

Georgie Garcia.

Tom Navaho.

May Adson.

An old Navaho woman.

A portrait at Navaho Mountain.

Ason Kinlichine.

The letter.

A typical Navaho posture.

Molian of Red Rock.

Old Lady Grey Salt.

Irene Yazzie.

Luke Yazzie.

Ned Hatathli's daughter and friend.

A young Navaho mother.

Bah Francis.

The Ute Woman.

The summer shelter
in the Cove (1934).

Sunrise over the desert.

A hexagonal hogan near Red Rock.

An upright log and mud plaster hogan in the Checkerboard Area.

Interior of horizontal log hogan in the Cove Area.

A round stone hogan near Little Shiprock.

Interior of Harriet Cadman's hogan.

Washing dishes under a brush shelter.

The summer hogan

of Old Lady Long Salt.

A Navaho costume of the 1880's.

Tying a "chongo."

Timothy's mother, who lives near Lukachukai.

Washburn Begay's hogan on the mountain.

I make a baby-board for you, my son,
May you grow to a great old age.
Of the rays of the earth I make the back,
The blanket, I make of the black clouds,
The bow, I make of the rainbow,
The side-loops, I make of the sun beams,
The foot board, I make of the sun-dogs,
The covering, I make of the dawn,
The bed, I make of the black fog.

[This prayer is sung when a baby is placed
on the cradleboard.]

Watching her grandchild.

The trading post at Shonto is nestled in a small canyon of red sandstone. The post building, at the extreme left, is nearly surrounded by fine trees. The large hogan-shaped buildings at the right are the Shonto day school.

In those areas on the reservation where piñon trees abound, the Navaho gather the nuts to sell to the trader. Piñon nuts, though small, are very sweet and delicious, and are a substantial side crop for the People.

The old trading post at Red Rock has undergone several remodelings. Built of stone, its exterior walls have in recent years been plastered, and the interior modernized. The nice old barn was torn down several years ago.

In 1932 the Red Rock trading post still had its original dirt floor.

In the warehouse at Red Rock, the trader stacks hides and wool. Here trader Troy Kennedy is examining wool for its quality and cleanliness.

Filling water barrels at the Valley Store.

Women returning from a trip to the trading post.

Roman Hubbell in his trading post.

The little shepherd.

Flocks of sheep are gathered prior to shipping to market.

Bringing home a flock of
sheep on a windy day.

The nutritious grama
grass of the West.

During a long drought this boy brought his sheep eight miles to the nearest water.

The ever increasing use of trucks and cars is fast diminishing the use of the long-loved horse.

Navaho fences have very ingenious construction. Utilizing the natural crotches in piñon and cedar trees, a fence will be built by entwining cross pieces in the crotches. Such a fence is built without a nail, wire, or any fastening whatever. It simply holds itself up. It is sturdy and will last for years.

An irrigator turning water from a new source onto previously unbroken soil.

Add 5 pieces #

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lettering 2 pts

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: The Huckel Collection

INDEX

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- 1907—Addition by President Roosevelt of Pueblo Bonito Reservation area to the eastern boundary of the reservation.
- 1911—Rescinding by President Taft of Pueblo Bonito Reservation; restored to public domain.
- 1916—Grazing Homestead Act.
- 1921—Discovery of oil in Shiprock area.
- 1922—Establishment of first Navaho Business Council.
- 1923—Election of first Tribal Council.
- 1927—Establishment of Chapter by John Hunter of Leupp Agency.
- 1930—1931—Addition by Congress of the Paiute and Aneth Extension in Utah to the reservation.
- 1931—Increase of Tribal Council to seventy-four delegates.
- 1934—Addition by Arizona Boundary Bill of 792,366 acres to western reservation. Unification of Navaho agencies into one, established at Window Rock.
- 1938—Establishment of voting registration and ballots with pictures of candidates.
- 1940—Establishment of Department of Resources.
- 1950—Discovery of uranium ore on reservation.
- 1953—Establishment of Education Scholarship Fund. Establishment of Navaho Police Force, Repeal of prohibition law for Indians in New Mexico.
- 1954—Repeal of prohibition law for Indians in Arizona.
- 1956—Beginning of construction of Glen Canyon Dam.
- 1957—Discovery of new oil fields in Four Corners Area.
- 1960—Exchange of land occupied by Glen Canyon Dam area for McCracken Mesa Area in San Juan County, Utah. Total area occupied by Navaho people approximately 16,000,000 acres.
- 1963—Completion of Navajo Reservoir Dam. Completion of Glen Canyon Dam.

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NAVAHO PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

➤ Simplified phonetic vowel symbols:

➤ ah: for a as in father
ay, as in say
aye, as in aye
ee, as in seen
eh: for e as in bet

gh: for g as in go
i, as in sip
l: for lth
oh: for o as in so
zh: for s as in pleasure

Add 12

Ahkeah	(Ah-KEE-ah)
Atsidi Sani	(Ah-TSI-dee SAH-nee)
Beclabito	(Bi-CLAH-bi-toh)
Begay	(Be-GAY)
Bekéya	(Bi-KAY-yah)
Bekiss	(Bi-kiss)
Beta-ta-kin	(Beh-TAH-tah-kin)
Chee	(Chee)
Chetro Kettl	(Cheh-tro Kettle)
Chinle	(Chin-LEE)
Ch'óó'í'í	(CHOHL-ee-ee)
Chuska	(CHUHS-kah)
Coconino	(Koh-koh-NEE-noh)
de Chelly	(de SHAY)
Desha Chischillige	(DAY-shah Chish-CHIL-i-gee)
Dibéntsaa	(Di-BEH-n-tsah)
Dinéh	(di-NEH)
Doko'oolííd.	(Doh-kog-ohs LTHEED)
Dzil na'oodííí	(Dzilth NAH-oh-dilth-ee)
Ha-So-De	(Hoh-soh-deh)
Hastseyalte	(Hahsh-chay- YALTH-tee-ee)
hogan	(HOH-gahn)
Hopi	(HOH-pee)
Hosteen Nez	(Has-teen NEHZ)
Hozhoji	(hoh-ZHON-jee)
Kayenta,	(Kay-YEHN-tah)
ketoh	(KAY-toh)
Kíis'aanii	(Kees-AH-nee)
Lukachukaj	(LUH-kah-CHUH-kaye)
Naatsis'áán	(Nah-tsis-ÁHN)
Nadene	(NAH-deh-neh)
Najah	(NAH-zhah)
Nakai Tsosi	(NAH-kaye TSOH-see)
Navaho,	(NAH-vah-hoh)
Sanostee,	(Sah-NAHS-tee)
Shonto	(SHÁHN-toh)
Sisnaajini	(SIS-nah-ji-nee)
Tahoma	(Tah-HOH-mah)
Tauglechee	(TAH-gl-chee)
Toadlena	(Toh-ah-DLEE-nah)
Tohatchi	(TOH-ha-chee)
Tseghi	(TSAY-ghee)
Tsihnajinnie	(TSI-nah-ji-nee)
Tsoodzil	(TSHO-dzilth)
Wauneka	(Waw-NEE-kah)
Yebaad	(YAY-ee-bah-ahd)
Yebaka	(YAY-ee-bah-kaha)
Yei	(YAY-ee)
Yeitso	(YAY-ee-tsoh)

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But this must have been a very nostalgic visit for Betsy. We looked at the familiar landscape, finding many changes. The old concrete hospital building that had been Betsy's home and where she had held her clinic had been completely removed, not a trace was left. Other buildings too were gone, one, the old barn by the trading post. But there were some signs of progress, for up the road toward the mountains was a fine new school. Trees had been planted around it which were already of some size. Though she said nothing, I was sure that Betsy's mind was filled with thoughts of her many friends and the work she had done during those years of her nursing service here at Red Rock, a service meaning more to her than anything she had ever done. We have seen some eight or ten families of her old friends during the past ten or twelve years, most of them former patients, and from each Betsy received a heart-warming welcome. As we have found so often, once an Indian has learned to trust a person, the bond is lasting.

We drove quietly back over the old familiar road, passing Shiprock, eternal and beautiful as it cast its long shadow over the desert floor in the late afternoon light, filling us with tranquillity and peace.

While the year 1968 will commemorate the centennial anniversary of the end of the Navaho banishment to ~~the~~ Bosque Redondo, one remembers the return of the Diné to the land that was their home, after those four devastating years, bereft of all possessions and with the taste of defeat still bitter in their memories as they turned to the task of rebuilding their lives. For a time there was apathy among many who felt frustrated in returning to their old ways and knew not how to adjust to the new, but slowly they did adjust, and now for more than two decades they have marched steadfastly along the road we call modern civilization.

A new day has arrived for the young Navaho as they adapt themselves to the white man's way. Many are absorbing this life with eagerness, choosing those occupations sympathetic to their inclinations; some are simply leading a new kind of life, while many still continue their traditional way. Most young Navaho face this great change with sureness and confidence.

A short time ago, as I was driving from Gallup to Shiprock, I overtook a young couple walking along the highway. They had been to the Window Rock Fair, and after I picked them up to give them a lift we dropped into easy conversation. We drove more than thirty miles before the young man asked me to stop. We were in the empty desert country which extends for miles along this highway and there was not even one hogan in sight. As I watched them walk away, finally melting into the landscape, I thought of the tremendous changes that have come to such young people as these. There are many thousands of young Navaho who are pushing aside the traditional ways taught by their parents, wanting to partake fully of non-Indian culture. But there are also many, both young and old, who are concerned about this rejection of the past and who are trying to preserve the ways of their people.

Many who know the Navaho well think that the great days of ceremonialism are past. Possibly this is true, but I cannot believe that the old ways will really be lost. Another generation will want to know all those things that their grandparents can tell them, and I am sure that there will always be some who can do so, and that a new interest in their traditional past will come. Who can say whether there will or will not be a great revival? We can but hope that those essential qualities that are the birthright of the Diné will never be lost. Song and singing are the very essence of Navaho being, and as long as the Navaho keep singing, their tradition will endure.

APPENDICES

Chronology

Navaho Pronunciation Guide

CHRONOLOGY

Some important dates in Navaho history:

- 1550 plus or minus 30 years—Earliest evidence of Navaho to date [1963].
- 1626—First mention of Navaho People by Spanish Explorers.
- 1712—Earliest known Navaho date in Canyon de Chelly.
- 1846—Mexican War. Entry of General Kearney into Santa Fe.
- 1846-1847—Treaty of Bear Springs.
- 1846-1863—The military period.
- 1849—The Washington Expedition.
- 1861—Abandonment of Fort Defiance as troops leave for Civil War.
- 1864—Defeat of Navaho by Colonel Kit Carson.
- 1864-1868—Exile to Fort Sumner.
- 1868—Signing of treaty at Fort Sumner, Establishment of reservation (3,328,000 acres).
- 1869—First trading post at Fort Defiance.
- 1871—Beginning of wool trade.
- 1874—Beginning of trade with Mormons.
- 1876—First licensed trader (other than government post at Fort Defiance), Thomas V. Keam.
- 1878—Establishment of Hubbell Trading Post at Ganado.
- 1882—Creation of Hopi Reservation.
- 1884—Lee's Ferry on the Colorado River.
- 1885—Influx of non-Indian sheepmen in Checkerboard Area.
- 1886—First water development appropriation under President Cleveland.
- 1887—Land and water difficulties in Checkerboard and San Juan River areas. Arrival of first non-Indian prospectors on reservation. Passage of compulsory school act.
- 1890—Sam E. Day Post at Chinle. Beginning of Fred Harvey Company interest in Navaho products.
- 1900—Addition of 1,750,000 acres to the western reservation.

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Talking God may be standing still or walking up and down but at the end of each stanza he gives his cry to indicate that he has detected no error. When the song is finished, the singers are facing the West. They turn to the East and, as Talking God leads, they start for the arbor, at first shaking their rattles, then walking in silence. In the arbor they take off their masks and lay them with their rattles along the north side. After the masks are off the impersonators may talk. They return to the hogan without formality, where they pray, wash the paint off their bodies, and resume ordinary dress.

Following an interval, the long Yeibichai dance begins, usually with twelve dancers taking part. There will be six Yebaka (male) dancers and six Yebaad (female) dancers, though the latter usually are impersonated by youths or small men. Both the Yebaka and the Yebaad are dressed alike with the exception of the masks, those of the Yebaad being domino masks.

Again the chanter leads them from the arbor with Talking God following him, then the twelve dancers, while Tenenili, the raid god, and Fringe Mouth, the clown, bring up the rear. They approach the hogan and commence their dance with songs of many verses and many repetitions. To relieve the monotony throughout the rest of the night, the clown does acts of simple buffoonery, Talking God sometimes joining him. Slowly, with constant rhythm, the dance continues, variations being largely in the words of the songs.

Just as the dawn breaks, everyone, visitors and performers alike, stand facing the East as the Prayer to the Dawn is repeated. All inhale the dawn in prayer that its purity and strength may enter into them. When the prayer is ended the Bluebird song is heard, for to the Navaho, too, the bluebird is the symbol of happiness and heralds the break of day.

Just at daylight bluebird calls.
The bluebird has a voice
His voice melodious that flows in gladness
bluebird calls. Bluebird calls.

Translation by Frances E. Watkins, Southwest Museum, Highland Park, Los Angeles, California.

To observe such a ceremonial as the Nightway is an experience long to be remembered. Listening to the high-pitched voices, watching the dancers, observing the spectators who have come to take part in the ritual, feeling the assembled reverence as the Prayer to the Dawn is sung in the chill, clear Southwestern air, makes one realize the strength and beauty to be derived from closeness to the elements. Here is something vital, something real.

EPILOGUE

AMONG THE MANY Navaho people of the Red Rock area with whom Betsy worked, one family, near neighbors, were special friends. Francis Nakai and his wife (we never have known what her name is, so we have always called her "Mrs. Francis") lived in a small frame house directly south of Betsy's quarters, perhaps a quarter of a mile away. During the early years of Betsy's association with them, Francis was one of the outstanding men in the area, a good farmer and provider for his family. They had two sons, Juan and Louis, boys of perhaps eight and twelve when we first knew them. Mrs. Francis was one of Betsy's frequent visitors. She would come, sit for a while, drink a cup of coffee, but, as she spoke no English, conversation was very limited. She had great charm, however, and whenever I paid Betsy a visit I saw her frequently. It was she whom we took to Santa Fe to see the blankets in the Indian Arts Fund Collection, and who dined with us at our friend's birthday party.

Over the years when we were away from New Mexico and Arizona, we often had letters from Francis, sending us news of the people at Red Rock, and always asking when we were coming back to see them. It was seventeen years before we saw them again, and we found many changes. Still living in the same little house, they then had two daughters, much younger than the boys we had first known. The oldest son had been killed in the European theatre of World War II, and almost the only object in the room in which we were sitting was the flag that had been over the boy's coffin at the time of his burial in France. Both Francis and his wife seemed dejected and we were distressed by the change. A year or so later, we saw them again. They had moved to the community of Shiprock where Francis had some sort of job with the Indian Agency. We found that alcohol was the problem. After that we saw them every few years and always matters seemed to be a little worse. Then in 1962 we were at the Shiprock Fair and found them down by the river, where Francis was selling a large crop of melons he had raised. They both looked and seemed much more like their old selves, and we felt hopeful that the problem was well in hand; from talking to others later, we found indeed that it was.

In the fall of 1964 we drove into Shiprock over the new highway from Monument Valley. Enquiring for our old friends at Charles Dickens' Trading Post, we learned that Francis had died from pneumonia the previous winter, and that Mrs. Francis had moved back to Red Rock. We drove out to see her, and there we found her back in the same little frame house with her two daughters and their babies. Mrs. Francis burst into tears when she saw us and it took Betsy quite a while to quiet and comfort her. We talked to the two daughters, giving them some fruit we had brought, and, when it was time for us to go, Mrs. Francis took my hand and put into it a beautiful hand-woven belt she had recently made. As we drove away, Betsy had them all smiling and happy.

Usually only the patient and his family are present for the first eight days of the ceremony, with the medicine man and his helpers, but on the ninth day visitors arrive to participate in the final rites. As with the Mountainway, the daytime of the last day is filled with preparation for the night ceremony. An area before the hogan is cleared for the dancers. A wood pile is prepared, and as the people arrive each family finds a place along the side of the clearing. An arbor of green branches is erected at the far end where the impersonators will put on their masks. All during the day and evening, ritual goes on inside the ceremonial hogan.

Shortly before the night ceremony begins, four great fires are lighted. Inside the hogan the dancers are being prepared; their bodies are painted with a white clay, and the costumes are put on. The masks, the wands of spruce, and the fox skins have previously been placed in the arbor along its northern side. Talking God masks and dresses in the hogan and when all is ready he gives his cry to clear the dance ground. Then the four impersonators, wrapped in blankets, precede Talking God and the chanter as they go to the arbor to put on their masks. While wearing the masks no impersonator must ever speak—only Talking God utters his special cry. The dancers' costumes consist of short kilts, made of some special material, often hand-woven, silver belts from which the fox skins hang from the back, long hand-knit stockings, necklaces, and the plumed masks with spruce-twig collars attached. Each dancer carries a gourd rattle in his right hand, a wand of spruce in his left. Talking God wears his special mask and collar, is clothed in his deerskin robe, and carries a fawn-skin bag in one hand. As the dancers leave the arbor the medicine man leads, with Talking God and the four impersonators following. The chanter utters the benediction, scattering pollen as the group crosses the dance ground to the hogan. As they approach, the dancers quietly shake their rattles, singing as they walk. The patient comes out of the hogan carrying a ceremonial basket containing sacred meal, sometimes with four special prayersticks on top. While the chanter says a prayer over the meal, the four Yei keep up a constant motion of their feet. After this prayer, the chanter assists the patient, who advances to sprinkle the sacred meal over each of the Yei in turn. Taking a large pinch, the patient lets some fall first on the right hand of each Yei, then sprinkles the meal up the right arm, over the top of the forehead, and down the left arm, and drops what is left in the palm of the left hand, the patient using his right hand while he carries the basket on his left arm. Then the patient and the chanter resume their positions in front of the hogan door, facing to the East. The Chanter now recites the long prayer to each of the Yei, the patient repeating after him, verse by verse. These prayers are similar except in mentioning certain attributes of each Yei. The prayer ends:

In beauty (happily) I walk
With Beauty before me I walk
With Beauty behind me I walk
With Beauty above me I walk
With Beauty all around me I walk
It is finished in Beauty.
[Repeated four times]

This oft-quoted poem, impressive as it is, is far from an adequate translation, for there seems to be no English word to convey the idea of the Navaho concept of "in harmony with." Navaho words, of course fit into the song, while an English translation is difficult to adapt. Gladys Reichard has given the following:

May there be happiness
May there be success
May there be good health
May there be well being,

The entire song builds up to the comprehensive idea of being in harmony with the universe.

When the prayer is ended, the patient follows the chanter as they pass eastward down the north side of the line and back, scattering more meal as they pass. The patient places the basket near the hogan door, the chanter sitting to his left, as they both face to the East, looking at the dancers. All the spectators now become silent and attentive, waiting for the sacred song. Talking God, who has been standing north of the line of dancers facing the South, turns and rushes to the East, uttering his cry, and holds up his bag as a signal to the four Yei. They at once advance their left feet, bending their bodies to the right, and, shaking their rattles, they dip them with a long sweep of their arms, as if scooping up water, bringing them up to their mouths. Then Talking God rushes to the West and repeats his action while the dancers face the West and repeat theirs, then face East again, always turning clockwise. Talking God stamps his feet twice as a signal, and the Yei commence the dance step. This is all done four times before the song begins. First facing the East, then the West, the dancers make eight changes of direction during the song. Because the song is the most important part of the entire ceremony, it has been thoroughly rehearsed in private. Should there be a single mistake or a misplaced word, the ceremony terminates immediately and the entire nine-day ritual is considered valueless.

The corn comes up, the rain descends
The corn plant comes therewith,
The rain descends, the corn comes up
The child-rain comes therewith.

The corn comes up, the rain descends
Vegetation comes herewith
The rain descends, the corn comes up
The pollen comes herewith.

[Continued with many verses]

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The "He" rain is the violent thunderstorm that drives the seeds into the earth; the "She" rain is the gentle rain that nurtures the soil and brings forth the crops. The rainbow is considered the path of the Yei, and is depicted in many of the sand paintings. Because much damage can come from the elements, these divinities are invoked by prayer and song with prayer sticks and sacrifices, so that no harm will come to the People.

For centuries the Navaho People have led the outdoor life. Their hogans, expertly designed to withstand the elements, provide shelter at night and during storms, but sometimes the Indians are caught away from home by spring duststorms, summer thunderstorms, or winter snowstorms. One needs to experience such as these, alone, out in those great desert reaches when the wind, rain, or snow sweeps the country with gigantic force, to understand why the Navaho have always felt the power of the elements, and have offered a prayer with a song.

The Navaho have myths concerning the stars and have considerable knowledge and awareness of constellations and period phenomena. Fire God, according to the legend, created the stars, giving each its proper name as he took them from his pouch and threw them into the sky, scattering the remnants to form the Milky Way. There is another legend, in which Coyote stole the Fire God's pouch and, after placing his own star in the southern sky, threw all the rest far up into the heavens, which accounts for the many unnamed stars.

A writer in the book *An Ethnological Dictionary of the Navajo Language* says, "... the origin and motive of each chant is based upon its own peculiar legend. And it must be a cause for regret that very few singers now living in the tribe are conversant with the chant legends, and, as a consequence, many chants are becoming extinct." Since this was written, in 1910, many younger Navaho have become interested in preserving their past, and a Department of Archives has been established at Window Rock. Already there is the nucleus of a museum with a resident historian, and eventually young Navaho children will have this additional source of knowledge of their ancestral heritage.

In the long prayer from the Night Chant, there is a portion addressed to the mythological Thunder Bird, with reference to its flight. The bird is spoken of as a male divinity who is supposed to live at Tsegi.

With the far darkness made of the he-rain
over your head, come to us soaring
With the far darkness made of the she-rain
over your head, come to us soaring
With the zig zag lightning flung out on high
over your head, come to us soaring
With the rainbow hanging high
over your head, come to us soaring¹

¹Dr. Washington Matthews, *Navaho Legends*, pp. 273-275.

The Nightway

Of all the long ceremonials, the one most frequently given is the Nightway, or Yeibichai. This nine-day ceremony is very complex, containing much ritualistic procedure which must be carried out in minute detail and in exactly the prescribed order. It begins in the evening of the first day when the medicine man, or chanter, arrives at the selected site. His first act is to apply the Yeibichai talisman to the patient by successively placing it about the patient's waist, his shoulders, his neck, and his head. This talisman is made of four carefully selected pieces of willow, each eighteen inches long, attached to each other with woolen strings, so that they may be spread out into an open rectangle and folded up again. A chanter receives his talisman from his preceptor and may keep it for life, transmitting it eventually to his pupil.

To describe in detail this entire ceremony would take many pages and has been done magnificently by Dr. Washington Matthews.² It has been my good for-

²See the Bibliography.

tune to see parts of the first eight days, and Betsy and I have seen the ninth day and night several times. The Nightway, perhaps more than any other ceremony, contains the greatest amount of minute detail in the preparation of the many prayersticks, the costumes, and the masks (for there are many impersonators of the Yei), and in the making of five beautiful sand paintings.

The chanter consecrates the ceremonial hogan by sprinkling sacred meal as he moves clockwise around the interior of the hogan. If the patient is a man, he uses white meal, if a woman, yellow. This consecration is repeated on the fourth night, the night of the vigil of the gods. All during the day there is much preparation for the vigil when the impersonators keep watch over their masks and other objects as they sing and pray the whole night through. The principal character of the Yeibichai is Talking God (Hastseyalte), the creator of the ceremonies, who utters his peculiar cry, "Wu, hu, hu, hu," at the important moments to announce that all has been done correctly.

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the dance ground where, as at the first site, the Four
First Songs are sung over the pot drum as it is tapped.
Following this, the people group themselves around
the drummer, and with a swaying motion sing a great
variety of songs. The dancing commences as each girl
chooses a man, and, standing behind him, moves him
in a circle several times, then reverses the motion. If
a man wishes to be released, he must pay his partner
before she will let him go. Much amusement is de-
rived from this phase of the dance. Toward dawn, the
Receiver again takes the Stick and standing in the
midst of the circle awaits the daylight, when he takes
it inside his hogan while both groups join to feed the
entire assembly, which may have grown large during
the night.

The following morning, relatives and friends of
the Receiver bring small gifts of tobacco, food, money,
cloth, and other items, heaping them on a blanket laid
out for the purpose just inside the hogan. The mem-
bers of the patient's group gathered outside to sere-
nade the Receiver. The leader once more sings the
Four First Songs at the entrance while the drum is
beaten, then other songs continue. The Receiver
throws the gifts out of the smoke hole in the roof of
the hogan, regardless of who may catch them. This is
the only Navaho ceremony where an exchange of gifts
takes place. It is considered symbolic of appreciation
that the earth's productivity has been restored.

Following the throwing of the gifts, the patient and
his party return to their own hogan, being very care-
ful to retrace their own hoof prints. As each rider
reaches the original ceremonial hogan he must once
more circle the fire in the proper direction. Preparations
then go forward for the next day, when the Stick
Receiver and his party will arrive at the original site.
more colored tallow is prepared, more herbs are
burnt, and the spray solution is mixed for the final
ritual.

In the evening of the second night at the Receiver's
camp, the Four First Songs are repeated and the dance
continues as on the night before.

At dawn the next morning, the Stick Decorator at
the first site prepares for the ceremonies. The patient
and his family wash their hair in yucca suds and pre-
pare for the emesis to follow. This cleansing both
within and without symbolizes the removal of any
traces of the effects of the "enemy ghost."

Fairly early in the morning of this last day, the
gathering of people at the Receiver's camp mount
their horses and start for the patient's hogan. The
same unmarried girl carries the Stick, and a man
brings the pot drum. As they near their destination a
group of horsemen at the patient's hogan go forth to
meet the Receiver's party, discharging their guns as
they go, and the two groups meet in a mock battle.
Then they all dash around the hogan four times,
chasing one another in a wide circle. The Receiver's
party make a camp a short distance away while the
women from the cook shelter immediately bring them
food.

After the meal and a short rest, the pot drum is
again tapped at the entrance of the ceremonial hogan
as another group of serenaders gather to sing the
Four First Songs once more, while friends and rela-
tives of the patient enter the hogan to place gifts for
distribution. Those from the Receiver's camp, who
caught the thrown gifts the day before, now enter
with new exchange gifts. Again these are thrown out
of the smoke hole to be gathered or caught by those
who are standing around the hogan.

Now the patient is blackened in preparation for the
"killing of the scalp." Both men and women may join
in this final part of the ceremony, though the patient's
wife may ask someone to substitute for her. The sig-
nificance of the blackening again refers to the original
legend, in which Monster Slayer was blackened so
that Yeitso could not see him. The men strip to a G
string and their entire bodies are blackened.

With Mrs. Lippincott, Betsy and I watched this last
part of the ceremony in 1951, as we had earlier ~~earlier~~
watched its beginning. The wife of the patient and a
group of women entered the shelter opposite the
ceremonial hogan, where we were invited to join the
participants. Then we all knelt down while the women
held a blanket over the wife as she changed her dress
and bared her shoulders so that she too might be
blackened. We saw, out of the corners of our eyes, the
blackened figure of the patient emerging from the
hogan, his small son beside him. In his hand he carried
a crow bill, symbolic of the scavenger, as he walked
toward the buried scalp. Soon we heard the shot fired
to kill the enemy ghost, following which the patient
made jabbing motions with the crow's bill, and scat-
tered ashes of the "slain enemy." The ceremony was
over and all participants retired to rest and, later, to
prepare the big feast in the evening prior to the final
dance that night.

Some differences exist in the Enemyway as per-
formed by different singers, and some special rites
may be added, but fundamentally this is the story of
the most frequently given ceremony among the
Navaho. We have found that relatively few non-
Indian people have seen the colorful, reverent trim-
ming of the Rattle Stick, and the many daytime rituals
of the Enemyway.

The Elements

The Navaho personify the elements: the winds,
lightning, thunder, fog, mist, rain. Of all these, only
rain has duality, the "He" rain and the "She" rain.

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Stet #1

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this Chapter

Plate C-20

The most important feature of the Enemyway is the Rattle Stick. As the trimming of this symbol must be performed by a singer who knows the songs of the ceremony, the proper individual must be sought. Also, someone to be the Stick Receiver must be found, someone who knows the rest of the ceremonial and who lives some distance away, perhaps eight or ten miles.

When the singer (the stick decorator) arrives at the appointed time, he asks for an earthen jar which will become the pot drum of the ceremony and whose function when beaten is to drive the ghosts into the ground. The person who brings the pot to the singer pours water into it, first from the East, then the South, West, and North, and finally from above. Then a piece of buckskin is fitted over the rim of the jar and held in place by thongs. Often pots are kept for this specific purpose. When the cover is in place, holes are punched into it resembling eyes and mouth. The cover becomes moist and taut so that it will produce a hollow sound when beaten. Rather than the usual drum stick, a tapper is made of a native shrub, with one end bent into a loop. Both the drum and the tapper are dedicated to the ceremony of prayers and song. This dedication takes place under a brush shelter which has been erected just east of the ceremonial hogan. Here for the first time the singer sings the important Four First Songs, then all those present join in singing other songs.

At sunrise the next day the singer selects someone to go for the Stick, which must be a piece of cedar or juniper, about eighteen inches long with no flaws or branches. The messenger, who usually goes on horseback, notes which side of his selected branch faces to the East before he cuts it from the tree, then, after sprinkling some sacred corn pollen at the base of the tree, he returns to the ceremonial hogan carrying the Stick in a specified manner covered with a cloth. As he approaches, the people in the hogan prepare the ceremonial basket, making a small circle of pollen in it as the messenger enters.

To prepare the Stick with its significant symbols, the singer directs someone to carve the designs with an arrowhead on the sides of the Stick. On the east side he carves a bow, being careful to move the arrowhead in the right direction, from left to right. On the opposite side a queue is carved, again in the right direction, and in both carvings a small opening (the Spirit Path) is left at the end. The symbolic queue stems from the origin legend, for it is said that Changing Woman first tied her hair in a queue before the Twins were born. All Navaho women, and many men, still wear their hair in this fashion. The bow is symbolic of Changing Woman's shooting the arrows over the Twins.

Over the years and at different places, Betsy and I have seen most of this ceremony. But in 1951, while we were visiting at Wide Ruins, we went with Mrs. Lippincott to see the trimming of the Rattle Stick. When we entered the hogan, the singer was about to commence this phase of the ritual. After walking clockwise around the center, we took our places on the north side of the hogan. Here indeed was a lovely scene, for this brush hogan roof was letting the sunlight filter through onto the dark-skinned faces, accenting the color of their head bands and scarfs as they watched the singer examining the carvings just completed on the Stick, while he sang again the Four First Songs in a subdued voice. Then he applied a mixture of burnt herbs and tallow to the surface of the Stick. First he used a black tallow, then some red, while he sang the proper songs. The patient's face was also daubed with the tallow, black on his chin, red on the rest of his face, but the singer was careful to save the proper amount to send to the Stick Receiver later in the day. Beside the singer was a small pile of herbs—sage, grama grass, and other plants—from which he selected certain pieces to be bound onto the Stick together with a turkey feather. Then he added two small eagle feathers and some deer hooves, tying them all to the Rattle Stick. While the singer was still quietly singing the proper songs, the women came forth to add further trimmings—pieces of ribbon, bits of yarn, usually red, and, from those who still had some, strips of bayeta—all of which were added to the Stick by means of slip knots. When this was finished, the patient took the Stick, and, holding it with the bow design facing the East, walked out of the hogan where his assistants were holding his horse, saddled and ready for the race to the Stick Receiver's camp some ten miles away. We watched the group of racing horsemen as soon as we were able to leave the hogan.

As we knew where the Receiver's camp was, while the horsemen were racing across the country we drove around by the road, arriving just in time to see them coming into the camp. The Stick Receiver stood before his hogan as the riders approached and dismounted. The patient first handed the Receiver the red and black tallow; then holding the Rattle Stick he pointed it first to the Receiver's feet, then brought it upward, circling his head, and, finally placed it in the Receiver's left hand. The Receiver in turn placed the Stick in a basket to inspect the designs and, deciding that they were properly made, accepted the Stick by bringing the designs close to his mouth, and inhaling deeply, indicating his acceptance. Taking the trimmings from the Rattle Stick, he distributed them among the people of his camp; then with the tallow brought by the patient he painted the faces of those nearby, and sprayed them with the herb mixture. The Receiver's party also prepared a pot drum. The Stick Receiver was now in complete charge of the ceremony. We did not stay beyond this point at this particular ceremony, but we knew that there would now be a rest period and the eating of a meal.

When the ritual is resumed toward evening, the Receiver selects an unmarried girl to be the custodian of the Stick, and, following her, both parties move to

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itors to form a large semicircle just inside the western
door of the main entrance hall. Then rugs were placed
on the floor, the medicine man (Manuelito Begay)
and three other singers took their places on the rugs,
the ceremonial basket containing sacred corn pollen
and a special pouch holding stones from the four
sacred mountains was placed before them, and their
chanting began. There are no special features to this
ceremony, only the reverent, simple prayers of bene-
diction for the use of the building and the blessing
of those who participate in its activities.

In all ceremonies one must leave by the exit to the
East (should there be one in any other direction). At
this ceremony Herbert Blatchford was present, and
when it was finished I saw Herbert step quickly be-
hind the chanters to lock the western door so that no
one could use it. Then all went out through the door
to the East to the courtyard, where chairs and benches
had been placed for the dedication ceremony to be
conducted by the school officials. The school band
played, the children took their places, parents and
visitors found theirs, and the usual ceremony for such
occasions took place.

When this was over, the Navaho lingered to talk
before going to have their feast. It was here that we
watched women making fry bread in the most enor-
mous skillet I have ever seen. A spirit of gaiety was
present, with everyone having a wonderful time as
great quantities of fry bread melted away and gallons
of coffee disappeared.

The Enemyway

Betsy and I have been privileged to witness some
ceremonies in part only, but from these experiences
we have realized the great mass of intricate ritual that
each ceremony contains. To learn or even to witness
portions of them all would take a lifetime, and there
are probably but few non-Indians who could fathom
the often delicate and subtle differences, the signifi-
cant symbolism, the true meaning that these rituals
have for the Navaho people. But we can comprehend
the beauty of many of the ceremonies that we are
permitted to see, and become aware of the reverent
feeling that exists among not only those conducting
the rituals but also all those who attend. From such
experiences we can realize how deeply the Navaho
are concerned with the proper ordering of life in this
world, and the traditional ethics which guide human
relationships.

Perhaps the most frequently given ceremony is the
so-called Squaw Dance, also called the War Dance,
though its real name is The Enemyway. This is a
three-day ceremony stemming from the legend of
Changing Woman's twin sons, Monster Slayer and
Child-of-the-Water, who went to visit their father, the
Sun, to seek his aid that they might slay the monsters
who inhabited this earth in order to make it a safe
place for the Diné to live. After slaying the monster
Yeitso, the twins carried his scalp as a trophy, hanging
it on a tree before telling their mother of their ad-
venture. While relating their story to her, they
swooned and lay unconscious. Changing Woman
prepared a potion made of herbs which had been
struck by lightning, sprinkled her sons with this, and
then shot arrows of spruce and pine over them to re-
store them to consciousness.

The Enemyway has never been a ceremony to pre-
pare for war, as many people think, even in the days
of long ago, but rather it is to rid the patient from the
effects of any "enemy." It is a ritual conducted for
persons who are disposed to weakness or fainting,
often attributed to the sight of blood, or from wit-
nessing sudden or violent death, or from dreams of
the same sort. Therefore, the symptoms are chiefly
psychological. An "enemy" is a foreigner, whether he
be white or of any other race, or even Indians of other
tribes, and the purpose of the ceremony is to drive
away the "ghosts" of such enemies. This has grown to
be hypothetical, and the "ghosts" may be the effect
that any foreigner has had on a Navaho. The slaying
of the ghost is now interpreted as ridding a person
from foreign influence. Following both World War II
and the Korean War, in which many young Navaho
served in the Armed Forces, there were countless
ceremonies held on the return of these veterans to rid
them of the effects of all they had experienced.

As the enemy is to be "fought," a site is chosen at
some distance from the patient's hogan where a tem-
porary ceremonial hogan is erected. Since Enemyway
is a summer ceremony, this may be a brush shelter,
roofed over with cut boughs. Then the patient, who
must secure the services of a "scalper," sends a mes-
senger out on horseback after the enemy's scalp.
Usually the scalper is an older man, one who has seen
blood in some sort of combat. Certain men who
qualify for this position keep the necessary trophies
hidden away for this special use. These trophies may
be a real scalp from long ago, or locks of hair, or bits
of clothing from an enemy. In order to signify his
mission, the scalper carries the trophy on a stick,
holding it out in front of him, so that no one will come
too close to him. When he reaches the patient's hogan
he is shown where the scalp is to be buried, usually a
spot a short distance east of the ceremonial hogan
where the scalp is deposited and stones are placed
over it.

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breaking day appeared over the cliffs, the fire dancers
came rushing in for the last time. Snatching burning
strips of bark from the fire, they first circled it four
times, then, running to throw the burning strips over
the corral wall in each of the four directions, they
broke open the wall to the South, the West, and the
North, so that all could leave the corral in the direc-
tion in which they lived.

As the sun came up, lighting the crests of the red
cliffs and soon sending rays of sunlight across the
scene, we watched the People preparing to return to
their homes. Finally I timidly got out a camera to
make a few pictures of groups near us as they loaded
their wagons and harnessed their horses. We treasure
the memory of that night, the vision of those wonder-
ful faces, the spirit that emanated from them, and the
friendliness of these people so filled with the bene-
diction of their experience that it gave us a deep in-
sight into Navaho character. More than eighteen hun-
dred people were there that night and only five or six
non-Indian visitors, including ourselves. Never had
we been in such a large gathering where all the people
were so well behaved, for at this time, 1932, there
were no problems of alcoholism that too often appear
at ceremonials today. Only recently I found a trader
who had been present that night and he told me that,
of all the many ceremonials he had seen during a
period of forty years on the reservation, that night was
the finest he had ever seen, c/s #

The summer after we saw the great Fire Dance,
Betsy wrote me that she was going to spend several
weeks camped on the mountain above Red Rock, as
many of her people were there with their sheep for
summer pasture, and there had been an epidemic of
influenza. She came down to Red Rock to meet me,
and after stocking up with supplies at the trading
post we drove to a lovely meadow where she had pre-
viously pitched her tent.

We took a walk across the meadow where we found
some edible mushrooms, which we eagerly gathered
to improve a steak we had brought for supper. As we
were returning to the campsite we suddenly saw a
silent figure standing at the edge of the woods watch-
ing us. He proved to be a medicine man of Betsy's
acquaintance who greeted us with quiet reserve and
walked back with us to our camp. A sudden summer
thunderstorm broke loose, and with Timothy joining
us we took shelter under the tent fly to await the pass-
ing of the storm. 227

Moved by a spirit of friendliness, the medicine man
asked Betsy if she would like to see his medicine
pouch. We watched with interest as he untied the
buckskin thongs, greatly worn from long use, and
laid out the contents before us. For a medicine bowl
he had a turtle shell in which he mixed the herb rem-
edies he carried in a number of small leather bags.
This shell had been given him by a very old medicine
man who had used it all his life. It was cracked and it
leaked; our friend asked Betsy if she could get him
another. (This I was able to send her after my return
home.) Then there were two strange objects which
turned out to be the skulls of wild cranes. We had
seen the bills of these bird heads protruding from the
pouch. The neck ends were bound with colored
worsted and decorated with feathers and small bits of
shell. These, we were to learn later, were part of the
special paraphernalia required for the Knife Chant,
one of the rituals practiced by this man. There were
also prayer sticks, special bags of corn pollen, some
fetishes, some stones from the sacred mountains, and a
few other objects. We were very interested to see all
of this collection and to see the reverence with which
the medicine man handled his ritualistic possessions.

Somehow our conversation (and this all through
Timothy, Betsy's interpreter) drifted to telling stories.
I cannot remember what prompted us to tell the
Greek tale of the Gorgon's Head, but after the tale was
told, the medicine man asked Timothy to tell us that
the Navaho had a story something like that; he wished
he could tell it to us, but it was forbidden to tell it in
the summertime when it thundered and he must wait
until after the first frost; besides, it would have taken
three days and three nights to tell. As Betsy never
did find the opportunity to hear the story, this is one
of the countless folk tales of the Navaho we do not
know.

When the storm was over, we were ready to cook
our evening meal, and we invited our visitor to join
us. I broiled the steak over an open fire, cooked the
mushrooms, and served what I thought was an ex-
cellent meal. But the steak was too rare for Navaho
taste, and neither Timothy nor the medicine man
would touch the mushrooms; somewhat crestfallen,
we endeavored to find something else more to their
liking.

Plate C-19
stat # - The Blessingway

In addition to the blessing of every new hogan, the
Blessingway ceremony is also conducted whenever a
new building is completed on the reservation. At the
time of the opening of the large new school at Crown-
point, I went over for the occasion. There were many
visitors, both non-Indian and Navaho, gathering for
the dedication ceremonies, and there was much prep-
aration of food.

As the scheduled hour approached, the school chil-
dren marched into the new building, joining the vis-

As evening came, a crowd gathered, standing in a circle to watch rehearsals for the dance to be performed the following night. This lasted for some time, then there was silence as a man stepped out into the center near the firelight. In his high-pitched voice, which carried easily for considerable distance, he spoke long and earnestly, then suddenly we heard two familiar words, *Washington* [sic] and *Roosevelt*. We had forgotten that it was election day; it was strangely wonderful to hear the election returns in another language so far removed in thought and feeling from twentieth-century America. Then the singing resumed and finally we crept into our sleeping bags, falling asleep before the singing ended.

A bustle of excitement filled the air the next morning; after our breakfast, we watched a crew of men bringing in freshly cut cedar and piñon boughs and constructing a huge circle, or corral, near the ceremonial hogan. They stacked the boughs more than six feet high, intertwining the branches and completing the circle, except for the entrance to the East. The corral must have been more than two hundred feet in diameter, the boughs so closely interwoven that little wind came through. One crew brought long dry logs, stacking them on end in the center of the corral for the bonfire to be lighted later in the night. So absorbed were we in watching this that we had not looked about us, but suddenly we were aware of fresh activity, and looking up we saw Navaho people coming from all directions—down through the trees, up from the valley, in covered wagons, on horseback, in open wagons, in a few cars. Most came in family groups, some singly on horseback or on foot; all were dressed in their very best, the women with freshly washed long full cotton skirts and beautiful blouses of reds, blues, purples, yellows, and greens, filling the landscape like a kaleidoscope. Never before or since have I seen anything to equal the color of that day, with the great red cliffs as a background for this medley of color moving through the changing greens of the foreground as this gathering of the Diné assembled. All day long they came, tethering their horses, greeting one another by the quiet, gentle handclasp so distinctly Navaho, partaking of the food prepared and constantly renewed within the cook shelter.

As the sun fell behind the distant mesas, the singer emerged from the hogan, followed by his assistants. Taking his medicine pouch from his belt, he commenced sprinkling corn pollen as he entered the corral, moving slowly clockwise around the circle, singing the Blessing Song, in which the others joined. As he returned to the hogan the people began to move into the corral, finding places for themselves, some close to the green walls of branches, some in front, forming an audience several rows deep. We entered too, Timothy finding a place for us where we would be able to watch the night's proceedings. We had brought blankets with us, for the evening was cold, and we settled down to watch. Soon there were little fires all about, lighted for warmth, and with a coffee pot always close by.

Just at dark, when the ritual was finished in the hogan, the medicine man, his helpers, and the patient came out, and entered the corral to take their places at the westernmost side of the circle, where they turned to face the East. A pathway was kept clear between them and the great bonfire, soon to be lighted. A group of singers came in, each with a rattle in his hand, dancing around the bonfire as it was ignited, quickly illuminating the scene. When these dancers had completed their prescribed group of songs, others entered to take their places, so that the singing never ceased. To this ebb and flow of dance and song, the special events of the night were added from time to time—the tricksters who made yucca grow before your eyes, and who performed other magic tricks, a girl who danced before a basket containing a single feather which rose on end in the basket, swaying slightly with the rhythm of the song.

Years later at the Gallup Ceremonial, we saw again one of the special events from the Fire Dance. The dimly lit singers kneeled before the fire, while dancers carried great frames or wands decorated with eagle feathers and symbolic eagles riding high above symbolic suns. This recalled vividly the night we had spent at Lukachukai, so long ago.

As the night wore on, a group of four fire dancers came into the corral, each carrying a long strand of cedar bark which in turn they ignited at the bonfire, then as they dashed madly around the blazing logs they flayed both themselves and each other with the burning bark. They were clad only in breech cloths, their bodies painted with a light-colored clay which must have been very heat resistant. Another special event of the night was performed by two of these dancers. One lifted a piece of burning pitchy wood from the fire, holding it over the cupped hands of the other dancer who washed his hands in the dripping burning pitch. Doubtless there were other events which have now faded from my memory, but what impressed me the most throughout that mysterious night was the sight of those wonderful firelit faces of the People as they sat wrapped in their blankets watching the sequence of events that took place.

During the night the aromatic fragrance of burning piñon and cedar wood filled the air, and occasional gusts of wind blew smoke in our eyes, stinging them greatly. One family, patients of Betsy's, saw us sitting there, and, thinking we had nothing to eat, brought us boiled mutton and coffee. They all gave us welcome, considering our comfort as we watched the unfolding drama. There must have been several hundred children there that night, but not once did we hear a child or baby cry. All were absorbed as long as they could stay awake, then they slept quietly until they were rested.

Just before the dawn came, a great lot of logs were thrown on the ebbing fire, and as the first signs of

Plate
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Plate
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Many smaller rites, such as the puberty ceremony, the initiation ceremony, the marriage ceremony, and numerous others are conducted frequently. The great ceremonials, such as the Mountainway or the Nightway, with their variations, are less frequently given. As these particular ceremonies last for nine days and nights, they are very costly affairs requiring much preparation, but others are of shorter duration. While the first days of these long chants usually concern only the patient and family, it is on the ninth day that great numbers of people come from far and near to watch the ceremony of the final night and to partake of its benefits.

During these large ceremonials, sand paintings are executed within a hogan often specially built for the rituals. Directed by the singer, his helpers create the proper design by trickling sand of different colors through their fingers onto a base of neutral-colored sand spread over the hogan floor. Commenced in the morning, the painting is completed in mid-afternoon, when the patient is brought in and placed upon it. The medicine man then takes sand from certain symbolic sections of the design, and rubs it onto the patient to absorb the causes of the illness. When these rites are completed, the entire sand painting is wiped out, but during that brief time when it lies complete on the hogan floor it is an extraordinarily beautiful example of abstract art, every part of which is replete with significance. Hundreds of these designs, some completely abstract, some partially pictorial, all with different purposes, are stored in the memories of the medicine men who direct their execution. Many contain the stylized symbolic figures of some of the Yei, the sun and the moon, or some of the helpers of both gods and men, such as Big Fly (the messenger), Coyote, Bear (which the Navaho revere), or other animals and birds. In many sand paintings one sees the Four Sacred Plants—corn, squash, beans, and tobacco—drawn in decorative designs. Many paintings are encircled by the Rainbow Goddess for protection, the opening (for there is never a complete enclosure) always to the East; some are encircled with entwined serpents, some with a simple border.

Native pigments are used in making these remarkable designs. For some ceremonies, such as Blessingway, vegetable pigments are used—crushed petals from flowers, pollens, cornmeal, and pulverized charcoal for black. In the large sand paintings the pigments are crushed red sandstone, yellow ochre, white gypsum, and charcoal made from burnt scrub oak. In the Nightway the black must be made from dry cedar charcoal. A grey blue is obtained by mixing white sand or gypsum with charcoal, a pink from a mixture of red sandstone and white, a brown by mixing yellow ochre and charcoal. Pieces of bark are used as trays to hold each color, though today one sees paper plates or cups as receptacles. The making of these paintings is done with skill and certainty by many helpers as the pigments trickle from between their thumbs and forefingers in steady strokes.

At the great ceremonials there will be as many as five different sand paintings on ensuing days, each with its special ritual at the end—all part of the healing ceremony which moves steadily forward in its prescribed order to the climax of the final night.

The Mountainway

In the late fall of 1932, Betsy sent me word that there was to be a Fire Dance at Lukachukai, and that she hoped I would be able to join her, as she expected to go with a number of Navaho people from her area. The Fire Dance, she wrote, was the final night of the Mountainway. She suggested that I arrive early in November, as she was not certain of the date. The day after my arrival we set forth in our respective cars, Betsy taking five Navaho with her, I taking four with me.

We drove up over the Lukachukai Mountains from Red Rock, arriving at the location in the afternoon of the eighth day of the ceremony. And what a sight greeted us! We found ourselves near the base of the great red sandstone cliffs which jut out into the broad expanse known as the Chinle Wash. Rich green piñon and cedar trees were scattered along the base of the cliffs, and where the slope dropped, soft grey-green sagebrush took their place. We put up our tent on the outskirts of the activity, Timothy eagerly helping us. He was full of excitement, for he had never seen a Fire Dance. We spent the afternoon watching all the preparations for the day and night to follow. Near us was a huge shelter, newly constructed, where busy cooks were already preparing food for the entire assembly. Here we learned that the patient giving the ceremony and his family furnished food for all who come. It is customary, however, for visitors to contribute to the supply by bringing flour, sugar, or coffee, and we were most courteously thanked for our donations. We watched the butchering of sheep and goats, saw huge kettles being prepared for cooking mutton and goat meat, saw specially constructed stone and mud ovens where women were baking great quantities of bread. We saw men hauling water, and men hauling wood, not only for the cooking fires, but for the ceremonial fires during the night to follow. We watched the making of a great wood pile near the ceremonial hogan. It seemed large enough to last an entire winter for a whole community; yet it was completely consumed the following night. As we came near the hogan we heard the voices of the singers as they performed the eighth-day rituals. We were afraid we might displease our host if we approached, so we listened from afar. It never occurred to us that we might have asked to see the ceremony, and that possibly we might have been invited to watch.

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Sketch #

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The beautiful new Community Building is opened at fair time for educational and commercial exhibits, showing the latest farming machinery, new trucks, and all sorts of house and farm utensils. There are short educational movies, such as a film on tuberculosis, and one on Alcoholics Anonymous, which it is interesting to see crowds of young men watching. School exhibits are displayed here, and subscriptions to *The Navaho Times*, a weekly publication in English, are sold at a booth.

The Community Center Building has many unique features: it can be partitioned off into classrooms, it can be made into a sports area for boxing and wrestling, it can be made into two basketball courts (a game well loved and well played by the Navaho boys), and it can also be turned into an auditorium or concert hall with tiered removable seats. At the dedication ceremonies, a famous troupe of Spanish dancers performed here, to the delight of the Navaho audience. José Iturbi played here, and there have been other concerts of equally high quality. Some of the great jazz bands have given concerts here, as each year brings a growing list of important cultural presentations.

Recently, since the erection of the new Arts and Crafts Guild Building, the old one at the fairgrounds has been made into a small museum containing many exhibits of year-round interest. A small children's zoo has been added to the south of the building, containing wild animals and birds found on the reservation.

The Gallup Ceremonial, the Fourth of July celebration at Flagstaff, the Shiprock Fair, and the Window Rock Tribal Fair are all widely attended by hundreds, probably thousands, of Navaho people, as well as Indians of other tribes and countless non-Indian visitors. These gatherings give the Navaho people the opportunity to discuss the affairs of the day and work that is being done. Many Navaho who live far from the reservation come home for one or more of these events, where they may see their families and friends and renew their Navaho traditions.

PART IV THE ENDURING WAY

HERITAGE

WHEN THE DINÉH, the Earth People, emerged into this world, they were taught by the Holy People the right way to conduct the many acts of their everyday living—how to gain a livelihood, how to build a hogan, how to perform the myriad activities of their lives, and, above all, how to adapt to their environment for good or evil through the harmonious use of ceremonials. Springing from the Creation Story, in which the development of man is established, the legends contain the origins of the ceremonies, the answers to fundamental questions, and the reasons for the many taboos. There seems to be no clearly defined supreme being in Navaho thought; however, there is the knowledge that through ceremonial rituals certain of the Yei (the Holy Ones) can be encouraged to assist with supernatural powers. It is the Yei who regulate whether good or evil comes to the Dinéh; but not all the Yei are good, thus there is constant supplication to win favor of the good Yei, and to override the influences of the evil.

Misfortune, accident, and illness are caused by disharmony, either direct or through social controls known as witchcraft, and every effort is made to overcome these and to propitiate and create perfect harmony with the good. This is accomplished through the complex and intricate patterns of ceremonialism. Performed by the esoteric medicine men who have the knowledge and the influence, these ceremonials are the embodiment of natural consequences and abstract symbolism, expressed through song, through the dry paintings (sand paintings), and through the correct use of ceremonial objects and substances.

When a patient is uncertain in determining which ceremony is necessary to produce the required healing, there are diagnosticians who perform this service—these are the hand tremblers, the star gazers, and the listeners who consult the patient and, through their ability, determine the course to follow.

When it has been decided which ceremony is to be given, the medicine man, or singer, as he is more correctly called, who knows that particular ceremony is summoned and preparations are set in motion. Stemming from the Creation Story, more than fifty ceremonies, or chants, of varying range and complexity all lead to the restoration of harmony. Everything must be done in the prescribed way as told in the legends. So it is the spiritual, emotional, psychological, and physical needs, and in this order, that are treated to attain this desired harmony and, consequently, healing.

The most revered ceremony, a relatively simple one, is the Blessingway, the Hozhoji, the center of Navaho religion, in which Changing Woman plays a predominant part. This does not require the elaborate ritual of most of the other ceremonies, and may be performed by anyone who knows it. As its name implies, it is an act of balance, a blessing for a person, a place, or an act, such as the commencing of a new blanket, and it comes from Changing Woman, regenerator of life, the everlasting One.

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FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, a group of citizens in Gallup, New Mexico, conceived the idea of having an annual fair for the benefit of the several Indian tribes who lived in the general area. This developed into the Inter-tribal Ceremonial, which during the course of the past twenty-five years has become a renowned affair. The original idea of an arts and crafts exhibit where the Indians could sell their work now has grown into an outstanding exhibition with Indians from many tribes competing for a variety of prizes. In the last decade Indians have come from all over the United States, parts of British Columbia, and Mexico to take part in the Ceremonial in one way or another, bringing added color, interest, and variety.

In addition to the crafts exhibits, there are many other forms of competition and entertainment. The members of the Gallup Ceremonial Committee, finding that some dances by Southwestern Indians were on the verge of disappearing, offered special prizes for their revival. While all dances are part of religious ceremonials, the presentation of some as isolated units seems to be permissible. These dramatic events take place at the fairgrounds before a capacity-filled grandstand for all performances, while additional spectators seek every possible vantage point to witness both afternoon and evening events. During the daytime there are athletic competitions of many sorts; with these and the evening entertainments, the four days of the Ceremonial are filled with a variety of interesting things to watch. The Navaho play an important part in the Ceremonial, for they lead the opening parade, carrying the flags and partaking in all the equestrian events.

Another aspect of this Ceremonial is the social gathering of the many tribes. Here they exchange knowledge and thoughts with one another, discussing all manner of work and events, for the Gallup Ceremonial has done much to weld the Indian peoples of all tribes together. These four days in mid-August are filled with color, with action, with gaiety and social pleasures. To the non-Indian spectators this is doubtless one of the most colorful affairs in the country; and it can be a field day for photographers, with action of many sorts, as well as moments of dramatic performances and of human interest.

As early as 1909, agricultural agent William T. Shelton instigated a fair, like any county fair, at Shiprock for the benefit of the northern Navaho area. He did much to encourage superior weaving through this fair, promoting displays of rugs. For a while the fair was discontinued, to be resumed in 1937 with increased emphasis on weaving, as well as agricultural and livestock exhibits, for Mr. Shelton did much to improve the quality of Navaho sheep, and consequently wool, in this part of the reservation. The Shiprock Fair, of course, is an all-Navaho event, held usually in early October. While the original purpose of this fair was the display of agricultural produce with prizes for the top-ranking exhibits as well as livestock, this is also an educational fair, for here the many farmers learn how to improve their produce and livestock.

Other exhibits will also be found at this fair, such as home economic exhibits with canned fruits and vegetables and other exhibits from the woman's world. In the small arena a variety of equestrian activities take place, for Navaho youths have become eager participants in all rodeo events. Though the Navaho are natural sheep men, they are also fine horsemen, and during the past twenty years have become excellent rodeo performers. I recall watching a calf-roping contest in the early 1950's when the best time for the event was over sixty seconds; but at a recent fair I saw a boy win this contest with a time of eleven seconds.

A few years ago, a small traveling carnival made its appearance at the Shiprock Fair. Here were the usual lot of booths with throwing contests, a Ferris wheel, and other rides, all of which were eagerly enjoyed by all ages. Somehow the Shiprock Fair, though much smaller than the others, is more fun, perhaps because it is less sophisticated and pretentious, though recently the drinking problem has been much too evident.

In 1938, not long after the establishment of the Navaho seat of government at Window Rock, the Tribal Council voted to mount a tribal fair. Grounds were laid out not far from the government buildings, and for four years the fair was conducted in September. During World War II, this fair was suspended, to be reactivated in 1951. Since then it has grown in scope and activity, and is now the big event on the reservation. Modeled somewhat after the Gallup Ceremonial, the fair always has a fine craft exhibit, and large displays of agricultural exhibits in the new Gorman Hall. There are excellent quarters for the livestock displays and facilities for judging the specimens which come in from all parts of the reservation. There is a race track surrounding the rodeo arena (they even have a mechanical race starter), a loud speaker system, and all modern equipment. The spacious grandstand holds many spectators. The opening event in this arena is one of many galloping horses, as the Navaho young men ride in with the band playing and flags flying. This is also a four-day fair, with new daily events and competitions in the arena. One interesting contest is for women to see who can chop wood and light a fire in the shortest time. There are also evening events, small bits from ceremonials, dances by visiting Pueblo dancers, and other events to interest the spectators.

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50—Enduring Navaho U. of Texas S-15801 3-39 3-cl legal claim? Within the Checkerboard Area 49 percent of the land was Navaho owned, 20 percent was under federal control, 16 percent was owned by the railroad, 7 percent was state land, 3 percent was owned by the New Mexico-Arizona Land Company, and 4 percent was privately owned by non-Indians.

Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes withdrew the entire four million acres of the Checkerboard Area from entry in this disputed area. Between 1933 and 1935 the governor of New Mexico and Senators Bronson Cutting and Carl Hatch prepared an act to define these reservation boundaries. The bill passed the Senate in 1935, but before it reached the House of Representatives, Senator Cutting was killed in an airplane accident. As he had been the chief proponent of this bill, the opposition was now able to cause its withdrawal for reconsideration, with the end result that the bill was dropped. Through the Arizona Boundary Bill (1934), some land along the southern boundary of the reservation in Arizona was purchased by the federal government and added to the reservation. In New Mexico, however, some disputed land still exists, and in the meantime the Navaho Tribe has purchased several large ranches. It is certainly to be hoped that the Indian Service will be able eventually to restore land areas to which the Navaho have an inherited claim.

Tribal Resources

When the Tribal Council voted in 1940 to establish a Department of Resources, the first two resources on the list were the Sawmill Project (which had been in limited operation previously) and the Arts and Crafts Guild. There are many thousand acres of fine timber on the reservation in the Chuska Mountains, and in smaller amounts elsewhere. With the supervision of the Forest Division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Sawmill Project was commenced at a site some forty miles northwest of Window Rock. Selected trees were cut and brought to the mill, where some two hundred Navaho men were trained in the best methods of handling lumber and in the concept of sustained yield forestry. Over eighteen million board feet of lumber were produced per annum at this original site. With expanded industry in sight, a new location was selected and an up-to-date mill with modern equipment was built around fifteen miles northeast of Fort Defiance. This new mill has more than doubled the capacity of the former plant, and today there are more than four hundred Navaho men employed at the mill and some forty-odd non-Navaho. A small housing area called Navajo has been built for these people near the mill. This industry is netting the Tribe an income of several hundred thousand dollars a year.

The discovery of uranium ore on the reservation in 1950 sent a wave of excitement throughout the Southwest. Much prospecting was done, and more sources of ore both large and small were located with an eager rush reminiscent of the old gold mining days. Roads were both improved and newly built in order to haul ore by truck to the processing plant at Shiprock. When more ore was discovered in the Monument Valley area and farther west, two additional plants were built, one at Mexican Hat and another at Tuba City. The vast barren desert east of the Monuments provided unsuspected riches for the Navaho Tribe as well as work for many men, for here a large open-pit mine was operated. On the top of the northern end of the Lukachukai Mountains several shaft mines yielded many thousand tons of uranium ores. I visited one of these and was taken down into the mine, where it seemed strange indeed to find Navaho boys deep underground hard at work as miners. The peak year of the uranium mining was reached in 1962 when some 379,000 tons of ore were produced, adding immense revenue to the tribal treasury.

Though the first oil was struck on the reservation as long ago as 1921 when the Rattlesnake dome was discovered near Shiprock, new fields were found in 1957, also in this northern district of the San Juan River basin, particularly in the Four Corners area. More than one thousand new oil and gas wells are now operating, bringing in high revenue. The first years of production from these new fields brought in many millions of dollars in leases and bonuses, while the annual royalty of some twelve million dollars is of prime importance to the Tribe.

Another recent development has been a strip coal mining site, south of the San Juan River between Shiprock and Farmington. This coal is being converted into power at the site, and a new power line now extends over the Chuska Mountains to the Window Rock area and beyond, bringing electricity for many purposes.

The Glen Canyon area is offering other new developments. Generated by the giant turbines at the new dam, great pylons carry the pulsing rhythm of electric power for 150 miles across the desert. This source of power will be tapped in the future when the need for it arises.

On the whole, the recent rich earnings from the Department of Resources are being wisely used. On some Indian reservations where sudden large sums of money were received, the money was distributed to the individuals. This resulted in quick expenditure. The Navaho not only have made good investments, but also have used funds to develop programs of many sorts created for the benefit of all the Navaho people. Having known some of the individuals for nearly twenty years who now hold responsible positions, I find it most heartening to see how they have risen to the challenge of their respective departments, and to see the ability they are showing in executive posts. Certainly they seem to have the good of the Tribe as a whole at heart.

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Relocate phrase

49-Enduring Navaho U. of Texas S-15801 3-39 3-clis of the Navaho Police Force. It has grown steadily since, and today there are approximately two hundred enforcement officers with sufficient administrative personnel.

182 Now there are seven courts, one in each subagency and two at Window Rock, conducted entirely by Navaho judges and officers. I had the very interesting experience in being present at a court session at Tuba City. I do not know what offence the young man had committed, but I was impressed with the conduct of the court, and with Judge Hadley's handling of the prisoner. The Judge gave the boy a long talk, which of course I could not understand. But I could understand the quality of his voice and the meaning of his words by the inflection of his voice and the manner in which he spoke. His voice was persuasive rather than dictatorial, kind rather than harsh or critical, and I felt that the boy was being taught rather than admonished. The whole procedure was quiet, reserved, sincere, and dignified. I wished that George Washington, looking down from the wall, might have heard this session.

The Tribe has just completed a wonderful new Law and Order Building, situated within the Window Rock grounds. This is a handsome building of modern design containing the last word in police and prison facilities. On the second floor are two courtrooms with adequate chambers for the judges, a law library, and the finest of modern equipment.

183 Whenever new projects are commenced by the Tribe, the Council sends for top-ranking experts to give advice on the best possible ways to proceed. They call in expert architects, engineers, lawyers, geologists, and men of other professions, their judgment being always to seek the very best. Following the creation of the Indian Land Claims Commission by the Congress of the United States in 1946, the Tribal Council, under the chairmanship of Sam Akkeah, passed a resolution to employ an attorney to function both as claims attorney and as general counsel. Sam went to Washington to secure the services of Mr. Norman M. Littell, a prominent corporation lawyer, and a ten-year contract with him was approved by the Council in July of 1947. As the new mining activities developed, the need arose for continued legal counsel at Window Rock; consequently, in 1951 the Tribal Council acted to employ a resident attorney to function under Mr. Littell's direction. In order to obtain the maximum benefits for the Navaho People, highly competent advice was necessary to execute not only mining and oil and gas leases, but also many agreements in connection with the Glen Canyon Dam, the rights of way for power lines, and much other business that has recently come to the Tribe. In addition to the general counsel, a Department of Tribal Legal Aid has been added, to render service to individuals whose interests need protection.

During the period of work on the land claims, I joined archaeologist Richard Van Valkenburgh at a meeting held in the eastern part of the Checkerboard Area, where he was seeking help from older Navaho men in his effort to locate Old Navaholand hogan sites where the Navaho lived nearly four centuries ago. It was a bitterly cold day and, as the heating plant was not in operation in the building where the meeting was to have taken place, everyone crowded into a hogan to listen to a talk by Mr. Counselor, formerly a trader in the area. Men, women, and children were present, all listening attentively to the problem at hand. Luckily I had permission to record this scene. Two elderly Navaho men finally agreed to help Mr. Van Valkenburgh the following summer, at which time I again joined the group to watch the work in progress. Some old sites were found near our camp, and from the logs valuable tree-ring data were obtained. One of the men who helped was Georgie Garcia (p. 37), who at seventy-eight was still surprisingly active. Much archaeological evidence was gained that summer to establish proof of Navaho habitation in areas no longer within the present reservation boundary.

The land claims work is finished now and awaits the decision of the United States Supreme Court.

stat # The Checkerboard Area

East of the present boundary of the Navaho Reservation is the land known as the Checkerboard Area, where disputes over land ownership have prevailed for many years. When the Navaho People returned from Fort Sumner in 1868 many of them, regardless of the government-decreed reservation boundaries, drifted naturally to their former homes where they and their forebears had lived for many generations. Some of these homes were in this eastern area. By 1875 some non-Indian sheep men in New Mexico began to graze their stock where the Navaho lived. Disputes over ownership arose as fences were built to keep Navaho stock away from water sources they had long used.

When the Santa Fe Pacific Railroad was built in 1882 some portions of the right-of-way crossed the southern portion of the reservation proper. Here the federal government granted to the railroad every other section of land on both sides of the track, taking away from the Navaho much of their good grazing areas. Under the leadership of Manuelito, a group of headmen went to Washington to plead with President Grant for the return of this land, but to no avail. Other land north of the San Juan River was offered instead. However, some exchanges did occur in a few regions, leading to the naming of this large area as the Checkerboard. Various efforts to make adjustments were attempted during the ensuing years, backed by several non-Indians who had fair dealing at heart, but land speculators managed to defeat these efforts.

At the time of the Homestead Act in 1916 the Navaho People could have filed for this land, but who was there to explain to the People who had lived on this land for generations that they must establish

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Plate 141

Plate 142-143
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During the summer months of 1963 and 1964 Shirley held a position as a ranger in the National Park Service, stationed at Canyon de Chelly National Monument. In all spare moments she has been working on a thesis in archaeology. Following the summer season of 1964 at the Canyon, Shirley accepted a position with a survey sponsored jointly by the Navaho Tribe and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. She is working also at the Arizona State University on a two-year award from the Department of Anthropology as a graduate assistant, and in addition is studying genetics and animal ecology. It is altogether fitting that there should be a Navaho anthropologist, and I am sure that Shirley will perform a major service for her people in recording and preserving the traditions and folklore of the Navaho.

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These are but three of the honor students who either have been, or are being, helped through the Scholarship Fund. There are many others, following a variety of occupations, such as doctors, dentists, nurses, and lawyers, all of them bringing back to their own people the benefits of their learning, for a stipulation with each grant is that the student must devote a minimum of two years' service to the Tribe following the completion of his work.

This Education Scholarship Fund is probably the most valuable of all the Navaho projects, giving many young people of ability the opportunity to receive the highest education. From this group will doubtless come the leaders of tomorrow. That the Tribal Council had the wisdom to establish such a fund shows again the ability of these people to make practical decisions for the benefit of the Tribe. Many of these councilmen were older men who had not had such opportunities themselves and who were willing to plan far ahead for the future of their people.

During the past thirty years, it has become more and more necessary for young Navaho men and women to seek employment off the reservation. Those who had learned to speak English were the first to do so. For many years now, both the Santa Fe and the Union Pacific railroads have employed Navaho men for maintenance work along their lines, and occasionally one may see them boarding a train for work at some distant point. Many other Navaho go into off-reservation parts of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado for seasonal crop harvesting. A good many young women find employment of various kinds in restaurants or motels in the nearby towns. Many also have studied typing and have taken the place of former Indian Service typists at Window Rock, where they have proved to be efficient and skilled office workers.

The Indian Service has made some effort to relocate families, which has been partially successful, some Navaho moving to California, Colorado, the larger cities of New Mexico and Arizona, and even farther afield where they have found satisfactory work for their livelihood.

As many of the new projects on the reservation have developed, more opportunities for Navaho people have arisen at home, such as work in road building, in the oil fields, in the uranium mines, in the Sawmill project, and in other lines of endeavor replacing the sheep industry on the overused land. Mechanical ability seems to be natural to all young Navaho boys, and they find work in garages along the border towns of the reservation. It is interesting to see the skill with which these young men handle big machinery, so far removed from the old life of a generation ago.

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Law and Order

The development of the Department of Law and Order has been slow, for traditionally every individual Navaho is a free agent and no one should try to impose his will upon another. For many years there were few serious offences, and those that did occur were usually handled by the headman of each clan. As disputes among the Navaho were relatively minor, they were settled by arbitration.

In 1880, acting Navaho Agent Bennet said in his report to Washington:

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The crying evil that most besets this people is whisky. There are several traders at nearby points . . . where whisky of the vilest description is delt out to these people in open violation of the law, being an incentive to crime and greatly impoverishing many of them. . . . Outside of this aspect of the question no community of like population will exhibit so small a record of criminal acts of a flagrant character as the Navahoes.²

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²Navajo Yearbook, p. 275.

Even today the high percentage of arrests are due to problem drinking; other misdemeanors are relatively few.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs was responsible for the maintenance of law and order on the reservation until 1953 when the need for a tribal police force became acute in the Checkerboard Area, off the reservation. The state of New Mexico could not handle these Indian problems and asked for help from the Tribe. This area has long been a veritable no man's land as far as policing was concerned. For example, bootleggers from surrounding communities went to the area with quantities of cheap liquor, selling it to the Indians and demanding the immediate return of bottles so that no evidence was left behind. The state agreed to help police this area if its force were augmented, so six Navaho policemen were trained and equipped for the work. These men were the beginning

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selor, working out of Gallup, New Mexico. In these
schools Navaho children were being accepted with the
regular school body, and it was Herbert's duty to
check on any absentees. I went with Herbert into the
area surrounding Gallup, to see just what his field
work was in this capacity. At one hogan there was an
eleven-year-old girl who had been absent from school
for several weeks. Herbert went directly to the child,
not to the parents. We entered the hogan where Her-
bert began talking to the child. Seeing that she was
very shy, I thought my presence there might be dis-
turbng to her, and I went outside to wait. Soon I
heard voices in conversation as Herbert was getting
answers to his questions. Then there was a long quiet
talk from Herbert as he told the child how important
it was for her to continue her studies, and what her
schooling could mean to her in later life. When they
joined me outside, the child was smiling happily,
seemingly pleased indeed with all she had learned
from her counselor.

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As we drove off, I asked Herbert what had been
the difficulty. His answer, "Oh, teacher trouble." Then
I learned that there were a number of teachers in the
Gallup schools who were new to New Mexico and un-
familiar with Indian children. In the course of our
conversation it emerged that Herbert had organized
an evening class for these teachers to help them under-
stand the Navaho children. This he did on his own
initiative, showing unusual judgment in finding a
practical method to solve some of the problems of
these children. Realizing that he needed some knowl-
edge of law, Herbert returned to the University for
a year's work in this field.

In 1963 the members of the Tribal Council, together
with representatives of McKinley County and the city
of Gallup, appointed Herbert as manager of the Gal-
lup Indian Community Center. There had long been
a great need in Gallup for a place where visiting In-
dians could get a night's lodging for a nominal cost,
a place where they could meet and have some form
of recreation, a place with a cafeteria and other facil-
ities. This building, erected in 1952 through the
Navaho-Hopi Rehabilitation Act, was operated for a
number of years by the Unitarian Service Committee.
Now the Board of Directors of the Community Center
has taken it over, and is operating it with the united
help of the Navaho Tribe and the city of Gallup.

In addition to all the work as manager of the Center,
Herbert is acting also as a counselor to any young
Navaho who are seeking employment off the reserva-
tion, or are having difficulties in their present jobs.
He sponsors good educational programs and super-
vises various recreational activities for all ages as they
come to use the facilities of the Center. At present he
is also working with the New Mexico Commission on
Alcoholism and Alcoholics Anonymous groups in the
big effort to overcome the drinking problem in this
area. He gave me encouraging figures—that more than
50 percent of those treated are remaining in good
health. It is to be hoped that this progress will con-
tinue, for alcoholism has been a serious problem
ever since the Indian prohibition law was repealed.

In whatever future work Herbert undertakes, his
clear thinking and scholarly mind will stand him in
good stead. He has an extraordinary command of the
English language, and may someday prove to be an
able writer.

Another honor student to be educated through the
Scholarship Fund is Nancy Rose Benally Evans.
Nancy Rose was born in Shiprock in 1938. She went
first to the grade school in Shiprock, then to the
Indian School in Albuquerque, and then to the Uni-
versity of New Mexico, where she majored in biology.
As Nancy Rose thought it silly to waste whole sum-
mers while getting her education, she enrolled in the
summer schools at the University of New Mexico and
also the University of Colorado. The result, of course,
was that she graduated in three years instead of four.
She went right on to get her master's degree, which
she received in 1961 at the age of twenty-three. Con-
tinuing her studies, she completed two years toward
her doctorate, acting also as a research assistant to the
head of the Department of Physiology at the Univer-
sity, as well as doing part-time research at an Albu-
querque hospital.

In 1963 she married a young Navaho, Alexander
Evans, who was on his tour of duty with the army.
When her husband was sent to Panama, Nancy re-
turned to her parents' home at Beclabito until after
the birth of her daughter. By that time the situation
in Panama was such that families of service men were
not permitted to join their husbands. Until the young
man's release from the army, Nancy Rose worked
with the New Mexico State Welfare Department at
Shiprock. Following Alexander Evans' return to his
family, he and Nancy Rose moved to Window Rock to
assume work for a new tribal project, positions they
both still hold. With Nancy Rose's knowledge, ability,
and experience, the future should hold promise for a
position where her talents can be used to the full.

Nancy Rose's parents are fine old-type Navaho who,
though they speak but little English, passed on their
capacities to an able daughter. This young woman
is a superlative example of the Navaho ability to learn
new ways and a new kind of life, yet retain the best
of traditional ways.

A third honor student receiving an Education Schol-
arship Fund Grant is Shirley Sells. Shirley, now
twenty-four, was born in Shiprock and received her
elementary schooling through the tenth grade in
Gallup. Then she spent a year in California with a
teacher whom she knew, going to school there. Re-
turning to the reservation, she graduated from the
Window Rock High School, and went on to the Uni-
versity of New Mexico, where she majored in anthro-
pology and speech, receiving her diploma in June,
1964.

Plate
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Plate
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121 #17

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lack of understanding of Navaho ways, and to the
sheer frustration on the part of some staff members
finding themselves so isolated, so helpless in perform-
ing their tasks under conditions of hardship and
remoteness.

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Slowly the Indian Service progressed with many
varied endeavors; new schools were built, and some
children did attend. But the policy of forcing educa-
tion 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
to sixteen were sent away to schools in California
and to a number of schools in the East, with the intent
of merging them into our society, but this was too
much to expect in a few short years. More than 95
percent of these children came home where they
found themselves to be misfits, for they were un-
accustomed to reservation life.

With the coming of the New Deal a different policy
was adopted, due in part to the road improvement
program, to develop new day schools, bringing chil-
dren to school by bus, just as in any county in the
country. One other practical development of the new
policy was the establishment of a number of trailer
schools located in areas where small children could
reach them from their homes, giving these youngsters
the advantage of early education. These were big
steps in the progress of education and soon many
well-trained teachers with modern methods in teach-
ing and with better understanding of the Navaho
undertook the new teaching jobs. Some teachers cre-
ated 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. Navaho teachers were also coming into the
picture, bringing, of course, the best possible relation-
ship between children and teacher. But there were
still many more children of school age than there
were facilities for them. The Indian Service Educa-
tional 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 who 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.

175
The slow process in education is paralleled in medi-
cine. For many years it was unthinkable for a Navaho
to turn to a white medicine man. But slowly progress
has been made in such fields as the eye disease
trachoma and other special lines. Since World War II
young non-Indian doctors have come to work at some
of the hospitals and health centers, finding themselves
filled with enthusiasm for the people and the work
to be done, and for the first time bringing a new
psychological approach to their endeavor. And though
there have been superstitions to overcome, as well as
the difficulties of winning trust, the doctors 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 doctor's major prob-
lems. They did not know 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 pre-
pared of medical terms in English and Navaho, with
a simplified explanation as well. Annie was insistent
that this be done. A young Navaho woman was
selected to go to the premedical school at Cornell
University, where she spent two years preparing this
glossary. It has been highly successful and of great
benefit to the many doctors working on the res-
ervation.

Plate 133
Through help from the Education Scholarship
Fund, the first Navaho doctor is now practicing at the
Kayenta hospital, and there are many Navaho nurses
(both registered and practical), dentists, and tech-
nicians, with many more in training. As this number
grows, there will come a day when the Navaho will
care for their own.

Plate 134
Since the Public Health Service took over the In-
dian Bureau medical program, there have been many
developments, such as new hospitals, new health
centers, and new health stations with accompanying
services. Also there have been several privately spon-
sored clinics, such as that conducted by Cornell Uni-
versity at Many Farms, where I found a Navaho tech-
nician at work with the Cornell doctors. While there is
yet much to be accomplished, as everywhere else, the
acceleration of medical care for the Navaho during
the past ten or fifteen years has accomplished a great
deal for their benefit.

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stet #
EDUCATION SCHOLARSHIP FUND

One of the most worthwhile acts of the Tribal
Council has been the establishment of the Education
Scholarship Fund for higher learning. In 1953 a sum
of five million dollars (later increased to ten million),
accrued from oil, gas, and uranium earnings, was set
aside for the special purpose of giving aid to honor
students who were selected for these grants. One of
these students is Herbert Blatchford, who graduated
from the University of New Mexico in 1956, where he
majored in education. His first work was for the Mc-
Kinley County Public Schools as an attendance coun-

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Daughter of Chee Dodge, the first chairman of the
Tribal Council, Annie was born April 10, 1910, and
received her early education in the reservation
schools. In 1951 Annie was elected to the Tribal
Council, the first woman to serve in this capacity, and
she was shortly named chairman of the Committee on
Health and Welfare, a position she still holds.

On July 1, 1955, the United States Public Health
Service assumed the work of the Department of
Health of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and soon
thereafter expanded both its facilities and services.
Annie Wauneka's role became, almost immediately,
one of interpretation and communication. Her
achievement has been tremendous in helping to carry
out this increased program for Navaho health, as she
has fulfilled her part with great determination. One
of the first problems to be undertaken was in the field
of tuberculosis, for there were many Navaho afflicted
with this disease. Contagion and germs were two
totally unknown concepts, and had no meaning to
most of the Navaho People; therefore, Annie under-
took an educational program, instructing her people
in antiseptis, and attempting to win not only their
cooperation in combating the further spread of the
disease, but also their faith in the white doctors.

The Public Health Service arranged with a number
of sanatoriums in several of the Western states to
include Navaho patients. Annie persuaded many ill
Navaho to accept this offer, and during those early
years of this program she visited every hospital, and
talked to all the Navaho patients, urging them to learn
how to prevent contagion, to accept the rest cure, and
to listen to the instructions of the doctors. A number
of these patients, finding themselves in totally strange
surroundings and among people they did not know
nor to whom they could talk, became homesick and
ran away. Annie brought them back, teaching them
to understand the necessity for their convalescence.
She helped produce a motion picture illustrating the
cure and prevention of tuberculosis, and acted as
interpreter for the doctors and as a liaison personage
whenever one was needed. All this was an heroic task
which Annie pursued vigorously, using her own
knowledge and persuasive powers to win these many
Navaho into acceptance of their condition and the
necessity for its cure.

Annie Wauneka has received numerous awards for
her achievement: From the Arizona Public Health
Association, an award as "outstanding worker in
public health"; the Josephine B. Hughes Memorial
Award, given by the Arizona Press Women's Associa-
tion; the Indian Achievement Award, and others. To
crown them all, she was one of three women named by
President John F. Kennedy on July 4, 1963, to receive
the Medal of Freedom. This was presented to her by
President Johnson in the White House ceremony on
December 6 of that year.

As Annie herself has said, "Now I must work harder
than ever," and indeed that is what she is doing. With
tuberculosis now well under control and diminishing,
other problems are occupying her attention, such as
dysentery among Navaho children, and Alcoholics
Anonymous groups. She has her own radio program,
broadcasting regularly in the Navaho language from
a station in Gallup, reaching the many Navaho who
today have radios.

One of those rare personalities having complete
singleness of purpose and the determination and
strength to carry it through, Annie Wauneka has won
the respect and admiration not only of her own people,
but also of the many doctors, officials, and all with
whom she has come in contact during her years of
service on the Tribal Council.

Health and Education

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 attend-
ing. They stayed to satisfy their curiosity and to re-
ceive 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 staff. This school 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, and suggested that they
establish both missions and schools. There were four
early missions, each adding a school as soon as pos-
sible. 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 opened in 1902 by the Sisters of the Blessed
Sacrament. The Presbyterian Mission at Canado,
Arizona, was the third, established in 1901, with a
school opening the following year and a hospital ten
years later; and the fourth was 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.

These early endeavors were beset by many trials
and tribulations 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 unfor-
tunate one. It is a matter of record that there were
even instances of physical brutality due, doubtless, to

Plate
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Plate
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Plates
130-132
from here
to break
on Gallup 46

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Mr. Jones is a member of the New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs (appointed by the governor), the Arizona Commission on Indian Affairs (appointed by the governor), the Arizona Civil Rights Advisory Commission, the Governors' Interstate Indian Council (composed of members from seventeen states), the National Boy Scouts of America, and the President's Committee on Job Opportunities, and served as a delegate to the Fourth Inter-Indian Conference in Guatemala. He has been awarded the Silver Beaver Medal by the Boy Scouts of America, and the Practical Humanitarian Award by the Federation of Women's Clubs, Washington, D. C.

stat # > J. MAURICE MC CABE

> J. Maurice Mc/Cabe, at present director of business administration, is a thoroughly dedicated person in the service of his people. He has a great sense of order, one of the basic qualities of Navaho life, now transformed into modern methods. At the beginning of Sam Ahkeah's second term, in 1951, Maurice was appointed treasurer of the Tribe, a position he held for many years. As the tribal government developed he became more and more absorbed in tribal work. Though he won a scholarship award, given by the John Hay Whitney Foundation for further study in business administration, he declined the scholarship due to the need for his work for the tribe.

Maurice Mc/Cabe was born at Tohatchi, New Mexico, on October 18, 1923. He is a direct descendant of Barboncito, one of the great early leaders of the Navaho People and one of the signers of the Treaty of 1868. Maurice received his elementary education at the Tohatchi School, at the Presbyterian Mission School in Ganado, Arizona, and at the Christian Reformed Mission School in Rehoboth, New Mexico. He graduated from the Methodist Mission High School at Farmington, New Mexico, in 1941. Shortly thereafter it was discovered that he had tuberculosis and he was sent to a hospital in Phoenix, Arizona. Though bedridden for about two years, he studied business and business law, and when he was able to be up and about he entered a business college, finding employment as a bookkeeper on the side. In 1946 he was promoted to the position of office manager for a chemical company where he was employed.

Following the election of Paul Jones as chairman of the Tribal Council, Maurice was asked to continue his services as treasurer, and to assist Mr. Jones in the complex affairs of the Tribe after the development of uranium and oil and gas, as the need for expert business administration had become increasingly demanding. In 1957, by resolution of the Council, Maurice's position was changed to executive secretary, with special designation of duties, and a specific directive to propose a reorganization of the tribal staff, which was needed to meet the increasing executive demands of tribal business. To accomplish this, he sought the advice of a Remington Rand expert to establish the most efficient record system for the ever growing files of the Tribe. When an emergency stock feeding program was needed at a time of extreme drought, the United States government sent large quantities of surplus grain to aid small Navaho stockmen who were threatened with high losses. To keep exact account of this transaction, Maurice procured IBM machines to complete these records in accordance with the government regulations. The reorganization of the tribal offices has now been accomplished and, under Maurice's direction, continues in a most efficient manner.

Maurice has been active in other fields concerning the Navaho People. He was a leader in the establishment of the Education Scholarship Fund, the development of Boy and Girl Scout organizations on the reservation, and most recently the establishment of the Navaho Youth Camp, now under construction, which will benefit not only Navaho boys and girls, but also children from other camp organizations.

While I was at Window Rock in 1954 I wanted to include Maurice's portrait in my tribal government series. Finding that one of his great prides was the Council Room with its fine murals by Gerald Nailor, I suggested the Council Room for a background. A year later, when I was there again, I found that Maurice had been to New York and had visited the United Nations. As a result of what he observed there, each Council member now has a nice desk with a name plate.

Like his famous ancestor, Maurice is indeed a leader with vision and the ability to bring that vision into reality as he continues his service to the Navaho People.

stat # > ANNIE WAUNKA

> Large in stature, vigorous and strong in both mind and body, Annie Wauneka is a dynamic personality.

817 Recent Tribal Leaders

SAM AHKEAH

slid # > Sam Ahkeah, who became chairman of the Tribal Council in 1946 following the death of Chee Dodge, was born March 8, 1896. He grew up in the Shiprock area, going to school at Fort Lewis, near Durango, Colorado. As a young man he worked at Mesa Verde National Park, later moving to Santa Fe for a position at the Laboratory of Anthropology. During his years away from the reservation, Sam was quietly learning the ways of the white man—methods of business, the way government was conducted—and in many ways preparing himself for his role as leader of the Tribe.

In 1954 I went to Window Rock at the time of the tribal election when Sam was defeated by Paul Jones. While Sam had served nearly two full terms, he had been elected for the office only once. But many of the people felt that he was running for a third term, and voted therefore against him. The day after the returns were all in, I asked Sam if I might make his portrait. I wanted to do this in the Council room, at the chairman's desk, so we went over to the Council building. While I was setting up my equipment, I said to him, "Sam, you have done a wonderful work for your people since you have been chairman." He was silent for a few minutes, then he said, "Well, I think I have waked them up to what they can do for themselves." This eloquent remark summed up his eight years of hard work in the fewest possible words, for indeed he had aroused his people to their own potentials in this changing world.

157 I once heard such a nice story about Sam. During one of those years when he was making frequent trips to Washington on Tribal business, his son was in training at an Army base nearby. Meeting his father at the station, the soldier son urged that they take a sightseeing tour of the capital city. They went up the Washington Monument, traveled to Mount Vernon, saw the Smithsonian Institution, and visited the Library of Congress, spending a busy day. The next morning when they got into a taxi, Sam gave the driver a new destination. As they drove up to the steps of the Nation's Capitol, Sam's son said, "Gee, Dad, I can't take you in here," little realizing that his father was a well-known personality at the Capitol, as Sam, of course, had been present for Senate hearings on Navaho tribal affairs during his years as chairman of the Tribal Council. Sam answered, "I know, son, but I can take you." So they went in to see the senator from New Mexico, Dennis Chavez. It was Senator Chavez who later obtained tickets for Sam to hear President Roosevelt's last address to the Congress of the United States.

stetH > PAUL JONES

> Following Sam Ahkeah's two terms in office, eight years of steady growth, Paul Jones was elected chairman in 1954, serving for two terms. Continuing Sam's program, he also commenced many new projects, including the building of community centers, the development of the tribal park system with the establishment of the first tribal park at Monument Valley, while other parks are still pending.

Large sums of money were coming into the treasury from the uranium mines and the new oil fields. Much of this income has been soundly invested, the rest providing many new benefits for the Tribe, such as greater water development, new and better roads, new hospital facilities in collaboration with the Public Health Service, the establishment of the Education Scholarship Fund, the Tribal Enterprises, and the ten-day work program whereby every Navaho in need of work is guaranteed ten days of work a month—an impressive list of accomplishments.

Paul Jones, whose administration continued this great progress of the Navaho People, was born October 20, 1895, near Tohatchi, New Mexico. Following his elementary schooling he served for three years as an interpreter for a missionary doctor of the Christian Reformed Church. He entered high school in Englewood, New Jersey, and obtained his college education at Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan. During World War I he served one year overseas in France, Germany, and Italy. As he had been gassed during the war, he was physically unable to continue his education after his release from the Armed Services.

Following two years on the reservation, during which time he recovered his health, he entered a business college in Grand Rapids, but before completing his course he took a business position in Chicago. In July, 1933, he returned to the reservation with his family to commence work for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which he served in several capacities, including interpreter and liaison representative at Window Rock. Later he was district supervisor at Piñon, Arizona. He was elected chairman of the Tribal Council in 1955.

Plate
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Plate
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of Navaho government as it has progressed since its
inception is given here, interesting as it is, for a full
account would entail many pages.

¹For a fuller account see "Origin and Development of Na-
vajo Tribal Government," *Navajo Yearbook*, pp. 371-429.

In 1927, Superintendent John Hunter, of the Leupp
Agency in the southwestern part of the reservation,
developed a local community organization called a
Chapter. Meetings of this group made it possible to
bring together the people of the region where repre-
sentatives from the Bureau of Indian Affairs could
discuss the Bureau's efforts for the betterment of
agricultural conditions, the improvement of livestock,
and the necessity for schools. This Chapter plan
proved most beneficial as the people gathered to dis-
cuss their problems among themselves as well as with
the officials. The idea spread quickly to the other dis-
tricts, bringing better understanding between the
Navaho people and the Bureau.

In 1931, the Council was increased to its present
number of seventy-four delegates, these to be elected
by the people of the districts in accordance with the
population of each district. Those first ballots were
pieces of ribbon of different colors, each candidate
having a selected color. Leadership beyond the local
level was still difficult for the people to comprehend,
and by 1936 there were criticisms that the Council
membership was not representative of the Tribe. It
was the issuance of grazing controls that brought
home to each locality the fact that the Council mem-
bers rather than the local headmen were making the
decisions.

Voting registration was adopted in 1938, and ballots
with pictures of the candidates on them were used, as
there were still many voters who could not read or
write. There have been attempts to draw up a con-
stitution for the Navaho Tribe, but as yet no satis-
factory document has been achieved.

Many changes have come about from the late 1930's
to the present, as the Navaho People as a whole have
been learning the ways of government. During the
formative years from 1923 to 1938, there were four
chairmen of the Tribal Council: Chee Dodge, Desha
Chischillige, Thomas Dodge (Chee's son), and Henry
Taliman. The growth of the tribal government con-
tinued and the time for the Council meetings was
increased from four days a year to one hundred,
being divided into four sessions. Compensation for
both Council and officers has likewise increased as
the demands on the individuals' time have lengthened
until today the positions of officers are full-time
responsibilities. With the election of Jacob Morgan
in 1938, progress was accelerated, and though there
have been controversies, the work of the Council has
held a steady forward movement. Chee Dodge was
again elected chairman in 1942 (with Sam Ahkeah as
vice-chairman), holding this office until his death
near the end of his term. An Advisory Committee has
been formed to take care of business when the Coun-
cil is not in session, and enlargements and improve-
ments in the structure of the Navaho government have
been adopted as their need became apparent.

The administration of Sam Ahkeah, 1946-1955,
marked a point of great change and development for
the Navaho People, for his sound and wise judgment
brought many beneficial acts of legislation. He con-
tinued the organization of the Tribal government,
bringing capable Navaho into positions previously
held by non-Indian personnel wherever they met the
approval of the Navaho Agency and the commissioner
of Indian affairs, for it has been the policy of the
Bureau to help the Navaho develop their own gov-
ernment as individuals come forward with the ability
to serve.

Sam Ahkeah commenced a survey of the mineral
resources of the reservation which eventually led to
the discovery of uranium ore and new oil fields. It was
Sam, who, with his staff and attorney, located tribal
funds accumulated from oil revenue between the
years 1922 and 1946, deposited in the National Treas-
ury to the credit of the Tribe. Realizing that the
interest from this money was not coming into the
tribal treasury, Sam went to Washington, where he
discovered the sum of \$200,000 in accumulated inter-
est. With these funds available, Sam planned other
new developments for the benefit of his people.

To the outsider it seems that on the whole the
wealth that has come to the Tribe has been wisely
used, yet in the 1963 election campaign, unproved
accusations of misappropriation of funds were made.
After sixteen years of comparatively smooth progress,
controversy has arisen in the Council following the
election of Raymond Nakai, the present chairman.
As a reaction to his eagerness to bring quick reforms
with his administration, differences of opinion have
emerged between the older councilmen and the newly
elected younger members, resulting in a division in
the Council. Good may come from this, for the people
as a whole have become aware that some tribal mat-
ters have come to a stand-still, bringing about the
realization of the importance of each individual vote.
These troubled times may well lead to a more truly
democratic government, even, possibly, a two-party
system. The situation at Window Rock today may be
compared to a time when a President of the United
States is elected by one party while the majority of the
Congress belongs to the other. Doubtless the 1966
election will resolve many of these differences.

Aside from this monetary situation, the record of
progress and development of the tribal government
since its beginning in 1923 is most remarkable, for
the People, who formerly had no governing body other
than the leadership of chosen headmen, now are weld-
ing themselves into tribal unity showing great ad-
vancement in consideration for the people as a whole.

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Such famous painters as Gerald Nailor, who painted the murals in the Tribal Council room at Window Rock, and murals in the Department of Interior in Washington, had his start in Miss Dunn's class. And there were many more: Andrew Tsihnajinnie, Ha-So-De, Quincy Tahoma, and Harrison Bégay, whose portrait is here. Later artists were Beaten Yazz, Wade Hadley, and others. Today many more young Navaho are doing excellent work at the new Institute of American Indian Art in Santa Fe.

One interesting aspect of painting by Indian artists, not only Navaho but many others as well, is their method of work, which is instinctively Oriental. Pictures are painted from knowledge and inner vision rather than from a direct approach. Instead of an easel, a Navaho painter works on a flat surface. There is always an extraordinary sense of design, a skilled sure draftsmanship, and the Indian's subtle use of color. Museums all over this country and in Europe own examples of Indian painting, many of them by Navaho artists. One can truly say that all American Indians have artistic potential. The amazing amount of talent that is coming to light at the new Institute, now in its third year, is ample proof of this latent ability.

PART III

THE COMING WAY

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

PRIOR TO THE OCCUPATION of the Southwest by the United States, the Navaho existed as bands of people, usually either clans or groups of clans. They were united only by language and by tribal culture; they had no political entity or sense of responsibility to these isolated groups. There were chiefs, or headmen, chosen by each band, but there seemed no need for any further government. Certainly the Spanish government of the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries did not realize the independence of these Navaho bands, nor did the Mexican government during its twenty-five-year duration. Nor was it fully comprehended by our government until the time of the exile to Fort Sumner, if then. It was during these years that General Carlton tried to establish a simple form of self-government, but the old order of family and clans seemed unchangeable and any other form was incomprehensible to the Navaho.

There were many notable characters among the chiefs of the early 1800's, most of them destined to become prisoners of war—exiles to Fort Sumner. The names of twenty-eight Navaho leaders appear on the Treaty of 1868, signed by General Sherman for the United States, and the Navaho leaders for their respective bands, including such personages as Barboncito, Manuelito, Narbona, Ganado Muchos, and others.

After the return to the reservation in 1868 and the establishment of the Navaho Agency at Fort Defiance, the old order continued. The first civil agent to the Navaho, Captain Henry L. Dodge, utilized the Navaho leaders to assist him in maintaining law and order. As time went on and more agents appeared on the scene, the federal government found it necessary to be more autocratic. By 1901, the Bureau of Indian Affairs divided the Navaho country into six districts (including the Hopi), with an agency in each. This system of smaller areas of jurisdiction greatly facilitated the work of each agency, but it did nothing to bring the Tribe together as a whole. Communication was still difficult, and in many areas, travel was possible only by foot or on horseback. Each political change in Washington brought a new commissioner of Indian affairs, who usually had new ideas and adopted changes in policy that must have been bewildering to the Navaho.

It was the discovery of oil on the reservation in 1921 that brought to focus the need for tribal government for all the people. This discovery, located in the San Juan District near Shiprock, immediately brought about discussion as to whether oil leases were to be executed by this District Agency, or by the Tribe as a whole. The treaty of 1868 required the consent of at least three fourths of all adult male Navaho from all parts of the reservation to determine the cession of any region. Therefore, the secretary of the interior ruled that these oil leases should be for the benefit of the whole Tribe, and authorized the Indian commissioner to sign oil and gas leases in their behalf. At the same time the establishment of the first Council was designated, to be selected from this large percentage of the male population. The next year a "Business Council" was formed to act for the Council—those chosen were Chee Dodge, long a powerful leader in the tribe, Charlie Mitchell, and Dugal Chee Bekiss.

In 1923 the first Navaho Tribal Council was elected, holding its first meeting on July 7 of that year. The chairman was chosen from outside the Council membership, with one of the delegates being selected as vice-chairman. Thus Chee Dodge became the first chairman of the Navaho Council, serving from 1923 to 1928. Meetings of the Council were called by the Navaho agent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, rather than by the commissioner, and could be held only in his presence, the meetings to be held for a period of two days annually. This first Council, bringing together one delegate and one alternate from each of the six districts, was soon found to be inadequate and was followed with revisions; a second Council met in the same year, and again in 1927 and 1928, when voting rights for women were added. Only the outline

Dyes

Red is made from the roots of juniper and mountain mahogany boiled together, and then ground, with alder bark added to the mixture.

Blue is made from the same indigo dye as is prepared for dying wool. Also used is a native blue, which is made from a blueish clay and ochre mixed together, pulverized, and moistened with water.

Black is obtained from coal added to boiling sumac leaves, or from a sulphurous rock, slightly roasted with piñon gum or resin. Added to boiling sumac, this gives a rich, lustrous black.

The basketmaker begins by winding a sumac twig around a small stick called the "bottom of the basket." In order to assure that it will be pliable, all material is soaked before being used. Sewing is done counter-clockwise, with the exception of one rare ceremonial basket which is made clockwise and which must be completed in one day. So deft and strong is the sewing that a basket will require only a few minutes of soaking to make it watertight.

Designs

Designs are limited to geometrical shapes and tiered block designs, sometimes used in a single row, sometimes in double rows with the second inverted. Sometimes a single open unit is used, sometimes bands with no geometric forms are used. Always there is the "trail" or "path of exit," the "spirit path," a narrow strip where the design does not quite meet, for the Navaho believed that to complete the circle would imprison the spirit of the maker. This is also true of some Pueblo potters, for a similar trail will be found on much decorated pottery. When a basket is nearly complete, the rim is finished in a herringbone, or false braid, technique. The final end of the rim is always directly above the spirit path. In ceremonies where a basket is full, the medicine man knows where the spirit path is by finding the end of the rim, and the basket is placed so that the spirit path always faces the east.

Baskets have numerous ritual uses: as drums by turning them upside down and beating on them with small drumsticks; as containers of ritual paraphernalia, such as prayer sticks, medicine bags, and fetishes; as containers for use in ritual baths; and as food containers in certain ceremonials, for example, corn-meal porridge in wedding ceremonies, this use having given them the name of wedding baskets. Occasionally baskets are used as portions of masks in certain nine-night ceremonials and in certain minor rituals in the hogan.

Strict taboos exist in connection with basketmaking, as with all the other crafts. While a woman is making a basket she must not be touched by anyone. No one may step over the materials being used to make a basket, otherwise the material will break. Should a man make a basket, he will become impotent. Blood must never touch a ceremonial basket. Should this taboo be broken, harm will come not only to the maker, but also to the singer who used it. In silver-smithing, too, the craftsman must not make certain pieces of jewelry while his wife is pregnant or some disaster will occur.

Other crafts pursued by the Navaho are many kinds of leather work, both decorated and plain—saddles, shoes and moccasins, pouches, straps and belts, hobbles, quirts and ropes. In early times the Navaho became good tanners, for they made shields, quivers for their arrows, and leather caplike helmets. To whatever craft the Navaho turns his talents, he will execute it with skill and dexterity.

The Painters

Aside from the ancient rock paintings, the art of painting is a comparatively new venture for the Navaho. However, as early as 1901, Dr. Kenneth Chapman, while working at Chaco Canyon, discovered a Navaho boy making drawings with colored pencils. But it was not until much later that any serious work was done. In 1932 the Santa Fe Indian School commenced a class in painting under the direction of Dorothy Dunn, in which several of the now-famous Navaho painters had their start. In that same year three Navaho boys made a series of murals in the school dining room under the supervision of Olive Rush, the well-known Santa Fe artist, who had great interest in developing the painters' art among both Navaho and Pueblo Indian students.

Set in Small Caps

Small Caps

patterns,

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In some areas firing of the pottery is accomplished by the potter first digging a pit and then building in it a large fire of piñon wood. When this has burned down, the coals are raked to one side, the pots put in, usually upside down, covered with the hot coals, and, then left for from four to seven hours. In other areas, pots are placed on flat stones, then covered with enough juniper (preferably) to insure the fire's burning for six hours without replenishing. A few areas have used Spanish-type outdoor ovens. After a good fire has burned down, the pots are placed in the oven and left for twelve hours. Pottery making among the Navaho has never approached the superlative quality of that of the Pueblo craftsmen. Because the Navaho often moved from place to place, pottery was replaced by the more durable containers as they became available, with the exception of the jar-type vessel, which is used also for ceremonial purposes.

Following many inquiries in numerous regions, I finally heard of one potter still at work in the Shonto area. With an English-speaking interpreter, Betsy and I set off to find her. After looking at my pictures and learning what I wanted to do, she asked us to return in two days, when she would be ready. As there are a number of taboos connected with pottery making, I was not at all sure what I would be able to accomplish. For instance, no one must watch the gathering and grinding of potsherds (from ancient pueblo sites) which the Navaho potters use for temper to mix with their clay. This had been prepared and mixed with the clay before we arrived, but our potter did leave the metate (grinding stone) and a few sherds for us to see. May Adson, our potter, was sitting beneath a shelter as we drove up, and greeted us with the usual Navaho courtesy. We watched her make four pots, employing much the same technique as that of the Pueblo potters, using a waterworn stone for smoothing the inside and a piece of corncob as a scraper on the outside.

Before May fired these pots, we had lunch. We had also been watching one of May's daughters prepare the meal, which consisted of roasted corn on the cob, boiled mutton, coffee, and fry bread, a dough patted into a round flat cake and fried in deep fat. We produced some fresh fruit from our larder, and as we ate we listened to much Navaho conversation. Finally after a few silent moments our interpreter turned to me and said, "You two look kind of old, but you sure got good teeth!"

Lunch over and everything put away, our hostess built up the fire and placed the pots near it. This was in no sense true firing. She turned the pots occasionally to heat them evenly all around; these were baked rather than fired. Two of the pots we purchased to bring home, but we were sure that, because we had witnessed as well as photographed their making, the others would never be used, and would be destroyed after we had gone. However, we had had a nice day and had witnessed at least part of the Navaho pottery-making process.

When we were packed and ready to leave, May shyly said to us, "We have a new baby in the hogan." I had noticed another woman going in and out of the hogan several times during the day, but she did not join us nor speak to us. We were taken into the hogan where we found a tiny baby less than twenty-four hours old. It was on a small cradleboard, sound asleep. Soon, the father would make a permanent cradleboard for the addition to the family. We parted good friends and went on our way, for we had located a basketmaker not too many miles away, whom we were to visit the following day.

The Basketmakers

While the art of basketmaking is a minor craft among the Navaho, it is practiced with great skill by the few women who still make baskets. From the time of the return from exile, three types of baskets have been made, but in recent years two of these are no longer found, the water bottle and the carrying basket. The water bottle had a long neck and a round base, measuring from twelve to sixteen inches in diameter. It was coated both inside and out with pitch or resin to make it watertight. The carrying basket was a wicker, loosely woven basket with an unfinished edge, used for gathering yucca or cactus fruit or other edible plants. As other types of containers came into the trading posts, these two types quickly disappeared.

From 1868 to the early years of the twentieth century, shallow baskets were made for ceremonial use, for utilitarian purposes, and for holding small objects. Archaeological evidence indicates that graves did contain baskets, though in recent times they are never buried with the dead.

During the past fifty years or more, baskets have been made exclusively for ceremonial use. These are shallow, perhaps three to four inches deep and twelve to sixteen or eighteen inches wide. The material used is chiefly sumac, sewn with split strips of sumac leaves. A bone awl is used to insert the yucca binding strips. The sumac twigs, or small branches, are scraped clean and sorted as to size; pieces to be dyed are laid to one side, others will remain the natural color. The same dyes as are used for wool are prepared for the dying of the sumac. Usually only red, indigo, and black are used, occasionally yellow.

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✓ *The Powder Horn* was a gracefully designed receptacle to hold a charge of powder. It had a handle on one end, the whole object being shaped like an elongated letter S. A small chain was fastened to the center for attachment to a belt. When bullets were available, powder horns were no longer made, and, as many were probably melted down to make other articles, they soon became very rare.

✓ *Tobacco Canteens* were beautiful small containers, seldom made any more. Only a few are in existence, mostly in museums and private collections.

A variety of other pieces are being made today for sale to the non-Indian public, such as spoons, silver boxes, and a number of other articles.

When the Arts and Crafts Guild was founded in 1940, under the direction of René D'Hamoncourt of the National Indian Arts and Crafts Board, John Adair was appointed as the Guild's first manager. Mr. Adair's extensive knowledge of Indian crafts made him the ideal person to commence this Guild. Ambrose Roanhorse, one of the most skilled Navaho craftsmen, was his assistant, and together they made a solid beginning for the Guild, setting the highest standard for materials and workmanship. Following World War II, when the Guild was re-activated, other managers took Mr. Adair's place, one of whom trained a young Navaho, Ned Hatathli, to follow in his footsteps.

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In 1951 the Guild was made a Tribal enterprise, with Ned appointed as the first Navaho manager. The Guild grew rapidly under Ned's management as more and more craftsmen brought in their products for sale. Housed at first in the old log building at the Fair Grounds, the Guild has recently moved to a beautiful new building erected by the tribe on the highway approaching Window Rock. Here fine facilities display great quantities of rugs, jewelry, and other items coming from the skilled hands of the Navaho. The total output from the looms and forges on the reservation is great, for in addition to all the many traders both on and off the reservation who handle these products in quantity, the total amount of sales by the guild alone came to a quarter of a million dollars in 1963.

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Ned Hatathli went on to become a member of the Tribal Council in 1955, serving in this capacity until 1960, when he was made director of Tribal resources, the position he now so ably holds.

Away from the reservation, there is a quantity of imitation Navaho jewelry on the market. Any purchaser will do well to go to reliable shops or directly to the Guild at Window Rock, where all items bear the seal of the Arts and Crafts Guild, and all are of unique Navaho design.

Ambrose Roanhorse, whose superb work as a master silversmith has won him many awards, including a decoration from France, is now teaching at the Vocational School at Fort Wingate, near Gallup, where boys and girls are given the opportunity to learn not only all the Navaho Crafts, but also other occupations, such as carpentry, shoe making, leather work, and dressmaking—trades that will equip these students for their future lives.

The Potters

Following the Spanish reoccupation of New Mexico, 1692, some Pueblo Indians fled into Old Navaholand. During recent archaeological excavations in this area, evidence came to light of the close proximity of these Pueblo groups to those of the Navaho. In the ensuing century, pottery fragments from Navaho sites indicate, there was a definite Pueblo influence, such as sherds decorated with red, black, and occasionally white designs which had been fired to the high temperature used by the Pueblo people.

Later came utilitarian pieces, some of good size, with thin walls made of crumbly clay with sand for temper. Shaped with the use of corncob scrapers, many pieces had exceptionally beautiful form. These storage jars had pointed bottoms, being held upright by the use of basket rings or by being set in depressions in the floor. Water bottles were also made of pottery in early times. Shaped somewhat like a pitcher without a spout, such a pot had a loop, a finger handle, near the narrow neck to facilitate pouring. A horsehair rope could also have been inserted in the loop for easier carrying. These bottles were flattened on one side for ease in carrying, and some had designs. Legend tells of water bottles being made of the four sacred colors—white, blue, yellow, and black—and used in ceremonies to carry water gathered from the four sacred mountains. These water bottles are very rare now, for they were replaced by other types of containers as soon as they became available. Bowls of various shapes and sizes, spoons and dippers and dolls, many with finely executed designs, were the products of years gone by.

Today, only cooking jars, a few bowls, and drums are made, and there seem to be but a few potters left. These jars, somewhat similar in shape, rounded on the bottom with a slight flare at the top, and some with scalloped edges, are all that can be found of recent manufacture. These jars or pots are made for cooking or for preparing dyes for wool, while some are made specially for remedial and ceremonial use. A few of the latter are used as drums with pieces of sheepskin or goatskin stretched over the tops. A new pot is always preferred for a drum and once it has been used for this purpose it must never be used for cooking.

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Plate 112

Plate 113

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Plate 114

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cold chisels, bolts, and other pieces of scrap. The Navaho never wastes anything; he always seems to find a way to put worn-out scraps to use. And seldom does he ever make two pieces alike; there is always a difference, giving his work that unmistakable quality of hand work, and the uniqueness of Navaho design.

The Navaho learns the techniques and methods of his craft from watching another smith, usually a relative. The apprentice pays for his instruction by helping his teacher as soon as he is able. In rare cases when a man is learning from a nonrelative, he pays for his apprenticeship in sheep, or cash, or some other material way. The Navaho, when he does not have the money to buy the tools he needs, shows great ingenuity and resourcefulness in his ability to fashion such tools from old material.

Articles of Jewelry

Conchas. The round or oval disks called *conchas* are made for ornamenting belts and bridles. Sometimes these are very simple, sometimes ornate with design or turquoise studding.

Buckles. Silver buckles are made for belts and bridles; other metals are used for girth buckles.

Bridles. Headstalls are mounted with silver bars with various degrees of ornamentation. *Conchas* are used sometimes at joints with larger bars, sometimes on a pendant from the cross piece over the head of the horse.

Ketohs. Long ago the Navaho adopted the use of a leather wrist guard as a protection from the snap of the bow string. Later, silver ornaments were added to the guard, or *ketoh*. Some are of hammered silver, many are beautiful casts, and some are set with turquoise. Today they are worn as ornaments and are always worn on dress occasions. As these have never been made for commercial use, they are the finest of the silversmith's art.

Bracelets. The Navaho silversmiths make many types of bracelets: Some are bands of silver one or two, even three, inches wide with simple or ornate decoration. Some are heavy and mounted with turquoise; some are narrow with or without stones; some are narrow with stamped designs. There are also cast bracelets with open design, with or without turquoise.

Necklaces. Necklaces are made of hollow beads of many sizes and shapes, constructed in two pieces and soldered together. Sometimes the so-called squash blossom ornaments are strung at intervals between the beads. Many necklaces have pendant Najah, a design similar to the Arabian hand of Fatima (probably brought to New Mexico by the Spanish). Some early Najah had two little chiselled hands at the ends to ward off the evil eye; this is doubtless a Navaho adaptation. One also finds small circles with inset turquoise at the ends. Sometimes this nearly circular design is double. There are many other types of necklaces—strings of turquoise, of shell ground into very fine beads, and of coral.

Rings. The earliest rings were plain silver bands, soon some were made with simple incised designs. The use of turquoise with silver appeared in the early 1880's. Some cast rings were made. Most rings now have insets, usually turquoise, but also malachite and garnets or cannel coal, and occasionally polished petrified wood.

Pins. There are pins of many shapes and designs, both with and without turquoise.

Earrings. Both Navaho men and women have worn earrings since the early days. Before the advent of turquoise on the reservation, Navaho men wore silver earrings of several types: round circular loops on which dangling silver beads had been strung; flat slightly decorated rings; and pendants, narrow and cone shaped with spreading flowerlike petals at the ends. Since turquoise became abundant, about 1900, the silver earrings for men have all but disappeared. Instead the men wear large pieces of turquoise in several forms—some edged with silver, others plain with holes drilled in one end for the insertion of string, which in turn is passed through the pierced ear. Women too, have long worn earrings, usually turquoise beads strung in loops two to four inches long with the addition of a few bits of red shell at the bottom of the loop. These are worn on string passed through pierced ears.

Sometime in the 1920's, the Fred Harvey Company introduced the screwtype fasteners, urging silversmiths to produce women's earrings to be sold through the Company to the non-Indian market. In recent times Navaho women also wear the screwtype earrings with both silver and turquoise ornamentation of great variety.

Buttons. The variety of buttons is great, hammered silver as well as cast. There are many sizes and many shapes, such as buttons with small turquoise insets, plain silver disks, and some with incised designs. Coins which have loops soldered on one side are often used. Buttons are used as ornaments on collars, cuffs, blouses, leggings, moccasins, pouches, and narrow leather straps.

Unusual Pieces. The Mother-in-Law Bells are made from twenty-five-cent pieces, hammered into thin bell shapes. The coins are pounded between a round-headed bar into a corresponding receptacle of hard wood or iron. Small clappers are fastened to the inside, and the bell is then fastened to the end of a short string of beads. These are made for older women who wear them on their belts to notify their sons-in-law of their approach.

Set 10/12 Cal.
Small Caps

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