and their Apache cousins. These sites, farther north than excavations made some years ago by other archaeologists, have extended the area known as Old Navaholand. These recent unearthings have revealed simple, crude hogans (Navaho houses) dating from about the middle of the sixteenth century. This date, so much later than all other sources of Indian life in this region, seems to indicate that the Navaho may well have been the last migration to reach the Southwest. Whence and how they came has yet to be determined.

The Spanish Colonists who came to New Mexico in 1598 came in contact with many Indian Groups. During the years that followed, they wrote often of the Apaches, usually designating which Apache group, for there must have been several at that time all speaking the Athabaskan language. In the chronicle of Fray Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron written in 1626, he speaks of the "Apaches de Nabahu" (or Nabajo), as being farmers who lived in this old Navaholand area. Just when the Navaho as a group split from their Apache cousins is a matter of conjecture. They doubtless learned the rudiments of agriculture from Pueblo People with whom they must have come in contact, for all the archaeologists who have worked in this area found remnants of corn, squash and bean seed in their excavations.

Thinking always of the Navaho, where they came from and how they

traveled, we could see from the air that the distance from Old Navaholand to Sisnaajini is not great, and though there are mountains in between, there are passes through which travelers can find a way. Because of its severance by a wide low pass, Sisnaajini appears a mountain by itself and is a natural landmark--Sisnaajini, Navaho Sacred Mountain of the East.

Following plans for a longer flight to photograph the sacred mountains of the South, West, and North, we left Santa fe shortly after daylight on an early spring morning. We headed west toward the low end of the Jemez Range beyond which stretches the expanse of the Navaho Reservation. Crossing the Rio Grande, we saw below us on the river's western bank, the skeleton ruin of the once great Pueblo of the Tiguex Indians, who, in 1540, gave a friendly welcome to Coronado and his entourage. In a matter of minutes, seconds really, we could see on our right the living Pueblos of Santa Ana and Tsia, sun baked on the adobe banks of the Jemez River near its junction with the Rio Grande. As we crossed a low, hilly divide at the southern tip of the Jemez, a vast expanse of semi-desert came into view, broken here and there by pinon covered buttes, while stark forms of volcanic cones rose above the terrain. To the north of us lay Old Navaholand, dimly seen on the horizon, extending to the border of New Mexico and Colorado and a little beyond.

As we flew over this arid land, leaving the Jemez Mountains behind us, Tsoodzil, Navaho sacred mountain of the south, rose in tiered mesas to its eleven thousand foot snow tipped summit. We circled several times seeking the proper foreground for this picture, finding such different country from the empty areas of the San Luis Valley. Thick clusters of cedar and pinon trees, broken by parklike openings, and rugged prominences built up to the mountain peak. We saw isolated hogans, sometimes three or four in a group representing a family unit, with sheep corrals and flocks grazing nearby. There was an occasional horseman, a car, a truck or two--so few signs of life in this big empty-looking land. It seemed hard to believe that

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Ahead of us, sun drenched and glowing red, we could see Monument Valley as the timbered plateau dropped beneath us to meet the western desert. The beauty of the monoliths was startling from the air, so different from the ground aspect where one looks up at them into a contrasting blue sky. After circling the Valley, we continued our western direction and in the span of a quarter of an hour were over the southern end of another timbered plateau which extends south from Utah into Arizona. Tsege Canyon emerged beneath us, and following a tributary we saw suddenly the Cliff Dwelling of Beta-ta-kin, most beautiful of all the thirteenth century ruins of the Southwest. The gracefully arched cave with its sheer clefts of rock at one end, protects the buildings from storm and wind. Rich green foliage nestles close to the spring these early inhabitants were fortunate enough to have at their doorsteps. So completely do the buildings blend into the rose colored rock of the high cave, that the shadowed rectangular doorways are all that make the cliff dwelling visible. This ruin and others not far away, now comprise the Navaho National Monument.

Cutting across the western edge of Black Mountain, we turned southward over an expanse of yellow sand as yet another desert extends to the Grand Canyon, the western boundary of the reservation. A short flying time brought us opposite Doko'ooliid, and we saw the little Colorado River marking a diagonal course in our foreground as it contributes its small share to its mighty brother, the Colorado.

Once more we saw a high landmark--Doko'ooliid, Navaho sacred mountain of the West.

We turned southeast, leaving the western boundry behind us, and as we crossed Hopi land, that island reservation surrounded by the Navaho, we looked down on the rocky mesa towns of this sturdy Pueblo tribe. We landed at Winslow, Arizona for a midday meal and a needed rest.

Later in the afternoon we took off once more, heading home to Santa Fe, more than three hundred miles away. During the morning we had flown at a low elevation, about one thousand feet or less, giving me a closer and more detailed vision of the land. Now, with bumpy air rising from the warm ground, we climbed to about three thousand feet, and to my amazement we could see all the country we had crossed on the morning's flight. We flew over the painted desert, saw the petrified forest, and far to the south, the long valley traversed by Coronado as he came from Mexico seeking the Seven Cities of Cibola, bringing with him many horses and five thousand sheep.

To the north we could see the piñon covered mesas through which Canyons de Chelly and del Muerto eroded their way into the Chinle Wash. It was from the north rim of del Muerto that a small company of Spanish soldiers, sent out from Santa Fe to retaliate against Navaho raiders, ~~bombarded~~ ^{possibly} a cave in the Canyon wall, killing most of the inhabitants, ~~giving the Canyon its name.~~ ¹⁸⁰⁵ This was in 1804, the time of the Louisiana Purchase, when New Mexico and Arizona were under the rule of Spain, and Thomas Jefferson wondered about this far western land. ^{From time to time} The Spanish sent many expeditions against the Navaho, trying to stop the depredations of Spanish towns and Pueblo villages along the Rio Grande. They bargained and they bribed, but like the ebb and flow of ocean tide, the raids continued, though there were intervals of peaceful pursuits and welcomed exchange of goods.

Following Mexican independence in 1821, the Government in Santa Fe, now directed from Mexico City, was struggling weakly to assert itself. Navaho raids increased in number and in strength. Twenty five years later, after our war with Mexico, both Navaho and Apache depredations were at their height. The Southwest now became part of the United States, and new expeditions left Santa Fe for Navaholand. The Navaho had no comprehension of such political and governmental changes. This was all a very wild, rough country then, the distances were very great for horse or foot travel, and water sources far apart. So in 1851 the United States Army established Fort Defiance as a first base of operations. As we approached the Arizona-New Mexico line, I could see the large grove of trees, some of them planted long ago, and now obscuring the Fort from the air, submerging it in a pool of shade. Close by, amid a cluster of wind-worn sandstone, was Window Rock, the present ~~sit~~ of Navaho Government.

Watching the passing landscape, the procession of Navaho historic events filled my mind as I thought of all that had happened to these people since they came under the rule of Washington, one hundred and nineteen years ago. The early efforts of such a small segment of the American Army proved fruitless in its effort to quell the Navaho raids, for in this rugged country it was no match for the Navaho, so skilled in guerilla warfare. In 1863 the Army commissioned the famous scout, Colonel Christopher (Kit) Carson, to bring the Navaho to terms. Through a scorched earth policy, he destroyed crops, killed or captured livestock, finally ^{rounding} ~~bringing~~ up most of the starving people.

Then the commanding General decided to move the Navaho to a new environment- to Fort Sumner, more than three hundred miles away in eastern New Mexico on the Pecos River, and the captured Navaho were forced to march to Bosque Redondo, as they called it. It was the

first time they had ever been conquered--they were being sent into exile. The year 1864 became a tragic milestone in Navaho history. Our plane approached Gallup, New Mexico, and as I looked north across the reservation, I could see Shiprock standing above the desert, more shiplike than ever from this height and distance. And beyond, rising above the great promontories and canyons of Mesa Verde, glistening on the far horizon, were the snowy summits of Dibentsaa-Navaho sacred mountain of the North.

For many miles east of Gallup, as we continued our journey, we flew directly over the route of the exile march, the Long Walk, as the Navaho call it. Looking down, one could visualize the straggling line of slowly moving, destitute people. It was in early March of 1864 that the Long Walk began. The People were moved in groups, some twenty four hundred in the first, others following during the spring until a total of some eighty five hundred Navaho had made the long march. Only the very old and the very young were permitted to ride in the few wagons they still possessed. They had nothing left, only a few horses, some sheep and goats,- that was all.

Those four years of exile were tragic years indeed. Lack of understanding, lack of supplies, lack of communication were the cause of much hardship and suffering. The exile began near the close of the Civil War. The Government in Washington had little thought for one small group of captured Indians so far away. The wonder is that Congress appropriated \$100,000⁰ for ^{Navaho} ~~Navaho~~ rehabilitation. The money was entrusted to two individuals who were to proceed to Independence, Missouri, there to purchase the necessary supplies. These were the days of the Santa Fe Trail where long, heavily laden wagon trains labored across nine hundred miles of prairie. Of the original appropriation less than a third ever reached its destination.

Yet the Navaho were willing enough to do what they could to better their condition. They learned to make adobe bricks, some became blacksmiths, they did their best to farm under most adverse conditions of drought, wind, insect infestations, and illness among themselves. An epidemic of small pox struck and many died, reducing their number to a little over six thousand; many were ill from undernourishment; all were desperately homesick. Finally, on hearing of a plan to move them to Oklahoma, several Navaho Chiefs agreed to go to Washington to plead for

permission to return to their own land.

One can imagine the revelation such a trip must have been to these men; the long horseback ride to Independence, the first sight of a railroad train, and the long trip to Washington, the realization for the first time of the great size of the United States; the arrival in the capitol city and a meeting with President Andrew Johnson. Shortly after their return to Fort Sumner, General Sherman was sent out to draw up a treaty in which the Navaho Promised to stop their raids, a promise quite faithfully kept, with a few minor exceptions. In return, the Government of the United States promised to give them a new start by supplying tools, seed, and three sheep per family; also one teacher for every thirty children. In one hundred years this last part of the treaty is only now being fulfilled.

So the humbled Navaho, in the fall of 1868, returned to their mesas and canyons, their deserts and mountains, to begin life anew. But more hardships were yet to be endured, for in spite of efforts by Major Dodd, the first civil agent, the promised supplies and sheep did not arrive. That first winter was grim indeed. The Navaho ate what they could find on the land, piñon nuts, roots, other small edible plants, and some game. The promised sheep did not arrive until the fall of 1869. Then the People felt a new surge of hope as they began to till new fields, to start new flocks, to build new hogans, and to live the free life which was the very essence of their being.

As the memory of all this history flashed through my mind, we were flying rapidly home to Santa Fe, as the long shadows of late afternoon reached across the mountains. It seemed incredible that in the course of a few hours, I could have seen so closely and so clearly ^apractically the entire ^{twenty} five thousand square miles of Navaho domain, and looked down on areas where so much history had taken place. It gave me new insight

and understanding of the Navaho and their land. It was a memorable day.

PART I
B.

THE DINEH

color photograph.
Small figures in
Big hand scape.

THE DINEH

Space-sky-distance unlimited; canyons-deserts-rocks, majestic in their contour and hugeness; color-land forms, beautiful beyond belief-these are the elements of this magnificent land. Moving about in loneliness, though never lonely, in dignity and happiness, with song in their hearts and on their lips, in harmony with the great forces of nature, are the DINEH- People of the earth.

Two salient qualities of these people are dignity and happiness. Both spring from their vital traditional faith, faith in nature, faith in themselves as a part of nature, faith in their place in the universe; deep-rooted faith, born of their oriental origin, moulded and strengthened by the land in which they live. There is fine quality in the Navaho People; their quiet direct manner, their action, their manual dexterity and skill. They bring to their everyday living, dignity, vitality, realism, acceptance of things as they are. Conforming to the pattern of their tradition, they are none the less individualists. They have character, they have the ordinary run of human weaknesses, they have humor and a sense of fun, they have their own code of honor. They are tenacious. They are practical to a high degree, they are peotical. They are capable of long hours of work, and are capable equally of inactivity. There are many good Navaho People, and some bad, dependable and some undependable, strong and some weak. Their powers of observation are photographic. They are immeasurably adaptable. They can be shrewd, they can be inscrutable, they are highly intuitive. Among themselves they are a gentle people. Through all runs a vein of kindness, of inherent good manners and some special quality for which it is difficult to find the right word.

Perhaps intergrated personality is the attribute, for there is a "one-ness" about these people. Simply and quietly they abide their tradition.

All this is what they have been and many still are to-day. But as they acquire more of our way of life, as they participate in our education (and many are doing so at remarkable speed), will they retain the fine qualities of their inheritance? They are now taking from our civilization what they wish of it and using it as a part of their own. Some are finding themselves against a wall of frustration and have not yet found a way around it. Barred at first by language, many have now ^{acq'd} acquired a high degree of our education and are intelligent, capable people judged by the highest standards. The hope of their future lies in their unique adaptability and their desire and quickness to learn. It is my belief that the Navaho People as a whole will retain their place in our American Democracy and that many will carry forward that place with destinction.

But generalities are not enough; one must know the individuals. My first acquaintances were made when I visited Elizabeth Forster not long after she assumed her duties as a field nurse. She was stationed at Red Rock, Arizona, just over the line from New Mexico, some thirty miles west of the community of Shiprock. Here she had an apartment in an abandoned missionary hospital, with a clinic room in the basement where she kept the tools of her trade. Here, the doctor from the government hospital in Shiprock came weekly to see patients who had been assembled for his visit by the nurse. There the usual run of minor ailments, sore throats, slight injuries, the ever present impetigo among small children, various dietary ailments, and often illnesses of a more serious nature, were examined. Treatments were prescribed for the nurse to administer, necessitating visits to hogans within the radius of her field work. It was my good fortune to accompany Betsy on some of her rounds, giving me an opportunity to observe her many patients under the conditions of their every day lives.

Often we went to the trading post nearby, where we met many more Navaho People, and soon I learned how to overcome a natural shyness or antipathy to photographs. In those days of the 1930s I was using a large view camera and I was able to interest the people both in the instrument and the results, for they always wanted copies of the pictures I made. It was not long until the people of the Red Rock area were used to seeing me around and I was accepted as the nurse's friend. Some of these early pictures are in this book, the frontispiece, the first eight or ten portraits, the summer hogan, and others.

Gradually I was learning the customs of the Navaho and some of the simple things one must or must not do, such as always shake hands, but

but it is unfriendly not to take off your glove; when offering a cigarette, never point it at a person, hold it upright, or sideways. There are good omens as well as bad, and the white man is usually excused for not knowing these customs, but better relationships may be had if the stranger takes the trouble to learn Navaho ways. Good manners and simple courtesy are very much a part of Navaho life, and there is always a right way and a wrong way to do everything. This is why Navaho People deliberate before every act, before every spoken word. This patient deliberation is often misjudged by white people. The Navaho is not slow, he is taking time in deciding what is the right thing to do or say. Once this decision is reached it is inconsistent for a Navaho to change his mind.

When Betsy was at Red Rock she had an interpreter as there were many in her region who spoke no English. This young man, Timothy by name, lived in a small hogan near the trading post with his wife and two small boys. Timothy drove Betsy's car for her, translated both questions and answers, and soon considered himself her assistant. Betsy's human understanding of the People and their needs, quickly won her many friends, and her obvious interest in their lives and beliefs were appreciated greatly. That she did not oppose the medicine man, came as a surprise to many and it was not long until one medicine man of the region came to her occasionally for help. He indicated this by placing his two forefingers together, indicating that they would work side by side.

Timothy constantly brought all the news of the area, and one of the great surprises to both of us was to learn how rapidly news could travel. I recall one day as we were driving along a little used road when Timothy said suddenly "I think 'Mr. Jones' has been to Red Rock today." When I asked how he knew, he answered "I see the

Handwritten signature
~~Handwritten signature~~

track of his left rear tire." Timothy soon became my friend also and would say "I know where there is a silversmith you would like to make a picture of". So off we would go to find someone I did indeed want to photograph. His judgement was unerring and I seldom failed to follow his lead.

One trip of Betsy's which I recall, was to a distant mesa where a teenage boy was very ill. She and Timothy had to climb some distance to the hogan, leaving the car at the foot of the mesa. After examining the boy, taking his temperature, and hearing what his parents had to tell her, she felt sure that this was a ruptured appendix. She persuaded the boy, and his parents, to let her take him to the hospital at once. Placing him carefully on a blanket which she used in lieu of a stretcher, she got four men each holding a corner of the blanket, to carry the boy down to the car. Then with very careful driving took him more than thirty miles to the hospital. The doctor found that it was indeed a ruptured appendix and operated immediately. Through Betsy's good judgement and skill, this boy's life was saved.

At the time of one of my periodic visits, Betsy had a patient, a small child who had fallen into the hot coals in the open fire in the center of her mother's hogan. The burns ^{on the little hands} were bad, and Betsy went daily to dress them. The day I accompanied her, I found the lovely mother seated at her loom on the far side of the hogan. As there was a blanket over the door, the only light within was from the smoke hole in the center of the roof. The beautiful overhead light accented the oriental quality of this woman as she sat patiently while Betsy attended to the child's hands and I hoped to capture the picture I saw.

Not long after Betsy's arrival at Red Rock, there was a "sing" going on some little distance away. This she learned was a curing ceremony for a sick Navaho. One of the singers came to her clinic room asking for cough medicine. His name-incredibly- was KILLED-A-WHITE-MAN. He came several times during the ceremony. She ran out of cough medicine and when next in Shiprock, asked the doctor for more, but he told her she must use it more sparingly. The next time KILLED-A-WHITE-MAN came she told him, through Timothy, that she was sorry but she didn't have any more. He left without a word. The next time he came she still didn't have any. He didn't like it very well, but again left without comment. The third time he said to Timothy " You ask her why she doesn't have the things a nurse is supposed to have?" Betsy got behind a chair, and pretending to tremble and shake, said to Timothy "Ask him if he ever killed a white woman?" This sent the old man into a peal of laughter and from then on was one of her good friends. She found out later that he really had killed a white man long ago. He had been out hunting and failed to find any game. He did find a white prospector in camp cooking his supper of which he had plenty but of which he refused to share. He also had some wine which again he refused to offer. So KILLED-A-WHITE-MAN earned his name.

One winter when I ^{at} was at Red Rock, it was necessary to take an ill old man to the hospital. The snow was deep and it was very cold. It took us three hours to reach Shiprock. As we were preparing to return, a Red Rock boy appeared having followed us in. Just after we had left, word came that Hosteen Nez's wife had been in labor for five days and needed help. Betsy and the doctor left at once, Timothy and I following in her car. About five miles before reaching Red Rock, the doctor left the main road to drive several more miles to this hogan.

The snow and drifts were very deep and they repeatedly had to dig themselves out. When they finally arrived it was after dark. They found the woman as described, surrounded by an assembly of neighbors who hoped to help. There was no light but that of the fire in the center of the hogan. After dismissing the onlookers, nurse and doctor improvised an operating table out of two orange crates, then extinguished the fire so that ether could be safely used. With only a two battery flash light for illumination, the interpreter had to direct the light first to the nurse administering the ether, and then to the doctor, who by use of instruments, delivered a live baby. This crisis was over- that is except for more struggles to get home through the snow.

As individuals became better known to Betsy, and through her to me, their respective characters stood out. There was a little old woman whose only name was THE UTE WOMAN who used to come to breakfast every Sunday morning. She really was a Ute; she had been stolen by a Navaho family in her infancy, growing up a Navaho, knowing nothing of the Ute People.

Every Navaho has a ceremonial name, seldom if ever known to outsiders. But the descriptive nick-names they were generally known by always fascinated us. There was HARD BELLY, SORE HAND, BUSHY HEAD, YELLOW MEXICAN, CALICO PANTS, and many more. One day we realized how many descriptive names there are among our own people such as WHITEHEAD, SHOEMAKER, WHEELWRIGHT, YOUNGHUNTER, LONGSTREET, to name a few.

Betsy has a wonderful capacity for joking with a perfectly straight face. The Navaho sensed this and delighted in it. There was a Navaho named John Billy whom she had met when she first went to Red Rock to see what this nursing position would mean. She did not see

him again for more than a year. One day he came to her clinic and she was dismayed to find him with a bad exophthalmic goitre condition. He was willing to go to the hospital where he was operated on with a local anesthetic. In a very short while he was sent back to Red Rock, arriving in the early evening. Betsy fixed him up for the night in her clinic room. Several Navaho in the immediate vicinity came to see him and all evening ~~Betsy~~ could hear voices from the basement as John Billy told about his operation. As it was impossible to drive him home through the deep snow, she urged him to borrow a horse to ride the eighteen miles to his hogan. She explained that he must not ~~aver~~ exert himself and she hoped he would ~~take~~ two days stopping at some friend's hogan on the way. In the morning when she called him for some breakfast, he had already gone, and, as she later found out, had walked the whole distance through the snow in one day.

Off and on all winter she heard tales that John Billy was sick, but he did not come in, nor could she reach him, but as soon as it was possible to get the car through, she did go. Thinking that he should see the doctor for a check up, she urged him to let her take him in to the hospital. But he said "No." Finally after much conversation and with a straight face Betsy said "John Billy, I am going to take you to the doctor even if I have to rope you." His wife, who spoke no English, asked him what the nurse has said. There were some whispered words, then he said "All right, I go." "When" asked the nurse. "Now." answered John Billy. They both went into the hogan, emerging in a few minutes as Mrs. John Billy led her husband by a rope which she handed to Betsy with great merriment. Later, he used to come to Betsy's apartment asking her to write some letters for him which she, of-course, was pleased to do. One day Timothy said "Miss Forster, why do you write John Billy's letters? Don't you know he is a Carlisle graduate?" Betsy decided that John Billy had the last laugh.

One day we drove out to Hard Belly's hogan where the old man was suffering from a heart condition. The doctor having prescribed digitalis, Betsy was to instruct the old man's wife how to measure the proper dose. As we entered the hogan we found Hard Belly lying on his pallet, his wife and family sitting about him. Betsy proceeded with her mission while I wondered if I ^{dared} ~~should~~ ask to make a picture. To my surprise they seemed pleased that I wanted to which was one more evidence of their confidence in their nurse.

Thirty years later we found ourselves again in this vicinity. We came to a group of hogans and sitting in a summer shelter near by, were three older women. After shaking hands and finding that no one spoke English, I returned to the car to get Betsy, feeling sure that she would find someone she had known long ago. No one recognized her, nor she any of them, so by way of conversation I produced my portfolio. When we came to the picture made ~~in~~ Hard Belly's hogan in 1932, excitement spread amid a rapid flow of Navaho. I pointed to the nurse in the picture, then to Betsy standing beside me, but the oldest of three kept shaking her head. Just then a teenage boy came to see what was happening. "My grandmother says this is not the nurse, she had dark hair." Betsy leaned over taking a look of the old lady's hair saying "Tell your grandmother she did too." Recognition broke through, she stood up, put her head on Betsy's shoulder and her arms around her, and wept. After a few minutes Mrs. Hard Belly raised her head, shook herself, straightened her shoulders and returned to the present. After a while it was arranged that we were to come back in two days when their clothes would be freshly washed and they would all be ready for more pictures.



One tragedy stands out in Betsy's memory. It was during the bitter winter of 1932 when the snow lay a foot or more deep over the land. In the middle of the night she was wakened by a pounding on her door. Outside stood a Navaho man breathing heavily and dripping with sweat. His three months old baby was very sick, he had more than three miles through the snow for help. After questioning him carefully, she sent him to wake Timothy to get the car ready while she prepared for expected emergency. ^{reaching} ~~Reaching~~ the hogan after wallowing through the snow in the cold darkness, she found the baby very ill with pneumonia. She learned that in spite of the medicine man's ritual, the baby had gotten worse.

Knowing that the only possible chance to save the baby was to get it to the hospital thirty miles away, she persuaded the parents to bring the baby, still in its cradle board. They should go at once. While the interior of the car was warmed by the heater, the tires made that crisp, squeaky crunch that means extreme cold, as they cut through the icy snow. All was silent except for the whimpering of the sick infant. Somewhere along the way that sound ceased and Betsy feared the worst. They all went in to the hospital to find the doctor, but it was too late. After the doctor's examination, the parents decided to leave the little body at the hospital where the authorities would see to its burial in the cemetery near by. As they were leaving the building, a very hard boiled nurse scolded the baby's mother, telling her it was her fault for not bringing the baby to the hospital earlier.

On the way home to Red Rock, out in the windswept flat beyond Shiprock, the father asked Timothy to stop the car. The mother and father got out carrying the empty cradleboard. Walking a short distance from the road, they cleared away the snow and with bowed heads

placed the cradleboard on the ground, covering it with fresh snow. It would never be used again so the bereaved parents gave it to the elements. When they returned to the car, Betsy tried to comfort them a little. The medicine man had done what he could, but for this kind of illness, the white doctor had newer medicine.

Such thoughtless, unsympathetic remarks as those given by the hospital nurse have been one reason so many Navaho have hesitated or refused government help for so long a time. Looking back on that tragic night after a span of thirty years, we can understand the conflict of thought in the minds of those parents. All their life long belief made them rely on the medicine man, who for many ailments was competent indeed, but respiratory infection was something the Navaho little understood. Perhaps one of the greatest changes on the reservation in the past thirty years is the quality of the white personnel working with the Navaho. ^{Today} ~~Now~~ these doctors and nurses are better equipped with social and ^hpsychological understanding to win rather than force- to teach rather than admonish. Doctors of to-day are finding the abilities of the medicine men and are seeking their co-operation in many ways, while teaching them to understand the kind of help the white doctor can give.

A most amusing incident happened several years ago, told me by a friend who witnessed the climax. A man and his wife from New Jersey were on their first trip to the west. They had been to the Grand Canyon and were returning across the Navaho reservation. Never having experienced anything like the lonesomeness of the great open spaces of the Southwest, they were quite overwhelmed by it. Also they were somewhat afraid of the strange people who spoke a "foreign" language whom they had seen at one trading post where they stopped for gasoline and to ask for directions. After leaving Kayenta, in northern Arizona, they were heading south toward Chinle, when their car broke down. They seemed to be in the middle of nowhere. The man, deciding that he must walk ahead for help, left his wife in the car.

A short while later, an elderly Navaho on horseback, having seen the stalled car, rode up, dismounted, and leaning his arms on the open door of the car, politely asked the lady (in Navaho of course) if he could be of any help? The wife, terrified by the sudden appearance of the strange man and the stranger words, opened the door and quickly walked away. The old man, watching her, realized that he had ^{scared} ~~frightened~~ her, so he called to tell her that he only wanted to help. At the sound of his voice again, the woman began to run. The Navaho decided that he couldn't let her go way into the region where she could get lost, or fall and hurt herself, or possibly step up a rattlesnake, so he jumped on his horse and started after. When the woman saw this she was more terrified than ever, so she ran as hard as she was able. Finally the Navaho took the rope from his saddle and neatly lassoed the ^{ie} ~~frightened~~ woman, again telling her that he wouldn't hurt her, he only wanted to help. Turning, he led her back

to the road and on in the direction her husband had taken. On the other side of a low mesa, out of sight from the car, was a trading post only four or five miles away. Inside the post was the usual colorful gathering of Navaho People, some sitting on the benches along the wall, a group of women with babies in cradleboards, gossiping, some making purchases at the counter, a group of men standing in the center of the room conversing. A little apart stood several white men, among them the bearer of this tale who was talking to the woman's husband. The old Navaho man entered the post leading the white woman by his rope, to the surprise of all and the great merriment of several. He asked the trader which white man was the woman's husband, whereupon he handed the rope to the astonished man, asking the trader to tell him that by the time they got there "she was leading pretty good!"

In the fall of 1934 we made our first visit to the Red Rock area since Betsy's departure. From several old Navaho friends whom we met between Shiprock and Red Rock, we were told that the Ute Woman had died. Betsy refused to believe this rumor. At Red Roc we found an old friend, Francis Nakai, who told us that the Ute Woman had been very ill but was better and was now living way over beyond the Cove. He offered to go with us to find her. After a fifteen mile drive over practically no road at all, we reached the edge of a wash, a deep arroyo where we left the car and proceeded on foot. As we walked down a trail into the wash, we saw a diminutive figure hurrying toward us. She had recognized the car and when we met her arms went around Betsy's neck and she cried and cried. We walked back with her to an unbelievably frugal shelter where she was living alone with her cat. In an outpouring of Navaho words, she told Betsy all that had happened to her since her friend went away. She had had medicine men to help her and in payment for their services had sacrificed her every possession.

A few hundred yards away was a beautiful summer shelter belonging to Willie Lee and his family who were looking after the Ute Woman whenever she needed help. As we passed the Red Rock trading post on our back, we left an order with the trader to send out some coffee, sugar, and flour at the first opportunity. We continued our vacation trip to the Grand Canyon, then decided to return to see the Ute Woman once more on our way home to Colorado. We found her at the Willie Lee shelter, where we were profusely thanked for the food we had sent, as they graciously presented each of us with a gift, a beaded belt and a small blanket. We stayed an hour or more enjoying the beauty of this scene of Navaho summer life before us and the warm welcome of our friends.

These are but a few of the many daily experiences of one nurse as she demonstrated the need for field nursing service among the Navaho People. Since 1934, the United States Public Health Service has increased such service many times; and in the past decade Annie Wauneka, member of the Tribal Council, who heads the Navaho health and education program, has accomplished remarkable progress in developing medical and nursing service for her people.

The organization sponsoring Betsy's work, was forced to discontinue her service due to lack of funds during the depression. She left Red Rock late in 1933 to assume a new public health position in Colorado. Twice during the next eight years we returned to the Red Rock area, receiving always warm welcome from many friends. These were years of work for each of us far from the reservation. Then came the war years and activities and thoughts were far from Navaholand. Near the end of the war, Betsy was stricken with a near fatal illness, polio-encepholitis, incapacitating her from further nursing service. In 1945, I moved to Santa Fe as headquarters for other work in which I was engaged. The following year she joined me, and it was not long until the strong pull of memories took us back among the Navaho People. Realizing the speed with which changes were coming to the reservation, the possibility of this book began to formulate, though work on it has of necessity been intermittent. This undertaking has been close to our hearts for we both feel an enduring friendship, understanding and admiration for the Navaho People.

Webster Spring

EDUCATION AND HEALTH

Shortly after the return of the Navaho to their own country following the exile to Fort Sumner, the first effort to offer an educational program resulted in complete failure. A small day school was opened at Fort Dummarce in 1870 with a very few children attending. They stayed to satisfy their curiosity and to receive some clothes which were donated, then they vanished, and all efforts to bring them back proved fruitless. In 1883 the first boarding school was started at Fort Defiance, fraught with problems of insufficient funds and help. This also lasted but a short time. Then the Government turned to the Missionaries, who were appearing on the scene wanting to be of some benefit to the Indians, suggesting that they establish both missions and schools. There were four early missions, each adding a school as soon as possible. The first was a Methodist school at Hogback, near Farmington, which soon was moved into that town. The second was the mission at Saint Michael's established by the Franciscan Order in 1898, with a school opening in 1902 by the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrement. The Presbyterian Mission at Ganado, Arizona was the third, established in 1901, with a school opening shortly thereafter and a hospital ten years later; and the fourth, a mission founded by the Christian Reformed Church at Rehoboth, near Gallup, also in 1898 with a school opening shortly thereafter. Other denominations followed in several areas of the reservation, some with special emphasis on medical aid.

Many trials and tribulations beset these early endeavors caused by the natural suspicion of both Navaho children and their parents, many of whom did not wish their children away from home where they were needed to tend the sheep. The policy of forcing the children to go to school was an unfortunate one. It is a matter of record that there were even instances of physical brutality due, doubtless, to lack of understanding

of Navaho ways ,and by the sheer frustration on the part of some staff members at finding themselves so isolated, so helpless in performing their tasks under conditions of hardship and remoteness.

Slowly the Indian Service progressed with many varied endeavors; new schools were built, and some children did attend. But the policy of forcing education on the Navaho provided many stumbling blocks. For a long time children were forbidden to speak Navaho, or to wear Navaho clothes, and everything possible was done to try to superimpose our culture onto that of the Navaho. Some children from twelve ~~years~~ sixteen, were sent away to schools in California and a number of other schools in the east, with the intent to fit them to merge into our society, but this was too much to expect in a few short years. More than 95% of these children came home where they found themselves misfits at home, for they were unaccustomed to reservation life.

With the coming of the New Deal a new policy was adopted, due in part to the road improvement program, to develop new day schools, bringing children to school by bus, just as in any county in the country. This was a big step in advance and soon many well trained teachers with more modern methods in teaching and with better understanding, undertook these teaching jobs. Some teachers created a desire on the part of the children to learn; some teachers even conducted adult education classes in the evenings, with people coming from miles away to attend these classes. Navaho teachers were coming into the picture bring, ofcourse, the best possible relationship betwee nchildren and teacher. But there were still many more children of school age than there were facilities for them. The Indian Service Educational System continued to grow and improve, until there came a day when many children were clamoring to go to school. Yet there were also those who were, and some still are, shy and diffident, and there are backward areas, as in every state in the union, but there

are many hundreds who are absorbing their school work like little dry sponges, and who go on into fields of more advanced learning.

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The same slow process in education ismparralled in medicine. For many years it was unthinkable for a Navaho to turn to a white medicine man. But slowly progress was made in such fields as the eye disease, trachoma, and other special ~~finde~~s. Since the war, young white doctors have come to work at some of the hospitals and health centers, finding themselves filled with entheusiasm over the people, the work to be done, and for the first time bringing a new psychological approach to their emeavor. And though there have been superstitions to overcome, as well as the difficulties of winning trust, they have forged ahead with progress in many ways. It has been here that Annie Wauneka has done so much in the field of interpretation, one of the doctors' major problems. They did not know that it was forbidden for a younger person (who was acting as interpreter) to ask his elders many personal questions. The doctors were puzzled by the vagueness of many answers. But Annie had a solution; there must be a glossary prepared of medical terms in English and Navaho, and with a simplified ~~traphaatiann~~ as well. Annie was insistant that this be done. So a young woman was selected to go the pre-medical school at ~~Cornelia~~ University where she spent two years preparing this glossary. This has been highly successful and of great benefit to the many doctors working on the reservation.

Through the Education Endowment Fund, the first Navaho doctor is now practising at the Kayenta hospital, and there are many Navaho nurses, both registered and practical, dentists, and technicians with many more in training. As this number grows, there will come a day when the Navaho will care for their own.

Since the Public Health Service took over the Indian Bureau medical program, there have been many new developments such as new hospitals, new health centers and health stations with accompanying services. Also there have been several privately sponsored clinics such as that conducted by Cornell University at Many Farms where I found a Navaho technician at work with the Cornell doctors. While there is yet so much to be accomplished, as everywhere else, the acceleration of Medical care for the Navaho during the past ten or fifteen years, has done so much for their benefit.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH

Shortly after the return of the Navaho to their own country following the exile to Fort Sumner, the first effort to offer an educational program resulted in complete failure. A small day school was opened at Fort Defiance in 1870 with a very few children attending. They stayed to satisfy their curiosity and to receive some clothes which were donated, then they vanished, and all efforts to bring them back proved fruitless. In 1883 the first boarding school was started at Fort Defiance, fraught with problems of insufficient funds and help. This also lasted but a short time. Then the Government turned to the Missionaries, who were appearing on the scene wanting to be of some benefit to the Indians, suggesting that they establish both Missions and schools. There were four early missions, each adding a school as soon as possible. The first, ~~xxx~~ at Hogback, near Farmington, soon moved to that town. ~~the~~ Mission ~~was~~ The second ^{at} ~~at~~ Saint Michael's, established by the Franciscan Order in 1898, with a school opening in 1902 by the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. Third, the Presbyterian Mission at Ganado, Arizona, established in 1901, with a school opening the following year and a hospital ten years later. Fourth, a Mission founded by the Christian Reformed Church at Rehoboth, near Gallup, also in 1898, with a school opening shortly thereafter. Other denominations followed in ^{several} ~~other~~ areas of the reservation, such as the Episcopal Mission at Fort Defiance where the effort was largely in the medical field.

Many trials and tribulations beset these early endeavors caused by the natural suspicion of both the Navaho children and their parents, many of whom did not wish to have their children away from home. The policy of forcing the children to go to school was an

unfortunate one. It is a matter of record that there even were instances of physical brutality due doubtless to lack of understanding of Navaho ways and by the sheer frustration on the part of some staff members at finding themselves so isolated, so helpless in performing their tasks under conditions of hardship and remoteness.

Slowly the Indian Service progressed with many varied endeavors; new schools were built, and some children did attend. But the policy of forcing education on the Navaho provided many stumbling blocks. For a long time the children were forbidden to speak Navaho, or to wear Navaho clothes, and everything possible was done to try to superimpose our culture onto ^{that of} the Navaho. Some children from twelve years to sixteen, were sent away to schools in California and a number of points in the east, with the intent to fit them to merge into our society, but this was too much to expect in a few short years. More than 95% of these children came home where they found themselves misfits at home, ~~for they did not fit into the~~ ^{for they were unaccustomed to} reservation life. More reservation schools were built, and there was still only partial success due to lack of staff understanding.

With the coming of the New Deal a new policy was adopted, due in part to the road improvement program, and a decision was reached to develop new day schools, bringing the children to school by bus, just as in any country community in the country. This was a big step in advance and soon many well trained teachers with more modern methods and better understanding undertook these teaching jobs. Some teachers created a desire on the part of the children to learn, some even conducted adult education classes in the evenings, with people coming from miles away to attend these classes. But there were still ^{no} many more children of school age than there were facilities for them. The Indian Service Educational System continued to grow and improve until a turning point was reached when ^{many} children were

clamoring to go to school. In recent years the Public School Systems of the States in which the reservation lies, have taken over many of the Indian Bureau's schools and have erected new ones. At the suggestion of Dr. George Boyce, long in the Indian Service, dormitories were built in a number of the reservation border towns so that Navaho children from twelve years up could go to the public schools in these towns. So today there are hundreds of eager children soaking up everything they can learn, like little dry sponges. Some are still shy and diffident, ^{and there are still some woefully backward ones, as in every State in the Union,} but ~~most~~ ^{many children} are absorbing their school work with unusual rapidity, and ~~many~~ go on into fields of more advanced learning.

The ~~same~~ ^{an} slow process ~~has~~ ^{in education} paralleled ~~the schools~~ in medicine. For many years it was unthinkable for a Navaho to turn to a white medicine man. But slowly progress was made in such fields as the eye disease, trachoma, and other special lines. ~~Since the war~~ ^{Some thirty years ago,} young

white doctors came to work at some of the hospitals, finding themselves filled with enthusiasm over the people, the work to be done, and ~~in~~ ^{endeavor.} bringing a new psychological approach to their ~~work~~. And though there have been superstitions to overcome, as well as the difficulties of

winning trust, they have forged ahead with progress in many ways. It has been here that Annie Wauneka has done so much in the field of interpretation, ^{one of the doctors' major problems} ~~One of the problems the doctors have had, has been that of adequate interpretation.~~ They did not know that it was forbidden

for a younger person (who was acting as interpreter) to ask his elders many personal questions. The vagueness of many answers puzzled the doctors. But Annie had a solution; there must be a glossary prepared of medical terms in English and Navaho, and with a simplified translation as well.

She was insistent upon this and that someone should go to pre-medical school to learn and understand ^{such} medical terms. So ^{a young} ~~two years~~ a woman was selected to go to Cornell University where she spent

two years preparing this glossary. It has been highly successful and of great benefit to the medical staff. ^P The first Navaho doctor is now practising at the Kayenta hospital, and there are many Navaho nurses, dentists, and technicians with many more in training. As this number grows, there will come a day when the Navaho will care for their own.

Since the Public Health Service took over the Indian Bureau medical program, there have been many new developments such as new hospitals, new health centers and health stations with accompanying services. Also there have been several privately sponsored clinics; the work on trachoma by the Episcopal Church, the Cornell clinic at Many Farms where I found a Navaho technician at work with the Cornell doctors. While there is still much to do, as everywhere else, the acceleration of medical care for the Navaho during the past fifteen years has done so much for their benefit.