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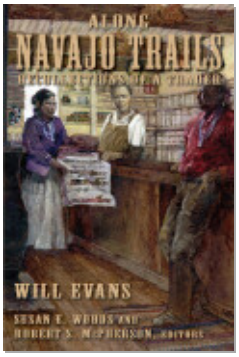

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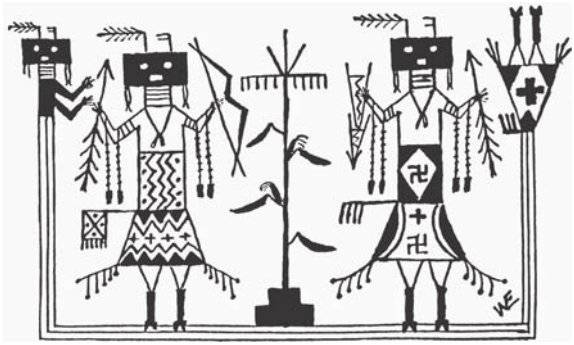

Introduction

1. Frank McNitt, *The Indian Traders* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962, 1989).
2. Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, and David E. Miller, eds., *Utah's History* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 133.
3. For an excellent study of this era, see Charles S. Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing along the Little Colorado River, 1870–1900* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973). For a less scholarly approach, see James H. McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1921, 1985).
4. This information is derived from LaVerne Powell Tate, "A Family of Traders: History and Reminiscence," *Blue Mountain Shadows* 29 (Winter 2003–2004): 67–80; McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 299–302 (see n.1).
5. Tate, "A Family of Traders," 69 (see n. 4).
6. Informal survey of family members by Susan Woods, February 17, 2004.
7. Franc Johnson Newcomb, *Navajo Neighbors* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 22.
8. Rosetta Biggs, *Our Valley* (J. T. Biggs Family, privately printed, 1977).
9. For more information on Navajo trading customs and expectations, see Robert S. McPherson, "Naalyéhé Bá Hooghan, 'House of Merchandise': Navajo Trading Posts as an Institution of Cultural Change, 1900–1930," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 16, no.1 (1992): 23–43.

10. For a more complete explanation, see Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Inc., 1986).
11. The information about Evans's life, unless otherwise cited, is used with the permission of the Farmington Museum and comes from a publication written by Liesl Dees entitled *Painting with a Passion: Will Evans and the Navajo* (Albuquerque: Cottonwood Printing Company, 2001).
12. Thomas Evans, "Journal," Will Evans Papers, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
13. Evans's second Navajo name was "Chiishch'iłi" meaning "Curly Head."
14. Will Evans, "An Autobiography," BYU.
15. Ralph William Evans, *Life History of Ralph William Evans* (Salt Lake City: 1979), 25.
16. Sarah Walker Evans, Reminiscences, April 23–24, 1951, BYU; U.S. Post Office database information courtesy of Jim White; Ralph William Evans, *Life History,* 36 (see n. 15).
17. Frank Leland Noel and Mary Eliza Roberts Noel, manuscript, "Eighty Years in America," compiled by Jennie Noel Weeks, 1962, p. 81; Will Evans to Sarah Evans, June 24, 1907, BYU.
18. McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 300 (see n. 1).
19. Ibid.
20. David Joseph Evans, *Life History of David Joseph Evans*, compiled by Bruce Evans (Farmington, March 1999), 14; manuscript, "Indian Country/Family History Tour, Evans Family Reunion, Cortez," 1984, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
21. Nancy J. Parezo, *Navajo Sandpainting: From Religious Act to Commercial Art* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 44–45.
22. For an interesting discussion of some of the latest thinking on this topic and the influence of the well-known trader Dick Simpson, who is credited as being one of the first to introduce this art, see Jean-Paul and Rebecca M. Valette, "In Search of Yah-nah-pah: The Early Gallegos 'Yei' Blankets and Their Weavers," *American Indian Art Magazine* (Winter 1997): 56–69.
23. Will Evans's autobiographical information to John MacClary, September 25, 1937, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
24. Ibid.
25. Ralph William Evans, *Life History* 46 (see n. 15); Gwen Evans Jones, miscellaneous material in Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
26. "Wm. Evans of Shiprock Wants Historical-Scientific Society," *Farmington Daily Times,* May 24, 1923, 8.

27. Records of the State of New Mexico, Library Legislative Council Service; information from the *New Mexico Blue Book, or State Official Register, 1929–30.*
28. Evans to MacClary, September 25, 1937 (see n. 23).
29. Beth Burt, wife of Richard Evans, remembers that by 1940, Will's painted furniture enlivened the family's living area at the trading post, but she didn't meet Will Evans until their marriage in 1945. Beth Burt Evans interview with Liesl Dees, April 29, 2001; Will Evans to M. K. Sniffen, October 31, 1938, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
30. Florence Walker Cluff, "Heaven with the Evans," March 1982, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
31. *Farmington Times Hustler,* April 25, 1941.
32. *Farmington Daily Times,* January 31, 1982; Sarah Walker Evans, Journal, booklet 1:3, 7, compiled by Susan Evans Woods, 1997, in possession of author (Woods).
33. Will Evans to David Evans, September 25, 1943, "Appendices to David J. Evans's Mission to Hawaii 1941–1943," compiled by Bruce Evans.
34. The trader-missionaries and their families were Will Evans, James B. Collyer, George R. Bloomfield, and William J. Walker. The fifth person, Paul Burnham Palmer, was from a trading family, while Oliver Stock was a farmer. David Kay Flake, "History of the Southwest Indian Mission" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, July 1965), 111–113.
35. Will Evans to Levi Edgar Young, December 29, 1942, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT; Beth Burt Evans interview with Liesl Dees, April 29, 2001.
36. Family tradition recalled by coeditor Susan Woods.
37. "To Whom It May Concern," May 2, 1945, Will Evans legal document, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
38. Sarah Walker Evans, Journal, booklet 1:3 (see n. 32).
39. *Farmington Daily Times,* January 31, 1952.
40. *San Juan Valley Sun,* August 14, 1952.
41. "Navajos 'Pawn' Jewelry to Pay Fines," undated article, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
42. Sarah Walker Evans, Journal, booklet 1:12; booklet 5:16; booklet 6:33; booklet 7:4 (see n. 32).
43. William Evans, "Indian Culture," *The Relief Society Magazine* 25, no. 7 (July 1938): 438–441.
44. Ibid., 438.
45. William Evans, "The Origin of the American Indian," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star,* August 4, 1938, 483.
46. Ibid., 441.
47. William Evans, "Sand Paintings: Nature and Origin" (Talk before the San Juan Archeological Society, Farmington, NM, December 12, 1938).

William Evans Papers, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.

48. William Evans, "Navajo Sandpaintings and the *Book of Mormon*" (Talk before the MIA, Kirtland, NM, January 3, 1938) Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
49. William Evans to *Improvement Era,* December 12, 1937, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
50. Evans, "The Origin of the American Indian," 482–485 (see n. 45).
51. B. H. Reddy to Will Evans, July 18, 1939, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
52. Will Evans to B. H. Reddy, July 21, 1939, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
53. Maureen Trudelle Schwarz describes succinctly this phenomenon: "The principle of synecdoche holds that people, objects, and other entities that have contact may influence each other through the transfer of some or all of their properties. The part stands for the whole. 'Teeth, saliva, sweat, nails, hair represent a total person, in such a way that through these parts one can act directly on the individual concerned, either to bewitch or enchant him. Separation in no way disturbs the contiguity; a whole person can even be reconstituted or resuscitated with the aid of one of these parts: *totum ex parte*' (Mauss 1972[1902]: 64)." *Molded in the Image of Changing Woman: Navajo Views on the Human Body and Personhood* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 5.
54. B. H. Reddy to Will Evans, July 27, 1939, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
55. Will Evans to B. H. Reddy, August 1, 1939, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
56. B. H. Reddy to Will Evans, August 9, 1939, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
57. Sherry L. Smith, *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
58. Ibid., 5.
59. John Stewart MacClary, "He Links Stone Age with Steel Age," *The Desert Magazine* (December 1937): 18.
60. Will Evans to Richard Evans (son), October 16, 1938, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
61. Ibid.
62. Smith, *Reimagining Indians,* 13 (see n. 57).
63. Ibid., 14.
64. For a sampling of autobiographical and biographical writings about Navajo traders, see the following: Martha Blue, *Indian Trader: The Life and Times of J. L. Hubbell* (Walnut, CA: Kiva Press, 2000); Hilda Faunce, *Desert Wife* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1928); Frances Gillmor and Louisa Wade Wetherill, *Traders to the Navajos:*

The Wetherills of Kayenta (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952); Laura Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam, Indian Trader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); Alberta Hannum, *Spin a Silver Dollar* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1944); Elizabeth C. Hegemann, *Navaho Trading Days* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1963); Frank McNitt, *The Indian Traders* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); Frank McNitt, *Richard Wetherill: Anasazi* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952); Samuel Moon, *Tall Sheep: Harry Goulding, Monument Valley Trader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992); Franc Johnson Newcomb, *Navaho Neighbors* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966); Gladwell Richardson, *Navajo Trader* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986); and Willow Roberts, *Stokes Carson: Twentieth Century Trading on the Navajo Reservation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

65. Franc Johnson Newcomb, *Navaho Neighbors* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966); *Hosteen Klah: Navaho Medicine Man and Sand Painter* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964); *Navaho Folk Tales* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967, 1990).
66. Will Evans to John Stewart MacClary, September 25, 1937, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
67. Ibid.
68. Leland C. Wyman, "Navajo Ceremonial System," in *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest,* vol. 10, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute, 1983), 542.
69. Richard P. Evans to Sheldon Dustin, August 19, 1938, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
70. "To Whom It May Concern," signed affidavit, May 2, 1945, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, UT.
71. "Sanostee (6,000 ft.), San Juan County, New Mexico, . . . is located on the Sanostee Wash on the eastern slope of the Tunicha Mountains 20 miles south of Shiprock and eight miles west of U.S. Highway 666." Laurance D. Linford, *Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000), 258.
72. Many traditional Navajos believe that objects associated with the dead, when used by the living, can attract the deceased's evil influence. Evans is referring to the problem of burning wood that would cause the dead to return and interact with those associating with the store.
73. The color system used by older Navajos to identify coins is derived from observation. A penny, because of its light brown copper color, is called a "red." Nickels in the old days were made of a gold material and so were known as "yellows." The silver in a dime, when it became tarnished, obtained a blue hue, hence the name "blue." John Holiday,

Navajo medicine man, conversation with author in Monument Valley, June 16, 2004.

Events

1. While this is certainly the white man's view, prevalent in the 1950s, many more-recent books and articles explain the Navajo view. Briefly, there were problems with broken treaties, infringement on their lands, military incursions against them, and little understanding of their culture and needs. The resulting series of conflicts, starting in 1858 and continuing through 1866, resulted in over 8,000 Navajos surrendering and being moved to Fort Sumner for incarceration (1864–1868), until the Navajos returned to their homeland and a new reservation. For the Navajos' perspective, see Broderick H. Johnson, ed., *Stories of the Long Walk Period* (Tsaile, AZ: Navajo Community College Press, 1973).
2. The Navajos signed the Treaty of 1868 with the federal government represented by William Tecumseh Sherman on June 1. Barboncito was the main spokesman of the Navajo delegates, all of whom placed their thumbprints next to their names. From this agreement, the Navajos received a reservation that straddled what is today the New Mexico-Arizona boundary.
3. Manuelito was born around the Bears Ears in southeastern Utah sometime in the 1840s. By the time of the Long Walk period, he was a war leader and the last of the well-known Navajos to surrender and go to Fort Sumner. A few years after his release (1868) and return to the new reservation, he accepted the position of head of the newly created Navajo police force (1872). He served effectively for some time but by 1884 had turned to alcoholism and spent the remainder of his life battling its effects.
4. Coyotes, wolves, and bears played an important role in traditional Navajo religious teachings because of their supernatural powers and the things they did for humans. Extensive teachings about these creatures are related through ceremonial knowledge. Respect must be shown for them by following prescribed procedures when one comes in contact with them. Medicine men who understand how to handle these animals' power may use objects related to them in ceremonies.
5. This was Mormon Tea or Brigham Tea: *Ephedra trifurca.* This herb was thought to be beneficial in treating syphilis, colds, and stomach ailments.
6. In Catron County, New Mexico, sixty miles south of Zuni Pueblo and eighteen miles northwest of Quemado, a bed of salt lies in the bottom of a volcanic bowl and is under the control of the Zuni. This

salt lake provides much-needed salt in the region. Navajos generally had to barter for it, while the Zunis took care of extracting it through evaporation. Note by Ralph Evans.

7. "Mancos Creek: Montezuma County, CO and San Juan County, NM. . . . At its headwaters, this creek is formed by three branches, East, Middle, and West which drain the La Plata Mountains in the vicinity of Sharks Tooth Mountain. The creek then passes through the Mesa Verde Country, traveling 67 miles before crossing into New Mexico, where it enters the San Juan River approximately five miles farther downstream." Laurance D. Linford, *Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000), 158.
8. The Hay Stacks are rounded sandstone outcrops that stand a short distance south of Window Rock, Arizona.
9. Yellow Horse is mistaken in this aspect of his account. General William Tecumseh Sherman and Special Agent Samuel Tappan were the men who led the peace process and signing of the treaty on June 1, 1868. Indeed, Carson died on May 23, 1868, one week before the signing of the treaty. Prior to his terminal illness, he had been much more involved with the Utes than the Navajos. Yellow Horse's mistaken identity may be because Carson, to the Navajos, became the symbol of the entire Long Walk–Fort Sumner experience.
10. Will Evans first worked on the reservation for Joe Wilkins at Little Water and later at Sanostee, about eight miles west of Little Water. He wrote of the bitter north winds in winter; so the store was probably moved to Sanostee, where there was more shelter. For this same reason probably, more Indians lived at Sanostee. Thus the move was logical.
11. Traders often built a guest hogan and supplied wood, water, and cooking utensils for their customers who traveled long distances.
12. The Beautiful Mountain Uprising is an interesting piece of history, for which Will Evans has been proven to be knowledgeable. He had the opportunity to discuss with many of the participants—both Anglo and Navajo—some of the circumstances surrounding the incident and was present at the time. As an oral history, the following account gives a valuable perspective on a local level, particularly from the traders' point of view. Frank McNitt in *The Indian Traders* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962, 1989), 347–358, provides a more complete rendering based on various written and oral sources. Together, the two versions give a wonderful sense of the complexity of events and personalities that made this incident such a dramatic story.
13. There is yet another view of this event, that of Bizhóshí. On November 1, 1913, Reservation Superintendent Peter Paquette and Father Anselm Weber interviewed Bizhóshí concerning the incident at the Shiprock Agency. Part of the transcript from that meeting follows. Bizhóshí began by telling of his return to his home after a twelve-day

absence only to find his family gone. Then, with a group of relatives and friends, he started out to retrieve his missing family members.

"We did not intend when we started to have war or have a fight. We camped on this side of the San Juan. I said we would go to the Superintendent and beg four times for the children and women before we would take any steps. Early in the morning we rode up to the San Juan School. All the young fellows were ahead. When I overtook the young men they were all in front of the police quarters but he [a policeman] did not answer me where they were. I asked the policeman why he had taken them to the Agency. . . .

"The Clerk would not let us take the women. I begged him to let us [have] the women. I told him we would camp before the store. We would take the women over there and get them something to eat. The Clerk said no. I asked him eight times. I told him we would go over by the store and wait for Mr. Shelton to come back but the Clerk would not listen to us. We got the women out. One of the women ran toward where we went to go. We put one of the women on a horse. We went out the same way we came in. It was the road toward the store. When we went out that way there were some white people and some school children blocking the way so we could not get out. Then I rode up and I asked them to let us pass on and stay in front of the store until Mr. Shelton got back, but they would [not] open the way for us. They blocked the way so I rode among the crowd and one of the white men (a farmer) got hold of my bridle rein. Another called 'Yellow Man' (Jensen) got hold of the rein on the other side and would not let us go. We found there were only two policemen there. All at once one of the policemen jumped one of our men. I got hold of this fellow. I got hold of the policeman's wrist and held the policeman's hand. I then began whipping my horse. One of the white men, a farmer, tried to stop me. He is just about as ugly as I am. I ran my horse through the crowd. Some of the young fellows whipped the policeman. The white people did not do anything at all. . . . I do not think we have done anything wrong. They came and stole the women, and we stole them back." *"For Our Navajo People": Diné Letters, Speeches, and Petitions, 1900–1960,* ed. Peter Iverson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 124, 127.

14. "Beautiful Mountain: (9400 ft.) San Juan County, NM. . . . This large, isolated mountain runs northeast from the Tunicha Range on the Arizona State line 24 miles southwest of Shiprock. . . . In Navajo mythology, this mountain is the feet of Goods of Value Mountain, a male anthropomorphic figure, the head of which is Chuska Peak, the body the Chuska Mountains, and the feet the Carrizo Mountains. Shiprock is a medicine pouch or bow that he carries." Linford, 174–175 (see n. 7).

15. General Hugh Scott was the commandant of West Point at this time, while the soldiers were Troops A, B, C, and D, 12th Cavalry, from Fort Robinson, Nebraska.
16. Chee Dodge began his political career at a young age as a translator. He eventually became the first Chairman (now called President) of the Navajo Nation from 1922 to 1928 and later 1942 to 1946. A sharp business man, Dodge combined wealth with a lifestyle that rivaled that of some of the most affluent whites living in New Mexico in his day. He died in 1946.
17. While Will is certainly reflecting the Navajos' and many of the traders' attitudes toward John Collier, this Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1933–1945) did not implement programs to intentionally hurt the People. His New Deal legislation focused on providing Indians with self-determination, economic prosperity, effective tribal government, cultural pride, and positive educational reform. On the Navajo Reservation, because of the livestock reduction issues, some of these programs were not accepted; and all of them were tinged by the economic, cultural, and social tragedy engendered in the government's reduction of sheep, goats, cattle, and horses.

    From the Navajos' perspective, he was an evil man, who destroyed their economy, attempted to enslave them through economic means, and was deceitful in his dealings. The traders were also greatly affected by his policies. Wool production was a central aspect to the trading-post economy. Decreasing Navajo flocks by as much as one half had its effect on what transpired over the counters as well as in the culture of the livestock economy. The end result would eventually push Navajos off the reservation in search of a different form of livelihood. For more on the Navajo perspective, see Robert S. McPherson, *Navajo Land, Navajo Culture: The Utah Experience in the Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 102–120. For a brief but excellent treatment on the environmental impact of this program, see Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).
18. Window Rock is located twenty-five miles northwest of Gallup, Arizona. In 1933, Collier selected this site as a place where consolidation of the six different agencies on the reservation could be achieved in one central location. During 1936–1937, the Tribal Council was formed and has served as the governing body of the Navajo Nation ever since.
19. This is a reference to the teachings about the Navajo Twins, Monster Slayer and Born for Water, who cleansed the earth of monsters preying on the People. Two large monster birds called Tsé'náhaléél, lived on a flat outcrop of Shiprock, where they built a nest for their young. The

birds would sally forth, find a human, fly back to the nest, and feed the babies. One of the birds picked up Monster Slayer and tried to dash him against the rocks, but he was protected by supernatural powers. He then destroyed the evil birds and turned the offspring into more useful creatures that would serve mankind.

20. The exploration and exploitation of oil in the northern part of the reservation has been in two phases. The initial development occurred in 1921–1922, when four oil companies signed agreements with the tribal business council. The areas around the Hogback, Tocito Dome, Table Mesa, Rattlesnake (near Shiprock), and Beautiful Mountain——all of which Will was familiar with——were developed. By 1927, there were twenty-nine producing wells, but with the advent of the Great Depression, pumping came to an end.

    Starting in the mid 1950s, oil exploration started anew. The Greater Aneth, Utah, area rivaled those around Shiprock, as oil production assumed a large scale. It has been a source of tribal revenue and controversy ever since. Although both fields are still producing large quantities of petroleum, the resource is decreasing. Bill P. Acrey, *Navajo History: The Land and the People* (Shiprock, NM: Central Consolidated School District No. 22, 1988), 2:198–200, 287–288.

21. Will died prior to the large-scale development starting in the 1950s. He also missed the protests and takeovers of oil facilities in the 1970s and the issues of environmental degradation and intratribe political unrest of the 1980s and 1990s. Still, production has provided the tribe with much needed revenue and a source of employment.

People

1. Frank McNitt gives the following account of the establishment of the Two Grey Hills Post: "In the spring of 1897, . . . [Joe] Wilkin[s] joined with the Noel brothers [Henry and Frank] to start a new trading post in the Chuska Valley. The place they chose was at the eastern base of the Chuskas eighteen miles north of Crystal by airline . . . . The partners set up a tent in a treeless valley on the Tuntsa (Big Tree) Wash, sheltered to the south by a low flat-topped peninsula of land that extended eastward several miles, its surface littered by the fallen walls and potsherds of an Anasazi village. . . . Within a year Wilkin[s] felt restless again and sold out his interests to the Noel brothers, moving north to build a trading post at Sanostee." *The Indian Traders* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962, 1989), 257–258.

2. Westwater was located east of the Hogback Ridge, which at that point is rather low and not steep as at the San Juan River. The old Mormon Trail from Bluff and Blanding, Utah, skirted the Mesa Verde

bluffs, crossed the Hogback and descended into a sandstone canyon, where the store stood on a point facing the wash on its eastern side. Westwater was a resting place for the pioneers who came into the Fruitland area.

High on the sandstone outcrops, on a smooth surface of rock facing south and across the wash from the old store location, is a carved and ornamented inscription, "Hatch and Thurland." According to Stewart Hatch of Hatch Brothers Trading Post of Fruitland, this Hatch was his father, Joe Hatch. Son of Ira Hatch and early friend of many Indian tribes of the Southwest, Joe Hatch was a Mormon missionary sent by Brigham Young to live among the Indians. Edgar Thurland was a native of England, who at one time in his life found a thick bed of ancient oyster shells in The Meadows and built a furnace in which the shells were burned to make lime for mortar in many of the old brick buildings of the San Juan Valley. Joe Hatch and Edgar Thurland built the Westwater Store in 1897 or 1898. When it was closed, no one else took the business over. In time, many individuals took building materials from it and now only a bare outline of the building's foundation remains. Across the oil field road, which runs very close to the point on which the store stood, lie the circular remains of Navajo hogans, clustered close together.

Edgar Thurland married one of Costiano's widows. After this woman's death, Thurland married into a prominent Mormon family at Kirtland and raised a family. He and his wife died many years ago, but some of his children survive and still live in the area. (Richard Evans, Will Evans's son)

3. Some traditional Navajos believed that by talking about the dead, by going to a burial site, or by thinking too much about a person who has died, the deceased will return and bother that individual. The afterlife is often seen as an unpleasant place, and so the deceased wants to have another's company to make the difficult more palatable.
4. Black Horse is best known for this incident, although it was more involved than just a handful of lost whiskers. Agent David Shipley went to the Round Rock Trading Post in 1892 to demand that Navajo children be sent to the Fort Defiance Boarding School, a place notorious for mistreatment and unhealthy conditions. Black Horse listened to the agent's orders then angrily refused, even when threatened with punishment. The argument became heated, Black Horse insisting the agent and all traders be driven from the reservation. A fight ensued. Black Horse dragged Shipley out of the post, broke his nose, and threatened to throw him off a cliff into a dry wash below. Eventually Chee Dodge, who would later become Tribal Chairman, a Navajo policeman, and trader Charles Hubbell managed to get Shipley back into the post, where they remained until a military

detachment arrived thirty-six hours later. In a matter of months, Lieutenant Edward Plummer replaced Shipley as Navajo agent. For further details, see Bill P. Acrey, *Navajo History: The Land and the People* (Shiprock, NM: Central Consolidated School District No. 22, 1988), 2:108–110; also McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 278–281 (see n. 1).

5. Navajo traditional beliefs varied by individual and family. Navajos often had a number of names simultaneously: one that was sacred and used only for ceremonies; one received as a child; nicknames given for physical characteristics, an experience, where one lived, one's clan, or ownership of an object; and a name used in white society. In each case, it was considered impolite to speak of oneself using one's name.
6. Shootingway and the Chiricahua Windway are part of the Holyway Chantways subgroup. Leland C. Wyman, a noted expert on Navajo ceremonial classification, wrote of these chants: "They are used to alleviate troubles attributed to the effects of thunder and lightning or to their cognate earth symbols, snakes and arrows. Chest and lung troubles and gastrointestinal diseases are often ascribed to these factors." "Navajo Ceremonial System," *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest,* vol. 10, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 545. Thus, the Chiricahua Windway deals with sinus problems, fever, rashes, troubled eyesight, aches, sores, and dizziness. Whirlwinds are also believed to bring on these symptoms. Either a two- or five-day ceremony with sandpaintings of the Sun and Moon is part of the cure, along with the use of cactus prayer sticks.
7. For another version of this event, made into a story, see Frances Gillmor, *Windsinger* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976).
8. Mary Eldredge came to New Mexico from New York in 1891 as the Field Matron of the Methodist Ladies Home Missionary Society. She served well into the first quarter of the twentieth century, helping the Navajo people in the general Shiprock area with health, agricultural, and domestic needs. Will had high respect for her and her assistance.
9. For additional information and photographs of Sandoval, see Earle R. Forrest, *With a Camera in Old Navajoland* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970). In November, 1928, Aileen O'Bryan interviewed him about traditional Navajo teachings. From this came a publication rich in Navajo lore, entitled *Navaho Indian Myths* (New York: Dover Publications, 1993).
10. Navajo tradition dictates that while both a mother's and father's clan is important, the predominant claim of ancestry by an individual is that of the mother's. Thus there is the differentiation between the father's and the "family" clan.

11. The U.S. military officially established Fort Lewis in July 1880, after having been in the general vicinity for the previous year and a half. For eleven years the post served as a military fort, after which it was turned over to the Department of the Interior and became a school for Indian children—primarily Ute and Navajo. In 1910, the State of Colorado received it and made it a branch of the state agricultural college. See Robert W. Frazer, *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965, 1980), 38–39.
12. William M. Peterson served as Superintendent of the Ute school at Fort Lewis between 1903 and 1906. In 1905, the average enrollment was 183 students. Boys learned the trades, such as blacksmithing, farming, carpentry, and leather working, while the girls learned domestic skills. The students also received rudimentary English and math instruction. W. M. Peterson, "Report of School at Fort Lewis, Colorado," August 3, 1905, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* vol. 1, 417.
13. While Evans may have had a guilty conscience over this event, Slim Policeman may not have been as surprised as the trader believed. There are well-established Navajo traditions associated with an eclipse. These include stopping all work and sitting quietly, ceasing travel, awakening anyone asleep, and avoiding talk. Evans's sincerity is not doubted, but his interpretation of the event may say more about him than it did his "victim."
14. "The blankets woven by the women on the reservation in the early days were quite rough of weave. They spun the yarn in a loose, knotted way, hence their weaving was thick, coarse, and bumpy. It was Pete's job to spread such a piece across the counter, comb out the bumps, and clip them with scissors if they were stubborn. The product is vastly improved today; weavers use more skill in spinning the yarn and in weaving, so that the finished blanket is a beautiful work of art." (Richard Evans, pers. comm.)
15. Begochidi, with his conflicting characteristics, is not a clearly defined Navajo deity. He is a type of trickster god involved with vulgarities. Gladys Reichard states: "[Begochidi] is described as the son of Sun, who had intercourse with everything in the world. That is the reason so many monsters were born. . . . He was Sun's youngest son, spoiled by his father, who put him in control of many things, such as game and domesticated animals. He was a transvestite and the first pottery maker. He could move without being seen, and change into different forms at will—into a rainbow, wind, sand, water, or anything else." *Navaho Religion: A Study of Symbolism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), 386–390.
16. Compare this version with that of Washington Matthews, "The Origin of the Utes," *The American Antiquarian* 7 (September 1885): 271–274.

17. There are certain times of the year when particular stories, teachings, and ceremonies can be discussed and other times when it is forbidden. Most of this information is shared during the winter. However, there are some that can be related during the summer. Dan Pete, as a practicing medicine man, has determined to share this story with Evans based on this practice.
18. In Navajo culture, the Holy Beings established the pattern that if something—a favor, request for an object, or plea—were asked four times, it should be granted on the fourth request.
19. Owls are the harbingers of death and have connections with the dead. The "come, come" is beckoning Pinto Horses to the land of the dead, an undesirable place in many Navajo teachings.
20. During the time of creation, Monster Slayer and Born for Water cleansed the world of monsters that had been created because of wrongdoings. Among those creatures that needed to be destroyed were the Tsé'náhaléél, two large birds that fed Navajo victims to their young, whose nest was located on Shiprock. The male bird picked up Monster Slayer and tried to dash him against the rock formation, but a life feather allowed him to land softly. Monster Slayer waited for both birds to eventually return, then killed them with lightning arrows. The young birds in the nest started to cry and so he spared two—the eagle and the owl, both of which he gave specific instructions concerning the Navajo. To the owl he directed that man would listen to its voice and learn of the future. From Robert S. McPherson, *Sacred Land, Sacred View: Navajo Perceptions of the Four Corners Region* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1992), 33.

Culture

1. These two different types of hogans are classified as female (the one Will just described) and male (the conical shaped one he is about to explain). In Navajo thought, everything is either male or female, which has nothing to do with whether men or women use the edifice, but rather how the structures are designated in the mythology. Holy Beings made the first hogans, establishing how they were to be built, proper etiquette, and religious teachings about them. Preferably, ceremonies today are performed in a hogan, since the Holy Beings recognize it as the home of a Navajo.
2. Navajos explain that gentleness in a handshake shows respect and affection. A forceful grasp suggests power and dominance, not friendship.
3. While the majority of anthropologists may agree with Will's belief that the Navajos learned weaving from the Pueblos, others do not. The generally accepted theory is that, following the Pueblo Revolt of

1680 and the subsequent reconquest of New Mexico by the Spanish, extensive mixing of the Pueblo and Navajo cultures provided great impetus to the spread of weaving. The minority who do not accept this view say that the Navajos entered the Southwest already possessing this skill, suggesting that they obtained it while living in the Northwest. To the Navajo, both ideas are wrong, since they learned weaving from the Holy Beings before they ever emerged from the worlds beneath this one. For a brief explanation, see Ruth Roessel, "Navajo Arts and Crafts," *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest,* vol. 10, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute, 1983), 592.

4. The sweat lodge, like the hogan, was first created by the Holy Beings, who established the pattern. It is conical like the male hogan and is also classified as male. Proper etiquette and the songs used in the sweat lodge have been provided by the gods. Either men or women may take a sweat but not together. It is used to purify a person, to prepare for or to conclude a ceremony, or simply to clean oneself and relax.
5. These pipes, called by the Pueblo peoples "cloud blowers," have been found in Anasazi ruins and are often used in ceremonies. The Franciscan Fathers describe this use: "A pipe is filled with [mountain tobacco] and lighted with punk made of corncob pith. The pipe is stemless, conical in shape, and provided with a hole in the bottom to draw the smoke. When necessary they are made of clay mixed with crushed broken pottery, though frequently pipes found in old ruins are made to answer. The singer smokes this pipe facing east, and blows the smoke first downward to the earth; then to the sky in front of himself, to his right, rear and left side and finally from above downward. This is repeated in turn by the patient and all present." Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navajo Language* (Saint Michaels, AZ: Saint Michaels Press, 1910, 1968), 395.
6. While Will's emphasis on the maternal clan is correct, offspring also pay attention to the father's (patrilineal) descent. One is "born into" the mother's clan and "born for" the father's clan. Paternal relations can play an important role in a child's upbringing and training, while memorization of relatives on the father's side is done just as much as it is on the mother's side.
7. The traditional description given of a son-in-law who sees his mother-in-law is that he will act as a moth who carelessly burns itself in a fire, because it ventured too close. The belief that there will be psychological harm and inappropriate actions encourage those who practice this belief to stay away. If necessity warrants that mother-in-law and son-in-law have seen each other or that they must interact, there is a ceremony that can be performed to allow this restriction with its accompanying effects to be lifted.

8. As with many other aspects of traditional Navajo culture, the cradle board came from the Holy Beings, Changing Woman being the first to have been found in one. Each aspect of the cradle, from the type of tree and other materials to its actual structure, is imbued with meaning. The backboard represents Mother Earth, the two holes at the top its eyes, the footrest a short rainbow, the wooden canopy a longer rainbow, the loops zigzag lightning, the thongs sun rays, and the baby's blankets the clouds. Evans, in his description, has bypassed much of this significance.
9. Evans's characterization of legendary lore and folklore is his simple way of classifying a very complex oral tradition that does not fit nearly as cleanly as he may have supposed. Anthropologists have attempted to be much more exacting, placing each type of myth, legend, and tale into specific categories based as much upon how they function in the culture as upon their motifs and content.
10. This is not entirely accurate. While First Man and First Woman do play a prominent part during the creation story, they are not all-powerful and do make mistakes. They are assisted by other Holy Beings, without whose help they could have failed. Evans may be searching for the one omnipotent God or Heavenly Father that he found in Mormon beliefs.
11. Evans published these stories in *Southwestern Lore* 14, no.3 (December 1948): 48–68.
12. A bullroarer is made from lightning-struck wood and covered with pitch from a lightning-struck tree, which, when combined with its noise, is a powerful force to keep evil away from the patient. It may also be pressed against the patient's limbs and places of pain to drive the evil away. See Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navajo Language* (Saint Michaels, AZ: Saint Michaels Press, 1910, 1968), 415.
13. The name Fire Dance is given because of the last and most dramatic part of the five-day Mountainway ceremony. "The [Mountain Chant is] often stated to be particularly applicable to cases of mental illness, fainting spells, delirium, and the like. Animals are mentioned as etiological factors. . . . Indeed, snakes, bears, or porcupines are almost invariably mentioned in the legends, sandpaintings, the songs, the making of cut stick offerings." Leland C. Wyman and Clyde Kluckhohn, "Navajo Classification of their Song Ceremonials," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association,* 1938, no. 50:24. For a detailed explanation of the various facets of the ceremony, see Leland C. Wyman, *The Mountainway of the Navajo* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975).
14. This and other seemingly magical elements of the ceremony are based upon the power of the animals who first performed these rites in

the myths. Confidence and a sense of well-being for the patients are evoked by both the ceremony and the medicine men performing it.

15. The Enemyway ceremony was formerly used to protect warriors from ghosts of the enemy killed in battle. Today it is used as "a cure for sickness thought to be caused by ghosts of non-Navajos. It is classed with the other Ghostway (Evilway) ceremonials" and may last either three or five nights. From Leland C. Wyman, "Navajo Ceremonial System," *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest,* vol. 10, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 541. The ritual is based on a myth in which Monster Slayer is cleansed from evil influences after killing monsters inhabiting the earth. The ceremony is often called a squaw dance because of a social feature in the evenings where a woman chooses her partner for a dance.
16. This is definitely Will's interpretation of how Navajos view this ceremony and dance. While Navajo elders often bemoan the fact that there have been changes and that the orderliness that used to be a part of the activities is disappearing, the Enemyway is still an important and sacred ceremony of the Navajo people.
17. Skinwalkers participate in one of a number of forms of Navajo witchcraft. The name comes from the belief that the witch practitioner actually puts on the skin of a wolf, coyote, or some other such animal and, by doing so, assumes supernatural qualities used against an individual. Through prayer, ritual, and knowledge of evil, the skinwalker performs antisocial acts shunned by a "normal" person. See Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944).
18. Snakes are considered powerful creatures, based on their role in Navajo mythology. Big Snake, a Holy Being, is sometimes treacherous and can cause illness or death if not shown proper respect. The sight of one may cause birth defects in an unborn baby. Snakes and lightning, because of their crooked shapes, are often associated with each other. Snakes are not handled, and both snakes and lightning-struck objects are avoided, unless a medicine man understands how to negate the evil and utilize the power from them.