NAVAJO WEAVING AND SILVERWORK: 
CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN 
RESPONSE TO CONTACT

by
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Date January 17, 1969
PREFACE

This paper was written in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the M. A. Degree in the Department of Anthropology of The University of Arizona. It is an attempt to bring into proper focus the effects of contact with alien cultures on Navajo weaving and silversmithing and includes an analysis of Evon Vogt's "incorporation" model of Navajo culture change. I wish to express my appreciation to my thesis committee, Clara Lee Tanner, chairman, Harry T. Getty, and James F. Downs, for their guidance in the preparation of this manuscript.

Most of the research was accomplished during the summers of 1966 and 1967 although the paper itself was written in absentia. Aid during the research was given by a number of institutions and individuals. To all listed below I wish to express my thanks for their valuable assistance: The Amerind Foundation, the Interlibrary Loan division of Colorado State University Library, the Museum of Northern Arizona, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Huldermann, Mr. and Mrs. John Lynch, Ambrose Roanhorse, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Shirley, John Tanner, and the late M. L. Woodard. Additional thanks are due those who willingly gave of their time to fill out my questionnaire and to answer my questions both in interviews and in letters. I would like to extend special thanks to my husband, Larry, whose interest in and enthusiasm toward the subject of this paper have been invaluable.

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ABSTRACT

It has generally been felt that the nature of the integration of Navajo culture facilitated the adoption of elements of alien cultures under permissive contact conditions and the rejection of them when forced to change. The adoption of weaving from Puebloans and silversmithing from Mexicans and their initial modifications were achieved without force. However, when traders recognized the commercial possibilities of these crafts in the 1890's they began to seek changes in technique, form, and design. These attempts have been successful primarily because of favorable role networks established between the Navajos and traders and the acceptance by the craftsmen of the economic gains resulting from these changes.

Since the Second World War, with accelerations in Navajo acculturation, the number of craftsmen and the overall importance of these crafts have decreased. The recent attempted "revival" of home craftsmanship will probably fail because most Navajos recognize little economic advantage in concentrating their time on this rather than wage work. The future of Navajo weaving and silversmithing will depend upon the fine Navajo craftsmen who, with encouragement from traders and dealers, are producing quality pieces that are better than ever and are thus able to command and receive higher prices.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since their arrival in the Southwestern United States, the Navajo Indians have had the fortunate ability to borrow selected aspects of alien cultures with which they have had contact and to reject other elements. Until recently the Navajos have modified these borrowed elements to suit their own ideals, adding them to their culture without the resulting disorganization that so often accompanies such a process.

In this paper I propose to examine Navajo contact history with special regard to the growth and development of Navajo weaving and silversmithing as a result of the borrowing of outside elements. Analysis will be made of both the changes and continuity through time of these Navajo crafts, with attempts to explain the reasons for these developments. Emphasis will be placed on the years since the Second World War.

Problems to be Treated

1. Types of contact from other culture groups which the Navajos have had since their arrival in the Southwestern United States.

2. The origins and succeeding modifications of Navajo weaving and silverwork.

3. The effects of Navajo contact history on the changes, as well as continuities, in weaving and silverwork.
4. The present circumstances of Navajo weaving and silverwork and possible future directions.

Hypotheses to be Tested

1. After entering the Southwest, contact with other cultures, specifically the Pueblo Indians, accounted for much of the development of the Navajo culture as distinct from that of the other Apacheans.

2. Later contact with the Spaniards, Anglo-Americans, and other lesser cultural groups of the American Southwest accounted for additions, modifications, or continuities in Navajo weaving and silverwork in direct relation to the type of contact and the nature of the cultures involved.

3. The interrelated factors which Vogt (1961: 324) sees as leading to basic change and continuity in Navajo culture in general can be used to gain an understanding of the same processes in Navajo weaving and silverwork. Factors which he cites as leading to basic changes in Navajo culture are: (a) the economic differential between the incoming Apacheans and the Pueblo, Spanish, and Anglo-American economic systems with which the Navajos came successively into contact in the Southwest; (b) the presentation of new cultural materials to the Navajos under indirect and permissive contact conditions; and (c) certain key Navajo value patterns that have influenced the forms the changes took.

Vogt lists the following factors underlying basic continuities in Navajo culture: (a) when little or no economic difference between old Navajo patterns and the new model being presented to them is
perceived by the Navajos, they tend to continue with old patterns; (b) when force is applied to make the Navajos change, the result appears to lead more often to resistance and intensification of native patterns than to change; and (c) a resistant institutional core at the heart of Navajo culture composed of a system of social relationships, ecological adjustments, and values that have formed a coherent and distinctive Navajo pattern at least since about 1700.

**Temporal and Spatial Considerations**

We are here concerned with Navajo culture from its earliest clearly definitive date in the Southwest, ca. 1500 A.D., until the present. Emphasis will be placed upon that period beginning in 1848, when the Southwest came under the jurisdiction of the United States, and extending through to the present. Special attention will be paid to the developments in the last twenty years.

The "Southwest" in this paper will include all of Arizona and New Mexico, with the addition of the southeast portion of Utah and the southwest portion of Colorado.

**Methods of Obtaining Data**

The data for this project were collected in four basic ways: (1) research of published and non-published printed materials; (2) observation; (3) mailed questionnaires; and (4) personal interviews. The preliminary step for this study was a survey of the literature on Navajo history with emphasis on the nature of the culture contact situations and the developmental histories of Navajo weaving and
silver and thing. Trips to various museums and exhibits plus kind permission to witness the judging of the silverwork in the 1967 Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial exhibits further supplemented this approach in the form of knowledge of present art forms and trends.

Much of the data concerning developments and opinions of phenomena present in Navajo weaving and silversmithing since the Second World War was obtained by mailed questionnaires (see Appendix 1). Ninety such questionnaires were sent, largely to members of the United Indian Traders Association, Inc. listed in 1965-1966 and located in areas which would enable them to have dealings with the Navajos. Also contacted in this manner were selected educators and museum personnel known for their interest and work in Navajo Indian arts and crafts. Twenty-seven completed questionnaires were returned, some with lengthy and helpful additional comments.

It had originally been part of the plan of this paper to include culture change in Navajo painting as well as weaving and silversmithing. Curiously enough, however, very little information concerning Navajo painting was received. This could be due to the inadequacy of the questions or certain biases on the part of those to whom the questionnaires were sent. In retrospect, I think both were causal factors in this lack of response.

In addition, interviews were held with arts and crafts dealers, government education officials, and with some Navajos themselves, in which valuable material was obtained. Three of these were structured to follow the questionnaire explicitly, with further unstructured
conversation afterward. Somewhat less formal interviews were held with seven individuals to obtain certain information not covered in the questionnaires.
For years students of the Southwestern Indians have recognized the affinity between Navajo-Apache Athapascan speakers and some of the tribes to the north. It has long been assumed that this fact could be explained in terms of a migration of the Navajos and Apaches from the main Athapascan group in Canada to the Southwestern United States. The first proof available for this hypothesis was Sapir's (1936) analysis of the internal linguistic evidence in which he pointed to tangible evidence in the Navajo language for a secondary origin of such fundamental elements of Navajo culture as agriculture, and he suggested that such evidence points to an early association with a more northerly environment than the present one.

**Southern Athapascan Migration to the Southwest:**

1000-1300 Before Present - A.D. 1300

The Apachean movement to the Southwest began between ten and thirteen centuries ago (Swadesh 1941: 14). Swadesh believes that these Southern Athapascons reached the Southwest by 400 to 500 years before the present and that at that time began to differentiate culturally and linguistically.

Archaeological evidence pertaining to the migration of the Athapascons to the Southwest is of two types. The first consists of archaeological manifestations both along the various probable routes of migration and in the Southwest. Inferences can also be derived
from what appear to be defensive reactions of the Anasazi during the
twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, possibly suggesting the arrival
of a hostile nomadic people.

The first clear Apachean remains are the early Navajo hogans
in the Gobernador Canyon in North Central New Mexico. Hall (1944: 100)
proposes tree-ring dates of 1491-1541 ± 20 years for these hogans.
This fits approximately with the 400-500 before present date suggested
by the linguistic data for the beginning of Southern Athapascan
differentiation in the Southwest.

Inferences based on the seemingly defensive reactions of the
Pueblos result from the fact that from A.D. 1150-1250 compact surface
dwellings existed in the open, with a developing trend to move to cliff
sites and other defensive locations. Late in the thirteenth century,
the Anasazi withdrew from their northern frontier and in the fourteenth
century the same thing happened in the southern part of their territory.
It is not clear whether this was related to the arrival and pressure
of the Athapascans, harassment from the Great Basin Shoshoneans,
internal Pueblo strife, a changing environment, or other factors.

The historical evidence for the arrival of the Apaches in
the Southwest has been summarized by Gunnerson (1956). The data
suggests to her that the Indian buffalo hunters living on the High
Plains east of the Rio Grande, called Querechos and Teyas by Coronado's
expedition, were Southern Athapascans. There is no Spanish record
of groups west of the Rio Grande which can be linked to them until
1583 when Espejo mentioned warlike people, called Querechos, in
the mountains around Acoma. The same group is mentioned in 1599 by Oñate.

Because of these data, Gunnerson feels that the Athapascans moved southward via the High Plains until they reached the plains of Texas and New Mexico about 1525; sometime after 1541 the group split, part remaining there while the rest moved west of the Rio Grande and settled in northern New Mexico. Gunnerson's theory does not fit the idea that Southern Athapascan pressure caused Anasazi defensive reactions, as the Apacheans would have entered the area too late. Her theory is quite plausible in terms of the linguistic evidence and the fact that archaeological and historical data from the Dismal River sites indicate that Apacheans controlled the Plains during this time. While the evidence suggests a Plains route for Athapascan migration from the north, other routes such as the Great Basin or Rocky Mountains cannot be ruled out as yet.

The material culture of the Apacheans upon their arrival in the Southwest was simple and easily transportable. They had a sinew-backed bow, fire drill, and baskets. Hester (1962: 74) feels they had pointed-bottomed pottery possibly with stamped decoration. Vogt (1961: 288) states that the pottery at this time was undecorated. Their clothing was of tanned leather, and they wore beads of bone and turquoise. The only evidence of trade is to be noted in one reference, in the Coronado narratives (Hester 1963: 73), to jerked meat and hides traded for maize and blankets, probably at Pecos.
Prehistoric and Early Historic Southwestern Period: 1000-1630

This section deals with the Navajos from the time of arrival in the Southwest until the first clear historical account of Navajo culture by Benavides in 1630 (Vogt 1961: 292), a period which is characterized by Athapascan differentiation due to variation in physical environment and cultural contact.

If we accept Gunnerson's theory of the arrival of the Southern Athapascans on the Texas-New Mexico Plains about 1525 and the eventual breaking off of the Navajos after 1540 to settle in Northern New Mexico, then the latter area must have been unoccupied, for the Anasazi had vacated it toward the end of the thirteenth century. It was the occupation of and adjustment to the Colorado Plateau area plus more intensive contacts with the Pueblos which resulted in the development by the end of the sixteenth century of a Navajo culture distinct from that of the other Southern Athapascans.

Prehistoric Southwestern Cultural Relations

The nature of Navajo-Pueblo relations during this period can be assumed to have been one of raiding and trading. The Navajos probably raided Pueblo fields and storehouses for corn and other food. Even before the Spaniards came the Navajos engaged in trade and barter with some of the Pueblos (Worcester 1947: 245). Skins, salt, meat, alum, and captive women and children were traded by the Navajos for cotton cloth and pottery. We can assume that all trading was accompanied by some visiting and exchange of ideas.
Navajo Culture: 1630

In 1630 Fray Alonso de Benavides wrote the first account of Navajo culture which clearly differentiated it from the culture of others, thus marking the beginning of Navajo history. He mentions a Navajo account of structured patterns for peaceful negotiations and trade with the Puebloans. He also states that the Navajos were skillful at leather work, but makes no mention of weaving as a tribal craft.

Spanish-Mexican Period: 1630-1848

In 1540 the Coronado expedition entered the Southwest, but Spanish colonization did not occur until 1598 under the leadership of the first Spanish governor, Don Juan de Oñate. From this date until 1846, when the United States acquired the Southwest, there were important changes in Navajo culture brought about through raiding and trading contacts with the Spaniards (later the Mexicans), and there was intensive contact with the Puebloans following the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680 and the reconquest of 1692. By the time the United States took possession of the Southwest, the Navajos had successfully integrated Spanish horses and sheep into their own culture and had developed an effective pastoral economy. They had also learned and adopted new art forms, such as weaving, as well as a rich store of new ideas and techniques.

There was no time during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries when Navajo and Apache warfare was not a serious problem or menace to the Spaniards and the Christian Indians. Spanish attempts to reduce the raids were military and political, and there
were also some missionary efforts to convert and "civilize" them. The Navajos accepted gifts from the Spanish and dealt with them only as long as there were practical gifts forthcoming, making promises of peace and alliance only when it was to their advantage to do so. Underhill (1956: 73) states that it became customary among the Navajos to make assurances of peace during the summer months when they had to stay in one place to cultivate their crops, but after the harvest raids began again.

By the mid-seventeenth century there was a growing restiveness among the Navajos and Apaches, as well as the Pueblos, under Spanish domination, principally because of the illegal practice of selling Navajo and Apache captives as slaves. As a result, when the Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande finally revolted in 1680 they had a certain amount of Navajo and Apache help. It was probably the Navajos' desire to obtain more horses and sheep, as well as their hatred of the Spaniards, which prompted them to participate in the successful uprising. In 1692 Don Diego de Vargas reconquered New Mexico and renewed Spanish efforts to control the Indian population.

The most significant groups in contact with the Navajos during the Spanish-Mexican period were the Pueblos and the Spaniards. Other groups of lesser importance were Apaches, Utes, and Comanches. At one time or another the Navajos were either allied with or fighting all of the Puebloan tribes, Utes, Comanches, Gila Apaches, and Spaniards.
Navajo-Pueblo Relations

Navajo-Pueblo contacts were many during this period and did much to shape Navajo culture as we know it today. The meetings during raids and trading were of a temporary nature, but alliances for mutual protection were somewhat more stable. While the Navajos assisted the Puebloans against the Spanish from the time of Espejo (Worcester 1947: 52), they raided them as often as they helped them.

There were, however, two instances of close and prolonged contact between the Navajos and Puebloans. One of these occurred in New Mexico during the years following both the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and the reconquest of 1692. The other was caused by a drought and famine in the western Navajo region during the 1700's which resulted temporarily in closer Navajo-Hopi contacts (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1962: 37).

During the period from 1680 to 1750, many Puebloans fled from their Rio Grande villages to escape Spanish reprisals. These refugees for the most part settled in the Gobernador area with the Navajos, and remains of their "pueblitos" are found in this area in association with Navajo hogans (Keur 1944; Hall 1944). Here the Navajos and Pueblos probably worked and fought together and undoubtedly intermarried (Underhill 1956: 41-57). This period was an important one for Navajo culture change, for the diffusion of Pueblo culture elements to the Navajos, which began in the prehistoric period, was undoubtedly accelerated and extended to more aspects of the Navajo way of life as a result of this close and prolonged contact.
There is evidence that at this time the Navajos learned more about agriculture and how to weave. In the process they absorbed Pueblo religious and social concepts and procedures. Perhaps even selected aspects of the Pueblo matrilineal clan system were adopted at this time, for a number of contemporary Navajo clans had their origin here (Vogt 1961: 301).

Similarly, during the 1700's, the Hopis found refuge from drought and famine in Canyon de Chelly with the Navajos (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1962: 37).

The exact nature of these intercultural relations can only be inferred from archaeological and historical data. The Pueblos had food to offer the Navajos, along with certain economic knowledge which would prove useful, plus social and religious attitudes. The Navajos, in turn, afforded protection from the Spaniards when needed. It is probable that the Pueblos did not carry on any type of directed culture change while with the Navajos. The close association of the two groups allowed the Navajos, who became familiar with Pueblo culture, to learn new ideas in an indirect manner; too, they added to their culture only what they wanted. A new dimension in the intercultural attitudes was added through intermarriage, which no doubt functioned significantly in the transmission of cultural elements.

Navajo-Spanish Relations

Since the Navajos lived in scattered hogan clusters (Keur 1944) on the frontier of Spanish influence, direct contact between the Spaniards and most Navajos was infrequent except through
intermittent warfare. The Navajos were primarily interested in stealing Spanish horses and sheep, a practice which may have begun as early as the 1590's. The Spaniards were rarely successful in restraining these raiding parties. Because of the fact that the Navajos had never developed a political unity on a tribal basis, treaties or agreements which could be made with a Navajo "chief" were actually being made with a "natani", or local headman, whose influence did not extend beyond the borders of his own land. It was only for a twenty-year period during the eighteenth century, under the leadership of Governor Anza, that the Spaniards were able to effect relatively peaceful relations.

A second major area of contact between the Navajos and Spaniards involved the missionary efforts of the latter. Those of 1629 and 1746-50 were the only programs of directed culture change the Spaniards attempted during this period. However, the Navajos were not receptive to Christianity, and Spanish efforts in this direction only served to strengthen the Indians' determination not to be converted and forced to live in pueblos. As a result, by 1750 the Spaniards had abandoned their attempts to force the Navajos to accept Christianity.

A fourth contact situation was that which existed between the Spaniards and their Navajo captives. By 1846 there were from 2,000 to 4,500 Navajo slaves, mostly women and children, held by the Spaniards (Underhill 1956: 80). They were apparently well-treated, and there is no evidence to suggest how many returned to the Navajo community. In all probability most were absorbed by the Spanish-American population in the Rio Grande Valley. Some, however, undoubtedly
returned to their people, bringing a wealth of new ideas from their first-hand observation of the Spanish culture.

Navajo Relations With Other Cultural Groups

There is scant evidence of Navajo contact with the various Plains Indian groups during the years 1630-1846, but there is some proof of contact with the Apaches (Vogt 1961: 302). The Apaches lived in scattered camps south and east of the Navajo country, the Utes in bands to the north, and the Comanches in bands on the Plains to the east. While trade relations existed between the Navajos and the Comanches and Utes, they were traditional enemies, a relationship which was encouraged by the Spaniards. Except for trade, Navajo-Plains Indian contact occurred only on Navajo sorties to the Plains to secure captives and to hunt buffalo.

During this period there was perhaps a very limited amount of contact with Anglo-Americans. In 1804 a Creole trader by the name of Baptiste Lalande became the first known American citizen to enter the Southwest (Bancroft 1889: 291). The few Anglos who did enter the Southwest during this period usually identified themselves with the Spanish "upper class", often marrying into this group (Dozier 1961: 151).

Cultural and Economic Development of the Navajos

The Spanish-Mexican Period was characterized by migrations of the Navajos in a westward direction. During this time the Spaniards were little concerned with native Indian culture and often carried out policies destructive to them. But they did occasionally refer to things about Indian life which they had observed in their presence,
and these isolated references can give some idea of the aspects of Navajo culture during the period 1630-1848 which are of interest in this paper.

As early as 1706 mention is made of Navajos keeping flocks of sheep for wool, plus goats, horses, and cattle (Hill 1940: 396), although hunting and gathering were still practiced.

Navajo clothing changed from buckskin to woven wool during this period. Navajo women adopted a form of the black woolen Pueblo style of dress, but the Navajo version was woven in two pieces and sewed up the sides, while the Pueblo style was woven in one piece. Navajo women continued to wear this dress until the late nineteenth century. The men wore buckskin shirts and breech cloths and leggings, but by the early nineteenth century they had adopted much European clothing. Silver ornaments, notably buttons, are mentioned by the Spaniards in 1776 (Van Valkenburgh and McPhee 1938: 6). It was stated that Navajo chiefs were rarely seen without silver jewelry. This was nearly one hundred years before the Navajos began to manufacture their own jewelry.

By 1846 the typical Navajo pattern of division of labor had been established (Vogt 1961: 304). The men owned and herded the horses, hunted, and did most of the farming and raiding. The women owned and herded most of the sheep, with the help of the children, butchered and sheared the sheep, did the weaving, and helped with the farming.

In summary, by 1848 when the United States assumed control of the Southwest, Navajo culture had developed a basic framework of
elements which were to exist long enough to be recorded ethnographically. Many more additions, subtractions, and changes were to come, however, when the Navajos came in close contact with the Anglo-Americans.

**Anglo-American Period: 1848-Present**

This period includes the years from 1848, when the United States took possession of the Southwest, to the present and contains a number of events of great significance in the development of Navajo arts and crafts. Some of these are the defeat of the Navajos and their captivity at Ft. Sumner, the establishment of the Navajo Reservation in 1868, the coming of the railroads and traders to the Navajo country in the 1870's and 1880's, the participation of the Navajos in World War II, and the recent efforts of both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the tribe itself to improve the situation of the Navajos in the modern world.

**Navajo Defeat and Captivity at Ft. Sumner: 1848-1868**

In August, 1846, General Stephen W. Kearney marched into Santa Fe and took possession of the Southwest. His first difficulties were with the Navajos who quickly thereafter renewed their raiding and killing. After the outbreak of the Civil War, General G. E. Carleton arrived with his California troops to help fight the Confederates, but finding the southerners already routed turned his attention to the Indian problem. Searching for action for his 1500 men, he petitioned Governor Connelly in Santa Fe for a war against the Apaches and Navajos. A severe all-out campaign against the Navajos and Mescaleros was arranged, with Colonel Kit Carson at the head of
volunteer regiment. The plan was to resettle the Indians at Bosque Redondo on the Pecos River near Ft. Summer and to teach them to build villages, to farm, and to become "civilized". By the first half of 1863 most of the Mescaleros had been sent to Ft. Summer.

Colonel Carson and his men next turned their energies on the Navajos who were given until July 20, 1863, to surrender peacefully. When they did not, Carson's orders were to shoot all men who resisted, bring in women and children, destroy crops, and take livestock. With great insight, he used one hundred Utes as government scouts and enlisted the aid of the Mexicans, Hopis, and Zuñis.

Low on arms and food supplies and no match for the United States troops, 9,000 Navajos finally surrendered in 1864. Kit Carson's campaign had lasted six months and only fifty Indians were killed. On March 6, 1864, 2,400 Navajos began the "Long Walk" to Ft. Summer, and by the end of April, 3,500 more set out. Even though some groups managed to hide in the mountains and others escaped their captors, the Navajos had, in effect, been captured.

The Bosque Redondo experiment was founded by United States officials in the hope that the Navajos would begin a new way of life. For a number of reasons, though, the plan was destined to be not only a failure but also the cause of a deep-seated resentment in the Navajos. The reality of the situation saw 8,500 Navajos (Vogt 1961: 313) and 400 Mescaleros trying to stay alive on the forty-mile square, treeless plain that was their home. Under the command of 400 United States troops, they were in fact prisoners of war and were issued passes to leave and ration tickets for food.
From the beginning hostility was created between the Navajos and Mescaleros as the latter were moved from the best land near the river to make room for the Navajos. There was quite a scarcity of mesquite for fuel, and by 1867 the Indians were traveling from five to eighteen miles away for wood and carrying it on their backs to the fort (Reeve 1938: 25). The Navajos were given no additional sheep for wool, but instead, the government bought in the East a few cheap shoddy blankets which gave the Indians no warmth and quickly wore out.

The plan to change the Navajos to settled farmers ignored much of their traditional economy and customs and caused great discontent. In spite of this the Navajos managed to grow corn, pumpkins, squash, and melons, but they were never able to raise more than about one-fifth of the food they needed. Much worse in the eyes of the Navajos was the fact that their livestock was almost depleted by 1866. As a result, the government was forced to issue rations throughout this period. Promises for farming instruction and a school failed to materialize beyond what the troops were able to accomplish.

General Carleton's well-meaning attempts to convert the Navajos to full-time farmers had failed. General William Sherman was commissioned to draw up a treaty with the Navajos at Ft. Sumner; it was signed June 1, 1868. The treaty assigned the Navajos to a reservation of 3,500,000 acres straddling the Arizona-New Mexico border. By July 20 they were back in their home country. These four years of enforced restraint had accomplished the task of impressing upon the Navajos the wisdom of following the demands of the Anglos,
effectively bringing them under United States control and for all practical purposes eliminating the raiding complex.

Intra-Reservation Period: 1868-1945

The major goals of the government's Indian Policy after the establishment of the Navajo Reservation was, first, to help the Navajos to recover economically and then to educate them rapidly to fit them into American culture. However, the treaty of 1868 was based on a few unsound assumptions. The first was that the Navajos would soon become a settled, agricultural people who would be self-supporting in a year. The government planned to issue rations until the first crops, and after that the Navajos would be able to feed themselves. This proved to be a vain hope for small flocks, crop failures, and unkept promises prevailed.

To add to the troubles of the Navajos the 1880's marked the arrival of the railroad on their reservation, bringing liquor, disease, and struggles for land. However, the coming of the railroad was a milestone in the development of Navajo arts and crafts. For the first time, the people in the East were introduced to Southwestern Indian art and soon became a ready market. This had an important influence on Navajo crafts.

By the 1890's, when the Navajos were first examined by American ethnologists, they were found to have become nearly as wealthy as in pre-Ft. Sumner days. Navajo weaving plus their old knowledge of animal husbandry had enabled them to get back on their feet. They had acquired all of the arts and ceremonies for which they are now famous without
losing such tribal customs as the mother-in-law taboo, maiden's rite, and intense family and clan loyalty.

The increased prosperity was only temporary, however. By the 1890's the condition of the Navajo land was on the decline as a result of the tremendous growth of large herds of sheep, goats, and horses. Not only was this increase highly desirable to the Navajos, but government officials had given them encouragement in that direction, for more stock relieved the government of the responsibility of feeding the Navajos. But as the herds grew, the stock grew thinner and the wool clips smaller. From time to time agents and officials pointed out the threat to the range through overgrazing. For a short while it was possible to handle this problem by increasing the size of the reservation and by using unoccupied land. By 1915 further expansion was impossible. It was not until the 1930's, when soil and resource conservation and drought were matters of general concern throughout the nation, that the government gave any serious attention to the problem.

In 1934 John Collier, a conservationist, was made Indian Commissioner. Sure of only four years of office and funds, Collier subjected the Navajos to an accelerated program of betterment. Government experts were called in to improve the condition of the land. The reservation was divided into districts and the number of livestock each district could accommodate was determined. The Navajos were told that they had to get rid of the extra horses, cattle, and sheep. They were encouraged to slaughter horses for food (Downs 1964: 19), and traders were subsidized to buy goat and sheep skins for a dollar.
each as evidence of slaughtered animals. When the dust settled the Navajos were confused and antagonized. To them large herds were symbolic of status and wealth.

Navajo Participation in American Culture and Society: 1945-Present

When the United States became involved in the Second World War every man was needed, and all Indians who could meet the qualifications enlisted or were drafted. A total of 3,600 Navajo men served in the army, navy, and marine corps. Twenty-nine who enlisted were trained as a platoon which served in the Pacific and Southern Europe.

World War II brought labor recruiters to the Navajo Reservation. Prior to 1940 the Navajos were regarded as a significant labor force only in specific agricultural areas, but by 1946 any able-bodied Navajo, regardless of education, could have his pick of steady, well-paid jobs, with housing and free transportation (Adams 1963: 50).

Many soldiers had forfeited their grazing rights by their absence and had to find new means of livelihood, which usually meant occupations within the White society. As a result of increased wages, soldiers' allotments and an increased awareness of the Whites' world, material items such as wood or kerosene stoves, dishes, glasses, battery radios, and old cars were now available to some Navajos.

But what the returning Navajo soldier wanted most of all was education for his people, realizing that this was the only way to establish the Navajos in White society. From World War II to the present, there has been a steady uphill climb toward this goal, with the help of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Many feel that the Navajos
will prove to be more successful at this than any other Indian group, because of their long history of adaptability.

**Navajo Contacts During the American Period**

It has been only during the last century that the Navajo Indians have had persistent and direct contact with Anglo-Americans. Although not as significant during these years, Navajos have also had close relations with Spanish-Americans as well as with some of the various Indian tribes on nearby reservations or in towns.

**Navajo and Anglo-American Relations**

Contacts during the early part of this period consisted of those between American soldiers and Navajo warriors and prisoners. After Ft. Sumner, close Navajo relations with Anglo-Americans have generally centered around Indian Agents and Indian Service officials, traders, missionaries, and teachers. Since World War II and especially in recent years the Navajos have developed additional contacts with the general Southwestern population, especially in towns near the reservation. There Navajos can be seen wheeling carts in supermarkets or selling weaving or silver jewelry. These contacts are fleeting and usually do not allow for any prolonged intercultural relationships to develop.

**Indian Agents.** The first Anglo-Americans, other than the soldiers of the United States Cavalry, to have any prolonged effect upon the Navajos were agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In the years following Ft. Sumner until the end of the nineteenth century,
when the Navajo economic comeback was practically complete, the Navajos had some fifteen agents. Indian Agents were at this time appointed by the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, generally as a political favor.

The task of the Indian Agent during these years was to issue rations, sheep, and seeds to help the Navajos re-establish their economy and to provide schooling and medical care. At this time the agents lived and worked out of Ft. Defiance; to come close to reaching even half of the Navajos was an impossible job, even if many cared to do so.

During the Collier administration in the 1930's many of the policies which had been designed to force the Navajos in the direction of rapid acculturation and assimilation were terminated; instead, emphasis was placed upon preserving many of the Navajo culture patterns. Experts were called in to study, among other things, advertising techniques for Navajo craftwork. Attempts were made to learn how to attain and maintain higher standards in crafts and to learn how to get better prices for craft products. However, the stock reduction and all of its effects upon the Navajos began a deterioration of their relationship with Indian Agents.

Today the Bureau of Indian Affairs spends a great deal of money on programs designed to help the Navajo Tribe to help itself. The various officials try to remain in as much of an advisory capacity as possible.
Traders. Trade was nothing new to the Navajos, for early historical records contain evidence of considerable, although sporadic, trade with other Indians and with the Spaniards. Indian trade in the Southwest until the 1870's was either through a wandering pack train or centered in both Indian and non-Indian settlements. In contrast, trading became an every-day occurrence when the first trading post was established on the reservation in 1871. By 1890 there were nine traders on the reservation and thirty more surrounding it (Underhill 1956: 182; Adams 1963: 152). This number increased steadily until 1930.

From the beginning Navajo relations with the traders were different from those with Indian Agents. Whereas the latter had little time to be a friend to the Navajos, to speak their language, and to listen to their problems, the trader's life and livelihood depended upon pleasing the Navajos and he learned as much of the language and customs as he could. Even better than a friend, he was the bearer of a new way of life and provided the Indians with such delicacies as coffee, sugar, flour, canned peaches and tomatoes, pocket knives, and cotton cloth. In return, the trader got wool, Navajo blankets, and eventually silver jewelry. The business was profitable if handled correctly, for the trader could resell these Navajo products, and the finer they were the greater his profit.

Indian traders have also performed a variety of social services for the Navajos. A trader's wife was frequently called upon to dispense simple medicine and give first aid. Traders often buried the dead, a fearsome task to the Navajos. In many ways the trader acted as a
buffer against White society, often by helping a Navajo obtain an auto license or interceding with the police in his behalf.

The trader had, until the Second World War, a considerable influence on the development of Navajo arts and crafts, as well as their culture change. In 1890 Indian Agent C. E. Vandever reported that the then nine traders on the reservation were causing changes among the Navajos in terms of dress and the market for their crafts, as well as replacing copper and brass jewelry with silver (McNitt 1962: 51). Although some traders were unscrupulous in dealing with the Navajos, all ran risks in extending large amounts of credit and provided an all-important link between the Navajo and the American way of life.

Missionaries. Anglo-American missionary activity among the American Indians began during the administration of President Grant, who asked churches of the United States to nominate men fit to serve as agents to the Indians (Underhill 1956). Each sect decided on an area and the Navajos fell to the Presbyterians who established headquarters in the 1879's at Ganado. Since then practically every other denomination has come to the Navajo country. The policy of these groups varies from permissiveness about native beliefs, in the knowledge that conversion will take time, to those who force immediate change.

In spite of the intensity of Christian missionary work on the reservation, many Indians continue to adhere to their native beliefs and practices. The Navajos do make use of the social services provided by the missionaries as well as their good medical facilities. In general,
relations between the Navajos and missionaries have been less stormy
and unhappy than the Navajo-Indian Agent contacts.

Educators. The effect of education of Navajo children since
World War II cannot be viewed lightly. Its influence is increasing
day by day in its attempts to acquaint the Navajo child with life in
the White man's world. As we shall see, this is having an effect
upon Navajo "traditional" arts and crafts, some of it positive.
Navajos have been very reluctant to allow their children to attend
schools during most of the Anglo-American period and there were not
enough schools for them anyway. It was not until the years following
the Second World War that the need for education was felt by them.

The first recorded institution, a day school, was reported on
the reservation about 1870 (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1962: 141). Because
of poor roads and transportation as well as the vast area of the
Navajo Reservation, the government recognized the necessity of boarding
schools, the first of which was established at Ft. Defiance in 1883.
In 1887 the Bureau of Indian Affairs passed a compulsory school regulation.

The early policy of Indian education was an unhappy one for
all concerned for it called for the dissolution of all Navajo customs,
with no steps taken to prepare the children for a life as Navajos on
the reservation. The results bred confused individuals who were unfit
to be Navajos living under reservation conditions, nor were they fully
able to comprehend the White man's world. One might well imagine what
formidable foes these early educators must have seemed to the Navajo
children. Today, however, there is little resentment or disapproval
of schools.
Community day schools are currently being built everywhere in order to bring schooling to the Navajos on the local level. There are also trailer day schools, mission schools, off-reservation boarding schools, and public schools. Navajos want more than anything to learn English, so this is taught as a second language. Navajo teachers are being used increasingly on the correct assumption that they are more useful, but it is reducing the Navajo child's contact with Anglo teachers.

As a result of new progressive educational developments, Navajo children are becoming ever more aware of the White man's world and also of their own. This, it is hoped, will provide the Navajo youth with the happy situation of understanding both his own heritage and that of the Anglo-American so he can choose for himself the most satisfactory way of life to him.

Navajo and Spanish-American Relations

Early contacts in this period between these two groups proved to be of great significance chiefly in the development of Navajo arts and crafts. It was from Mexican silversmiths that the Navajos learned silversmithing in the mid-1800's. Even before Anglo traders arrived in the Southwest, Mexican traders were active in Navajo country.

Navajos are usually careful to distinguish between Anglos and "Mexicans" (Spanish-Americans); this is also to be noted in their relationships. Indians and Spanish-Americans in border towns such as Gallup and Flagstaff have a certain common identity or association as minority group members and usually live in the same neighborhood.
Navajo Relations With Other Indians

Navajo relations with other Indian groups have been limited by geographical proximity. Those contacts with the Pueblo and Apache groups have been the most prolonged and intimate. Between the Navajos and these two groups there often exists a guest-friend relationship. In Navajo contacts with the Pueblo there are still some of the same types of cultural transmission that occurred in earlier Navajo history.

With all of the surrounding Indian groups there have been more or less systematic exchanges of goods. Navajos trade rugs and silver to the Utes for the "wedding" baskets used in Navajo ceremonies. Beef is obtained from Apaches, corn and fruit from the Hopis. Some Indians peddle fruit in trucks over wide areas of the Navajo country.

The Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial is a magnet not only to the Navajos but to all of the other Indians of the area. This annual event provides an outlet for display and sale of Navajo weaving and silverwork and the opportunity to observe other tribal crafts. The social activities of the Ceremonials are equally important to cultural contact with Indians, Spanish-Americans, and Anglos.
Origins and Early Growth: 1700-1800

When Fray Alonso de Benavides wrote about the customs and industries of New Mexico in 1630, he gave no report of Navajo weaving. The first known mention of this craft among the Navajos was made in 1706, in a letter by Francisco Cuervo y Valdez, Governor of New Mexico. He reported that the Navajos "make their cloths of wool and cotton (?), sowing the latter, and obtaining the former from the flocks they raise" (Keur 1941: 13). It is possible that this may be Pueblo Indian activity as the two groups were living together at this time. The earliest pieces of Navajo weaving which have been dated and are still in existence today come from Massacre Cave in Canyon del Muerto, Arizona. Fragments found on the remains of Navajos shot by Spaniards in the cave date from 1804-05.

The Spanish chroniclers often told of Pueblo men weaving in most if not all pueblos. It seems probable that the Navajos learned the art of weaving from this group after the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680 when both groups lived together in northern New Mexico.

It has been suggested that the Navajos brought some knowledge of weaving with them from the north, since, according to tradition, their ancestors came into the Southwest wearing blankets of "cedar bark and yucca fibre" (Keur 1941: 32). But Amsden and Matthews
feel that it is improbable and unlikely that the Navajos were loom weavers before they acquired sheep.

If the Navajos did learn to weave from the Pueblo peoples, it is possible that they also learned the techniques of dyeing wool from them. While there is no instance of the dyeing of wool and, indeed, no use of wool at all in the Southwest until the introduction of sheep from Europe (Amsden 1934: 75), it is known that the Pueblos had already perfected the techniques of dyeing cotton. However, wool requires dyes and mordants of an entirely different type than does cotton. It is possible that the Pueblos, who were the first to receive sheep from the Spaniards, did play a part in the early development of wool dyeing. The Navajos developed the art of weaving to a much higher degree than did the Pueblos, in technique as well as color. It seems likely, then, that the Navajos deserve the major credit for the development of the wool dyeing processes.

The Spaniards shared in the development of native Southwestern dyes, for they brought indigo from Mexico, a dye which became the most important of the pre-aniline colorants. The Navajos also learned to use urine as a mordant for indigo dyes from the Spaniards (Amsden 1934: 73), but their other mordants are probably independent of Spanish influence. Records show that cochineal and an orange dye were traded to the Navajos by the Spaniards in the 1780's (Worcester 1947: 234), but only indigo established itself as a regular Navajo dye (Amsden 1934: 89).

Native vegetable and mineral dyes which the Navajos have developed and used are black, four kinds of red, three yellows, two
greens, and indigo blue. Dyeing is usually done after spinning. The wool of the original sheep used by the Navajos was sufficiently free from grease so that washing was unnecessary, but the later intrusion of foreign strains, especially the Merino, made washing essential for adequate dyeing.

The vertical or true loom and the belt loom acquired by the Navajos from the Pueblo peoples possibly in the late seventeenth century, along with weaving, were the counterparts of prehistoric Pueblo looms which probably originated in Peru or Mesoamerica. These looms have remained essentially unchanged up to the present. The type of weave used most consistently by the Navajos has always been plain tapestry weave. In this weave, alternate warp threads are attached by loops of string to a stick called a "heddle". When the heddle is pulled forward, the warps attached to it are brought forward also, and a weft is passed between the two sets of warps. The "shed rod", placed between these warps, forces the remaining alternate warps forward for the next weft pick. Each weft row is beaten down firmly by the "batten", thus forcing the wefts close together and concealing the warps.

Once the Navajos acquired the knowledge of weaving, they quickly surpassed the Pueblos in excellence of color, design, and technique. By the nineteenth century the Navajos had become the best native Southwestern weavers in wool (Amsden 1934: 130-133). The first woven pieces were probably plain, but soon horizontal bands or stripes were added, as in the Massacre Cave fragments. Historical references to
Navajo weaving during this early period are chiefly as trade items in the form of woolen mantas and serapes.

**Developmental Period: 1800-1850**

Evidence is scanty but weaving probably became increasingly important among the Navajos after its adoption. It was during this period that "bayeta" appeared in Navajo weaving. "Bayeta" is the Castilian Spanish word for the English "baize", a smooth woolen cloth of finely woven hard-twisted threads commonly dyed cochineal red or green, but sometimes in other colors. Worcester (1947: 239) mentions that bayeta may have been traded to the Indians as cloth as early as 1690, for a letter by a Don Damian Manzanet of that date tells of its use. The Navajos learned to unravel and re-spin this material and began weaving it into their blankets by 1800. This gave them yarn of a fine red color which they had difficulty producing with their own native dyes. During the early 1800's the use of bayeta was limited to very narrow stripes combined with natural and native-dyed wools.

**Classic Period: 1850-1875**

These years included a high-point in Navajo textile art during which Navajo weaving achieved its greatest technical excellence, equaled or surpassed only in modern times. The bayeta pieces of the Classic Period are collectors' items. The greatest use of bayeta went into the red, white, and blue serape, a tightly woven wrap with edge to edge patterning. The chief's blanket, woman's dress and cape, saddle blanket, and children's blankets of this period were sometimes woven
with bayeta in them. Blankets were also made for trade or sale to
Mexicans, other Indians, and American soldiers.

The predominant design of the Classic Period consisted of
simple weft stripes. Other designs were tried, perhaps inspired in
part by Mexican blanket patterns (Kent 1961: 9). These designs included
rectangles, crosses, zigzags, horizontal lines, and diamond-shaped
figures.

With the defeat of the Navajos and their captivity at Ft.
Sumner, New Mexico, from 1864 to 1868, the traditions of the Classic
Period of Navajo weaving began to disappear. Changes in the Navajo
way of life brought on by these years influenced their weaving, perhaps
in the form of lower standards and less pride in fine weaving. Navajo
flocks diminished so much that by 1868 weaving of native wool was
brought almost to a standstill (Amsden 1934: 169).

In the 1870's raveled threads other than bayeta began to appear
in Navajo weaving. These came from commercial American blankets,
flannel cloth, and red flannel underwear issued to the Navajos at
Ft. Sumner (Kent 1961: 9). These raveled threads were respun and woven
into blankets and were distinguishable from bayeta by their garish
aniline colors and matted surface appearance.

Another commercial material to appear during the Classic Period
was Saxony yarn. Manufactured in Germany, this yarn was brought to
the Southwest by 1850 or earlier. Saxony is a three-ply yarn of soft
vegetal colors (Amsden 1934: 182), commonly red and green. It has
been suggested that this yarn was supplied to the Navajos by the United
States soldiers at Ft. Sumner for the weaving of souvenir blankets
Blankets woven entirely of Saxony are rare, and this yarn is usually found in small stripes or in patterns, with bayeta and handspun wools.

**Flamboyant Period: 1875-1890**

The years after the Bosque Redondo saw much experimentation by Navajo weavers and a decline in the quality of workmanship. The use of indigo blue, handspun bayeta, and Saxony yarn diminished during the early years of this period. While threads raveled from commercial goods were used for a time, they had largely disappeared from Navajo weaving by the early 1880's. Aniline dyes, coarse handspun wool, and Germantown yarns became the usual materials of these years.

Aniline dyes are derived from coal tars through a process discovered by the English chemist W. H. Perkin in 1856. The early aniline colors were harsh, faded easily, and "ran" when wet. Shortly after 1870 many of the newly-arrived traders had introduced these dyes to their weavers in the form of a small packet which also contained the necessary mordant. These were simple to use, came in many colors, and soon replaced indigo blue and vegetable dyes. The traders began at this time to encourage Navajo women to experiment with design and color in their weaving.

By 1880 aniline-dyed "Germantown" yarns of American manufacture had replaced Saxony yarn. Germantown yarn comes in vivid colors and generally is of three or four strands. Blankets using this yarn were usually woven on a cotton warp, but traders and dealers tried to
discourage this as they felt cotton detrimental to the wearing qualities of the piece.

The result of both the new aniline dyes in packet form and the availability of the Germantown yarn was an array of startling colors and designs in Navajo textiles as the weaver began to feel her freedom from her old restricted range of color.

During this period large patterns in the form of zigzags or massive diamonds set in a row replaced the older and smaller patterns. A serrate or diagonal style was developed, featuring smooth oblique lines. End to end arrangements tended to replace the older edge to edge styles. It was during these years, probably after 1880, that life designs first appeared in Navajo weaving (Kent 1961: 21).

Toward the end of this period a new technique appeared by which oblique weft stripes were woven. In this process, called "wedge-weave", wefts are battened down so that they lie at an angle to the lower warp selvage, instead of parallel to it, thus pulling the warp out of its vertical position. Entire blankets were sometimes woven in this technique or bands of wedge-weave alternated with bands of simple tapestry weave in which the warps remained in their normal horizontal position. Wedge-weave blankets, usually woven of aniline-dyed coarse handspun yarn, survived into the early 1890's.

Development of the Rug: 1890-1910

By 1890 Navajos were no longer wearing the products of their looms. However, traders on and around the Navajo Reservation saw the possibilities of creating a market for Navajo textiles in the East.
They began to advertise Navajo blankets for use as rugs and asked their weavers for heavier blankets. As it was the custom for traders to pay by the pound for these rugs rather than using quality as a basis of price, the initial result was unclean and poorly spun yarns and poor workmanship.

Soon thick and heavy rugs were woven almost entirely for the tourist market. Navajo weaving solely for home consumption had become a thing of the past. These rugs were of coarse handspun wool, aniline-dyed or of natural color. The standard colors used were greys, blacks, and whites, and the majority of rugs had borders.

Another new development in Navajo weaving occurred shortly before the beginning of this period. A number of "twill weave" rugs and saddle blankets began to appear (Kent 1961: 26). In this type the weft floats over selected sets of warps instead of alternate ones as in the plain or tapestry weave. In this way patterns of diamonds or vertical or horizontal zigzags can be produced.

The prehistoric Pueblo weavers of the Southwest produced a variety of twills and passed the art on to the historic Pueblos and thence to the Navajos. However, twills were not produced by the Navajos to any great extent until the 1880's. This type of weave results in a thick sturdy rug and is still used in making saddle blankets as well as small and a few large handsome floor rugs today.

As the Navajo rug business got well underway, traders began to try to end the trend toward mediocrity in the so-called "pound rugs" by encouraging good workmanship. By 1900 Germantown wefts and cotton warps had almost completely disappeared. The interest of the
trader plus increased concentration of Navajo life around the trading post enabled the individual trader to have considerable influence on the products of the loom. As a result of this interest, rug styles with a local and distinct flavor began to develop.

Development of Regional Styles: 1910–Present

By 1910 Navajo weavers were trying new colors and designs, drawing on past styles, their own creativity, and the suggestions of the traders. One of the first traders to initiate this trend was Lorenzo Hubbell of Ganado, Arizona, who had the artist E. A. Burbank make color oil paintings of all the old Navajo designs and figures. These he used as models to show his weavers. When a particular pattern proved to be popular with buyers, he noted the fact and encouraged his weavers to follow its style. He also made a specialty of having very large rugs woven on order for American homes. Other early attempts to encourage high quality rugs were made by the Fred Harvey Company and the Hyde Exploring Expedition.

Another leading innovator in the early days who worked in behalf of better Navajo rugs was J. B. Moore, a trader at Crystal, New Mexico, from the 1890's to 1912. He introduced new designs to his weavers and encouraged the Navajos toward better preparation of their materials by sending their wool east to be washed and carded. The result was a very fine rug with a high degree of simplicity. A diamond-shaped theme was developed with smooth or stepped edges, often with various appendages. Inside this large diamond were other geometric elements such as crosses and hooks. Two plain or decorated
borders of different colors were common. Grey or light backgrounds were usually seen, often with a different color in the border area. This was the old Crystal style rug.

The Crystal style, developed by J. B. Moore, moved east to become the Two Grey Hills style, which still exists today. At first the patterns were the same as in the early Crystal types. In the Two Grey Hills rug, recently and today, only the natural wool colors of brown and black are used. Each of the two colors may be carded with white to make tan and grey, respectively. For a time aniline color was added in the form of yellows, reds, and browns (Amsden 1934: 195), but these are not used today. Always a high quality of workmanship has been maintained.

At Crystal J. B. Moore also originated the Storm rug which is today a regional style of the Western Reservation.

By the 1920's other groups became interested in improving Navajo weaving. Specifically, this meant a revival of the older native styles and the use of less garish colors. Early experiments with vegetable dyeing were begun by Miss Mary C. Wheelwright of Boston, with the cooperation of Cozy MacSparron at Chinle. Miss Wheelwright also provided the Navajo weavers of the area with sketches of rugs from the period of 1875-1890. Also in response to this need for subdued colors during the early 1930's, the makers of Diamond Dyes created a set of single-packet dyes, called "Old Navajo", in soft aniline colors.

The native dye style was further developed by Mr. and Mrs. William Lippincott of the Wide Ruins Trading Post in the late 1930's
and 1940's. As a result of their efforts, quite superior vegetable dye rugs in soft pastel colors became the major products of the eastern part of the reservation around Chinle and the Wide Ruins-Nazlini areas. Only a few of these dyes were from old formulas of native origin, while the rest were later developments.

There has always been great variation in the preparation of materials, quality of the spinning and weaving, and care with which dyeing is done. Both native and commercial wools are found in recent and contemporary rugs, with an endless variety of colors and designs. All of these factors have contributed to the development of distinctive local styles.

**Regional Styles**

The major regional styles of recent years include the following areas: Gallup, Crystal, Two Grey Hills, Teec Nos Pos, Farmington-Shiprock, Lukachukai-Greasewood, Chinle, Wide Ruins, Ganado, Kayenta, Tuba City, and the Western Reservation. In addition to these major rug weaving styles, there are certain forms woven today throughout the Navajo Reservation.

**Gallup Area**

The Gallup area produces inexpensive narrow runners and small rugs called "throws". Both styles are coarsely woven with simple balanced designs, in black, white, grey, and red.

**Crystal Area**

The Crystal rug of today bears no resemblance to the early one described above. Edge to edge patterns of bands or stripes are
woven in dark vegetable dye, natural, or aniline colors. Handspun yarns are used and the rugs tend to be rather heavy, making them well suited for floor use. Banks of wavy lines distinguish these rugs and geometric figures are woven into some of the bands.

Two Grey Hills Area

Two Grey Hills weavers of today have achieved perfection in technique as well as design, and their rugs are the finest woven on the Navajo Reservation. Natural wool colors are still used, though the black, as always, is intensified by dyeing. Occasionally a bit of native-dyed yellow is used and sometimes some commercial turquoise blue. There has been a trend toward greater complexity and delicacy in design, with several borders encircling a center theme with lesser motifs on all corners. Hooks, triangles, stepped triangles, or frets are common. The fineness of weave in top-quality Two Grey Hills rugs of today surpasses that of any other rug and it is therefore the most expensive.

A weaver from the Two Grey Hills area, Daisy Taugel-chee, in carding and hand-spinning wool from her own sheep has achieved what is impossible for others. Her weft thread is so fine that her work rarely counts less than ninety strands to the inch and her best counts 110 threads to the inch. Her small Two Grey Hills blankets, often measuring less than a yard in length and width, are like cashmere and command top prices as well as prizes.

Another weaver from this area, James Sherman, is the only living male weaver known to me, although there may be isolated others.
In the 1966 Flagstaff exhibition he entered a very fine Two Grey Hills rug of the traditional delicate and elaborate design.

Teec Nos Pos Area

In the 1890's weavers in the Teec Nos Pos area developed the technique of outlining designs in woven rugs with a contrasting color (Tanner 1964: 9). Many of these rugs are of commercial wool, often with bright colors. There is always a wide and elaborate border and a central geometric design, often a serrated zigzag. Many smaller geometric motifs fill the remaining spaces.

Shiprock-Farmington Area

Around the opening of the 1900's the first "yei" rug was woven near Shiprock (Tanner 1964: 10), amid the protests of the older Navajos. The Navajos consider the sacred yeis as intermediaries between man and the gods and portray them as elongated figures in their sand-paintings. In spite of protest, the idea of the yei rug eventually took hold and spread to Farmington, as well as to Greasewood and Lukachukai. Generally the elongated figures are arranged in a single horizontal row. Yei rugs of the Farmington-Shiprock area usually have white backgrounds with bright colored Germantown yarn used for the details.

Lukachukai-Greasewood Area

The yei rugs of this area are of a slightly different style than those of the Shiprock-Farmington area. Commonly they have a dark brown or grey background as well as a white one. Handspun yarn
is used, and the variety of colors common to the Shiprock-Farmington style are not found. The weaving is usually coarser and therefore does not allow for precise detail. These rugs make excellent floor rugs. Weavers of the Lukachukai area also make good aniline dye rugs of geometric patterns in red, grey, black, and white.

Chinle Area

As indicated above, both Chinle and Wide Ruins were early centers for the re-introduction of old designs and vegetable dyes. The designs in both styles are strongly reminiscent of the old borderless blanket with edge to edge patterning; generally they are simple stripes and bands embellished with serrate designs. The distinctive Chinle rugs do not have as fine a weave as those from the Wide Ruins area. Vegetable dye yei rugs are also made in the Chinle area.

(Maxwell 1963: 32)

Wide Ruins Area

This is the main vegetable dye area, and from it come the best examples of this modern innovation in Navajo weaving. The yarns are all handspun and are all vegetable dyed. Whereas natural grey, black, and white are used, no aniline dye is employed. The colors of the Wide Ruins rugs tend to be more varied and subtle than those in the Chinle area, and the weave is finer. Wide Ruins designs are simpler and more sophisticated.
Ganado Area

The Ganado style has the traditional black, grey, and white with a predominance of a rich red. Bold geometric designs sometimes reach to the edges or ends of the rug. Borders are common; they may vary from plain to decorative and from one to two in number. The heavy central motif often consists of a single diamond or a string of three from end to end, or a combination of diamonds and chevrons; smaller geometric detail fills in spaces. This style was directly influenced by the famous trader of that area, J. Lorenzo Hubbell.

Kayenta Area

The Kayenta regional style is typified by large diamond themes, often with serrated edges, woven in grey and aniline black and red on a white background. The borders of these rugs usually consist of plain bands at the ends and repeated small elements such as steps on the sides. The white between the central motif and the borders is usually undecorated.

Tuba City Area

The most important style of the Tuba City Area is the Storm rug, with simple or elaborate design, on a grey ground, in white and aniline black and red. This style began before 1920 and is attributed to J. B. Moore at Crystal. In the Tuba City area there are two localities where superior weaving is found, but as yet no regional styles have developed in them. These are Coal Mine Mesa and Coppermine. From the region as a whole come fine twill weave saddle blankets, two-faced rugs, and raised outline pieces.
Western Reservation

Weaving on the far western part of the Navajo Reservation has improved in the last twenty years, largely due to the encouragement and guidance of the Museum of Northern Arizona at Flagstaff. The better weaving features conventional designs in black, white, and grey with red sometimes added. In the area from Shonto and Inscription House north to Paiute Mesa and Navajo Mountain, rugs in white, black, grey, and native dyes, with borders, have been woven for the last fifteen years.

In addition to the weaving areas mentioned is the southwestern part of the reservation in which saddle blankets and rugs of poor quality are woven in natural and aniline-dyed handspun yarns. These are often sold by weavers who set up stands along Highway 66.

Other Types of Navajo Rugs

Navajo weaving since 1910 has seen the continuation of another trend besides the tendency for the development of distinct local or regional styles. There are certain types of weaving found throughout the Navajo Reservation regardless of the area. Saddle blankets, two-faced rugs, and twill rugs are woven throughout the reservation. The so-called "Chief's Blanket", an old style, may also be woven anywhere. This style is wider than it is long, with wide black or blue and white horizontal bands forming a background. The design, in the form of diamonds, is superimposed over this. In the center is a complete motif, at the sides, in the center, it is halved, and on the four corners it is quartered.
Pictorial rugs in bright and varied colors are also woven. Although this type of rug is not restricted to any one region, quite a few are woven in the Lukachukai-Greasewood area. Flowers, houses, animals, plants, police cars, and mesas serve as motifs for these. As we have seen, the idea is not modern although the subject matter may be.

The so-called "ceremonial" rugs are so named because they often depict subjects seen in sandpaintings. The background of these rugs is often of a tan shade, depicting sand. A famous weaver of these was the Navajo Medicine Man and sandpainter, Hosteen Klah, whose drawings and rugs are on display at the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art in Santa Fe, New Mexico. There are several women today who weave these sandpainting rugs, usually in a five-foot square.

There is no reason to believe that these regional styles and general forms will remain static. Indeed Navajo weaving is and has been a dynamic and vibrant art, and new colors, designs, and styles will continue to develop as they have in the past. Furthermore, designs have spread throughout the reservation, as has the use of vegetable dyes.

**Trends in Navajo Weaving Since 1945**

Since the Second World War, Navajo weaving in some areas of the reservation has improved in all respects. The quality of wool used, dyes, spinning, design, and weave have all become better. This has largely been made possible by our relatively affluent society which can afford to pay for excellence in weaving and thus reward the extra effort of the weaver.
In addition to the many rugs of excellent quality, there are some of very poor quality made for tourists who do not want to pay high prices to get something made by an Indian. These rugs are characterized by loose weave and commercial dyes in bright colors and are generally of saddle blanket size.

Total production of Navajo rugs has decreased in the last twenty years, though this is true of some areas more than others. Income from other sources has been a contributing factor to this decline, as has increased school enrollment. Weaving skills which were passed on from mother to daughter are rapidly being lost and most schools do not compensate for this. School girls can usually find work off the reservation that would require less effort than weaving a fine rug and would pay more. It has been estimated that perhaps ninety per cent of the weavers today are over fifty years of age (William Hagberg, interview).

Downs states, however, that in the Piñon area a Navajo girl may return with the external characteristics of an American school girl, but she will soon revert to her more traditional type of clothing as well as weaving lessons (Downs 1963: 57). This may be the case in the more remote areas of the reservation, especially where family ties are strong. He does admit that the Piñon area is considered backward or "traditional" by both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the tribal government (Downs 1963: 53).
CHAPTER 4

NAVAJO SILVERSMITHING: A BRIEF DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY

Origins and Development of the Craft

Although records show that the Navajos wore silver in the mid-1700's (Van Valkenburgh and McPhee 1938: 6), there is no evidence to suggest that they learned the craft themselves prior to the middle of the nineteenth century. Exactly when this occurred is not certain, but Woodward feels that Atsidi Sani (the Old Smith), who is reputed to be the first Navajo silversmith, learned the craft between 1853 and 1858 (Woodward 1938: 14). The knowledge was gained, according to Woodward, from a Mexican silversmith named Cassilio, who lived on the reservation at that time. Although there were already Navajo blacksmiths and those who worked with copper and brass, the first dated reference to the establishment of a blacksmith who was also a silversmith in the heart of the Navajo country appears in the "Santa Fe Weekly" of January 7, 1854 (Keur 1941: 12-13).

Once learned, Navajo silversmithing was slow to spread. In all probability there was very little silverwork during the Navajos' captivity at Ft. Sumner from 1864 to 1868, but Woodward mentions evidence from several sources that there was some (Woodward 1938: 16-17).

The first detailed account of Navajo silversmithing was a report by Dr. Washington Matthews in 1880-1881 for the Bureau of
American Ethnology (Matthews 1883). Matthews indicates that by that time Navajo silversmiths had developed an impressive array of tools and equipment, including goatskin bellows and a clay and rock forge, all of which had enabled them to make great progress in their silverwork. There was, however, very little decoration on the early pieces of jewelry. The only means of elaboration at this time was an awl and a cold chisel, as well as a simple punch giving a round indentation.

With the influx of White traders onto the reservation in the 1880's, more Mexican "plateros" or silversmiths probably came also. These smiths may have been largely responsible for spreading the art throughout the reservation.

The traders themselves had considerable influence in the development of silversmithing at this time by making available new and better equipment. The old goatskin bellows were soon discarded for manufactured heartshaped bellows. The make-shift forge was replaced by a tin bucket with a hole cut into the side for the nozzle of the bellows. The Navajos mined their own flux until around 1880 when they began to use borax obtained from the traders. The Navajos also purchased sandpaper and emery paper to greatly aid in the final polishing of their silver pieces.

Toward the end of 1880 Navajo silversmiths began to learn how to make and use dies to stamp designs on their jewelry. The old Mexican "plateros" did not use dies, so they taught the Navajos to apply designs with an awl. Die-making was borrowed from the Mexican leatherworkers who stamped designs on their saddles and bridles.
Soon the Navajos learned to file designs onto the ends of old pieces of scrap iron so that they would leave a like impression on their silver.

The earliest stamped designs were quite simple. By the 1890's when finer files were made available by the traders, the Navajos were elaborately decorating their jewelry in the same manner as the Mexicans were embellishing their leather. The designs used by the Navajos included crescents, rosettes, triangular figures with a radiating pattern, and wavy and zigzag lines.

By 1895 the vogue for elaborately stamped pieces had reached its peak (Adair 1944: 21). The art was still fairly crude, however, and the majority of pieces made were buttons, rosettes, and bracelets, with only a few smiths making the more elaborate articles such as powder-chargers, beads, tobacco cases, belts, and bridle ornaments.

Since the beginning of this craft among the Navajos, silver jewelry was made almost solely for Indian use. A large part of it was made for the Pueblo Indians. A small amount of silver was made on order for the United States troops at Ft. Wingate, but, with the possible exception of the miniature canteen which was probably made as souvenirs for the American soldier, it was no different from the silver the Navajos made for themselves.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Navajo silver jewelry was beginning to be commercialized. In the late 1890's the Fred Harvey Company had purchased Navajo pawn jewelry for sale to the tourists. But the Easterners preferred a lighter jewelry, so Navajo silverwork had to change. In the process it became commercialized.
In 1899 Mr. Herman Schweitzer, who was in charge of the Fred Harvey Company's curio department, had specially-cut and polished turquoise bought from a mine in Nevada. He then took these stones and some silver to a trading post at Thoreau, New Mexico, and asked the trader there to have Navajo smiths make lightweight jewelry. This proved to be a very satisfactory method of obtaining jewelry for tourist trade. Soon the Fred Harvey Company began "farming out" raw materials to other posts, asking the traders to pay by the ounce for lightweight finished products. These bracelets, beads, and rings were then sold on the Santa Fe trains and in stands along the route.

Other companies, notably the big mercantile companies in Gallup, soon followed suit, so that by the middle of the 1920's the sale of silver jewelry to Whites had affected both the design and prices of the art. Gone were the old heavy pieces covered with stamped designs, and in their place were less expensive bracelets, rings, and beads, decorated with a few small pieces of turquoise and in a lighter weight silver. These were made to fill the orders of traders who sold the jewelry to wholesale traders and mercantile companies.

So great was the demand for this jewelry that manufacturers began to imitate handmade Navajo silver. In 1910 a Denver firm initiated this trend, using White labor, and was able to undersell the traders. Soon dealers in Southwestern cities such as Santa Fe and Albuquerque opened similar shops but employed mostly Pueblo Indians to operate the machines, thus slightly authenticating their claim of "Indian Made".
Some of these firms still exist, some have grown, as has Maisels in Albuquerque, and new ones have been established. But the buyer who is truly interested in obtaining genuine handmade Indian silverwork does not have to look very far. These firms have not been a significant deterrent to the development and popularity of Navajo silverwork.

It will be useful at this point in the discussion of Navajo silverwork to consider in some detail the use of silver and turquoise and the origins of the various forms.

Turquoise and Silver in Navajo Jewelry

Turquoise

Turquoise has been an important part of the life of the Navajos since their initial contacts with the Pueblo Indians. The stone appears in many of the Navajo ceremonies and myths. The first setting of turquoise in silver by the Navajos occurred around 1880 (Adair 1944: 14). However, it was not until the next decade that these valuable stones were used in any quantity. At first, the Navajos ornamented their jewelry with less precious stones such as native garnets, jet, malachite, abalone shell, and even pieces of colored glass. As turquoise became more plentiful in the 1890's, the other stones were abandoned, and in fact many were replaced by turquoise.

The early source of turquoise was a mine known as Los Cerrillos, located near Santa Fe, New Mexico. The Pueblo Indians of Santo Domingo traded the blue stone to the Navajos for weaving, silverwork, and
livestock. In the 1890's J. Lorenzo Hubbell imported Persian turquoise for his Ganado post (Adair 1944: 15).

Through the years, and even today, there are many substitutes for turquoise and there are "fakes". Malachite can be used as it resembles turquoise, as do other stones when dyed, and poor turquoise is often ground, dyed, and recomposed. Poor blue can be darkened with mutton fat. Iodine makes green stones blue and the matrix black. Lighter turquoise, such as that from Persia, is often impregnated with plastic and color. There is still good gem quality turquoise mined today in Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Nevada, as well as in Persia, and it is ultimately from these sources that most Navajo silversmiths obtain their stones. Most of the turquoise used today is cut and polished by non-Indians and furnished to the silversmiths in a form ready for mounting.

Silver

The first Navajo smiths used brass or copper in the form of wire or small sheets, some of which came from the Utes and the rest from Mexican and Anglo traders. Soon the use of these metals died out and Navajo silversmiths began to use American coins as their source of the precious silver. In 1890, when the government strengthened their controls on the defacing of American money, the Navajo silversmiths began also to obtain the purer Mexican pesos for their silverwork; these they used until about 1930 when Mexico forbade the exportation of the coin (Bahti 1966: 4).
Sterling silver, first as slugs and later in sheet form, was then purchased by the traders for the Navajo silversmiths on the reservation. Sheet silver, of variable thickness, is used today; it is .925 fine (sterling is that or better).

The Origins and Development of Forms of Navajo Silverwork

To bring into proper focus the origins of certain of the Navajo silver ornaments, a general background of the eastern and southwestern United States influences is necessary. Much of the art and some of the forms originated in these areas. There were important Mexican contributions as well.

Silverwork in the Eastern United States

The earliest record of the use of silver trade ornaments among the eastern tribes dates back to 1740 (Woodward 1938: 2). Among these tribes were the Iroquois, Delaware, Ottawa, and Shawnee. Soon those further south and west received silver objects as the trading frontiers moved to the Ohio and Mississippi valleys and the Great Lakes.

The forms of silver grew from a few commemorative medals to brooches of many sizes, arm bands, semi-lunar gorgets, highly ornamented crucifixes, earrings, ear-bobs, ear-wheels, nose-rings, nose-bobs, hair-pipes, head-bands, hair-plates, and finger-rings. The earrings consisted of long or short pendants, semi-lunar flat dangles with separate hinged centers, rings of silver wire, or thin wire loops with tear-drop clusters of five to twenty tinkling cones (Woodward 1938: 3).

Many eastern Indians, having become accustomed to the White man's way of life, adopted their trades. One of these was iron working
and silversmithing. Woodward states that this was probably in the late 1790's or soon after 1800. In the early 1800's two bands of Delaware Indians moved from the Atlantic Coast to Texas, taking their material culture with them. There they taught their silversmithing to Kiowa-Comanche men.

At the same time the trader, working his way across the Plains toward the Rocky Mountains, found no market for his silver ornaments. The Indians there favored shell ornaments and brass bracelets and rings. Furthermore, fur trapping west of the Mississippi was not carried on by the Indians as in the east, but by the White men. Therefore, during these years from 1830-1850 when the fur trade boomed, they did not need to carry quality trade goods; instead they substituted cheap metals for silver. Some of these were German silver, brass, copper, and later nicked brass. German silver, an alloy that contains only copper, zinc, and nickel, became important in the 1830's among the Plains people.

Of the various ornament forms originally adopted by the Plains tribes, bracelets, rings, earrings, and large round solid or pierced brooches and hair ornaments were the only ones to last. The hair ornaments, originally attached in a graduating string to a false lock of hair, were later fastened to leather belts and were especially favored by the women of the Plains (Woodward 1938: 8).

Spanish-Mexican Silver Ornaments

The Spaniard of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century delighted in the ostentatious display of wealth, often
manifesting it in the elaborate adornment of his clothing, weapons, and horse trappings of silver and gold. Later styles included a profusion of silver buttons. Some of these buttons were flat and plain, or half round, while the most common variety were ball buttons attached to a short length of silver chain (Woodward 1938: 12). Additional ornaments, fashioned to represent pomegranate blossoms, were attached to the ends of silver chains near each hip.

Saddles and bridles were also ornamented with silver. The head stalls, cheek straps, and the side plates of the bit were trimmed with silver, and "conchas" were placed near the animals' ears while crescent-shaped ornaments called "najas" lay against the forehead.

Forms of Navajo Silverwork

The early forms of silver manufactured by the Navajos were simple. These objects probably spread to the Navajo country from the Plains area and were made of thin, light metals, principally German silver, brass, and copper. They included bracelets, rings, earrings, and belt "conchas". When the Navajos began manufacturing their own versions of these ornaments, they used heavy coin silver.

Conchas. Conchas are the round or oval silver ornaments which the Navajos string on leather belts around their waists. These forms were derived from the German silver hair and belt ornaments of the Plains Indians. The first of these were round, thin and light in weight. They had a diamond-shaped slot transversed by a bar over which the belt leather was laced.
There seems to be little doubt that the Navajos derived the concha from the Southern Plains Indians for their forms are identical. Adair feels, however, that the decoration came from the silver "conchas" on Mexican bridles (Adair 1934: 30). These ornaments were more elaborate in design than those of the Plains. The earliest Navajo conchas had scalloped edges like the Spanish conchas. This feature was extremely rare in the Conchas from the Plains. It seems likely that the Navajos copied the basic form of the conchas from the Plains tribes and applied to it designs from Spanish conchas of slightly different form.

Soon the Navajos began to make oval conchas with designs identical to those of the round ones. As silver became more plentiful the conchas became larger and heavier. The Navajos also learned to solder a loop on the underside of the concha for fastening to the belt, thereby allowing the face of the concha to remain solid.

With the introduction of the small files to make metal dies in the 1880's, designs became much more complicated. Conchas were not commonly set with turquoise until the 1920's (Adair 1934: 32). Since then traders have encouraged the Navajos to make small and lightweight concha belts for women. The shapes vary today from round, oval, and rectangular, to cast pieces of various shapes. A butterfly or hourglass-shaped silver segment is sometimes put between conchas. The buckles of these belts are of all kinds and many harmonize quite pleasingly with the shape and design of the conchas.

Bridles. After the Navajo Indians learned the art of silversmithing, many articles of daily use, besides those intended for
personal adornment, were handsomely decorated with silver. Among the earliest and best decorated were the parts of the bridle which made up the headstall. Navajos rarely made bridles for sale, and today they are seldom made at all.

Bridles ranging from braided buckskin to commercially tanned leathers bore silver ornaments of varying amounts and different fashions. The general pattern consisted of three or five pieces across the forehead with some extending down the side. Both wrought and cast silver objects were used. Decoration was originally by filing or incising, but soon blossomed to stamping and repoussé.

Bracelets. The development of Navajo silver bracelets began with the copying of the Plains Indian forms. The first ones were of narrow wire or were wide and flat. They were made of heavy copper or brass, either undecorated or decorated with an awl or chisel; they were rounded in form. The earliest silver bracelets made by the Navajos were probably of the same styles. Another favored form was triangular in cross-section and stamped with a cold chisel, on the exposed flat faces.

From these simple forms developed the elaborate bracelets still seen today. Both wrought and cast types appeared early. Repoussé work combined with die work was popular during the late nineteenth and first quarter of the twentieth century (Mera 1960: 15). By 1920 most of the Navajo wrought bracelets were set with stones, but lighter, more simple ones without stones were often seen. Every conceivable stamped design may be used today, alone or with a single stone or
cluster of stones. Fine cast bracelets, which appeared early, are still made, often with a great amount of elaboration and delicacy. These are seldom set with stones. Today, lovely silver bracelets are also made for Zuni channel work and there is some overlay.

Rings. The first rings worn by the Navajos were identical to those worn on the Plains. They were plain metal bands, later marked with designs by an awl. Navajo rings are mostly wrought, and although bands are still made, they are usually set with turquoise. The stone may be large and of rectangular, square, oval, or round shape, or a cluster of smaller stones may be used instead. Channel work is popular.

Earrings. The early forms of silver earrings made by the Navajos were plain unadorned circles of silver or brass wire, often with hollow silver beads attached. Sometimes they were made in the form of silver crescents or long teardrops with a pomegranate blossom on the end; the latter appears to have Spanish affinities (Woodward 1938: 29).

Since the Second World War, earrings have undergone a certain amount of change as they became popular among whites. Button earrings began to appear along with the drop earrings. These are made today in channel and overlay techniques, and may include clusters of stones, small bells, and pictorial forms, or may resemble some of the older drop or pendant forms.

Buttons and Brooches. Navajo buttons have Spanish origins, for as we have already seen, the Spanish-Mexicans of the last two
centuries adorned their garments with gold and silver buttons of many shapes and sizes. The Navajos adopted all of these types and generally used them in the same manner as the Spaniards. Some of the early forms that still survive today are flat and without design, round, dome-shaped and fluted, conical, or shaped like pomegranates. Some have elaborate die-work, and others have settings of turquoise. They are wrought, cast, or made in other of the later techniques.

Navajo silver buttons today are a combination of the traditional and new, with more variety in size, shape, and stamping. Craftsmanship is often superior. A popular form is an old style, a cast wheel or snowflake.

In the 1940's government Indian schools began to encourage the young silversmiths studying in school to make brooches to be worn by White women (Adair 1944: 48). These took the form of the old buttons, with loops, and later pins, for fastening. After the Second World War, "findings" for brooches became plentiful and further precipitated their development.

Many of the brooches made today are of overlay, often decorated with prehistoric pottery designs. The Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild has encouraged the development of the cast pin copy of prehistoric American Indian pictographs. Realistic insects are often seen with wire legs and feelers, occasionally set with turquoise.

Necklaces. The first Navajo silver necklaces were composed of simple beads of round, fluted, or oval shape. After 1880 necklaces were made of beads in the shape of pomegranate flowers, identical to
those seen originally as Spanish and Mexican trouser and jacket ornaments (Woodward 1938: 31). A crescent-shaped pendant called a naja was added later. These have been erroneously called "squash blossom" necklaces and are still quite popular today. Recent developments have been the occasional practice, learned from the Zuni silversmiths, of setting stones in a large pomegranate blossom base.

There are many other types of necklaces today for the White market. Among these are chokers, pendants, and small flat geometric pieces strung on chains. An occasional round bead necklace is still seen, along with the old-style turquoise and shell necklaces.

Naja. The crescent-shaped pendant on almost all Navajo squash-blossom necklaces is called a "naja" by the Navajos. These are often rather heavy cast pieces and may be single or double. The tips generally terminate in small round spheres, points, or tiny hands. Sometimes these tips are joined, and often there is a dangling center pendant.

The naja is probably not an original Navajo concept, for in its original form it was used widely as an Old World amulet, usually attached to the horse's bridle, to ward off the evil eye. There can be little doubt that the bridles of the Spaniards carried these, for several original forms, the crescent moon and star, have been found in the Southwest.

Woodward (1938: 39) feels that the Navajos obtained the naja along with the silver bridles from the silver, brass, or German silver bridles of the Kiowa-Comanche area or from the Utes who received it from the Kiowa. Moreover, he states that the Delaware and Shawnee,
the first to make native ornaments of the Southern Plains and who taught the Kiowa, knew of the naja concept. The basis for this is Woodward's belief that if the Navajos had obtained the bulk of their silver-mounted bridles from the Spaniards, their presence would have been noted earlier (Woodward 1938: 40).

Adair feels that this is faulty reasoning as the buttons and pomegranate beads borrowed from the Spaniards were not seen any earlier than the silver mounted headstalls (Adair 1944: 42). That both forms could have had their origins with the Spaniards seems highly likely.

**Keto.** The attractive cast or wrought silver-mounted leather wristlets still occasionally worn today by the old Navajos are called ketos. Woodward (1938: 41) feels that these developed from the broad copper and brass wristlets used by the Utes. However, the Navajos in their pre-silver days had leather bowguards which they decorated with copper and brass, and it is not hard to imagine that the latter decided to decorate these with silver ornaments.

The keto is one of the few pieces of Navajo silver that has not been commercialized by the White man. It remains nearly the exclusive property of the Indian, and fine ones are still occasionally made.

**Tobacco Canteen.** Small silver canteens made by the Navajos are said to be replicas of water canteens carried by the troops at Ft. Defiance in the 1870-1880's (Woodward 1938: 38). Mera feels they developed from Mexican tobacco cases of rawhide or copper and brass (Mera 1960:114). They are still being made today, although rarely, to be sold to tourists.
Miscellaneous Pieces. There are several forms of Navajo silverwork made in the nineteenth century which are no longer fashioned. Some of these include the mother-in-law bell, made from a single coin hammered into a conical hole; the gunpowder measure; and the silver tweezers. Leather pouches were made and worn by the older men of the tribe and ornamented with silver buttons or coins. Navajo men wore narrow silver hatbands, stamped with simple designs. These are rarely made today, except for White trade.

Many varied pieces of silverwork have been made by the Navajos for White trade since the early decades of the twentieth century. These have been either old forms, lighter in weight, or new forms foreign to Navajo culture. A few of these items include cigarette boxes, letter openers, forks and spoons, and carving sets. Cuff links, watch bands, tie tacks and clips, and hair ornaments are also made. Not only are old Navajo designs put on these but many have a very distinctively modern feeling as well. These items appeal to tourists, and, while some are poorly done, others are often of excellent quality and are priced accordingly.

Trends in Navajo Silverwork Since 1945

Perhaps the most important development in Navajo silversmithing since World War II has been its increased significance as a commodity to be sold. Silverwork represented material wealth and prestige to the Navajos, and the pawning of jewelry was common prior to 1945. With the sale of wool or sheep the pawn could then be retrieved and proudly worn as a show of wealth.
The importance of Navajo pawn has diminished for a number of reasons, but principally because Navajos have entered our cash economy. Better roads and the acquisition of cars or pick-up trucks have enabled many Navajo silversmiths to travel to off-reservation towns to sell their jewelry to dealers. In some cases wage work has given Navajo families a supplemental income during lean times when, formerly, they had to pawn their jewelry. Supermarkets in off-reservation towns are increasingly drawing Navajo trade away from the reservation traders, and since these transactions must be made in cash, the silver must be sold beforehand.

Today Navajos are usually paid in cash by most traders and dealers if they request it. The Indian may then turn around and buy his silversmithing materials from the same trader or he may go elsewhere. In the old system the trader gave the Navajo smith the necessary supplies and then gave him credit on the finished product. The Indian in this way had to take his credit out in goods from the same trader.

The years since 1945 have seen the development of better and more efficient metalwork techniques, and the use of power-driven buffers in areas where REA power is available. The Navajos have not benefited from this to the extent that the Zuñi smiths have, and there is still silver made on the reservation without electrically driven equipment. Partly because of the irregularities of electricity on the reservation, and partly because of certain other factors, there has been a migration of the better smiths to areas near or in
off-reservation towns. Very few reservation traders specialize in jewelry production to the extent that the wholesalers do in Gallup.

Because of better techniques, there has been a greatly increased production of better quality pieces. For the good smith who will work, there can be the all-important pride in his craft because there is still good demand and an increasing number of outlets. Prices, too, are rising.

Since the Second World War, Navajo silversmiths have produced an increased amount of items for other than personal adornment. In recent years there has been a great proliferation of these miscellaneous forms, which, along with the older types, are produced for White tourist trade. The silver used tends to be lighter because of the cost and because Anglos prefer it that way.

There has also been a flowering of design in Navajo silverwork. Today there are new applications of traditional silver designs, prehistoric pottery and pictograph motifs, and modernistic forms. There is a pleasing mixture of the new and the old. "Names" of craftsmen have become popular in recent years. All of the basic techniques are used today with a wide variety of results: casting, wrought, stamping, overlay, and channel.

Navajo silversmithing is currently moving forward in creativity and acceptance of new techniques and designs. Many see this trend as the beginning of the end of Navajo silverwork and would have the silversmiths make only the forms of the last century. This shortsighted wish, if it were a reality, would not only stifle a healthy and progressive
art form that is developing in the direction creativity is taking it, but would also cause a severe economic strain on many of the more modern smiths who are not only good craftsmen but also make what sells best.
Since 1940 the importance of arts and crafts relative to the total Navajo economy has decreased. This is largely due to increased wage earning, both on and off the reservation, and other types of income made possible during and after the Second World War. Table 1 shows the comparison of total percentages of Navajo income for the years 1940 and 1958 to illustrate this decrease in the importance of arts and crafts as a source of earned income (Young 1958: 108).

Whereas most Navajo women in the past spent at least part of their time occupied with weaving, and in some areas still do, silversmithing has always been concentrated in a very few families. Adair estimated the total number of silversmiths in 1940 at six hundred. Only fourteen per cent of these smiths were professionals who worked at their craft during the entire year, earning from $400 to over $1,000 per year (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1962: 59). Many of these smiths made jewelry for their fellow tribesmen; the latter customarily supplied the raw materials and usually paid in livestock, blankets, or agricultural produce. Some jewelry was sold to traders on consignment for credit or cash.

Since 1945 wage work in other fields of employment, such as railroad work, have pulled the marginal craftsman out of production. It is the general consensus that the number of families who do
TABLE 1
NAVAJO INCOME FOR THE YEARS 1940 AND 1958

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>PER CENT OF TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>On Reservation Area</strong></td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payroll: Federal Government</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine and Mill</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Gas</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal Public Works</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts and Crafts</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockraising and Agriculture</td>
<td>58.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil, Gas, Uranium Leases</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous - Construction</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Off-Reservation: Wages</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unearned Income:</strong> Government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefits, Social Security, etc.</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Excellent quality full-time work has declined since the Second World War, although there are still many who engage in part-time silversmithing. The number of weavers of fine rugs has decreased also. The better artisans in both weaving and silverwork have stayed with their crafts, and because of reduced supply and increased demand, they now receive better prices for their products.

The late N. L. Woodard stated that the Navajo silversmiths and weavers today sell a craft item wherever and to whomever he wishes. At least ninety per cent of their crafts are sold in three places:
the reservation trading post, the large wholesale companies and dealerships in Gallup, and the Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild. The other ten per cent may be sold in a wide variety of places. There may be a sale to another Indian, especially at the Gallup Ceremonials. A few Navajo craftsmen take their craft to White friends whom they know are collectors. Museums often buy from Navajos for their own exhibits or for resale. A very few Navajos set up roadside stands along main borderland highways during the summer months to sell weaving or silverwork. Tourists are also beginning to seek out craftsmen on their own and place direct orders. Some of the better artisans rent a booth at the Gallup Ceremonials, or the Navajo Tribal Fair, or at various state and local fairs and Indian markets. At Crownpoint, the "Rug Weavers Association", a local organization, invites Navajo weavers to bring in their own rugs to be sold at auction. This occurs in other chapter houses on the reservation as well.

Of the crafts that the reservation trader buys, some are sold to retailers or directly to the consumer, but the major part of the crafts are sent to wholesalers in Gallup. There a large part is sold to tourists, and some to jobbers, while the rest is shipped to retailers throughout the country. The Navajo Guild handles the crafts they acquire in essentially the same manner.

**Traders and Dealers**

A distinction must be made between Indian traders and Indian arts and crafts dealers. I am indebted to Mr. Phil Woodard for his thoughtful ideas on this subject. Indian traders are, traditionally,
those White men who operate a trading post on or near an Indian reservation. The trader engages in a wide variety of activities, some of which are: buying sheep, wool, and piñon nuts; taking pawn; buying rugs and jewelry; and selling groceries, gasoline, hardware, and dry goods.

Indian arts and crafts dealers can be either Indian or non-Indian, and generally they specialize in the arts and crafts of Indian manufacture only. They sell to the craftsman the raw materials, notably silver and turquoise, that he may need. It is the dealer, who, since 1945, has taken over nearly all of the jewelry production and a large share of the weaving business from the traditional Indian trader. This has been possible largely as a result of two important factors: (1) the increased mobility of the Navajos due to the pick-up truck and the automobile and (2) the tendency for Navajo silversmiths to move close to the dealer in the off-reservation town.

Some of the major dealers will buy Navajo jewelry which is unfinished. They recognize that some craftsmen do not have the necessary equipment to put a commercially acceptable finish on the jewelry; they do not have leather bola straps, or neckchains, or any other details necessary to finish the piece. The dealer will then hire another silversmith with the required equipment to finish these pieces.

Since 1945 the traditional Indian trader has become less important in the realm of Navajo arts and crafts than in the preceding years, largely because of increased Navajo mobility. Traders are, today, increasingly becoming owners of supermarkets or curio shops. Soon the Navajo tribe may open the reservation to other similar businesses
and the days of the reservation trader will be over. Many feel that the Indian arts and crafts dealers have already become the most important factor in the Navajo arts and crafts industry today, as well as the one most instrumental in any change.
CHAPTER 6

RECENT ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE, PROTECT, AND ENCOURAGE

NAVAJO WEAVING AND SILVERWORK

Since the beginning of the century, much energy has been spent, and still is, toward the improvement of the quality of Navajo arts and crafts. This has taken many forms, but perhaps has been the most concentrated with regard to weaving. As discussed above, men like J. B. Moore and Lorenzo Hubbell tried to introduce new and more pleasing designs and colors, and others have tried to encourage finer craftsmanship in spinning, dyeing, and weaving.

Wool Improvement Programs

A Navajo blanket can be no finer than the wool of which it is made, a fact not unknown to the Navajos. It is no coincidence that the best woven and most attractive blankets are of the finest wool. However, Navajos have shown little knowledge of safeguarding the quality of their wool by breeding and care of their stock. This fact has necessitated a continuous flow of new and superior strains into Navajo stock.

The sheep which the Navajos originally stole from the Spanish and Pueblo Indians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the finest stock of the Old World. The Spanish Merino was famous for its abundant, silky fleece. Kit Carson left the Navajos with few of these in 1864. With the treaty of 1868 the Navajos added new flocks
of American sheep, probably Kentucky Cotswolds (Amsden 1934: 198). The quality of the resultant Navajo sheep, a mixture of the last vestiges of the Spanish Merino and American strains, soon deteriorated.

Since then there have been numerous attempts to rectify the situation. Around 1910 the United States Government attempted to develop a sheep that would give better meat as well as better wool. Rambouillet sheep were introduced in large numbers. These sheep had very oily, short, crimpy wool that was difficult to wash, dye, and spin by hand. Navajo rug prices dropped to an all-time low.

It was as a result of this deterioration in the general quality of Navajo weaving, in part caused by poor wool, that the so-called vegetable or native dye style, concentrating on the use of soft colors and no borders, was developed in the 1920's and the late 1930's and 1940's.

During this time, also, a government sheep-breeding farm was established at Ft. Wingate in an attempt to find the most suitable type of sheep for the Navajos (Bartlett 1950: 2). The objective was to develop a strain valuable both in meat and wool. Unfortunately, widespread influence has not been felt thus far, especially on the Western Reservation where knotty Rambouillet yarn is still common.

**Safeguards and Standards**

Since the beginning of the century, there has developed a market demand and a volume of output in various Southwestern arts and crafts which rank them as manufacturers in the usual commercial sense. They have thus not only received Federal protection and the support
of mercantile associations, but have become the object of spurious imitation and unfair competition. The Federal Trade Commission has had reasonable success in trying to insure protection of authentic Indian goods on the open market.

However, there was a growing incidence of false advertising of cheap imitations. This trend led a number of Navajo traders to meet in Gallup after the Inter-Tribal Ceremonial in 1931 to organize for the protection of their Indian merchandise, principally the Navajo rug. The result was the formation of the United Indian Traders Association, which was incorporated in New Mexico on a non-profit basis in the following year, with the approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Association is pledged to maintain in its own dealings and to advocate as a government policy certain standards of workmanship and material in Indian goods. Its standard for Indian handmade blankets or rugs is as follows: "Materials used shall be virgin wool or virgin angora wool, the same shall be hand-washed, hand-carded and hand-dyed, the warp shall be all wool and hand-spun, the wool (sic) shall be all wool and hand-spun and the blanket shall be hand-woven by an Indian." (Amsden 1934: 203)

The Association has realized a few notable accomplishments. One was the exemption of reservation Indians from the original twenty, and later the ten per cent tax on jewelry, rugs, and furs in the Revenue Act of 1932. The United Indian Traders Association has also pushed through legislation stating that all imitation jewelry sold in National Parks must be stamped as such.

Both Arizona and New Mexico have enacted laws concerning misrepresentation of arts and crafts items. However, there is little
or no enforcement of these laws, perhaps because the Navajo Indians are more or less considered the charge of the Federal Government.

A national organization of relative importance in this area is the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, established by an act of Congress on August 27, 1935. The board has the power to establish standards of genuineness and quality for Indian products and to permit the use of Government trademarks on goods meeting such standards. Among its other functions the board publishes a periodical called "Smoke Signals" which informs the general public, both Indian and non-Indian, as to the latest developments and trends in crafts and arts and encourages better craftsmanship.

Perhaps the most noteworthy endeavor of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board has been the creation of two separate touring exhibits entitled "Indian Handicrafts: The True and The False". It was shown first at the 1958 Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial at Gallup and from there toured the country until 1962, when the travel-worn exhibit had to be redone. The second exhibit toured in 1963 and 1964. Both showed examples of all forms of Indian crafts in comparison with their spurious duplications. Photographs and placards were used to illustrate the differences in machine- and hand-made items and the imitation and copying of original designs. Indian craftsmen explained the exhibits verbally. It is the opinion of many that more exhibits such as these are needed for they can greatly aid in placing authentic Indian handicrafts in their proper perspective.
Bureau of Indian Affairs Programs

Since the Navajo Indians are governed by Federal and Tribal laws and regulations, the States of Arizona and New Mexico have been of little aid in the protection, encouragement, and promotion of Navajo arts and crafts. One would expect concerted effort on the part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in this realm, however. Actually it has been able to do very little in proportion to other concerns. Some feel that the Bureau is unnecessarily discriminatory in its policies and actions toward the non-Indian, off-reservation arts and crafts dealers and that this has crippled more than helped the Navajo craftsman.

One of the most important areas of Bureau of Indian Affairs activity has been in the formation of tribal guilds which have been organized among the Navajos, Hopis, Zunis, and Jicarilla Apaches in the Southwest. The Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild was established in 1941 as a tribal enterprise to handle the sale of their crafts and to encourage quality workmanship. Though it has operated with varying effectiveness since then, it pays good money to Navajo craftsmen who want to sell their work. The Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild has a large and modern retail store in Window Rock, with branches at Chinle, Monument Valley, and Cameron.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has spent large amounts of money for buildings, equipment, consulting, study, and feasibility reports in establishing guilds such as this, not to mention money spent in buying the products of the guilds at prices well in excess of those offered by private enterprise. Unfortunately, they have not matched
these expenditures with qualified managership. As a result some guilds have met both financial and managerial failure, while others are presently on tenuous footing or have had only token success. Such is the case of the Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild.

Annual Exhibitions

In 1949 the Museum of Northern Arizona held its first annual Western Navajo Arts and Crafts Exhibition, and fifteen trading posts each submitted ten of their best rugs to compete for prizes. Since then the Museum has expanded the exhibit to include Eastern Reservation arts and crafts, largely obtained through the Navajo Guild. The purpose of the exhibition is to interest both weavers and traders in keeping alive the old weaves and improving the quality of yarns, dyes, and designs. Most of the craft items are for sale, with a large percentage of the profits returned to the craftsman.

Mention should also be made of the numerous annual fairs and exhibits which present the best Indian art, including Navajo, to the public. These are invaluable aids toward educating Indians as well as non-Indians in quality craftsmanship. Some of the better known exhibits can be seen at the Navajo Tribal Fair, the Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonials, and the Scottsdale National Indian Arts Exhibition. Both the Arizona and New Mexico State Fairs have Navajo weaving and silverwork displays. Museums and fine retail stores are also excellent places to find good Navajo weaving and silverwork, especially in the Southwest. Fine craftsmanship speaks for itself and when on display in exhibitions, in museums or stores, can be a
valuable tool in showing the general public how to find quality Indian crafts and can help the Indian to create finer crafts.

Art Education

Traditionally, Navajo children have been enculturated into the Navajo way of life by their families at home. Part of the regular subject matter included a mastery of the arts of carding, spinning, and weaving for girls and silversmithing for at least some boys. Education of most Navajo children today occurs outside the home in the various schools on or near the reservation. There are currently several projects on the Navajo Reservation to teach Navajo arts and crafts at all age levels. In addition, there are several fine schools located off the reservation which teach Indian artists.

ONEO Arts and Crafts Program

Several years ago the Navajos secured funds from the National Poverty Program for their own war on poverty centered in their Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity (ONEO). Part of the funds have been directed toward an arts and crafts program which is part of the ONEO Recreation and Physical Fitness Department. The director of the arts and crafts division of this program is Mr. Ambrose Roanhorse, a noted silversmith himself. The program is directed by Mr. Roanhorse from Ft. Defiance, Arizona, through five reservation agency offices located at Chinle, Crownpoint, Ft. Defiance, Shiprock, and Tuba City.

The ONEO Arts and Crafts Program is designed to be operated at the local level through chapter houses. As of August, 1967, fifty-six out of the total eighty-nine chapters had begun a local
arts and crafts training project. The purpose of the program has been to provide an opportunity for the Navajo people to attain skills in both "traditional" and modern arts and crafts. It is hoped that these skills will provide income for the families represented. Only Navajos who earn less than $5,000 per year are eligible to enroll for training.

The following are the objectives of the program as listed in the March 3, 1967 mimeographed Plan of Operation of the Arts and Crafts Program:

1. To reach as many people as possible in all chapters.
2. To develop crafts learned as a source of income.
3. To retain and improve on skills necessary in order to become better craftsmen.
4. To teach the unskilled so they in turn can become proficient craftsmen.
5. To learn history and stories related to traditional Navajo crafts.
6. To interpret ONEO and OEO objectives to trainees and to the community.
7. To improve quality and increase the quantity of traditional Navajo crafts.
8. To stimulate and encourage co-operation with all agencies such as tribal, state, and Federal.
9. To encourage individual participation in the Arts and Crafts Program.

A maximum of two arts and crafts projects are to be chosen by the chapter and the Community Action Committee of each locality.
The types of programs available are not limited only to silversmithing and weaving, but may also include the making of baskets, pottery, moccasins, as well as sewing, leathercraft, and lapidary work.

Both the trainees and the part-time instructors are chosen by the chapters. The materials needed are supplied by the government and the chapter provides the facilities. There is no set length of instruction but it is geared to the progress of the individual. The duration and continuation of a project depends on the interest and participation of the trainees and the community. Trainees receive no stipend or wage, their only pay consisting of the completed objects which they have made themselves and which they may then sell. Assistance is provided to any interested chapters with respect to the marketing of completed items.

Additional training has been provided for the instructors as well. The Rough Rock Demonstration School at Chinle has, on two separate occasions, provided the staff and facilities of their arts and crafts program to 175 Navajo artisans from throughout the reservation. These craftsmen come for a one-week period to exchange views, to upgrade their own craft skills, and to discuss the finer details of teaching, pricing, formation of cooperatives, and marketing (Campbell Pfeiffer).

The ONEO Arts and Crafts Program was originally accepted quite extensively, but soon attendance dwindled off in many chapters (Tom Shirley). The feeling expressed to me in an interview with Lupton Chapter President, Tom Shirley, was that even though Navajos recognized the importance of their artistic heritage, they knew they could get more money elsewhere.
The director of the ONEO Arts and Crafts Program, Mr. Ambrose Roanhorse, expressed the opinion in a personal interview that most Navajos did not understand the project. He and others have tried to cover the reservation in an effort to acquaint as many as possible with the new program. He is optimistic that it will grow in importance again and feels that more Navajos are becoming interested. Should this program become important, Mr. Roanhorse hopes for the eventual increase both in quality and quantity of Navajo weaving and silverwork.

Rough Rock Demonstration School

The Rough Rock Demonstration School at Chinle, Arizona, mentioned in the last section, has also tried to "revive" or "stimulate" the tradition of home craftsmanship among Navajos. In 1966 the school, funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity, began a bold, innovative program in which the community itself has assumed control of the formal education of the children and the total community. It is a pluralistic type of education of children of grade school age that deliberately tries to preserve the identity of the Navajo people and to instill pride in their traditional cultural heritage, as well as to successfully prepare the children for the demands of life in twentieth-century America. The project is operated by a local organization, Demonstration in Navajo Education, or DINE, Inc., through the Rough Rock School Board.

The Rough Rock Demonstration School is serving a dual function in cultural identity and job training. Leading craftsmen from throughout the reservation have been recruited by the school to demonstrate
for the children and to provide adult education as well. In the total adult education program there is a project to revive and improve the quality of traditional crafts. The future of this experiment seems bright.

There are a few notable arts and crafts programs in reservation high schools, principally in silversmithing. Ft. Wingate and Ganado both have silversmith training. Outside the reservation there are several Indian high schools with art programs, as in Santa Fe, Phoenix, and Albuquerque.

Southwest Indian Art Project

During the summers of 1960-62 the University of Arizona, in Tucson, conducted a workshop for promising Indian artisans. This endeavor was supported by a Rockefeller Foundation grant. A number of Navajos attended each session. These summers showed that young Indian students can be trained to work and to think in a contemporary manner, without apparent sacrifice to their tribal traditions. It was found, however, that in the end there was a great lack of "Indian-ness" in the crafts produced, for each annual exhibit could be presented in any gallery in the country without any identifying title and there would be little indication of the ethnic origin of the show.

The Institute of American Indian Arts

The Bureau of Indian Affairs school in Santa Fe, New Mexico, established in September 1962, bears the impressive title of Institute of American Indian Arts. This school, on the high school level, accepts American Indian applicants from throughout the United States who are
interested in becoming artists or craftsmen. Through this art training the school tries to intensify the Indians' awareness of their own cultural heritage and tries to help them to see its relevance in today's society. The school will assist some students to earn their living through full-time devotion to some field of art.

Until 1962 the buildings of this school in Santa Fe housed a boarding school. In that year it was abandoned as part of the program to get the Indians into the general public schools. The Institute was then set up in the old and picturesque school buildings. The director, Mr. Lloyd New, has indicated in the questionnaire that the Institute of American Indian Arts has trained a number of Navajos in the past five years in painting and jewelry—traditional to the extent that their natural inclinations take them—but more in the role of personal expression related to traditional forms (Lloyd New).

Most people who are interested in the Navajos feel that while the Institute is doing interesting and constructive things, it has become too ultra-modern to be considered on the same level with the "home" crafts. It must, many feel, be considered as a totally different phenomenon. This would seem to be a narrow view of the situation, for art, to grow and remain healthy, must change with and in the direction of the times. If Indian artists wish to compete on the open market with White artists, shouldn't they be allowed to strive for the same level of modernity or creativity?
Possible Suggestions for the Improvement of Weaving and Silverwork

Individuals from whom I received questionnaires made suggestions for improving the quality of weaving and silverwork which took the form of both directed and non-directed changes. Two men responded with the feeling that the Navajo craftsman, if left alone, will not only produce what he wants, but competition in the market place would be adequate stimulus to improve (J. P. Collyer and Sam Drolet). This viewpoint was also expressed by Paul Huldermann in an interview.

Several responded in the questionnaire with the strong feeling that quality cannot be regulated by legislation, for it would be arbitrary and unjustifiable (H. M. Foutz and Lloyd New). Individual desire and initiative, somehow gained, is felt by them to be the only possible factor in quality and would be lost through legislation. The government welfare programs are hurting the weaving and silverwork crafts in this respect.

Those who wanted to see more direct effort in the craft areas stressed two factors: the trader's and dealer's influence and more education on the part of both the Indian and the public in these crafts. Several mentioned in their questionnaire responses the role of advertising in creating more of a demand for better quality (M. L. Woodard, Sam Drolet, and Mrs. Lavone Palmer). Others felt that the dealer-trader, as always, could be the most influential in the continuous emphasis of quality and the rejection of poorer pieces (Paul Merrill, R. Blair, Ned Hatathla, and A. W. Rogers).
The balance of responses stressed the importance of education of one sort or another toward the improvement of quality in Navajo weaving and silverwork. More extensive and intensive training programs in all Navajo schools for silversmiths and weavers through the high school level is felt necessary both on and off the reservation. Children of this age know very little about their native crafts and go on to prefer other jobs. It was suggested that night classes be offered for adults in techniques and design in silverwork by master craftsmen from universities or trade schools so that the professional full-time craftsman might learn more while not disturbing his source of income (Phil Woodard). Another suggested the employment by local chapters of good weavers to teach their craft (Ruben Heflen).

There is also some talk of the utility, in the area of Navajo weaving, of established cooperatives like the Crownpoint Rug Weavers Association, which holds regular auctions. This, some feel, will enable the weaver to obtain a greater share of the market price and thus be more interested in sustaining the craft.
CHAPTER 7

THE STUDY OF CULTURE CHANGE IN CONTACT SITUATIONS

All cultural systems must be considered as dynamic, or in a constant state of internal change. Outside contact with other cultures produces a different sort of change, often better, more general, and faster than internal change. The effects of this contact with alien cultures over a given length of time are measured in terms of the kinds and degrees of the resulting culture change.

There are two perspectives in the analysis of culture change in contact situations which are useful here: consideration of the socio-cultural factors of the cultures in contact and the nature of the contact situation itself. Much has been written concerning the analysis of the psychological variables of individuals who participate in culture contact situations (Wallace 1961; Spindler 1952; Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936). This approach seems useful, however, when dealing with on-going contemporary changes in cultures which can be studied empirically. For the purpose of this paper, where the analysis is related to historical changes through time, it will be impossible to discuss beyond conjecture the psychological mechanisms which have been involved in the changes and continuities of Navajo weaving and silversmithing.
Socio-Cultural Factors

There are certain aspects in the culture of any society which directly influence the results of a contact situation. Basic patterns and values of the receiving culture function as selective screening mechanisms which are important in the eventual rejection of some elements and the enthusiastic acceptance of other elements. Factors which most strongly result in the rapid acceptance of culture elements are their utility, or the recognition of their relative advantage, and the compatibility with the preexisting culture of the elements themselves.

There are other characteristics in the integration of a social system which will tend to affect the adoption of a new cultural element introduced from the outside. One of these is the phenomenon of boundary maintenance, or the process by which each system limits participation in its culture to a well-recognized group in order to protect its identity. In all systems there are certain devices by which knowledge of customs and values is restricted to the group and shielded from any alien influence. The intensity with which this process operates toward the acceptance or rejection of cultural elements from the outside varies considerably from one system to the next.

Social systems also vary with respect to the rigidity of their internal structures and within them can be seen the inclusiveness, as well as the range, of permitted variation. The more inflexible the system the more impervious it will be to contact and change.

Another factor in socio-cultural integration is that of the various self-correcting mechanisms or the forces of equilibrium which
exist within a society. This refers to the ability of a culture to adapt internally, irrespective of its outer protective devices to culture changes. All societies have forces for the maintenance of order, and when new elements are adopted these systems may vary with regard to the speed and thoroughness with which they can fit these into their culture or adapt preexisting elements to fit new ones.

As stated by the Summer Seminar on Acculturation (1954: 979), if a society has the above mechanisms well-developed and hardened, its members will tend to resist changes in their culture. However, they may not, for there is yet another important dimension which always becomes a contributing factor to change. This is the nature of the contact situation itself.

**Conditions of Contact**

There is no group in the world where the general acceptance or rejection of a new thing will not be strongly influenced by the auspices under which it is introduced to the group and the associations which are attached to it in consequence. (Linton 1940: 473)

A second and equally important approach to the study of culture change is an analysis of the nature of the conditions inherent in the contact situation. Some of the variables to examine are directed as contrasted with non-directed change, intensity and duration of contact, and the role networks thus formed (Spicer 1954: 653). In other words the relationships of the contacting individuals, together with the circumstances which surround their contact, will be of extreme importance in determining the cultural effects of the contact itself.
There are two fundamentally different kinds of contact conditions: directed and non-directed change. The foundation for this important distinction was laid by Ralph Linton (1940) and further developed and clarified by Edward H. Spicer (1961). In the non-directed type of contact situation there is no control of one society's members by the other. Thus new cultural elements may be accepted and integrated into a culture in accordance with its particular interest and socio-cultural integration.

Directed contact occurs when definite sanctions are regularly brought to bear on the subordinate society and when members of the superordinate society have some interest in changing the behavior of the members of the subordinate society (Spicer 1961: 521). The view here is that a situation of directed contact, in which one group is actively trying to change the culture of the other, will have a profound effect on the results of their contact. It may create hostility in the subordinate group in proportion to the intensity and duration of the contacts. This hostility may result in the complete rejection of the new cultural elements or the compartmentalization of contrasting cultural elements, as seen in the Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande (Dozier 1961).

It is recognized that individuals are empirically the culture bearers and that they are the actors in any cultural process. "Cultures do not meet, but people who are their carriers do (SSRC 1954: 980)." Individuals never know their entire cultures and never convey all they know to others. This causes partial intercultural transfer and may explain why only certain elements of one culture are adopted.
by another. Thus, in many instances, culture change reflects the interest areas shared by the two groups in contact and not the total spectrum.

The role networks of the contacting individuals can be of value in the analysis of culture change not only with regard to the particular knowledge of their culture that they possess but also with attention to the nature of these interactions. If the contacts are friendly and personable, one would expect the individuals to be more receptive to new culture elements than if they are on a superordinate-subordinate basis. Some of the aspects of the role network to consider with regard to differential selection are the social strata, the sex, and the occupation of the contacting individuals.

The Processes of Selection and Modification of Culture Elements

As has been shown, what a society selects or accepts in the way of new cultural elements is related to the nature of the cultures in contact as well as to the kinds of contact situations involved. As soon as selection occurs there may be modification of traits to bring them into conformity with preexisting culture patterns. Since most culture elements are transferred in terms of objective form they are often stripped of their original meaning in their old context. There may result further changes in the culture to meet these changing conditions. Often reinterpretation and reorganization of the receiving culture is necessary.
This sort of adaptive process does not always occur in the directed change situation for creative mechanisms such as these are often blocked. Instead there may be a "reactive adaptation" consisting of a withdrawal to and a reaffirmation of native values with a renewed commitment to them.
CHAPTER 8

FACTORS OF IMPORTANCE IN THE ADOPTION OF WEAVING AND SILVERSMITHING

Until the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 the Navajos had only intermittent contact with the various groups of the Southwest in the form of raiding and trading. The Navajos were, in this non-directed situation, able to select and adopt any elements that they saw would be not only of particular advantage but also compatible with their way of life. Without doubt the Navajos became acquainted with Pueblo Indian weaving and Spanish and Plains Indian silver ornaments. Navajo trade with the Pueblos and the Utes is known to have been the best organized of all in the early historical times (Hill 1948: 375). Trade with these groups was of great importance, for the Navajos usually had the role of the journeyman and therefore the selective advantage. Notable in this regard is the Navajo adoption of the sheep- and horse-herding tradition of the Puebloans and Spanish. One wonders then why neither weaving nor silversmithing was adopted by the Navajos during these years of trading contacts.

Weaving

There are several factors which may explain why the Navajos did not learn weaving techniques as a result of trading contacts. During these years trading was carried out mostly by men and therefore
the selection undoubtedly reflected the interests and role of his sex. Although the Pueblo man did the weaving, the Navajo man has shown little interest in it himself, for somehow it did not fit with Navajo male value orientations. It is hard to imagine why the Navajo men would take the time and energy to learn weaving when he could easily trade for it. Even if the Navajo man had been interested in learning how to weave, the trading contacts were too short and intermittent to learn all of the intricate details necessary.

A factor which tended to prohibit the transfer of ideas and techniques concerning both weaving and silverwork at this time was also the linguistic barrier. Trade of goods has been going on for thousands of years between peoples of different languages because of the material nature of the exchange. But the linguistic barrier prevents the spread of all, except the most simple, techniques as well as the more esoteric knowledge of readily observed traits. It was only through prolonged contact with the bearers of these cultural elements that the Navajos were able to learn enough of the Puebloans' language or they the Navajos' language. This was necessary for the transfer in detail of all of the techniques involved in weaving.

The stage was set for the Navajos to learn to weave when they first came into intense and prolonged contact with the Pueblo Indians after the Revolt of 1680. From this time until the mid-1700's the Navajos and Puebloans lived together in integrated settlements in Northern New Mexico. The two groups cooperated for protection, and there was almost certainly intermarriage.
That the Navajo women learned the weaving techniques from the Pueblo man may be partially a result of this intermarriage. Navajo women by this time had used the blankets obtained by their men folk. It is conceivable that even before they came into this close contact with the Puebloans, they recognized the advantage of wool over tanned leather.

It can also be assumed that the communication barrier was broken at this time of close interaction between the two groups. That the Navajo culture was integrated in such a way as to easily accept and adapt new cultural ideas was shown in the Navajo adoption of sheep and horses as alternatives to hunting; also by the late 1600's Navajo culture had undergone considerable change. The addition of a weaving complex would not then be seen as a very threatening thing to them. Downs (1963) has shown that Navajo women have historically been quite receptive to new ideas and have been responsible for very important changes in Navajo culture which are today what we call "traditional".

Navajo women can be viewed as innovators receptive to new forms of material culture which did not threaten the existing value orientations. These women occupied roles conducive to the adoption of weaving, and in a non-directed change situation they could choose what they wanted out of the total Puebloan cultural orientation which they saw.

Whereas early Navajo weaving was very much like that of the Puebloans, they soon began to embellish it in their own way. The Navajos probably got the idea of dyeing from the Puebloans who, by that time, had bright and vivid dye colors in cotton cloth. Since the
Puebloans already had wool it is possible that they were also dyeing it. If the Navajos did not actually borrow the techniques of dyeing wool, but got the idea of dyeing from the Puebloans' use of cotton dyes, they quickly expanded this idea to wool. In addition they borrowed indigo blue from the Spaniards because it was available and because they had no way to produce blue themselves.

A similar explanation holds for the quick adoption of raveled red bayeta as a valuable weft thread. The Navajos have never been able to produce such a fine deep red with their native dyes. This cloth would clearly be seen as a valuable source of red, even though it was never particularly abundant. This hypothesis is given further support by the fact that when bayeta was only rarely available after the Bosque Redondo, Navajo women unraveled red flannel underwear and cloth to use as a weaving material.

**Silverwork**

There is evidence to suggest that the Navajos were themselves wearing silver ornaments as early as the mid-1700's but did not learn the art until a century later (Van Valkenburg and McPhee 1938: 6). It can be assumed that these early silver ornaments were obtained by raids and trade with both the Spanish and (in the early 1800's) the Plains Indians. There is some question as to why the Navajos did not actually learn the art of silversmithing themselves earlier than the 1850's.

A theory that the ease of trade or capture prohibited the adoption of silversmithing itself is illogical in the case of this
craft for there is no evidence to assume that it existed in the abundance that woven materials did. That there was a scarcity in silver in the Southwest is indicated by the fact that when the Navajos did learn the art of metalworking, they were limited to copper and brass until silver was made available by the trader. The scarcity of silver may itself have been somewhat of a limiting agent, but the fact remains that the Navajos adopted smithing while silver was still hard to obtain.

The reasons why the Navajo men did not learn metalworking and specifically the art of silversmithing are most logically found in the nature of contact situations as well as communication barriers. Navajo raiding and trading contacts with the other cultures of the Southwest were short and intermittent and did not lend themselves to any adequate transfer of the necessary techniques. Furthermore, there is evidence that at this time the Plains Indians had merely acquired silver by trade themselves (see section titled Silverwork in the Eastern United States). The fact that the Navajos were traditional enemies of the Utes and Comanches as well as the Spaniards also had a bearing on the nature of the conditions of contact.

The trading contacts between the Navajos and the Spaniards were undoubtedly accompanied by the latter assuming the superordinate role, for what change they attempted to effect in the Navajos was their military submission. Contact was, then, between Navajos and Spaniards in the role of military men. That any Spanish soldier knew of the art of silversmithing, or if he did, had time to practice it, is doubtful. Here is a case where the particular group with which the Navajos came into contact, those in the role of the Spanish soldier, did not have
this ability as part of their cultural knowledge, or if they did in the contact situation, they were concerned with things other than passing skills on to the Navajos.

The first Navajo reputedly learned the art of metalwork and silversmithing from a Mexican smith living on the reservation in the 1850's. Here was an ideal situation for an enterprising Navajo to learn how to make the prized silver jewelry. That the Mexican smith lived in the area himself indicates some acceptance of him as an individual, and it also means that he had some way of communicating ideas with them.

Atsidi Sani can be seen as an innovator who happened to have a relationship with the smith Cassilio which was conducive to learning the craft. The Navajo value orientations, as shown, did not conflict with this innovation. The contact situation was certainly quite favorable as one individual could not hope to dominate the Navajos, and since nothing has been written to the contrary, it is likely that he was friendly with them.

Once learned, the craft was slow to spread for several reasons. At this time the Navajos were at war with the American soldiers and there was little time to spend trying to learn the techniques. Ten years later they were herded off to Ft. Sumner where supplies were scarce. It was only with the arrival of the trader on the Navajo Reservation in the 1870-1880's and the corresponding influx of more Mexican smiths that the craft spread throughout the reservation.
CHAPTER 9

FACTORS OF IMPORTANCE IN THE CHANGES
OF NAVAJO WEAVING AND SILVERWORK

The Navajos did not experience any directed programs of culture change until the time of their incarceration at Ft. Sumner from 1864 to 1868. Following the adoption of weaving and silversmithing and prior to the Bosque Redondo, change in these crafts was largely due to internal forces, the influence of one artisan on another, and individual experimentation and creativity. In the case of weaving this led to the superb Classical textiles. Contacts with other cultural groups during these years had little effect upon the development of the crafts until the Anglo-Americans gained control of the Southwest. From the Bosque Redondo to the present there has been directed contact with the Anglo-Americans, but this has varied considerably with regard to intensity and range.

Bosque Redondo: 1864-1868

Indian Agents and soldiers at Ft. Sumner, under the United States Government Indian policy, tried to force the Navajos to change but the Indians, who had always been such good learners and adapters, closed their minds in sullen resolution. It is significant that under Pueblo Indian tutelage the Navajos had made farming an essential in their lives, but quickly lost interest in it under American command.
This can be partially explained by severe crop failures. The United States accomplished one directed change during these years, however, by persuading the Navajos to discontinue their raiding practices.

The Navajos did develop a skill on their own at Ft. Sumner; they began to forge stamped metal ration tickets (Underhill 1956: 136). This may have served a function in addition to assuaging hunger: that of acquainting Navajo men with the art of metalworking which had been introduced to them several years previously. Although Woodward mentions evidence that there was some Navajo silverwork as well during these years (Woodward 1938: 16-17), silversmithing was not prevalent among the Navajos until the 1880's.

The Navajos were sent to Ft. Sumner at a time when the women were weaving blankets of the greatest technical excellence, unequalled until today. During these four years the traditions of the Classic Period began to disappear, and the flocks diminished so much that weaving was almost brought to a standstill. Weaving at this time was of a quality inferior to the previously high standards, largely because only crude materials were available to them. This was also perhaps a result of the subjugation of the Navajos and a decreasing pride in their traditions.

During this period Navajo women used a commercial yarn called Saxony which was probably supplied by the soldiers at Ft. Sumner. The years immediately after the Bosque Redondo saw much experimentation by the Navajos and a decline in the quality of weaving. The use of indigo blue handspun, bayeta, and Saxony yarn diminished. While raveled threads from commercial goods were used for a time, by the 1880's they
had largely disappeared from Navajo weaving. Germantown yarns were established by this time and designs and colors tended to be wild, but there was much good weaving done.

**Intra-Reservation Period: 1868-1945**

Changes in Navajo weaving and silverwork from the establishment of the reservation until the Second World War can be traced to two basic sources, the coming of the railroad and the trader.

**Traders**

The traders on the Navajo Reservation proved to be a vital link between the Indians and Anglo-American society. Not only did they bring new innovations to the Navajos but they also allowed them to progress with a minimum of Anglo influence during these years. The adoption of a pastoral economy created a need for the trader as a middle-man to the market. Without him, as Downs proposes (1964: 97), not only would the Navajos not have progressed but they would have been completely submerged into Anglo-American society.

Initially the trader on the reservation simply made available such commodities from the White man's world as he thought would appeal to the Navajos. During these early years change was non-directed in the sense that the trader did not and could not try to force the Indians to accept him in their area and to change their patterns and trade with him. Furthermore, to stay in business once established, he had to rely on his ability to anticipate and understand their needs. In another sense, however, it can be considered as mildly-directed change, for the trader was very interested in substituting the old
Itinerant form of Navajo trading with his own. The cultural items which he made available to the Indians as an agent of change were necessarily limited. After the trader was firmly established, he began his own directed change with regard to Navajo weaving and silverwork in the area of quality, design, and technique.

**Weaving.** Navajo weavers very early adopted the use of aniline dyes in packet form and Germantown yarn from the traders. This happened largely because such innovations were easier and quicker and because the many new colors appealed to their creative urge. There were equally important influences on the style and designs of weaving before 1900 in a directed-change situation. Weavers were encouraged to experiment with these new colors and designs. Prior to 1890 traders began to realize the possibilities of Navajo weaving. It became evident that the market in the East demanded rugs with tiny crosses, forks, and hooked figures. Furthermore, the Easterners wanted to put these thick rugs on their floors.

The traders encouraged their weavers to thicken their blankets in order to make them suitable for floor use. The weaving of textiles by the Navajos for their own use had diminished and the adoption of Pendleton blankets provided by the reservation trader would have caused the extinction of the craft had not traders recognized its economic potential. Some traders developed their own special forms, designs, and colors, had them reproduced in drawings, and encouraged their weavers to copy them in their rugs.

During the early years of the Navajo rug, the traders bought the products of the loom by the pound. This situation must be considered as directed change with regard to excellence because
the quality deteriorated significantly. Soon the traders realized that they were going to have to demand quality.

By 1910 weavers were urged by the traders to improve the quality of their weaving. The Hyde Exploring Expedition and the Fred Harvey Company had begun to buy up quantities of well-made Navajo rugs, paying higher prices for them. This was motivation enough for both the weavers and traders to desire the improvement of color and weave.

The trader had the primary, and in some cases the only, direct influence on Navajo weaving during this period. One possible exception is the influence of Mary C. Wheelwright, who in the 1920's and 1930's along with trader Cozy MacSparron at Chinle, introduced new soft vegetable and aniline dyes as well as designs to the weavers of the area. Their influence can still be seen in the Chinle area today.

While there are other motivations to weaving than monetary, we can still assume some degree of economic inducement in the pre-World War II years. During this period both the trader and the Navajo weaver were motivated in what they did primarily by the desire for money, and Navajo women saw the relative economic advantage in listening to the advice of the traders. They trusted the trader to know what colors and designs would sell and often learned from experience that he wouldn't buy what he didn't like. The situation was, for the most part, one of directed change, but since it was accompanied by favorable role networks, as well as recognition of economic advantage, it was successful.

Silverwork. By 1880, Navajo silversmiths had acquired new and better equipment from the trader: manufactured bellows, tin buckets
for forges, borax for flux, and sandpaper and emery paper for polishing.
The reservation trader also supplied the Navajo smith with his silver, which first consisted of American coins, then Mexican pesos, later slugs of silver, and finally sheet silver.

The Navajos learned the art of die-stamping their jewelry from Mexican leatherworkers during this period. Since Mexican silversmiths used only an awl to decorate their silverwork, the Navajos did not learn to make designs elaborate enough for their tastes. In the 1880's the traders made finer files available, and the Navajos were able to make dies for stamping their jewelry. Soon they were elaborately decorating their silver in the style learned from the Mexican leatherworkers. Turquoise was also obtained by the Navajos at this time to replace their old settings of glass, jet, garnet, and malachite.

The origins of the various forms of Navajo silverwork have been discussed elsewhere as generally borrowed from both Spanish and Plains Indian silver jewelry and ornaments. Since these were the forms they had acquired before they learned the art themselves, it is reasonable that once learned they would continue for a time to make the general types to which they were accustomed. Soon the forms were embellished and altered in the normal course of development until today the results are considered "traditional" Navajo.

From the beginning Navajo jewelry was made almost solely for Indian use. But by 1900 the commercialization of Navajo silver jewelry had begun with the purchase by the Fred Harvey Company of jewelry from traders to sell to tourists. It was soon realized that the Easterners preferred a lighter jewelry, so on the advice of the trader Navajo
silversmiths began to make jewelry in the same style but significantly lighter.

The Fred Harvey Company initiated the practice of "farming out" raw materials (silver pre-cut and polished turquoise) and specific designs to trading posts requesting the traders to give them to their best smiths to make lightweight jewelry. The traders paid by the ounce for the finished products which were then sold on Santa Fe trains and in stands along the routes. Other companies followed their lead and by the mid-1920's the sale of jewelry to Whites had not only affected the design but the price as well.

The Railroad

The arrival of the Santa Fe Railroad in the Southwest in the 1880's was a great impetus to developments in both weaving and silverwork. For the first time Easterners were introduced to Indian art of the Southwest. This soon created an eager market for Navajo weaving and silverwork.

Navajo Participation in American Culture and Society: 1945-Present

Navajo involvement in American society was foreshadowed by the stock reduction of the 1930's, after which the Navajos were, on the whole, no longer able to earn a living based on herding with occasional supplementation by arts and crafts on the reservation. It became evident to many that another means of livelihood was necessary. The trader as a middle-man between the Navajo herder and the White market had previously enabled the Indians to maintain a life separate
from that of the Anglos. Now, with the diminished herds this separatism was no longer possible and the Navajos were practically forced to begin to assimilate.

The Second World War brought labor recruiters to the Navajo Reservation and the development of well-paid jobs. Returning Navajo soldiers were also responsible for encouraging Navajos to increase their participation in the White man's world, especially in the realm of education.

The involvement of the Navajos in our cash economy and the increase in Navajo education and off-reservation jobs have had considerable effect upon both Navajo weaving and silverwork. Whereas there is still directed change from government administrators and traders or dealers, in general we find the Navajos confronted with the decision themselves as to what if anything they want to adopt in this new situation. The result is the whole continuum from fully assimilated Navajos living off the reservation, to acculturated but not assimilated individuals, and finally to those Navajos who live in remote areas of the reservation much as they always have. The general consensus among most Whites is that the Navajos must change to conform to Anglo culture if they are going to be able to get along in this world. There are, however, exceptions in the more enlightened non-directed schools such as Rough Rock which advocates teaching both ways and letting the Navajos choose for themselves.
Developments in Navajo weaving and silverwork during the last twenty years have been a result of five things: (1) Navajo wage work and participation in a cash economy; (2) improved reservation roads; (3) the demands of the trader, the dealer, and the market; (4) various directed programs of change; and (5) individual experimentation and creativity.

Wage Labor and Cash

Participation by the Navajos in the labor economy of the United States has taught them the necessity of learning to deal with cash if they are to acquire what they value in the White man's world. Cash is now demanded for crafts both of the reservation trader and the off-reservation dealer. Wage work has pulled the marginal craftsmen out of production by choice, either because they recognize the economic advantage of wage work or because it is easier. As a result, the importance of arts and crafts in the total Navajo economy has declined. Here again is change resulting from the recognition of the relative advantage in the adoption of the White man's economy.

Improved Transportation

Many Navajos have been able to buy a car or pickup truck and this, plus the great improvement in reservation roads, has enabled them to travel to off-reservation towns with relative ease. This has had a considerable influence in the recent changes in weaving and silverwork. Not only does the Indian now sell his products to dealers but he can try several places to get the best price. This is done ever more today, with the resulting decrease in the influence of the
reservation traders especially in the realm of silverwork. Navajos, while in town, will buy groceries more cheaply at the local supermarket today instead of waiting to get them from the reservation trader.

Many of the finer Navajo silversmiths have moved to areas near off-reservation towns in order to have access to electricity and have thus become the charge of the dealers. Better techniques have greatly increased the quality of Navajo silverwork since World War II. Since quality pieces command high prices, we can again see economics as a stimulus to change.

Traders, Dealers, and the Market

The Navajo smith of today, ever desirous of making money from his craft, will try to produce what the trader or dealer (or someone else) has told him sells or what he has learned in this regard himself. The result has been a great proliferation of forms and new designs, lighter silver, and better techniques.

Navajo weaving has not yet become quite so commercialized (Adams 1963: 124), for most of it has a much greater psychological than economic value, especially now that wage work is possible. Weaving is part of the traditional complex of daily activities that has enough prestige value to insure its continuation even though it is in nearly all cases only good for supplemental seasonal income. Some traders have hired Navajo women to weave at their posts as a tourist attraction and they are paid wages. Mediocre weavers often do not bother to try to sell their wares to traders and dealers today. Sometimes they can be seen at stands on the highway or in off-reservation
towns trying to sell them themselves. Other weavers are excellent craftsmen and can easily command top prices from traders and dealers and for these artisans weaving has a distinct economic advantage.

Our current affluent American society has proved willing and able to buy excellent quality Navajo rugs as well as silverwork when they are produced. This can be seen as an incentive to produce pieces of quality. For this reason, and despite the fact that the actual quantity of Navajo weaving and silverwork has decreased, the general quality has increased along with higher prices.

Directed Programs

A fourth factor to consider in the changes of weaving and silverwork since 1945 are the various directed programs which have the general aim of the improvement of quality and quantity and which, with the important exception of the ONEO Arts and Crafts Program, are largely in the hands of Anglos. These have been summarized elsewhere in detail and include wool improvement programs, Bureau of Indian Affairs programs, annual art exhibitions, and art education. Most of these have had some effect on changes in Navajo weaving and silverwork.

Wool improvement programs are effective in changing the quality of Navajo wool for weaving purposes only in limited areas although their influence has been felt over a wider area and can be regarded as perhaps a cause of some general modifications.

The establishment by the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild in 1941 was an attempt to create a tribal
enterprise which would not only make money but would be a causal factor in the increase of quality workmanship. Most of those whom I interviewed and from whom I received completed questionnaires, indicated that there has been little significant effect by the Guild toward the encouragement of quality craftsmanship as yet.

Art exhibitions and education can be viewed as aiding the continuity or survival of Navajo weaving and silverwork and as resulting in modifications. The annual exhibitions tend to improve quality and promote changes in form and design. Indians themselves go to exhibits and the craftwork which has received prizes and awards provide the artisan with new ideas. It must be mentioned here that the influence of one Navajo craftsman on another both indirectly as in the case of exhibits and directly as in education can be seen as a factor of importance in the change and continuity of these crafts.

The general aim of art education programs has been to improve quality in some cases but in general the ultimate end is to teach the crafts to those who have no knowledge of them. Both education and exhibitions will be discussed more thoroughly under the topic of continuity.

Creativity of the Artist

A final consideration in the changes of Navajo weaving and silverwork concerns the personality or whim of the craftsman. Much experimentation in design, color, and technique has occurred on an individual basis although often with the encouragement of the trader and dealer who recognize the value of the Navajos' artistic ability.
CHAPTER 10

FACTORS OF IMPORTANCE IN THE CONTINUITY
OF NAVAJO WEAVING AND SILVERWORK

Since their adoption by the Navajos, weaving and silverwork have become important parts of what is considered "traditional" Navajo and have been incorporated into the total Navajo life way. Weaving has come to symbolize womanhood, industriousness and, in the case of excellence, prestige. Silverwork was, until 1945, a major form of wealth and prestige for the Navajos to pawn when they needed supplies from the trader and to redeem with wool and sheep. There have been many alterations in Navajo weaving and silverwork since their adoption but the crafts themselves have survived along with the basic techniques, forms, and designs. What changes there have been are additions to these basic aspects.

Bosque Redondo: 1864-1868

Weaving

Despite the reduction of flocks and the corresponding decrease in the quality of weaving during these years, there are several possible reasons for its survival, principally economic, practical, and emotional.

There is evidence that the soldiers at Ft. Sumner supplied the Navajo weavers with commercial Saxony yarn to enable the women,
whose flocks had diminished, to make blankets for them as souvenirs (Amsden 1934: 183). One very practical reason for the perpetuation of weaving during the Ft. Sumner incarceration was undoubtedly for warmth which the cheap shoddy blankets given by the government could not provide.

Perhaps the main reason for the preservation of the art of weaving during these years at Ft. Sumner can be seen in the emotional values of the people. The psychological value of the art is indicated by the great pride which the Navajo women during the Classic Period had in excellent workmanship. Most weaving was, at this time, done for themselves and other Indians, not entirely for economic reasons. To somehow keep it alive would maintain an emotional link with their old way of life. Although the Navajos clung desperately to as many of their traditions as they could and resisted change, often in their misery they could give only token involvement to this craft, but did manage to keep it alive.

Silverwork

Silversmithing cannot be viewed as having become an ingrained Navajo tradition by the time of the Bosque Redondo as it was introduced only ten years before their captivity. However, for a hundred years the wearing of silver ornaments had been of great value. Therefore, the continuation of silversmithing practices can be seen as the result of the emotional need for some link with their old way of life in the form of jewelry, not in the act of smithing itself.
The forging of metal ration tickets performed a valuable function in the continuity of the craft for it taught other craftsmen the art of metalwork, perhaps stimulating them to pursue it after the return to their homes.

**Intra-Reservation Period: 1868-1945**

**Weaving**

A certain amount of economic stimulus to the perpetuation of the craft began in the late 1880's and slowly gained in importance, largely as a result of the interest of the traders who knew its economic possibilities.

A more important factor for the continuity of Navajo weaving has been the maintenance of a value orientation connected with the duties of women. Weaving has almost entirely been the exclusive domain of the Navajo women and it was looked upon as an expected or demanded thing that a mother teach her daughters how to weave as part of their education so they could provide their families with clothes. Not only was it expected but it was highly desirable. Weaving was as much a part of traditional duties as tending sheep or cooking.

**Silverwork**

Whereas nearly all Navajo women in the past tried weaving at one time or another, silversmithing has always been concentrated in certain families. It has persisted not only for economic reasons but also as a family tradition.
Much of the economic cause for continuity in the existence of silverwork itself and in many of the forms and designs is based partly upon Navajo tradition. Until Navajo involvement in our cash economy, wealth and prestige was measured in material possessions, their herds of sheep and horses and silver and turquoise jewelry. Navajos who did not engage in metalworking often supplied a smith with the materials "on order" (Adair 1944: 94). As a result all Navajos wore silver whether they made it or traded for it. With the help of the reservation trader, the Navajo silversmith was able to develop and perpetuate the craft in such a way that it has itself become an important aspect of "traditional" Navajo life.

Navajo Participation in American Culture and Society: 1945-Present

With the increasing participation of Navajos in the White man's world since 1945, Navajos are suddenly faced with the possibility and necessity of changing their way of life. The amount of silverwork and weaving produced during the last twenty years has decreased markedly. Both persist today, however. The reasons for this preservation are the following: (1) traditional values, although in many cases not as strong as in the past, are still attached to both crafts; (2) economic factors; and (3) directed programs aimed at the survival or revival of weaving and silverwork.

Traditional Values

With the increasing participation of Navajos in American society and culture there is still a tendency for many to cling
to tradition. Weaving, in particular, has persisted in many families, as a hobby more than for economic reasons. I have been told by women who no longer weave that they intend to teach the craft to their daughters so they will know how, but they do not expect the girls to try to make money by it. It is still considered by some as part of a good Navajo woman's knowledge, regardless of its practical value.

When the Navajo Indians began to participate in our cash economy silver used as pawn diminished. Turquoise and silver jewelry has, however, remained to an extent as one means for prestige and show of wealth particularly on special occasions. Navajo and Zuñi silverwork has become an important part of Navajo dress. If all of the values originally attached to Navajo jewelry disappear, the fact that it is "Navajo" will keep it alive for a long while as part of Navajo tradition.

Economic Factors

It has become increasingly evident since 1945 that there is a market for Navajo weaving and silverwork of excellence. This has been a factor in the survival of these crafts in spite of the importance of wage work for the Navajos. For the fine craftsman there is a distinct advantage as prices for excellence are high.

Directed Programs

The decline in the numbers of individuals who are learning weaving and silversmithing has caused concern to many people. They fear the eventual extinction of these crafts among the Navajos and have worked for the survival of them.
In the questionnaire sent to individuals interested in Navajo arts and crafts, I asked what effect art education in schools has had on the students' participation in traditional Navajo crafts. It was the general consensus that where the art program is the same as that taught in Anglo schools, one can expect to find a stimulation of interest in art. Where effort is made to acquaint children with their heritage, as at the Rough Rock Demonstration School at Chinle, we should also hope to see some good results. Seventeen out of the twenty to comment on this question indicated that overall there has been very little visible effect. Some of the answers ran as follows: it would seem to have affected the Indian very little for few of the educated ones take up arts and crafts after they finish their schooling (Ruben Heflin); painting has been helped somewhat, but not silverwork and weaving (M. L. Woodard); knowledge of the traditional crafts is imparted to students but not the necessary skills (Ned Hatathla); what few classes in silverwork and weaving that have been established with adequate supervision do not stress these crafts as being important to the student's future employment or way of life (Harold A. Springer); this is an area for vocational training more than as a general class in school (William Hagberg).

An opinion to the contrary is that if a student has the desire and the talent a school can steer him in the right direction. Good teachers such as Mr. Ambrose Roanhorse, who taught at Ft. Wingate High School for a number of years and is now head of the ONEO Arts and Crafts Program, will tend to produce the better and more serious craftsman (Paul Huldermann).
Programs such as those at the Institute of American Indian Arts, while they have trained a few Navajo silversmiths, are not viewed as significant instruments of continuity of "traditional" Navajo arts and crafts. Their forms and designs are frequently, though not always, so modern that many feel they are a completely separate entity and should not be taken into account where Navajo weaving and silverwork are involved.

The ONEO Arts and Crafts Program is designed to teach these crafts to as many Navajos who are interested in an attempt to "revive" or maintain the continuity of home craftsmanship. This program is so new that its long-range effects in this area can only be conjectured. Working at the local level, as this program does, would seem to be the most promising approach to the maintenance of Navajo weaving and silverwork as home crafts.

Arts and Crafts Exhibitions

The effects of these exhibitions are most pronounced not only on the changes but also on the continuity of Navajo weaving and silverwork for they acquaint Navajos with the range of forms and designs being produced currently and in the past. It is conceivable that for some an exhibition is the only place where they can see these examples of weaving and silverwork. Many of the Navajo children today are getting American public school education with little attempted tutelage in their own native traditions. Annual exhibits at fairs plus the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonials make no small contribution to the survival of pride in this tradition.
CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSIONS

The processes of culture change which affected the Navajos throughout their history are fairly identifiable. The factors isolated in this paper are the conditions of contact and the nature of the compatibility and degree of integration of the culture which, through their bearers, come into contact. Both have affected the results of Navajo interaction with other cultural systems. Hester (1963) and Vogt (1961) feel that Navajo selection of new cultural traits and complexes was deliberate and of their own free will. This theory, as has been shown, explains the initial adoption by the Navajos of weaving and silversmithing and their early development, but it needs some modification to explain many of their changes in subsequent years.

Both weaving and silversmithing were compatible with Navajo traditional values and both had for some time been obtained through raids and trade. Indeed the early Navajo woven woman's dress seems to be a copy of the previously worn deer skin garments. Adoption of these forms was, however, only possible when the conditions of contact were favorable. These conditions were the intensive but non-directed contact of compatible cultures through favorable role networks. Shortly after the adoption of these art forms, the Navajos altered and developed them in such a way that they soon became distinctly "Navajo" and they have remained that way today in spite of other modifications.

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Selection of these forms was deliberate and the new elements were compatible with preexisting cultural traits. That Navajo history was already full of the quick acceptance of new ideas indicates that their culture was integrated in such a way as to be receptive to new changes, particularly if non-directed. There have, however, been some significant developments in Navajo arts and crafts as a result of directed and forced change.

At this point it will be useful to deal with Vogt's model of Navajo change and continuity (Vogt 1961: 324-329) in detail to see its applicability to Navajo weaving and silverwork. Vogt's model, which he calls "incorporation", shows that elements from other cultures are added to Navajo culture in such a way that the structural framework or central core is retained and the borrowed elements are fitted into place with subsequent elaboration in terms of these preexisting patterns. The incorporation process, then, is one of expansion and growth around this central structural framework. As part of this model, Vogt has isolated what he feels are decisive factors of continuity and change in Navajo culture. By "decisive factors" he means that if these aspects had not been present the events we observe in Navajo history would presumably not have occurred.

Analysis of Vogt's Factors for Change

The first factor which Vogt proposes as decisive for Navajo change is the economic differential between the Apacheans and the Pueblo, Spanish, and American economic systems with which they have come into contact from the time of arrival in the Southwest until the
present. Clearly Navajo recognition of economic advantage was one, though not the only, important force that led the Navajos to adopt traits from others and has played an important part in much of their subsequent change. This factor has been particularly important since the 1890's when both weaving and silverwork became commercial items for sale to Anglo-Americans.

The second factor concerns the permissive contact conditions in the presentation of new cultural ideas to the Navajos. This can be seen in the period before the Bosque Redondo when the Navajos did not have any directed change from the outside. During these years the Navajos adopted weaving and both design and technique flowered. However, Vogt's model falls down for change in both weaving and silverwork since 1890. These were the years of the reservation trader as middleman between the Navajos and the Anglo-American market. When traders wanted new designs, colors, or better quality weaving for economic reasons, they were not permissive with their weavers. Indeed, when rugs were bought by the pound and jewelry by the ounce without consideration of their craftsmanship the quality was generally poor.

Many traders discussed both weave and design with their weavers, pointing out mistakes and telling them how to make general improvements in their rugs. The same took place with silversmiths. The price offered by the trader to the craftsman has generally been an important sanction and an indirect way of forcing better quality. This can be seen particularly well today when Navajos are knowledgeable in money matters. In recent years I have seen several dealers refuse to buy silverwork brought in by smiths on the contention that it was not of
the quality equal to their ability. This cannot be considered permissive change when one considers the importance to some families of the money they can make on their crafts.

Thus, after his initial establishment on or near the reservation, the trader or dealer has carried on directed change in the realm of weaving and silverwork. This forced change was made possible because it occurred in a favorable role network of friendliness and guidance. The trader not only supplied the Navajos with the commodities desired but also spoke his language, gave first aid, and buried his dead. The trader had to gain the trust and respect of the Indians to remain in business and in this role he was able to push weaving and silverwork in the direction of change. He was their friend, and they respected his judgement, particularly in economic matters. In this case, therefore, the directed-change situation did not hinder change because of the favorable role networks established.

The last factor which Vogt feels is decisive in Navajo culture change is the existence of certain key Navajo value patterns that have influenced the particular form the changes took, keeping them within a rather narrow range of "traditional" Navajo culture. This model holds for the adoption of and initial changes in weaving and silverwork for they took the place of or fit into preexisting patterns. In some instances the model falls down for those developments after about 1890 with the commercialization of these forms and the adoption without modification of certain alien traits.

The Navajos' innate ability and willingness to adopt and adapt new ideas influenced the particular forms taken by the thick rugs, the
border patterns, and the frets, keys, and hooks introduced to them by
the traders and others. It was not until years later that these
designs came to be viewed as "typically Navajo". Indeed, the old
colors and banded patterns that the Navajos had developed during the
Classic Period had to be reintroduced to them in the 1920's and 1930's.

There is much in the traditional Navajo value patterns which
would stimulate a silversmith to make salt and pepper shakers, cigarette
boxes, or silver carving sets. However, some of these forms are
reminiscent of nothing which could be called "traditional" Navajo.

**Analysis of Vogt's Factors For Continuity**

The first basic factor which Vogt sees underlying continuity
in Navajo culture concerns the situation where little or no economic
difference between old Navajo patterns and the new ones being presented
to them is perceived by the Navajos. In this case, they tend to
continue old patterns. This we have seen to operate in Navajo weaving
and silverwork in which most changes had a definite economic advantage.
The forms or designs that were not changed remained because there was
no economic reason to change. This can be seen particularly well in
Navajo silverwork. It is to be argued, however, that in most cases
today, it is advantageous for Navajo women to dispense with weaving.
Although many have, there are still those who continue the craft and
young girls who learn it, despite the fact that most could probably
make more money more easily by doing something else. Therefore, other
factors must be involved in the persistence of Navajo weaving.
Vogt's second factor for continuity deals with the theory that when force is applied to make the Navajos change, the result appears to be resistance and intensification of native patterns rather than to change in many cases. While this can be considered a factor in the survival of Navajo weaving during the Bosque Redondo years, continuity in the Anglo-American period cannot be explained with the argument that force caused an intensification and reinforcement of the art, for in reality it resulted in change.

As we have seen, directed and, in some ways, forced change by reservation traders and off-reservation dealers through the application of sanctions has resulted more in change than in continuity. In fact, the number of craftsmen has markedly decreased, especially in the last twenty years and has seriously threatened the continuity of these crafts. The directed change policies of the trader probably had little or no effect on this decrease, which we have shown has largely been the result of the acculturation of Navajos into Anglo-American society. Indeed, it seems today that the only hope in the long-range future for the survival of Navajo weaving and silverwork as a home craft, if such is at all possible, lies in directed though not forceful change programs.

The third factor cited for Navajo cultural continuity is a resistant institutional core which lies at the heart of Navajo culture. The core is composed of a system of social relationships, ecological adjustments, and values that have formed a distinctive Navajo culture since 1700. It is this core which remains unchanged and around which are fitted the borrowed elements which are then elaborated in terms of
the preexisting culture patterns. As has been shown, Navajo weaving and silverwork are highly value-laden, even today, and changes in them have not been so total as to threaten their existence in basic Navajo traditional culture.

Some foresee the day when Navajo weaving and silverwork will no longer be of traditional value to the Indian once he is assimilated. This is not the case yet, however, for both remain in some Navajo families because they still hold value connotations to them over and above economic considerations. In those Navajo families which are more assimilated, however, they do not.

Conclusions of This Study

The adoption of both weaving and silverwork was made possible by their compatibility with preexisting Navajo values as well as by their presentation under indirect and permissive contact conditions. Once adopted, as shown in this paper, the factors which Vogt sees as decisive in Navajo culture change and continuity do not adequately apply to the history of weaving and silversmithing.

After selection and incorporation, Navajo weaving and silverwork underwent subsequent changes as the result of the following factors: (1) both non-directed and directed change begun by reservation traders and continued today in addition by off-reservation dealers, within role networks favorable to change; (2) the Navajo ability to recognize the economic advantages in making certain changes in their crafts, even when suggested or forced by traders and dealers; (3) Navajo participation in American cash economy since 1945 and more recently
in our total life way; and (4) the spontaneous creativity and experimentation of the Navajo craftsman.

The economic factor must be considered as perhaps the most important impetus in the changes of weaving and silverwork once these forms became an economic asset with the arrival of the trader. Prior to this time, when textiles and silver jewelry were generally for personal use, creativity and experimentation by the artist as well as the influence of one Navajo on another can be seen as basic factors for change. During these years immediately following the adoption of the crafts, what contact the Navajos had with other cultures did not involve consideration of or interest in changing these forms to any great degree. The establishment of the trader in Navajo country changed this situation as weaving and silverwork gained in economic importance to the Indians.

Basic factors for the persistence of Navajo weaving and silverwork and some of their structural aspects are: (1) the recognition of no economic advantage to the change or the abolition of these forms; (2) their existence within the traditional Navajo value structure; and (3) current directed programs to keep these crafts alive on the Navajo Reservation.

Until 1945 Navajo culture change could be considered in terms of "incorporation", as shown in weaving and silversmithing. Since then the process has been one of "adaptation" or as Adams calls it, "progressive adjustment through cultural fusion" (Adams 1963: 242) to the White man's way of life. This has had a great effect on Navajo weaving and silverwork.
Possible Future Directions of Navajo

Weaving and Silverwork

There seems to be little doubt that the Navajo people want to maintain their tradition of weaving and silverwork, and there are many who, through directed programs of education, are trying to keep these crafts in their old style alive. Others feel, and rightly so, that these crafts must be allowed to progress along with the rest of Navajo culture.

Two important but opposing factors are involved in the future of Navajo weaving and silverwork. The first, and very significant, is the ever-increasing participation of Navajos in American society, particularly in the realm of education and employment. In this situation Navajos will have no more need to produce the time-consuming crafts of weaving and silverwork even if they had a chance to learn them. It is the feeling of many that these crafts will vanish with the assimilation of the Navajos.

The force opposed to this trend appears to be the interest and purchasing power of the Anglo-American society. As long as there is demand, many feel, Navajo weaving and silverwork will survive, although probably with some significant changes. Those few artisans who are quite proficient will continue to produce high quality crafts for higher prices, but these will no longer be home crafts. There is a possibility that silverwork may, with more modern tools and techniques, go to more of a factory or assembly-line type of production (Paul Merrill), perhaps in a cooperative such as the Hopi establishment at Shungapovi. Silverwork is changing and will continue to change in
the direction of modernity. It is quite unreasonable to expect good artisans to stifle their creativity by continuing to make the same types of jewelry. The better pieces of silverwork and weaving today are often those of modern design and materials showing imagination and originality.

There are at least two other important factors to consider in the future of Navajo weaving and silverwork. One, in the realm of silversmithing, is the increasing price of sheet silver. There is concern by many that if this situation continues the prices of silverwork will become prohibitive. The second factor involves the presentation of these crafts to the public.

As always, much will depend upon the retailer. If he will accept only those items of high quality, display them properly, and do a well-informed job of selling, the sales, even of high priced crafts, may be ensured. One factor that worries some is the continuance of fine dealerships which are so hard to establish today. Some feel that unless sons or daughters take over these businesses from their parents, the cost of establishing new ones without come-ons and gimmicks will be high indeed. Although the Navajo himself is, as yet, severely lacking in the business sense needed to run his own retail outlet, this may be the eventual answer to the problem.

The ultimate future of Navajo weaving and silverwork lies in the abilities of Navajo children today, the potential weavers and smiths of tomorrow. Perhaps a forecast can be seen in the 1964 Crownpoint Boarding School's directives:
Just like everything else, art is or has to change with the changing world. This same change-over will come about among the Navajo people. So the best place to introduce modern art is to young people who are always just ready to accept new ways. (Crownpoint Boarding School 1964: 3)

With Navajo participation in our modern world there is little hope that weaving and silverwork will ever again assume the importance that it once held in the lives of the Navajo Indians as home crafts despite the directed programs which are attempting it. The economic factors preclude this possibility for all but the expert craftsman. It is doubtful that these forms will die out entirely for many years, if at all, as long as such fine craftsmen can be encouraged and trained to take up these art forms as a vocation just as do the artisans in any modern culture. As the Navajos become assimilated we can expect to see these crafts change in the direction of modernity and fine technical excellence with a market eager to buy them. Those who would expect these crafts to remain static or regress to the "traditional" style would demand the end of Navajo weaving and silverwork.
APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer the following questions with regard to Navajo silverwork, weaving, and painting:

1. What proportion of Navajo craftsmen, do you feel, still consistently take their craftwork to a trader?

2. If a Navajo wishes to sell a piece of silverwork, weaving, or a painting himself, without a Reservation trader as a middle-man, how does he do it?

3. Please indicate on the following list the degree of influence each has on the quality of Navajo arts and crafts today. Place a number 1 through 6 in order of greatest (1) to least (6) influence.

   _____ Tourists
   _____ Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild
   _____ Personality or whim of the craftsman
   _____ Reservation traders
   _____ Off-Reservation traders
   _____ Other (please list)

4. Please do the same as in question 3 with regard to subject matter or design.

   _____ Tourists
   _____ Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild
   _____ Personality or whim of the craftsman
   _____ Reservation traders
   _____ Off-Reservation traders
   _____ Other (please list)
5. Approximately how many Navajo silversmiths do you deal with in one year? _____

Of this number, how many consistently produce pieces of quality? _____

Has this number increased or decreased since 1945? _____

6. How many silversmiths are there today with whom you deal who use their craft as a full-time self-supporting occupation?

7. What changes, if any, have you observed in silverwork since World War II?

8. What changes, if any, have you observed in weaving since World War II?

9. Did increased wage work after World War II have an immediate effect on the output or quality of Navajo arts and crafts? _____

10. What has the Bureau of Indian Affairs done since 1945 to help the Navajos improve the quality and price of their weaving and silverwork?

11. Has there been any legislation, state or federal, to regulate quality or prices of Navajo weaving and silverwork since 1945? Are New Mexico and Arizona doing anything to try to help this situation?

12. To what degree do you feel that art education in public and Bureau of Indian Affairs schools both on and off the Reservation, as well as any other schools attended largely by Indians, has affected the students' participation in traditional Navajo crafts and painting?

13. Are you familiar with any special programs at these schools to teach Navajos silverwork, weaving, and painting?

If so, what are they and where are they located?

14. Who were some of the earliest dealers to establish a business dealing with Southwestern Indian arts and crafts of High quality only? When did they begin?

15. Do you feel that the Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild is successfully fulfilling its purpose of setting high standards for Navajo craftsmen to follow?
Appendix 1 continued--

16. What more can be done to improve the quality of Navajo arts and crafts? 

Or do you feel that anything needs to or should be done?

17. With ever-increasing participation by the Navajos in white society, what do you feel will be the future of Navajo arts and crafts?

18. Do you feel that the quality of weaving and silverwork are "better than ever" today? If so, how long, do you feel, will continue to be the trend?
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Phil Woodard, dealer, Indian Jewelers Supply, Gallup, New Mexico

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