BEYOND BINARY: NAVAJO ALTERNATIVE GENDERS THROUGHOUT HISTORY

BY: CHRISTINA JORDAN NARUSZEWICZ

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty in partial
fulfillment requirements for the degree of
MASTERS OF MUSEUM STUDIES IN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

University of Central Oklahoma
2016

Beyond Binary: Navajo Alternative Genders Throughout History

A THESIS

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

By

Dr. Lindsey Churchill

Dr. Patricia Loughlin

Dr. Katrina Lacher

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the community of scholars I have worked with over the past two years within the University of Central Oklahoma (UCO). By working with professors and students as colleagues, I received community support that drove this research through the dead ends and quandaries. Firstly, I would like to sincerely thank Dr. Lindsey Churchill for her insight and friendship as both my graduate advisor and committee chair. Through her mentorship, I challenged myself both academically, professionally, and personally. Dr. Katrina Lacher, also on my committee, helped introduce me to the subject of Two-Spirit individuals and guided my research for the historiography of the subject. Dr. Patricia Loughlin, the Chair of the History and Geography Department, has shown a constant interest in my research and offered several research suggestions that provided critical insight for several chapters.

To my friends and family thank you for you enduring support and patience. To the community of scholars at UCO, thank you for the debates and conversation. I would like to thank Neal Hampton for suggesting that I look into Newcomb's *Hosteen Klah: Navajo Medicine M*an. A suggestion that jump-started this whole thesis. I am especially grateful to Alexander Larrea, for all the proof-reading, and last minute technology help sessions.

Finally, my thesis would not have been possible without the services and efforts of the staff at several institutions. To the Autry Museum of the American West, Charles E. Young Research Library at the University of California, Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, and the Center for Southwestern Research for your materials and time.

Abstract

Hosteen Klah was both a Navajo medicine man and weaver. However, the Navajo largely considered weaving to be a woman's task. Women taught this skill from mother to daughter, and it represented both a creative and spiritual outlet. On the other hand, the realm of medicine men largely employed men. To become a medicine man in the Navajo tribe took years of practice and memorization. Hosteen Klah participated in both of these spheres due to his unique status as a *nadleehi*. In the eyes of his tribe, Klah stood neither as a man, or a woman, but as a balance of the two.

Klah blended his knowledges of these two spheres to help create a new style of Navajo weaving called the sandpainting textile. However, Klah's new style caused an uproar on the reservation because he broke major taboos by incorporating sacred sandpainting images into his weavings. My thesis explores the role of Klah's art in reflection of centuries of outside or colonial influences. I hypothesized that an exploration of Klah's weaving may indicate more about the *nadleehi* role and its perception within the Navajo community. To best understand this I needed a grasp of political, economic, and social histories of the tribe. The first chapter opens up with a review of the literature and research on relevant topics. Chapters two and three examine the influences on traditional gender roles and customs under both Spanish and American colonialization. Chapters three and four examine more intimately gender roles and the gendered activities within the Navajo tribe. In the final chapter I examine Klah's motivations and work. Additionally, in this final chapter I pull from earlier pages to strengthen my argument that Klah created his sandpainting textiles largely to preserve aspects of traditional Navajo customs.

"Beyond Binary: Navajo Alternative Genders Throughout History"

Table of Contents

Chapter 1. An Evolution in Historiography: Native American Two-Spirit and Navajo Culture within Linguistics, Anthropology, Ethnology and Gender Studies

Two-Spirit research lies at an intersection of many studies, often falling into an overlap of numerous fields including archaeology, anthropology, enthology, linguistics, and gender studies. Two-Spirit individuals within the southwestern Navajo tribe, often called *nadle* or *nadleehi,* do not simply fit into a categorical box. Their role is varied and their significance is rooted in aspects of Navajo religion, ethnology, social organization, sexuality, and craft. Perhaps there is no better example of the many facets of third-gendered people within the Navajo tribe than Hosteen Klah. Klah, a powerful medicine man, is fondly remembered as a healer and educator in his biography by Franc Newcomb.[1] His extensive knowledge of Navajo ceremonies and chants dwarfed the achievements of many medicine men working during his time. Yet Klah also distinguished himself as a talented weaver and artisan, combining his years of education in Navajo ceremony to create some of the first sandpainting textiles.[2] Klah's *nadleehi* status allowed him to blend these two spheres of Navajo society and it is for this reason that a further examination of his life and works can better illuminate the status of third gendered people within many aspects of the Navajo tribe and their changes through time.

If my research is to aptly describe the changing role or perception of the *nadleehi* individual within the Navajo tribe I must first understand many facets of Navajo culture in

[1] Franc Newcomb, *Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant* (New York: Dover Printing, 1937)
[2] Hosteen Klah (1867-1937) was a Navajo medicine man, shaman, weaver and *nadleehi.* During his lifetime he participated in a small movement to weave sacred images, known as "sandpaintings." His work quickly became popular with wealthy collectors. For information regarding the designs of sandpainting textiles as well as the cultural taboos against them see: Edward Sapir, "The Navaho Sand Painting Blanket," *American Anthropologist* Vol 39 (1935).

general. However, my work cannot simply examine Navajo culture, but must undertake a broader examination within gender studies and build upon the historical examination of cultural changes brought upon by the Spanish, missionaries, U.S. policy, trade and the broader heteronormative western culture. In my research I will explore what influences prompted Hosteen Klah to participate in sandpainting textiles despite the cultural taboos against them. Perhaps Klah's sandpainting textiles were simply an economic venture to entice wealthy collectors? Alternatively, could Klah's sandpainting textiles represent a deeper personal expression on religion, and perhaps his own *nadleehi* status? To answer these questions I must traverse several research fields. I must become acquainted with Navajo religion, symbology, and design. I must understand the cultural impact of a booming trade demand for Indian made materials, and put these questions into the larger context of cultural changes brought on by outside influences.

The research of the Native American Two-Spirit, particularly that of the Navajo *nadleehi* remains largely unexplored in anthropological, historical, and ethnological examinations of the tribe until as recently as the 1980s. In fact, research on Two-Spirit people within the broader continental United States fails to be widely examined until the late 1950s and 1960s, when works discussing gender studies started to appear. What we are left with are a few vague mentions of "cross-dressers", "Berdache", or "transsexuals" from journal entries of travelers and from early anthropologists, left scratching their heads as they tackle the complexities of a social role so unknown to them. Nevertheless, these early accounts reveal the types of fieldwork and examinations being done on the subject as well as the scope and variance of Two-Spirit people across America. While we have only a few tantalizing details of Navajo sexual variances in early scholarship, the plethora of information pooled from across the U.S. and within the southwest is

still valuable to understanding the *nadleehi* role. From these we can posit how outsiders understood and studied these subjects, revealing bias. Additionally the wealth of research we have from early anthropologists, linguists, and ethnologists on Navajo religion, philosophy, and material culture provide a solid base to understanding third gender roles within the Navajo tribe, where *nadleehi* peoples tended to enjoy a high social rank in the spheres of religion and/or artistry.

While early research on the subject of Two-Spirit people within the Navajo tribe and the southwest in general is limited, early anthropological examinations from the late 19th century to the 1930s contribute to understanding Navajo religion, social structures, as well as economic and trade contributions. Many of these earliest anthropological examinations, while valuable, fail to analyze these subjects further than simple observational data. However, in the late 30's and 40's the study of the Navajo tribe is examined by linguists, ethnologists and others who for the first time point the focus to a Navajo perspective. During this time, researchers rely more heavily on Navajo testimony and guidance while also making gains in exploring the more esoteric aspects of Navajo religion.

Additionally during these decades, we find valuable appraisals of the influences of Christian missionaries on Navajo life and culture, as well as the perspectives generally shared by the tribe towards outsiders and Christianity. By the 50s and 60s, the anthropological examinations of the Navajo expanded, with more detailed analysis of Navajo textiles, the process of producing a rug and the role of kinship in the education of young women as weavers. These works are particularly significant to understanding the role of weavers in general within the tribe. This research into textile weavings underlies the significance of matrilineal kinship roles within the tribe, which generally elevated the status of women, and thus the feminine. This is significant

because it provides a further understanding of the Navajo acceptance of gender variance, and the wide acceptance of "feminine" men which baffled so many westerners. It is also during this time that we begin to see the budding examinations of Two-Spirit people in general, which, after the feminist movement and demand for "bottom-up" histories in the 60s and 70s, enjoyed a boom in academic research. During this time we begin to see a broader examination of Two-Spirit people within human sexuality and gender studies, illuminating the nature of passive and dominant roles through the works of Michael Foucault and others.

Anthropological and Linguistic Research from Amateurs and Missionaries

Many of the early accounts documenting Navajo culture come from missionaries and amateurs recording simple observational data such as language, dress, and the methodology of ceremonies without any attempt to understand these things as their Navajo collaborators did. However, over time the study of Navajo culture evolved into an earnest attempt to understand Navajo religion, philosophies, social organization, and other aspects of Navajo life. These works are imperative to understanding the significance of Two-Spirit people within the Southwest and Hosteen Klah's role as a religious and cultural leader.

Although professional interest in researching Two-Spirit people did not take off until the mid-1950s and 1960s, the study of the Navajo people, their language, religion, organization of society and other aspects of their culture were observed as early as their contact with the Spanish in 16th century. However it is not until the late 19th century that we find reputable documentation from missionaries who recorded the Navajo language in an effort to speed conversion to Christianity. Most notable among these is the Franciscan Fathers and Father Berard Haile, although many other amateurs came to the southwest and eventually established themselves as first rate anthropologists and ethnologists.

One such amateur, Washington Matthews, left behind records that remain some of the foremost anthropological studies regarding the Navajo religious chants and sandpaintings which are significant to understanding these images within Klah's own sandpainting textiles. Washington arrived in Fort Wingate, New Mexico as an army surgeon under the orders of Major J. W. Powell, the director of the Bureau of American Ethnology. However, by the end of his tenure in Navajo country he released several records on the topic of Navajo culture and religion. Washington's *Prayer of a Navaho Shaman* (1888) explored the words of Navajo prayer and chant.[3] His earlier work, *Mythic Dry Painting of the Navajo* (1885) created an interest within the scientific communities about the rituals and myths of American Indians.[4] Matthews' description of the sandpaintings and their relation to specific Navajo legends and rites remains particularly useful for later researchers who wish to compare various sandpainting designs and symbology. Washington also covered topics such as medicinal remedies, silver smiths and weavers within the tribe.

Another amateur turned anthropologist, Father Berard Haile, became an ordained priest in 1898. Father Haile took an immediate interest in documenting the Navajo people during his time at the mission in St. Michaels in Arizona. Haile went on to attend the Catholic University of America in 1929, obtaining his master's degree. He later accepted a research position at the University of Chicago. Haile's work included the first publication of a Navajo alphabet, as well as a record of the Navajo creation story. These works remained required readings for many a historian who wished to analyze Navajo language, religion or ethnology. The work of Haile remains a permanent backbone in the development of further research in these areas. Haile also

[3] Washington Matthews, "Prayer of a Navajo Shaman," *American Anthropologist* Vol 1 (1888): 149-171.
[4] J.M. " In Memorium: Washington Matthews". *American Anthropologist* Vol 7 (1905): 515. ; Washington Matthews, "Mythic Dry-Paintings of the Navaho,"*American Naturalist* Vol 9 (1885): 931.

built upon Matthews' work by differentiating between "rites" and "chants" where Matthews broadly termed all vocalized Navajo songs as chants.[5]

In a similar vein as Haile, the Franciscan Fathers of St. Michaels Missionary also studied the Navajo language, releasing the first-hand ethological historical examination of the Navajo language in 1910 with the publication of *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navajo Language.*[6] However, like many anthropologists during this time, these works stated observational qualities in Navajo language rather than providing an analysis of the language meaning and were intended to be used as a tool for conversion to Christianity. Nevertheless, early ethnologists involved in the Navajo tribe provided the basic building blocks to researching and understanding the varying meaning and use behind many Navajo phrases and words.

Franc Newcomb's publications came to fill a void left by the death of Washington Matthews. Her work is particularly informative to my own research. The wife of a trade post owner in Arizona, Newcomb was not a trained ethnologist, anthropologist, or artist. Franc Newcomb became intimately acquainted with Navajo religion through her friendship with Navajo medicine man Hosteen Klah. Newcomb's relationship with her Navajo neighbors afforded her access to Navajo ceremonies and stories that otherwise remained hidden to outsiders. Her first publication *Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant* (1937) took firsthand knowledge and recreated the sacred images of sandpaintings.[7] Most notably Franc Newcomb turned her intimate friendship with Hosteen Klah into a biography in 1964, which

[5] Berard Haile. "Navaho Chantways and Ceremony," *American Anthropologist* Vol 43 (1938): 639-652.
[6] Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnological Dictionary of the Navajo Language* (New York: Saint Michaels Historical Press, 1990).
[7] Franc Newcomb, *Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant* (New York: Dover Printing, 1937)

continues to be the best resource on Klah's upbringing, childhood and religious education.[8] Throughout much of her work Newcomb discussed the design elements and symbology of the Navajo sandpaintings. Her work is one of the first to interpret the meanings behind certain materials used in sandpaintings, such as pollens and ash.[9] Newcomb began an era of sharing these esoteric details of Navajo ritual with other researchers of the time including Leland Wyman, and Gladys Reichard.[10]

Anthropological and Linguistic Examinations of Navajo Religion, Social Order and Craft

Newcomb's willingness to provide information received through personal interviews and first hand experiences of Navajo ceremonies provided the missing link many scholars needed to further analyze Navajo religion. Navajo religious studies including the discussion of Navajo prayers, ceremonies, and sandpaintings became a popular topic in the 1930s and 1940s. Most notable of this era are, Clyde Kluckhohn, Leland Wyman, and Gladys Reichard. It is during this time we see an expansive publication of works related to Navajo religion, distancing itself from the blind recording of observational details, replaced with a drive to better understand Navajo symbology, especially in sandpaintings, ceremonies and chants.

Edward Sapir, a linguist and anthropologist initially started his education in Germanics and linguistics. In 1931, He took a position as Professor of Anthropology and Linguistics at Yale University. While his anthropological works are small in number, they are important.[11] His works related to the Navajo covers topics such as the linguistic beginnings of the Navajo, which

[8] Franc Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah: Navajo Medicine Man and Sand Painter* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1964)
[9] Fogelman Lange, Patricia. *The Spiritual World of Franc Johnson Newcomb* August 1, 2015. http://www.francnewcomb.org/
[10] Ibid.
[11] Koerner, E.F. Konrad. "Edward Sapir : Appraisals of His Life and Work" *Studies in the History of the Language Sciences,* Volume 36. (1984): 3.

brings forth evidence of their migration down from the north thousands of years ago.[12] This also points towards a shared cultural influence between the Navajo and the pueblo people such as the Zuni. This is significant because it solidifies the notion that many aspects of Navajo culture are shared with or borrowed from the Zuni, even so far as religious ceremonies, the art of weaving, and the possibility of gender variance. Sapir is also one of the first to examine Navajo sandpainting textiles in, *A Navaho Sandpainting Blanket* (1935).[13] This work is particularly useful to my research because it describes specific sandpainting design elements which differ from their traditional visages seen in ceremony. What is most intriguing about this work is it also discusses the Navajo view on these controversial textiles, explaining that many elders in the tribe saw them as blasphemous. At a time when Hosteen Klah was in his height of sandpainting weaving production, one wonders how his own neighbors felt about his creations. In many ways, Sapir's linguistic expertise gives him a better appreciation for Navajo subtlety that comes forth in his understanding of tribal perceptions and taboos.

Perhaps one of the most intriguing anthropological works during this time is one of W.W. Hill, which specifically discusses the role of the "hermaphrodite" and "transvestite" in the Navajo tribe. Hill, a Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico remains one of the most prolific anthropologists to discuss Navajo society. His work on studying the *Nadleehi* or *nadle,* as he used in his article *The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navajo Culture* (1935) not only explores the widely un-examined role of Two-Spirit people in the Navajo tribe, it is one of the first examinations of Two-Spirit people in general.[14] Perhaps

[12] Edward Sapir, "Internal Lingusitic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho" *American Anthropologist,* Vol 38. (1936): 224.
[13] Edward Sapir, "A Navaho Sandpainting Blanket" *American Anthropologist,* Vol 37 (1935): 609.
[14] W. W. Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navajo Culture" *American Anthropologist* , Vol 37 (1935): 273-279.

most interesting about this work is the concept of a "real *nadle*" verses a "pretender *nadle*."[15] Hill backs up his research by the testimony of a Nadleehi individual named Kinipai who is herself, third gendered. Hill also explored other niche areas of field work including Navajo superstitions, taboos, games, and their sense of humor. Most notable other than his work on the social aspects of Navajo life is his contribution to a work dedicated on the material culture of the Navajo people with Clyde Kluckhohn in, *Navaho Material Culture* (1971).[16]

Clyde Kluckhohn received his PhD in 1936 from Harvard University in Anthropology. He taught at the University of New Mexico for two years before receiving his PhD, a period of time which apparently influenced his future research. Clyde Kluckhohn later returned to the southwest and began working with five southwestern communities in 1949. Some of Kluckhohn's most important work consists of his collaboration with Dorothea Leighton, in their work *The Navaho* (1946).[17] *The Navaho* stands as one of the best compilations of information on the tribe covering everything from Navajo material culture, religion, social structure, and even the effectiveness of Indian administration and policy, as well as its influences on Navajo culture in general. This work is particularly useful for scholars today when tracking the influences of government policy in Navajo society, including the way they learned and worshiped in the midst of cultural assimilation as well as how the tribe participated in consumer culture.

Gladys Reichard received her PhD from Columbia, and later took a position at Barnard College. She established several innovative ethnographic techniques and blended her scientific

[15] Ibid, 234.
[16] Clyde Kluckhohn, W.W. Hill, and Lucy Klukhohn. *Navaho Material Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971)
[17] Clyde Kluckhoh and Dorthea Leighton, *The Navaho* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974)

writing into a quasi-fictional story.[18] As if taking a page from Kluckhohn and Leighton, Gladys Reichard also released a work in 1949 entitled *Navajo and Christianity* in which Reichard further describes the influences of Christian assimilation through the countless missionaries at the time.[19] However, where Reichard differs in her approach is the way she breaks down the fundamental differences between Christianity and the Navajo spiritual view, including but not limited to the Navajo fear of handling of dead bodies.[20] Reichard argues that these differences have further stymied cultural assimilation, and tactfully explains that many Navajo only observe Christian practices when they are receiving aid from Christian hospitals and missionaries.[21] These observations are important in my research because it helps to understand the role of Christianity and U.S. government within the tribe, as may also reveal a movement away from traditional religious practices as well as the perception of third-gendered peoples within the tribe.

Reichard also published work as early as 1929 discussing aspects of Navajo social life, but her work seems to develop its strongest voice in the 30s and 40s where she explores Navajo ethnology. Unsatisfied with the anthropological techniques of the day, she lived with a Navajo family taking the role of daughter and student.[22] This firsthand experience of life within the Navajo hogan taught Reichard about the kinship structures in Navajo family as well as the significance of its matrilineal influences on the practices of weaving. These insights lead to her to release several books on the subject including, *Navajo Shepard and Weaver* (1984) and *Navajo Medicine Man: Sandpaintings* (1977).[23] Reichard also released an impressive library on

[18] Lousie Lamphere. "Gladys Reichard Among the Navajo," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies,* Vol 12. (1995): 79.
[19] Gladys Reichard, "Navajo and Christianity," *American Anthropologist* Vol 51. (1949): 66.
[20] Gladys Reichard, "Navajo and Christianity," *American Anthropologist* Vol 51. (1949): 67.
[21] Ibid., 68.
[22] Lousie Lamphere. "Gladys Reichard Among the Navajo," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies,* Vol 12. (1995): 79.
[23] Ibid, 90.

topics of Navajo religion and symbolism like many anthropologists at the time; however, Reichard is one of the first to detail the practices and significance of Navajo weavers.

Religion and cultural observation dominated much of the historical analysis of Navajo life throughout the 30s, 40s and 50s. However, the era of the 60s and 70s brought on a wider variety of subject matters in studying the Navajo. Like Reichard, Noël Bennett, an artist and writer, lived on the Navajo reservation from 1967 to 1969 studying the process, methodology and ritual of weaving a Navajo textile. In her book, *Weavers Pathway* (1974) Bennett identified bunk superstitions maintained by whites and traders about various "Navajo-held" superstitions including clarifying the meaning behind the "spirit trail" or "weaver's way" found in many Navajo textiles.[24] Additionally Bennett published *Working with Wool* (1971) and *Designing with Wool* (1979), which each focusing on the technical aspects of weaving including loom-construction and weaving tools.[25] Bennett's work is useful in identifying the cultural exchange and influence between the Navajo and traders, as well as giving a language from which weaving techniques can be discussed and understood.

Sam D. Gill published the majority of his work during the 70s and 80s. He wrote several works re-exploring the role of chants and prayer in Navajo religion. His work, *Sacred Words: A Study of Navajo Religion and Prayer* (1982) explores the Navajo prayer in a new way, attempting to fill in the gaps of his predecessors.[26] Gill hypothesized that by studying the structural qualities of Navajo prayer we can further our understanding of Navajo religion in

[24] Noel Bennett, *The Weavers Pathway: A Clarification of the Spirit Trail in Navajo Weaving* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1974).
[25] Noel Bennett and Tiana Bighorse, *Working With Wool: How to Weave a Navajo Rug,* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1971), Noel Bennet, *Designing With Wool: Advanced Techniques in Navajo Weaving,* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1979).
[26] Sam Gill, *Sacred Words: A Study of Navajo Religion and Prayer,* (Wesport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981)

general. In addition to these works, he released a book titled *Native American Religions* (1981).[27] He currently resides as a Professor of religious studies at the University of Colorado.

Like Gill, Gary Witherspoon wrote the bulk of his published works in the 70s, and 80s, but continued to publish work up to the mid-90s. His first work dealing with Navajo social structures is *A New Look at Navajo Social Organization* (1970) caught the attention of the anthropological circle.[28] In this article Witherspoon argues many aspects of Navajo society and social structure have been muddled by writer misunderstanding. Building upon earlier anthropologists such as David Aberle, Claude Levi-Strauss, and Gladys Reichard, Witherspoon differentiates between "conceptual" structures and "concrete" structures of relationships within the tribe, and discusses misinterpreted social symbols removing the apparent "fuzziness" within his contemporaries' work.[29] Witherspoon informed his research from spending a period of time living and working on the Navajo reservation in the late 60s while pursuing his undergraduate degree at Arizona State University. After receiving both his PhD and master's degree at the University of Chicago, Witherspoon returned to his interest in the Navajo people, releasing a vast catalogue of work on topics on the Navajo language, social organization, and economics.

Early Anthropological Examinations of Native American Gender Variance and Sexuality

Unlike studies of Navajo religion and society, before the mid-1950s to 1960s very little research existed specifically about the Two-Spirit or, commonly referred to at the time, "Berdache". This term loosely translates to "slave boy" and is now considered academically and historically inaccurate. Its application by colonial Europeans is not only improper but places a

[27] Sam Gill, *Native American Religions: An Introduction,* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Press, 1982)
[28] Gary Witherspoon, "A New Look at Navajo Social Organization," *American Anthropologist* Vol 72 (1970). 55-65
[29] Ibid, 57.

western notion of passivity and feminism on a diverse group of individuals. The continual use of this derogatory term in early scholarship stands as a testament to how little research existed on Two-Spirit identity, spirituality, and sexuality. While today the term Two-Spirit is more widely accepted between tribes I will use the term "Berdache" only when discussing the research by earlier historians as it is used in their work. The following studies on sexual variance within Native America are still relevant to understanding the role of the *nadleehi*, because these examinations help to understand the various lenses through which gender variance is studied, as well as reveals common experiences and perceptions of third-gendered people before and after the pre-Columbian era.

Published in the *American Anthropological Journal* in 1953, "The Winnebago Berdache" by Nancy Lurie represents one of the first examples of scholarly research on the Two-Spirit individual.[30] Lurie focused on anthropological evidence of North American Indians and the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) and Dogrib (Taicho) tribes.[31] The article relies heavily on the field work of the author, attempting to understand the role of the male Berdache in the Winnebago tribe. This is despite the fact that the last living Berdache individual within the tribe's memory died some fifty years earlier. What is most intriguing about this supposition, however, is the first mention of a Berdache as a distinct identity from a transvestite or cross-dresser. Within the article, supplemented by the stories of tribal elders Lurie argues that the role of a Berdache male existed with honor and veneration.[32] The male Berdache's womanly clothes and chores represented an occupational marriage with his ability to prophesize.[33]

[30] Nancy Lurie, "The Winnebago Berdache," *The American Anthropological Journal* Vol 55. (1953): 708-712.
[31] *Who Is Log* April 4, 2014. http://www.whoislog.info/profile/nancy-lurie.html.
[32] Nancy Lurie, "The Winnebago Berdache," *The American Anthropological Journal* Vol 55. (1953): 708.
[33] Ibid, 710.

Lurie includes a narrative of another man, forced to wear women's clothing because of his cowardice. This is the first such suggestion that a cross-dresser does not a Berdache make. In the second narrative the man is forced to cross-dress because he is caught lying about his deeds in battle, suggesting that for a warrior, the act of being forced into cross-dressing and group alienation was intended to be an embarrassment. For a Berdache, cross-dressing represented an individual who possessed gifts from both sexes and therefore was not held in the same regard as the warrior fallen from grace. [34]

As if to expand upon the research of Lurie, two years later Henry Angelio and Charles L. Shedd found themselves struggling with the relationship of transsexualism and the Berdache in their article *A Note on a Berdache* (1955).[35] Shedd, a scholar familiar with the subject of sexuality, authored several articles and books on the subject of homosexuality, and transsexualism.[36] They state in their article they aim to find out the following: "1) Is there evidence that the Berdache is a trait spread by diffusion? 2) Is there evidence to believe that the Berdache is a certain stage of development? 3) Are there certain types of social organizations that correlate with the presence or absence of Berdache? 4) What is the psychological involvement of Berdache?" [37] These questions emphasized how research in the field of the Native American Two-Spirits remained wholly untapped and unexplored. Upon beginning their research Angelio and Shedd found that they had bitten off more than they could chew. With each new revelation, they only found more questions. It's these same or similar questions that permeate much of the scholarly field today. The evidence before Angelio and Shedd pointed

[34] Ibid, 711.
[35] Angelio, Henry and Charles L. Shedd. "A Note on Berdache" *American Anthropologist,* Vol 57 no 1. (1955): 121-126.
[36] *Microsoft Academic Research* April 1, 2014. http://academic.research.microsoft.com/Author/34281164/charles-l-shedd
[37] Angelio, Henry and Charles L. Shedd. "A Note on Berdache" *American Anthropologist,* Vol 57 no 1. (1955): 121.

away from a singular understanding of the Two-Spirit phenomena. Instead, what they discovered is the diversity of Two-Spirit people throughout Native American society. Shedd and Angelio struggled to find a single role for all Two-Spirit people to fit into neatly, but what they found instead and expanded upon is the diversity of Two-Spirit people in their dress, occupation, spiritual roles, tribal perception and sexuality. This is one of the first such articles to expand upon these diversities and definitively suggest that the Two-Spirit role is not inherently connected to sexual invertedness, and can indeed be exhibited in individuals who identify or appear to identify as heterosexual, asexual, bisexual and homosexual.[38]

Gender Studies and Feminist Perspectives on Two-Spirit Perceptions and Identity

As the sexual revolution and social activism of the 60's and 70's gained momentum, the history community turned its eyes to feminist and gendered histories. It is at this time historically we begin to see a larger pool of information from which historians can make inferences on the sexual identities and perceptions of Two-Spirit people. The focus in historical analysis at this point makes a shift from that of an largely anthropological perspective, one that focuses on the tools, occupations and clothing worn by Two-Spirit, to a field interested in their sexuality and identity.

During this time the works on sexual power and dominance written by Michel Foucault informed the interpretation and analysis of historians on the subject of Two-Spirit sex roles. Foucault, esteemed for writing a comprehensive history of sexuality, informed much of the analysis on this subject following his work's publication. In his volume the *History of Sexuality* published in 1972, Michel Foucault discusses the many aspects of sexuality and its use as a form

[38] Ibid, 122.

of power.[39] Specifically Foucault was imminent in interpreting the role of dominance and passivity in sex and in LBGTQ interactions. These discussions informed many of the works that followed.

One of the most significant books of this time is M. Kay Martin and Barbara Voorhies' *Female of the Species* (1975).[40] This anthropological examination of women throughout various societies applied the theory of supernumerary sexes and the relationship between biological sex and social gender to the Berdache individual.[41] In this analysis, Martin and Voorhies discuss the varying perceptions of third and fourth gender from a variety of tribes based on the role these individuals played in traditional Native American societies.[42] They point to a variety of tribal customs such as circumcision rituals, dance and occupations of Two-Spirit people to reveal that they frequently took the role of not a manly-woman or womanly-man, but existed as unique blend of the two.

Another example of these changing interests in the historical field is the co-edited work by Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead. Ortner, a feminist anthropologist, realized that feminist and symbolic anthropology were being researched by a large number of scholars, and by compiling this work she and Whitehead hoped to bring some definition to the fairly new field of feminist anthropology.[43]

What the essays in Ortner and Whitehead's *Sexual Meanings* (1981) accomplish is the illumination of the connection between social organization and prestige and emphasizing how

[39] Ibid, 125.
[40] M. Kay Martin and Barbara Voorhies, *Female of the Species* (New York: Columbia Press University, 1974).
[41]Ibid, 105.
[42] Microsoft Academic Search *Microsoft*. Accessed April 10, 2014. http://academic.research.microsoft.com/Author/45710915/mary-kay-martin
[43] Sherry B Ortner and Harriet Whitehead. *Sexual Meanings (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), x.

these social structures are defined through cultural symbols.[44] Although the book covers a wide variety of societies and cultures, Whitehead's essay "The Bow and the Burden Strap" focuses specifically on the institutionalized "homosexuality" in native North America, making connections between the Berdache and examples of transsexuals in Papua New Guinea.

In this essay, Whitehead breaks the features of gender in North America into two broader categories. The first is a gender which is defined by anatomy and physiology and the other is defined by behavior and social role.[45] What is worth noting about this work is that although it offers up important interpretations of the Berdache phenomena through several lenses, it fails to apply the supernumerary gender system introduced by Martin and Voorhies. While these inconsistencies may be jarring to a contemporary reader, it should not detract from Whitehead's analysis of "bottom-up" societies and the role kinship in women's (and Berdache) significance in the tribe.

Paula Allen Gunn added more feminist work to the field. Gunn, a Native American herself, Gunn identifies as a lesbian and is known for work as a feminist activist and specialist in Native American culture. This gives her editing and writing a unique perspective that many in the scholarly field lack.[46] It can, however, lend some perspective on any bias she may have. Despite this possibility for author bias, Gunn does a remarkable job of editing and writing objectively. In fact the only indication of her personal background in feminism, activism and interest in Native American culture is her focus on these subjects.

[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 86.
[46] "Paula Allen Gunn Online Memorial" *PaulaGunnallen.net* Accessed, 2014. http://www.paulagunnallen.net/

Two of her works, *Spider Woman's Granddaughters: Traditional Tales and Contemporary Writings by Native American Women* (1989) and *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (1986) explore the roles of Native American women through time, reflecting especially on the women of grit and bravery who are typically aligned with Two-Spirit women, Hunter Women or Manly-Women. [47]

Spider Woman's Granddaughters brings together a collection of traditional and contemporary stories by and about Native American women. Each chapter contains a short excerpt explaining the significance of the stories to their tribes. While many of the stories are written by contemporary Native American women, there is some traditional folklore set in a historical context that is important to understanding the traditional perspective of a female Two-Spirit. In these traditional stories, the role of "Hunter Women" is emphasized. In particular, this book gives a firsthand account from Pretty Shield, a Crow woman who is also discussed in Sandra Slater's book *Gender and Sexuality in Indigenous North America 1400-1850* (2011).[48] Many of the stories commend women for their bravery, while others celebrate "Hunting Women" for their spiritual leadership as warriors.

In her second book, *Scared Hoop* (1986), Allen discusses the changing roles of women in Native American society due to white incursion and view of matrilineal societies as "petticoat" governments.[49] These changing roles affected women in imperceptible ways, for although a

[47] Paula Allen Gunn, *Spider Woman's Granddaughters: Traditional Tales and Contemporary Writings by Native American Women* (New York: Fawcett Books, 1989), Paula Allen Gunn, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in Native American Traditions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986).
[48] Sandra Slater, *Gender and Sexuality in Indigenous North America, 1400-1850. (New York: St. Martin's Publishing, 1998)*
[49] Paula Gunn Allen, *The Scared Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in America Indian Traditions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 19.

majority of their traditional occupations and house roles had not changed the perception of a feminine power and wisdom eroded away.

Gunn argues that this change affected tribal perceptions of Two-Spirit people and homosexuality, positing that there seems to be an apparent connection between homophobia and misogyny. She continues by arguing in later chapters that gayness traditionally functions in tribes in a positive manner and that women's culture is unregulated by males and misperceived by ethnographers.[50] While not a feminist history, the collection of essays *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women* (1983) edited by Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine, is an anthropological study that is clearly influenced by the recent interest in "bottom-up history." Within its first pages Albers cites the insurgence of history from a feminine perspective fueled by the feminist movement, even as she argues history that focuses on the perspective of the Native American female lags behind.[51]

Two chapters in particular discuss the ideals of masculinity and femininity in traditional Native American tribes. One essay explores the traditional role held by women, taking into account the descriptions by George Sword of the divisions of labor and the role of women as passive and dependent and sheds some light on how this description is likely biased by a patriarchal American perspective. The book further describes the roles of Wintke (Lakota Two-Spirit) and warrior women in society, suggesting that although negative perceptions of these individuals existed, "Plains men and women were able to assume a range of roles that were either consistent with or contrary to their customary gender ascriptions."[52]

[50] Paula Gunn Allen, *The Scared Hoop*, 198.
[51] Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine. *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women* (US: University of America, 1983), 5.
[52] Albers and Medicine, *The Hidden Half*, 276.

As the interest in history for a minority or traditionally marginalized perspective covered a broader gender study, historians used what they knew about general gender studies to illuminate more about Native American sexuality. These works later ushered in the first series of books entirely about Native American Two-Spirit roles.

Historical Examinations of Two-Spirits Regionally with Comparisons to Global Gender Variations

With the information provided by earlier scholars, the literature specifically studying or more focused on Native American Two-Spirit individuals grew. Perhaps the best example of Two-Spirit scholarship remains Walter L. William's *The Spirit of the Flesh* (1986). It remains one of the first books dedicated entirely to the interpretation of anthropological and field work on Native American Two-Spirit people. Williams focuses his scholarship on the homosexual tendencies of the Native American Two-Spirit across tribes, as well as roles which were venerated or spiritually significant to tribes. In addition to this, Williams documented through interviews and field work the perceptions of contemporary native gay men and their self-identification or lack of identification as a Two-Spirit.

In the years since its publication, William's work has been acclaimed as a milestone in Two-Spirit scholarship. While it has come under some scrutiny for bias, it cannot be denied that Walter L. William has been a forerunner on gay activism as well as a historian specializing in writing on the history of sexuality of LBGTQ individuals across the globe. His pioneering in the sphere of queer studies and history of activism has established him as an expert in genders studies.[53]

[53] "Teaching For Equality" *Teaching for Equality, 2006. Accessed April, 2014. http://www.teachinforequality.net/speakers/walter-l-williams/*

Despite these facts, Williams has been accused of being too positive in his writings, focusing on the roles throughout Native American culture that venerate Two-Spirit people and tossing the negative perceptions of these individuals aside. Indeed, although the appearance of Two-Spirit people is recorded in tribes all across the U.S., a few tribes considered these individuals weak or alienated them. Williams makes no mention of these perceptions throughout his work despite its focus on a broad sampling of tribes and regions.

Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History by Gilbert Herdt also explores the expanse of alternative genders throughout worldwide culture.[54] Herdt is currently a professor at San Francisco University, specializing in Human Sexuality and Anthropology. He has taught at Stanford University, Chicago University and the University of Washington, amongst others. His specialization is in the sexual practices of the indigenous cultures of Papua New Guinea, a field that frequently overlaps with the study of transgendered peoples across cultures.[55]

In his book, *Third Sex, Third Gender* (1994) Herdt starts off with a brief historiographical analysis of the suppositions of the field so far. He uses these newly published findings to inform his own research and arguments. Significantly, Herdt takes advantage of the theoretical model of two-spirit people as third and fourth genders. In his writing, Herdt claims that the key features of the two-spirit role in traditional society can be defined and studied in three ways, grouping these features into three categories: production specialization, supernatural sanction and gender variance.[56]

[54] Gilbert Herdt. *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimporhism in Culture and History* (New York: Zone Books, 1994)
[55] Gilbert Herdt, *Gilbertherdt.com* 2010. Accessed April, 2014. http://gilbertherdt.com/
[56] Herdt. *Third Sex, Third Gender, 332.*

Another five years passed before a work published specifically on the Two-Spirit phenomena emerged. The *Zuni Man-Woman* (1991) by Will Roscoe departs from the broad reaching analysis of William's *Spirit of the Flesh.*[57] Roscoe has been active since the 70s in gay activism and has received multiple awards for his works. He received a PhD in the History of Conscience and taught several courses including topics on Native American Studies and anthropology at Berkley.[58]

Roscoe focuses on the Zuni and Navajo tribe of the Southwest. His historical account begins with a comprehensive historical analysis of the Zuni tribe and its role during the push of manifest destiny. Using the field work of early anthropologists and the documentation from U.S. offices, Roscoe traces the history of We'Wha, a Zuni Two-Spirit individual. Born biologically male, We'Wha dressed and preformed the role of a woman. Well known for her role as a "grandmother" to all the tribal children, We'Wha was considered an ambassador for her tribe and even had the privilege of meeting President Cleveland and considering him a friend. Roscoe's book does not offer anything necessarily new to the interpretation of the Two-Spirit people but instead documents the narrative of We'Wha's life in an unprecedented way. The book is fascinating look at Zuni perceptions of gender and sexuality.

Roscoe later released another book on the subject of Two-Spirit people; this second book, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (1998), demonstrated the strength of Roscoe's ability to analyze and interpret historical information to bring a new understanding of gender variance.[59] *Changing Ones* remains one of the best-written, researched

[57] Will Roscoe, *The Zuni Man- Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991)
[58] Will Roscoe, "Who is Will Roscoe…" *Willsworld.org, 2012. Accessed April 1, 2014. http://www.willsword.org/whois.html*
[59] Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998)

and comprehensive studies of gender variance not only in North America but throughout the world. Roscoe draws from a series of case studies and uses these to explore the theoretical implications of multiple fields including anthropology, history, and gender studies. By tracing the histories of third and fourth genders throughout North America, Roscoe reconstructs the roles in traditional tribal cultures to reveal contemporary perspectives today. In this book, Roscoe dedicates an entire chapter to writing about the life of Hosteen Klah. Additionally, in 1997 he wrote an article titled *We'Wha and Klah: The American Berdache as Artist and Priest* about both Hosteen Klah and We'wha, two third-gendered individuals who played remarkably similar roles within their southwestern tribes as both leaders and artisans.[60] This article is the spring broad for my work, in which Roscoe makes the argument that the legacies of Klah and We'wha are unique to their third-gendered statuses because their roles allowed them to pursue realms of knowledge and tribal activities typically closed to first or second-gendered tribal members.

Supplementing the field of gender studies came a book from Sabine Lang, *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures* (1998).[61] Lang aimed to reappraise the available published sources. In *Men as Women, Woman as Men* the emphasis is on answering the question of whether the relationships of Two-Spirit people fit the classification by western culture as homosexual as well as researching the process of "changing" genders both ritualistically and through tribal roles, dress and sexual identities.

Sabine Lang hails from Germany and begins her book by discussing the challenges of translating the entire work of *Men as Women, Women as Men.* It may therefore be worth

[60] Will Roscoe, "We'Wha and Klah: The American Berdache as Artist and Priest," *American Indian Quarterly* Vol 12 (1988), 127-150.
[61] Sabine Lang, *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998)

considering the possibility that some aspects of her theoretical work may be lost in translation. Despite these issues, Lang has contributed to the study of Two-Spirit People through multiple articles and works. She currently teaches at the University of Washington and specializes in the department of Women, Gender Studies and Sexualities. Despite her early contributions to the study of Two-Spirit people, most of her recent work focuses predominately on political science.[62]

Revisionist History Examines Scholarly Terminology, Findings, and Changing Perceptions

In the mid to late 1990s, postmodernist studies and perceptions of history sought to review history in a more objective stance. Awareness of the likelihood for bias in scholarly works increased. Historians asked themselves how certain words are interpreted and what this says about the way we write and review history. In the study of Two-Spirit people this led to the reappraisal of the words and terms used by historians. In books, essays and articles scholars fired shots at their colleagues for their use of inappropriate and misappropriated terminology when discussing Two-Spirit individuals.

Sabine Lang also contributed to this discussion with her work as an editor in the book *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality and Spirituality.* (Jacobs, Thomas, Lang 1997).[63] Along with editors Sue-Ellen Jacobs and Wesley Thomas, Lang and her contributors discuss several aspects of Two-Spirit people and culture in the book. There is, however, a strong argument made for the reappraisal of the terminology used when discussing or describing varying Two-Spirit individuals. With essay titles such as *You Anthropologists Get*

[62] Sabine Lang, *SabineLang.org.* accessed April, 2014. http://www.sabinelang.org
[63] Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, Sabine Lang, ed., *Two-spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1997)

Your Words Right (Hall) and *The Dilemmas of Desire: From Berdache to Two-Spirit* (Herdt), it is evident that many of the essays in the collection focus on the meaning behind the words used in scholarship. The editors of the collection cite that one goal of the work is to reappraise the use and conflicting terminologies relating to berdache as canon in the research field.[64]

In her essay *Various Kinds of Two-Spirit People*, Lang makes the argument that because not all Two-Spirit people entered sexual relationships, let alone same-sex relationships, it is not accurate to study Two-Spirit people as anything other than an occupational choice or role. Furthermore the study of Two-Spirit people through the lens of certain sexual orientations such as homosexuality is not valid because Native American cultures allowed for gender variance roles, whereas what is perceived as homosexual through a western perspective was actually the relationship between two different genders and therefore not technically homosexual.[65] In addition to discussing the effects and misconceptions caused by using words such as Berdache, the collection argues scholarship should instead be replaced with words that do not have attached meanings.

A very similar stance was taken in the article *Coming to Terms with Navajo "Nadleehi": A Critique of "Berdache", "Gay", "Alternative Gender" and "Two-Spirit"* (1998) by Carolyn Epple.[66] Epple is a professor of Anthropology at Sonoma State University.[67] She argues that there is a more systematic appraisal of terms such as Berdache, alternative gender, Two-Spirit, and traditional tribal words. With each, Epple describes the strengths and shortcomings of using

[64] Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang, ed., *Two-Spirit People,* 15.
[65] Ibid,,114.
[66] Carolyn Epple "Coming to Terms with Navajo "Nadleehi": A Critique of "Berdache", "Gay", "Alternative Gender" and "Two-Spirit." *American Ethnologist* Vol 25, (1998) 267-290.
[67] Microsoft Academic Search *Microsoft*. Accessed April 10, 2014. http://academic.research.microsoft.com/Author/45712449/carolyn-epple

each word. Epple argues that overall the study of Two-Spirit people has been too closely examined through gender study and sexual lenses have obscured the epistemologies of other cultures.[68]

Similarly, Thomas and Jacobs examined terminology defining Two-Spirit individuals. As they did in the collection of essays *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality and Spirituality* (1997), Thomas and Jacobs again contribute to the discussion of use of terminology in scholarship in the article "*…And We are Still Here": Berdache to Two-Spirit People.*[69] What made this article different than the others, however, was that Thomas and Jacobs focused their research on the changing terminologies used by Native Americans themselves. They used this to document the changing perceptions and self-identifications of contemporary Two-Spirit people. The authors state in particular that they are not interested in the connection between sexuality and gender, but more so in the changing of gender variance identities throughout the course of individuals' lives.[70] Within their article Thomas and Jacob explore the role that certain terminologies have on the perceptions of homosexuals, homophobia and HIV on contemporary reservations.

This interest in contemporary issues blends with other focuses of the time. In the late 1990s scholars started connecting the history of Two-Spirit people with contemporary issues, such as reservation life and the activism of gay, queer, trans or Two-Spirit people in Native American society. This reflection on contemporary issues, influenced by LBGTQ activism, gave the history of traditionally marginalized queer populations a voice.

---

[68] Epple "Coming to Terms with Navajo "Nadleehi", 279.
[69]Wesley Thomas and Sue-Ellen Jacobs, "…And we are Still Here": Berdache to Two-Spirit People" *American Indian Research and Culture Research Journal 20,no 2.(1999)*
[70] Thomas and Jacobs, "…And we are Still Here", 100-101.

Evelyn Blackwood discusses the relationship of traditional Native American Two-Spirit within the gay urban scene for contemporary Native American lesbians. Blackwood is a socio-cultural anthropologist. She received her PhD from Stanford University and specializes in matrilineal tribes of West Sumatra, Indonesia and studies female same-sex relations outside the West.[71] In her book, *Female Desires: Same Sex-Sex Relations and Transgendered Practices Across Cultures* (1999) Blackwood discusses the history and prevalence of same-sex relationships amongst women across the world. [72]

In her section describing Native American Two-Spirits Blackwood marks the changing roles and perceptions of female Two-Spirit and lesbians. She discusses the role of lesbians on and off the reservation, and asks the questions of how they self-identify, whether or not they connect more so with the LBGTQ communities off the reservation or if they embrace the identity of a Two-Spirit. Do they see the two as mutually exclusive? Her exploration of the connection between contemporary Native Americans and their past reveals the influences of European perspectives and aims to reveal the interpretation of Two-Spirit today by Native Americans.

Brian Joseph Gilley has written several articles and publications on the subject of homophobia and LBGTQ perceptions in the sphere of Native American culture and currently teaches at the University of Vermont in the anthropology department.[73] On a similar vein, Gilley explores contemporary Two-Spirit roles but with a focus on men on and off the reservation and their participation in activism. He did not however, begin his research with the intent to write

[71] Evelyn Blackwood "Evelyn Blackwood: Department of Anthropology," *Department of Sociology and Anthropology at University of Purdue, http://web.ics.purdue.edu/~blackwoo/*
[72] Evelyn Blackwood *Female Desires: Same Sex-Sex Relations and Transgendered Practices Across Cultures,* (New York: Columbia Press University, 1999)
[73] Microsoft Academic Search *Microsoft*. Accessed April 10, 2014. http://academic.research.microsoft.com/Author/34603440/brian-joseph-gilley

about Two-Spirit people; instead, he began his research interested in the way Native American societies were dealing with the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

He addresses and explains his lack of information on female Two-Spirits on his having based his research on first-hand experiences and interviews with two gay civil rights groups that predominately support gay male Native Americans. His research focuses on the development of these activist groups as well as works to uncover the process of "becoming Two-Spirit".[74] Foster argues that the isolation that gay native men felt from their tribes and urban gay communities along with racism from non-native societies is a struggle, the process of which is what he considers part of becoming a contemporary Two-Spirit.[75] Gilley, contrary to Epple, supports the term Two-Spirit as being a more realistic and grounded term used by contemporary Two-Spirit peoples.

In *Long Before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America*, Thomas A. Foster creates a revisionist history of the Two-Spirit history in America. Foster argues that the work of Will Roscoe and Walter L. Williams are caught up in contemporary gay liberation movements. By "placing the Berdache in a venerated role, unfettered by homophobic cultures"[76], they do not, Foster argues, clearly depict the true life experiences for many traditional Two-Spirit people. He opens his research by first pointing out that many of the sources used to inform historians' writings are largely from Spanish perceptions of the Two-Spirit. Conscientious of source bias or not, Foster contends that one cannot completely remove oneself from the inherent vice of these sources. He also makes an argument for the negative perception of Two-Spirit and

[74] Brian Gilley, *Becoming Two-Spirit: Gay Identity and Social Acceptance in Indian Country (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2005), xii.*
[75] Brian Gilley, *Becoming Two-Spirit, ,xii.*
[76] Thomas A Foster, *Long Before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexualities in Early America. (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 28.*

Berdache by citing the language surrounding the Delaware men who are referred to as "women" and forced to wear wampum belts after facing military defeat by the Iroquois.

A Queer History of the United States by Michael Bronski also takes a jab at the revisionist perspective.[77] The book covers sexual history beginning in the 15th century to modern times. Bronski argues that history has been predominately written from a heteronormative perspective, suggesting that even historians even those with queer interests at heart continue to write queer history from the perspective that is fitting into a heteronormative world. When discussing the Two-Spirit he focuses mostly on the European perspectives of proper sex and how the differing sexual practices of the Native Americans opened them up for not only subjugation but the belief that all Native people were lower than whites.

In 2011 Sandra Slater released a book with a similar argument in *Gender and Sexuality in Indigenous North America 1400*-1850.[78] By studying colonial perspective of Native Americans and Two-Spirit people we can open a dialogue about the contemporary issues facing these people today. "While the essays in the collection do not directly tackle current controversies, they do offer important historical background suggesting perhaps the roots of contemporary controversies and ways to address them."[79] Slater's book offers valuable historical information from the colonial perspective to contrast with the contemporary perspectives of Native Americans today.

Slater explores European views of masculinity and how westerners viewed Native American men as "un-masculine" whereas native women were viewed as more masculine. This

[77] Michael Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011)
[78] Sandra Slater, *Gender and Sexuality in Indigenous North America, 1400-1850. (New York: St. Martin's Publishing, 1998)*
[79] Sandra Slater, *Gender and Sexuality in Indigenous North America,: 35*.

opens the door, for interpretations about biased gender perspectives written from colonial perspectives. This book also explores Two-Spirit people in two ways, as spiritual leaders and warriors, which contradicts the information in Thomas's article that suggests that Two-Spirit people is a term for one who possess two spirits but is not spiritual or religious in nature.

The next exploration of contemporary or changing perceptions of Two-Spirits people is the exploration of the connection between Native American family units and ideas of sexuality. In his book, *When Did Indians Become Straight?* (2011), Mark Rifkin documents the changing organization of Native American kinship from the pressures of U.S. policies during the colonial and expansive period.[80] What is unique about Rifkin's book is that he uses Native American literature from the time and the policies themselves reveal the shifting perception of queer and alternative genders in Native American society. He argues that the queer society in Native American culture is not gone but has undergone a changing perception that continues today.

For the past sixty years we have seen the study of Two-Spirit people go from a little understood phenomenon to a fully appreciated and respected facet of Native American society. Two-Spirit people are and have been studied through a variety of lenses and perspectives depending on the researcher and the climate of the time. Initially Two-Spirit people were seen as a backward cultural phenomenon, then as a unique occupational and spiritual role before becoming connected with the contemporary LBGTQ community and studied as a gender variance and sexual identity.

While the genre of gender studies examines the role of various Two-Spirit peoples throughout North America and within various tribes, I wish to carry this knowledge into a

[80] Mark Rifkin, *When Did Indians Become Straight?: Kinship, The History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011)

narrower examination of the *nadle* within the Navajo tribe. Using the substantial amount of work written on the gender studies and gender variance in North America teamed with the detailed studies of Navajo social structure, religion, and weaving culture I intend to blend the two fields and create a more focused examination of the changing perception and role of *nadleehi* individuals within the Navajo tribe, specifically through the life and work of Hosteen Klah. By using detailed ethnological and anthropological examinations of Navajo religion, weaving, and social structure, as well as first-hand information about Klah's life, I will contribute a better understanding of the *nadleehi* status within the Navajo tribe in general. Additionally I will explore the motivations for Klah's experimentation in weaving religious dry paintings. I will investigate if Klah's works represent a larger cultural shift in the Navajo tribe, a personal expression of faith and identity, an economic venture or a combination of several motivating factors.

Chapter 2. One Who is Transformed: The Spanish Mission, Repressive Masculinity and It's Influence on the Navajo Nadleehi

Nadleehi individuals within the Navajo tribe continue to endure in aspects of tribal customs despite the introduction of heteronormative gender roles by the Spanish conquistadors and later through Christian missionaries. However, if we are to really understand the changing perceptions of the Navajo Two-spirit through time, we must begin before contact with outside influences. This is difficult however, when one considers that many of our earliest written records regarding *nadleehi* people are from the Spanish perspective. Even Navajo testimony, such as those given to anthropologist, Willard. W. Hill, are given by Navajo who already lived drastically different lives than those of their pre-Columbian ancestors. Nevertheless, it is possible to demonstrate the elevated status of the *nadleehi* within the Navajo tribe through a study of their relationship with other Southwestern tribes, as well as Navajo social structures and religion.

The exploration of these aspects of Pre-Columbian life will better illuminate the evolving social role and perception of Two-Spirit people within the Navajo tribe before contact with the Spanish in the 16th century and later, through the introduction of more rigid gender roles through Spanish and Christian missionaries throughout the Southwest. When early Spanish explorers made contact with the Navajo and other Southwestern tribes, they understood very little about the intricacies of Pueblo and Navajo philosophies, religions, and social roles. Overtime, like the sand and wind that shaped the landscape of the Southwest, western influences etched Navajo culture, slowly eroding the traditional role and perception of *nadle* individuals.

The Navajo People and the Pueblo Influence

Linguistic and archaeological evidence strongly indicates that the Navajo once made an ancient migration down from the north, through the plains, where they eventually stopped in the Southwest. Edward Sapir, an anthropologist and linguist, describes the grammatical and linguistic evidence within the Navajo language that supports this theory. Sapir points out the shared commonality between the Navajo language and other dialects that fall within the Athaspaskan (Sometimes called Athabaskan or Dene) dialect. Most interestingly, Sapir points towards the frequency of canoeing metaphors and idioms within the Navajo language. One example lies in the meaning behind the phrase "I am getting sleepy." The literal meaning of this phrase in Navajo is "Sleep paddles away from me".[81] Additionally, The Navajo referred to the owl as "One who brings darkness back in his canoe."[82]

These references to canoes and large bodies of water seems a far cry from the Navajo country of aired plateaus. Sapir summarizes his findings thusly: "Such locutions seem to stem from a cultural setting in which travel by canoe was such much a matter of course that it could be transferred to the supernatural world." [83]Additionally, Ruth and Stanley Freed, linguists studying the relationship terms used by the tribes of the Southwest, found shared variation in Navajo kinship terms used in throughout the Navajo region, finding that the "low mountain and piñon region resembles in some ways the crow type terminology of the nearby Hopi".[84] This finding

[81] Edward Sapir, "Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho", *American Anthropologist,* Vol 38, (1936): 233.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Stanley A Freed, and Ruth S. Freed "A Note on Regional Variations in Navajo Kinship Terminology" *American Anthropologist,* Vol 72, (1970): 1443.

seems to support not only an influential linguistic relationship between the Navajo and the Hopi of the region, but also a shared commonality in the social structures of their tribes.

Archaeological evidence also supports the theory that the Navajo made a migration sometime between 1,000 to 500 years ago down from the north. Archaeological sites dotting from the Great Lakes, Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico all show hogan-like structure qualities.[85] Others argue that Navajo ancestors built these structures as early as 1000 A.D, indicating an older migration.[86] In the Gobernador region of Utah, a pueblito exemplifying the architectural relationship between the Navajo and the Pueblo people suggests a possible co-habitation or at the very least a close relationship between the two peoples.[87] This evidence is furthered by pottery shards with distinctive Navajo designs within the pueblito, suggesting a trade relationship. In addition to this, it is the Pueblo, who are accredited with teaching the Navajo the art of weaving. Although, by the early 17th century the Navajo distinguished themselves as master weavers in their own right.[88] This impact on the art of the Navajo tribe becomes significant when discussing the artists' contributions of *nadle* individuals who often garnered a reputation as excellent weavers.

While the Pueblo people and Navajo maintained a close relationship after the migration southward, further ethnological and religious comparisons between the Navajo and Pueblo also reveal shared ethnological, ceremonial, and cultural similarities, including the sharing of folk

[85] A Hogan is a traditional Navajo home. They are generally simple structures with a single door, a rounded roof and often times a mud or adobe exterior. Although rounded hogans are most common they have also been observed with flat roofs or square or pentagon wall structures. Indoor ceremonies are carried out in hogans, with temporary hogan structures used by traveling medicine men.
[86] Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorthea Leighton, *The Navaho* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946). 33.
[87] Dorothy Keur, "A Chapter in Navaho-Pueblo Relations", *Society of American Archaeology* Vol 10, (1944), 79.
[88] Kate Peck Kent, *Pueblo Indian Textiles: A Living Tradition* (Santa Fe: University of Washington Press, 1983), 11.

lore. One myth in particular makes reference to the Navajo migration and discusses the moment the Navajo first encountered the Pueblo.

The Noqoilpi myth displays not only the Navajo relationship with the Pueblo but also the high esteem with which the Navajo held the Pueblo. In the story, Noqoilpi, a Navajo gambling god, enslaved the Pueblo people. In the narrative, collected by anthropologist Washington Matthews from a Navajo collaborator, makes reference to their ancient migration.[89] As they moved south the Navajo described encountering a wondrous people, with an abundance of wealth in shells, beads, and turquoise. Their towering adobe structures were unlike any the Navajo had seen before. Yet, the Pueblo people were kept in servitude to the gambling god, forced to build his city. As more and more Pueblo people challenge the gambling god in a desperate bid to free their friends and kinsmen, more failed to beat the unstoppable gambler. Those who lost to the god were forced into labor, constructing high walled cities which glowed a golden radiance as the setting sun cast its last light on the adobe stucco. These cities in their stature and strength no doubt left an impression on the Navajo, and it is also worth noting that the Pueblo people seemed so great in number that the Navajo lost count as more and more became indentured to Noqoilpi.[90]

Yet, this story represents only one example of a shared mythology between the tribes. Within the pueblo Hopi tribe, there exists a pair of mythological twins, similar to those in the Navajo emergence story of the Hero Twins.[91] Additionally, countless animal and nature symbols

[89] Washington Matthews, "Noqoìlpi, the Gambler: A Navajo Myth", *The Journal of American Folklore,* Vol 2. (1885), 89.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Franc Newcomb, Franc Newcomb Papers Original Notes, MSS A-H, Origin and Comparison of Symbols, Located within the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, Santa Fe, New Mexico (here after cited as WMAI)

are shared in sandpaintings such as deer, snakes, and birds.[92] Indeed, many of the Navajo sandpainting designs themselves seem inspired by Pueblo creations. Franc Newcomb best describes the influence of the Pueblo on the Navajo, while still asserting Navajo autonomy, saying: "Contact with the more culturally advanced Pueblo did not change the basic laws or the established religious observances of the these Navajo people, but it did add greatly to the number of rites, ceremonies, prayer chants, and group dances they included."[93]

Newcomb also compares the Pueblo medicine man and Navajo medicine man, describing the Navajo medicine man as almost an on-call house doctor, carrying his supplies to his patient, often constructing a hogan when he reached his destination. However, the Pueblo medicine man traditionally kept his supplies and his ceremonies limited to his underground kiva. Despite these differences it is evident that the Pueblo kiva influenced the evolution of the Navajo ceremonial hogan. Frank Waters attributes the Pueblo influence for creating the elaborate Navajo ceremonies we know today, including the significance the hogan structure in their ceremonies, which he asserts the pueblo Kiva directly inspired.[94]

Although this southward migration may seem inconsequential, this evidence points the blossoming of a cultural relationship between the Navajo people and the native Southwestern Pueblo tribes. Archeological and ethnological evidence argues that the Pueblo tribes and the Navajo people engaged in sparing, co-habitation, and trade. Additionally, Pueblo social and kinship structures may have influenced the Navajo perspective on third and fourth gendered individuals within their tribe. The significance of this relationship between the Navajo people indicates that a sharing of the Pueblo perspective that may have affected not only their

[92] Franc Newcomb, Origin and Comparison of Symbols, WMAI.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Frank Waters, *Masked Gods: Navaho and Pueblo Ceremonialism* (Chicago: The Swallow Press, 1950), 28.

ceremonies, folk lore, and weaving practices but also social structures. Historian Frank Waters asserts that when the Navajo happened upon the Pueblo they developed a matrilineal social structure,"always the sign of a people polarized to the intuitive, feminine side of man." [95]

In addition to this, many Pueblo tribes, included Two-Spirit roles within their societies. The Zuni, for instance had "Ihamana" or "Kol--hama" meaning "girl-boy."[96] One Zuni in particular, We'Wha, shared many similarities to the life of Hosteen Klah as a tribal leader and weaver-artisan. The Southwestern Hopi tribe used the term "Kwasaitaka" meaning "skirt man" to describe their third gendered citizens.[97] While third and fourth gendered persons likely enjoyed a place in Navajo society before meeting the Pueblo, it is likely that the artistic, cultural, and religious influences of the Pueblo people helped carve the niche in Navajo society for the *nadle*. The introduction of weaving created a role of the *nadleehi* as artisans. Additionally, the diffusion of ethnology between the groups often supported sexual variance through similar mythological characters and deities. Further religious influences in sandpainting, chants, and ceremony advanced Navajo theology and further solidified their iconography including depictions and ethnology of Two-Spirit gods and the balance of masculine and feminine within natural phenomena.

Two-Spirit People in Navajo Religious Ceremony and Myth

For the Navajo, the creation story and the mothway myth both demonstrate the historical and spiritual significance of the *nadle* within the tribe. The Navajo origin story described by historian Walter Williams, states that in the beginning men and women began equally and at the

[95] Waters, *Masked Gods*, 29.
[96] Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America,* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998), 220.
[97] Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 222.

same time.[98] They lived in one of two "worlds" known to the Navajo but they remained unhappy and escaped to a world where the "changing ones" lived. The changing ones took the appearance of two hero twins called "White Shell Girl" and "Turquoise Boy."[99] The twins created the first smoking pipe, baskets, axes, stonework, and pottery.[100] The twins are accredited with inventing many clever tools, methods, and crafts that bettered the Navajo way of life. Ironically many of the tools created by the twins are connected with either male or female activities. For instance, weaving is generally considered a woman's art.[101] Yet the *nadle* spirits represented a balance of both the feminine and masculine.[102] Concepts of gender and sexual gradation are common in Navajo stories, from the *nadle* twins, to deities like *begochiddy*, in the Navajo tradition.[103]

The *nadle* spirit makes another appearance in the mothway myth. Slim Curly, a Navajo man recorded a tale of *begochiddy* in the mothway myth. The story outlines the development of Navajo intolerance of close-relational incest.[104] In the legend, *begochiddy* a pan-sexual Two-Spirit deity lives on the banks of a beautiful river. *Begochiddy* created all manner of plant and animal life there.[105] He created white blossoms that attracted the white moths or butterflies that frequent the banks of the river. *Begochiddy* often pranked unsuspecting hunters or maidens. In the middle of the hunt, just as the hunter took aim, *begochiddy* would sneak up behind him and

[98] Curly Txoaxedlini Interviewed by Leland Wyman, Leland Clifton Wyman Papers on Navajo Myths and Sandpainting, MSS 650 BC, folder on Prositution and Mothway Myth, V. Located within the Center for Southwestern Research, University of New Mexico, Albquerque. (here after cited as CSWR).
[99] Walter Williams, *Spirit of the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture,* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986) 19.
[100] Williams, *Spirit of the Flesh,* 19.
[101] C.E. Vandever to Comissioner of Indian Affairs, August 22, 1890. Report on Navajo Agency. Box 2, folder 1, 161. CSWR.
[102] Curly Txoaxedlini Interviewed by Leland Wyman, Leland Clifton Wyman Papers on Navajo Myths and Sandpainting, 95. CSWR.
[103] Mary C. Wheelright, Mary C. Autobiography and Related Materials, Folder MSS733 SC, 25. CSWR
[104] Curly Txoaxedlini Interviewed by Leland Wyman, 94, CSWR.
[105] Curly Txoaxedlini Interviewed by Leland Wyman, 95, CSWR.

grab his gentiales and say "Be-go! Be-go!."[106] Other variations of *begochiddy's* tale describe him as more powerful deity, one in charge of creating and naming many of the wild animals, or as a guardian to the early Peoples who climbed up from the lower levels of creation. While this specific tale of the *nadle* spirit seems comical, it underlies the significance of the Two-Spirit deity as a creator of life, a balance between the sexes, and demonstrates the deep influence these spirits had on the development of Navajo craft, tools, as well as defining taboos.

The life of Hosteen Klah remains an example of the spiritual significance and supernatural power often attributed to Two-Spirits within the Navajo Tribe. Marcy C. Wheelwright, a friend of Klah, described powerful displays of Klah's shamanism and medicine works. She recounted a twister that came upon them while driving through the region, and how Klah performed a medicine song to end the storm right before her eyes.

> They saw a whirlwind coming toward them, a real little cyclone, which was a rare occurrence in that region and they were very much frightened… He (Klah) was the last priest of the Hail Chant and by that time the hair storm was near and it was hailing hard. He stooped and took some of the hail stones and put them in his mouth. Then he blew them toward the whirling storm and it dissolved and did not come any nearer.[107]

Later, when asked to the recount the story about how he "blew away the storm with his breath", Klah simply laughed and said "Yes, I blew it away with my breath."[108] The legends about the *nadle* not only indebted the Navajo people to their incredible work ethic and creativity but also

[106] Curly Txoaxedlini Interviewed by Leland Wyman, 95. CSWR.
[107] Wheelright, Folder MSS733 SC, 18, CSWR.
[108] Wheelright, Folder MSS733 SC, 19, CSWR.

displayed their ability to yield power. The account of Hosteen Klah's ability to blow away the storm represents a demonstration of the powerful medicine work endowed within some *nadle*. These displays of power, as well as the background of spiritual mythos and cultural importance provided the social foothold *nadle* needed to maintain a position of respect within their tribes.

In other areas of Navajo philosophy are frequent repetitions of duality, or a balance between femininity and masculinity. To the Navajo, all life brims with a balance of feminine and masculine traits. To an outsider, these may seem bizarrely appointed, each color, element, or natural phenomena endowed with a gendered attribute that seems, as randomly chosen as the roll of the dice. However, when a Navajo looked across the basin floor, and saw the yellow ochre of the canyon sand, or in the churning torrents of the flood waters, they saw color, direction, and gender. In Navajo art, particularly in sandpainting, elements of direction, color, form, are often tied to gender.[109]

This connection to all also seems to feed into the belief that all things share in duality, in that they share some masculine and feminine qualities. This is not a measure of one's self-worth or a definition of their sexual orientation. The Navajo people simply abide by the observation that all people have both a balance of masculine and feminine strengths. In the physical sense this belief is manifested in the view that a division lies within each man and woman, their "feminine side" often the right side of the body, and their "masculine side" typically the left side of the body. [110] In artwork duality is almost always present, represented often by the directional placement of design elements, the colors attributed to them, or also certain symbols. Duality is also present in

[109] Franc Newcomb, *A Study of Navajo Sandpaintings* (New York: Kraus Reprint Collection, 1968), 48.
[110] Lousie Lamphere, "Replacing Heteronormative Views of Kinship and Marriage", *American Ethnologist*, vol 32, 2005, 35.

many of the religious stories of numerous Navajo deities and furthers a cultural acceptance of masculine and feminine blending. Examples of gods which have been known to change appearance or gender include Changing Woman, Hero Twins and *Beggochiddi*.[111]

Tribal Jobs, Activities, and Economic Contributions of the Two-Spirit

Two-Spirit people within the Southwest took a variety of jobs on in their daily lives. Some Two-Spirit, took on the role as mediator between the sexes during marital disputes or other relationship issues, by uniquely understanding the needs to each sex.[112] Two-Spirit also often took the roles as artisans or craftsmen. A biologically female Two-Spirit may take up the activities traditional to that of a man by hunting and warring while a biologically male Two-Spirit may take up the agricultural or craft practices traditionally used by women.[113] Still others may have taken all these roles and along with that of the venerated shaman or medicine man or medicine woman.[114] A Navajo man once described the role of the medicine man in the tribe in the way that a white man may describe the role of the surgeon.[115] Navajo medicine treated both body and mind.[116]

Two-Spirit industrial work ethic also meant more than just a spiritual or healing strength, but also supported the tribe in a material sense. The Mohave, a Southwestern tribe, considered their Two-Spirit people or "*alyha"* to be the best workers.[117] This seemed especially true in the art of weaving, which after a few hours often caused eye fatigue, aches in the wrists and back. The a*lyha*, however seemed to endure the tedious work for hours. They tended to the crops endlessly

[111] Louis Lamphere, "Symbolic Elements in Navajo Ritual", *Journal of Anthropological Research,* Vol 42, 1986, 445.

[112] Roscoe, *Changing Ones,* 8.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Witchcraft- Grave Robbing Account, March 28, 1948. Box 2, Folder MSS672, CSWR.
[116] Witchcraft, March 28, 1948, CSWR.
[117] Williams, *Spirit of the Flesh, 35.*

and wove impeccably. Comparing a woman's weaving work to that of a Two-Spirit stood as high compliment.[118]

The Transition into Two-Spirit: From Childhood to Adulthood

The process or transition or becoming Two-Spirit varies among tribes, with some tribes taking into consideration biologically intersexed individuals as well as third and fourth gendered individuals. As to whether a *nadle* required intersexed genitalia traditionally is up for dispute.[119]The indication is that many Navajo believed an individual did not need to have intersexed genitalia, although when asked on the subject many Navajo described the idea that *nadle* who did not possess intersexed genitalia were merely *nadle* "pretenders."[120] Some scholars have suggested the significance of intersex genitals, may be derived from the high instances of inbreeding within their sheep herds, which may have resulted in a higher frequency of hermaphroditic genitalia.[121]

The initiation to become a *nadle* was entirely upon the choice of the child who showed *nadle*-like tendencies. Like many tribes within the Southwest, an interest in feminine tools, or activities showed potentiality for that child to assume the role of Two-Spirit. In most tribes however, the child alone held the right to choose to take on this role. Navajo teenagers were also likely to continue experimenting with their gender role in the tribe until the age of 18-25, at which point expectations permitted that they make a decision about their role.[122]

[118] Roscoe, *Changing Ones,* 45.
[119] W.W. Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture", *The American Anthropologist,* Vol 37, 1935. 273.
[120] Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture", 273.
[121] Roscoe, *Changing Ones,* 45.
[122] Ibid.

Nadle often cross-dressed, although unnecessary to be defined as a *nadleehi* within the tribal member's eyes. Some Navajo described both men and women wearing traditional garments of the opposite sex, a mixture of both or sometimes no change in traditional clothing at all.[123] Weaver Charlie, another famous Navajo weaver photographed in the 1850s wore a unique outfit neither entirely female nor male.[124] Indeed, it seems Two-Spirit people in the Navajo tribe wore a spectrum of feminine and masculine clothing according to descriptions of another *nadleehi*, Klah who often wore simple trousers and a blouse.[125]

It is difficult to know with certainty about the daily lives, sexual activities, dress, ceremonial roles, tribal roles and other aspects of Two-Spirit people in the Southwest before pre-Columbian times. While many tribal leaders can still recount the spiritual mythos or significance of their Two-Spirit origins, there are still tribes in which the full essence of their tribal significance is lost through assimilation and force. Often times only outside impressions are left recorded from Spanish expeditions, western ranchers, and colonizers.

Spanish Encounters and Perception of Two-Spirit people within the South West

As the first westerners to meet the tribes of the Southwest, written accounts of cross-dressing men and strange tribal peoples across the Atlantic shocked Europe. The Spanish viewed the radically different societies of the Southwest, as directly conflicting from their own European moral and religious codes. In the coming centuries, Two-Spirit people struggled to maintain their customs, tribal, and gender roles in the face of Spanish colonization, westernization, and Christian assimilation.

[123] Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 41.
[124] Ibid, 42.
[125] Wheelright, Folder MSS733 SC, 39 ,CSWR.

When the Spanish made their way into what is modern day Arizona and New Mexico, they described endless dry plains with hearty small brush, the scarcity of water, and the strange and welcoming people of the plateaus. In April 1583, Antonio De Espejo and a small expedition party of Spanish soldiers reached New Mexico.[126] The chief chronicler of the expedition recorded that the Spanish met and interacted with many tribes across the pueblo.[127] Despite the dry climate, they described how jubilantly the Indians or *indios* greeted them, bringing jugs of water and throwing flour into the air.[128] While there are few descriptions of Two-Spirit people recorded by the Spanish in the Southwest, Spanish documents reveal quite a bit about Spanish perceptions of femininity, cross-dressing, and homosexuality. The Spanish stance on these topics grew rigidly formed after centuries of influence by the Catholic Church, Spanish nationalism, and the Spanish war with the Moors.

In the collection of essays discussing concepts of honor in Spanish society, *Faces of Honor* (1998) discusses the importance of masculinity in Spanish perceptions of honor. Applying these findings to the effects of Spanish colonization can also shed some light on how the importance of masculinity also greatly affected Two-Spirit people. In Spain, concepts of morality and honor tied intrinsically with perceptions of masculinity and power.[129] Spain had a long and bloody history of war with the "technologically and intellectually" superior Moors.[130] As the war raged on Spain felt the need to bolster national pride by declaring themselves morally and spiritually superior to the Moors.[131] Because the Spanish considered themselves especially just

[126] George Hammond, *Navajo-Hopi Relations: Part 1: 1540-1882,* 2. Located within George Hammond Files, fold e993135 in CSWR.
[127] Hammond, *Navajo-Hopi Relations Part 1,* 3.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Lyman L Johnson and Sonya Lipsett Rivera, eds, *Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America* (Albuqreque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998) , 12.
[130] Williams, *Spirit of the Flesh,* 133.
[131] Ibid.

and moral, some found it difficult to come to terms with the way they treated the indigenous in the Americas. When the Spanish first arrived to the Americas they first considered the moral implications of colonizing Indian land, forcing the population in indentured work, and inflicting physical violence upon them.[132] Spain recognized such acts towards another population would be inhumane, but only if that people exhibited signs of having a soul.[133]

For this reason, the homosexual practices and perceived liberal attitudes towards sex in general furthered the perception that indigenous populations maintained no strict societal rules and could not be converted to Christianity.[134] To the Spanish, the indecency of the indigenous population served a means to justify not only the violence inflicted upon the Native peoples in the Southwest, but also began impressing the ideal of machismo, and Christianity into traditional culture.

Violence in the New World

Violence is well documented in the Americas during Spanish colonization, although many accounts take place in modern day Mexico, Peru, or other areas of Central America, there are instances of violence within the Southwest as well. While no accounts of "berdache" are on record in New Mexico, Spanish encounters with cross-dressing *indios* inform perspectives that carried into the expansion of the Southwest. Coupled with the records on daily life in New Mexico and Arizona, documents from the *Archivo General de la Nacion de Mexico* shed light on

[132]Greorgorio de Leguia, July 24, 1652, AGN, Reales Cedules Principales, Tomo 4, Archive General Box 9, Folder 39, 2 CSWR.
[133] Williams, *Spirit of the Flesh,* 137.
[134] Williams, *Spirit of the Flesh,* 137.

the Spanish perception of use of force, physical violence and punishment, and the general repulsion early Spanish explorers had for homosexuality and feminine men.

Indigenous people within the Americas and the Southwest experienced violence through the use of force used by Spanish explorers. As the Spanish worked their way through the pueblos of New Mexico for instance, they began claiming the sites in the name of the Spanish king. The Spanish gave little thought to existing culture and society of the indigenous peoples in the region.[135] The uprooting of Native American societies through the assertion of Spanish control extended into physical and cultural violence. Native Americans in the Southwest were held to new standards of societal demands including forced labor, taxation, and new government institutions. Other records show Spanish officials requesting indigenous populations in general be "reduced."[136] Still other records describe instances where Native Americans were murdered and their mules stolen.[137]

While the native population in general suffered, Two-Spirit individuals in particular became the targets of violence. In 1513 the Spanish explorer Balboa set his dogs on forty "berdache."[138] One Spanish official described his actions as "a fine action of an honorable and Catholic Spaniard."[139] For Spain, the crime of sodomy was second only to heresy.[140] In Peru,

[135] Ibid.
[136] Archivo General Nacional (AGN), Reales Cedules Principales, Tomo 17, Archive General, Box 9, Folder 193, 1-2. CSWR.
[137] Joseph de Veitia Linage, September 26, 1668, AGN, Reales Cedules Principales, Tomo 17, Archive General Box 9, Folder 193, 1-2.
[138]Will Roscoe, *The Zuni Man Woman*, (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, 1991),172.
[139] Wiliams, *Spirit of the Flesh*, 137
[140] Ibid.

sodomites burned the stake.[141] Friars enforced heteronormativity with whippings.[142] The Spanish saw the homosexuality in Indians as a justification for the conquest of the new world.[143]

Spanish Concepts of Gender Roles and Masculinity

To the Spanish, Two-Spirits offended strict concepts of gender norms, and concepts of masculinity. Their openly wanton displays of femininity including feminine dress, speech, and occupation as well as their sexual practices made Two-Spirits easy targets for explorers like Balboa and others. Spanish society expected honorable men to be masculine, passionate, and strong.[144] Masculinity was so intrinsically tied with honor, that most Spanish men asserted their masculinity or protected their honor through violent duels.[145] In Spanish society the division between the male sphere and female sphere was evident in social, private, and occupational expectations.[146] Men held a dominate role in Spanish society in almost every sense. Seeing Two-Spirit men taking the roles and occupations of women, such as planting crops and weaving must have appeared to them as the abandonment of the virtues and dominance of a masculinity.

In addition to this, the sexual practices of third-gendered individuals further distanced themselves from concepts of masculinity and dominance. In Spanish society men took the role as "activators" sexually, as the initiator and penetrator during sex. The two roles, the "active" role, of the penetrator, and the "passive" role of the one being penetrated created a very rigid concept of gender roles as it pertained to sex. [147] Two-Spirit people often took the role as passive

[141] Roscoe, *The Zuni Man Woman*, 173.
[142] Roscoe, The Zuni Man Woman, 175
[143] Roscoe, The Zuni Man Woman, 172
[144] Johnson and Lipsett-Riveria, eds, *Faces of Honor*, 85.
[145] Johnson and Lipsett-Riveria, eds, *Faces of Honor*, 86.
[146] Johnson and Lipsett-Riveria, eds, *Faces of Honor*, 54.
[147] Johnson and Lipsett-Riveria, eds, *Faces of Honor*, 54-56.

in their sexual encounters, with many completely shedding ties to their masculinity by preferring to have their penises referred to as a "cunnus" or clitoris.[148]

These perceptions over "active" and "passive", "submissive" and "dominate", and "effeminate" and "masculine" in Spanish colonization, played especially poorly for Two-Spirit who often times not only "sodomites" but generally were "passive" patterns in sex with other men, and in their daily lives took on the dress, mannerisms, and jobs of women in the tribe. For these reasons the Spanish reacted harshly on their first encounters and subsequent years of interactions with the Southwestern tribes and their Two-Spirit persons.

However, as adamantly as early conquistadors justified violence against the Native Americans, within a short amount of time views shifted. Missionaries campaigned for mercy and kindness to be shown to the indigenous population under the argument that with conversion, their souls could be saved.[149] By the 17th century many accounts of the indigenous within Central and South American shifted from condemnation to hopes of converting them. Descriptions of indigenous people came to Spain, calling them "miserably mistreated children" or "vassels."[150] Missions sprouted not only to support the Catholic Spanish colonies but to evangelize to the new souls.[151] During this time the pueblo Indians secreted away their Two-Spirit members, concealing their ceremonies, but continued to retain a reverence for them.[152] Indeed, by all

[148] Williams, Spirit of the Flesh, 177.
[149] Greorgio de Leguia, May 23, 1652 AGN, Reales Cedules Principales, Tomo 4, Archive General Box 8, Folder 39, 4.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Greorgorio de Leguia, June 15, 1654, AGN, Reales Cedules Principales, Tomo 5, Archive General Box 9, Folder 44, 2.
[152] Roscoe, the Zuni Man Woman, 176

accounts, (other than Spanish) Two-Spirit people continued in records, noted by the Hispanic communities as "mujerado" or "made-woman" described wearing skirts.[153]

Christianity Displaces Two-Spirit in Religion and Family

The Spanish missionaries that sprouted in an effort to evangelize to the indigenous further negatively affected perceptions of Two-Spirit People. From the Catholicism of Spain, to the Protestant, Mormon, and other Christian missionaries who came to the Southwest in search of adventure and souls for the lord, outside assimilation battered Native American customs and religious practices for centuries. Christianity largely affected Two-Spirit people for its biblical teachings that condoned such acts deemed sodomy, but also in intimate way that uprooted daily lives. An example of this is the Navajo Missionaries that funded boarding schools and other efforts at culture assimilation.

The Spanish Missionaries in the Southwest became the sites of small villages and trade posts.[154] When Spanish missionaries came to the Southwest they incited a sort of governmental control over the Indians. Friars doled out whippings for homosexual behavior and taxation was enforced.[155] During this time most affairs discussed in letters communicating between the Council of the Indies and the new Spanish territories discussed the payment made to Indians or owed to Indians for labor, but also the construction of chapels, monasteries and missionaries. [156] In 1658, one official wrote back to Madrid that the practices of the Indians had largely been

[153] Ibid.
[154] Greorgio de Leguia, November 2, 1652, AGN Reales Cedules Principales, Tomo 4, Archive General Mexico, Box 7, Folder 40, 1.
[155] Greorgio de Leguia, May 23, 1652, AGN, Reales Cedules Principales, Tomo 4, Archive General Mexico, Box 7, Folder 40, 1.
[156] Georgorio de Leguia, June 15, 1654, AGN, Reales Cedules Principales, Tomo 5, Archive General Box 9, Folder 44, 14.

reduced thanks to the introduction of Jesus Christ.[157] These churches and missionaries later served to be the hot spots of growth, trade and population within the Southwest. While the role of the church in Southwest satisfied many roles within the fabric of the community their influence had a great impact on the way Two-Spirit people practiced their roles publicly. Additionally, the church began the introduction of Christian values, governments, and power structures within the daily lives of the Indians who lived and traded alongside them.

While the Spanish missionaries brought upon violent dominion over the nearby pueblos and Southwestern tribes, they instilled a cultural violence through the attempted dismemberment of their traditional religious ceremonies and deities. Indeed, the pressure to control religious beliefs in the area played a part in the Pueblo revolts of the 1680s.[158] Roscoe asserts that the Hopi revolted against the Spanish for their attempts to stop kachina dances.[159] In the 1930s Klah described the deity *begochiddy* as the true name of the *nadle* spirit, but lamented that the deity's name and story faded from tribal memories.[160] Although many of these deities served an important role within the tribe, the Christian belief system had no room for multiple gods, especially those who, by western standards, glorified sodomy. The dismantlement of these religious concepts removed the cultural importance of Two-Spirit people not only from their tribal religions but also removed their spiritual place within everyday tribal roles.

While the Spanish missionaries did not completely erase tribal religions and customs, the practice of Christian assimilation, education and conversion throughout the and up to the 1930s eroded the spiritual and cultural role of two-spirit people. When Spain lost the territories to the

[157] Greogorio de Leguia, June 15, 1654, 31.
[158] Roscoe, *The Zuni Man Woman*, 175.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Wheelwright, Folder MSS733 SC, 28, CSWR.

U.S., Christianity affected the tribal customs from other Christian denominations as westerns headed out west. First Mormons settled in the area, building churches and schools with the intent of evangelizing and assimilating the Indian cultures. [161] These religious missionary groups served to further dismantle traditional tribal and gender roles by preaching rigid gender concepts, and a heteronormative life style and marriage. Christian concepts of marriage, and home-making also clashed with Native American ideas of marriage which included examples of polygamy, polyandry, and same-sex marriage.[162] Many converts began to ridicule Two-Spirits within their own tribes more harshly than outsiders. [163]

In addition to this, religious groups played a large part in construction of schools and hospitals in the region. Boarding schools in the regions impacted kinship connections by removing children from their homes to cut their hair, change their clothes, and educate them on western trades.[164] Removing the children from their homes not only displaced them from their family members but also removed them from extended kinship relationships responsible for teaching or instructing them in ceremonies or in the process of transition into a Two-Spirit role.

The Effects on Gender Roles, Spirituality and Kinship of Two-Spirit People

Ultimately Spanish and early Christian influences in the Southwest affected perceptions of Two-Spirit people by introducing strict concepts of masculinity and gender roles, dismantling kinship ties, and by eroding away the importance of traditional beliefs and deities. Maschismo, or masculinity greatly impacted the way Spanish perceived Two-Spirit men. Masculinity

[161] *The Navajo Problem*, Wathen's Report on the Navajo Situation, 1947, United States Department of Interior Office of the Indian Affairs, Box 2, Folder 21, 10, CSWR.
[162] C.E. Vandever to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 22, 1890. Report on Navajo Agency. Box 2, folder 1, 161. CSWR.
[163] Hill, "Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture", 278.
[164] *The Navajo Problem*, 106, CSWR.

remained one of the strongest concepts tied to Spanish virtue. For this reason, performing in feminine activities, dress or behaviors repulsed Spanish explorers.[165] This is evident through their particularly harsh treatment of "passive" participants of same-sex relationships throughout the inquisition.[166] Because the Two-Spirit people participated in a passive role or feminine role in daily lives through weaving, pottery, as well as child-rearing punishment fell swiftly upon them.

Traditionally, the Navajo remained a largely matrilineal society.[167] However, after the introduction of patriarchal societies through Spanish gender roles and masculinity as well as Christian concepts of heteronormativity and male headed house-holds, lead to fading of matrilineal society.[168] The weakening of matrilineal society coupled with the removal of children from their homes damaged the kinship structures that supported and welcomed femininity and Two-Spirit individuals. The Spanish impact of colonization, violence and Christian influence reveals how early concepts of masculinity introduced by the Spanish began to erode the spectrum on which many tribal peoples fell in their masculine or feminine qualities. Not only did these concepts disrupt matrilineal kinship, which celebrated the feminine, and accepted men with feminine qualities, Christianity altered the concepts of family by focusing on a male and female marriage, with more intimate families that rejected the constellation of kinships. In addition Christian boarding schools removed children from their spiritual mentors and tribal traditions that fostered Two-Spirit qualities and roles. However, despite all these influences, Navajo people maintained a cultural agency.

[165] Johnson and Lipsett-Riveria, eds, *Faces of Honor*, 171.
[166] Johnson and Lipsett-Riveria, eds, *Faces of Honor*, 62.
[167] C.E. Vandever to Comissioner of Indian Affairs, August 22, 1890, 1, CSWR.
[168] Roscoe, *The Zuni Man Woman*, 175

Chapter 3. Allotting Family Values: U.S. Policy and Anglo-American Influence on the Navajo Family 1864-1930

In years following the return from Fort Sumner, intertribal raiding continued to increase. A band of Ute proved to be particularly troublesome, raiding the nearby Tunicha Valley, destroying crops and looking for slaves to capture. Knowing the proclivity of her son to ride his pony far distances alone, Ashon Tonie worried for Klah's safety. When the family narrowly escaped one such skirmish, the decision was made to leave Hosteen in the guardianship of his maternal Uncle and Aunt. They lived on the western slope of the Lukachukai Mountain, far from the raids.[169] Here, under the tutelage of his Uncle, a Mescalero Apache medicine man, Klah began his introduction to ceremonialism and medicine making.[170]

Living up this is reputation as an independent child, the young Hosteen Klah continued to ride his horse unaccompanied. One such day, Klah explored the rocky terrain and outcrops of a mountain range near his Uncle's home. He spent a great deal time riding his horse along the slopes and around the bending canyons noticing the subtle differences of the land here than that of the steep drops near his Mother's hogan. On this particular day, Klah glanced upwards from his pony and eyed what appeared to be the mouth of a small cave, hidden with carefully placed stones and brush. There, secreted away, Klah discovered an amazing treasure. Covered with a thin layer of dust, lay the personal effects and ceremonial tools of a Navajo medicine man. After retrieving his Uncle, the two removed the remaining stones that blocked entrance to the cave. As their eyes adjusted to the dim light, many beautifully decorated bowls came into focus, but the best was yet to come: "The most surprising and awe-inspiring sight of all was the painted figures

[169] Franc Johnson Newcomb, Hosteen Klah: Navaho Medicine Man & Sand Painter, (University of Oklahoma: Norman, 1964), 89.
[170] Ibid.

on the walls. The surface of these walls must have been smoothed by hand to make a canvas for all the immortals in the Yeibichai pantheon…all marching in solemn procession around the walls, clothed in elaborate ceremonial costumes, the colors of which were as bright and clear as the day they were painted."[171]

What Klah and his Uncle stumbled upon that day marked a significant point in Hosteen Klah's life. From this cave, Klah obtained his first piece of medicine-making equipment. He chose a small flint arrowhead, found a distance from the medicine bundle or the other objects. Klah carried this arrowhead throughout his life and believed it held great power due to its age.[172] However, the site also represented an important turning point in Navajo history as well.

After examining the objects within the cave; including feathers, empty jars, and the medicine bundle, Klah's Uncle concluded that the objects once belonged to a Navajo medicine man. Perhaps he hid them before The Long Walk, his Uncle suggested.[173] He speculated that a medicine man, desperate to record his ceremonial knowledge, smoothed the walls and floors of the cave and then scribed the images of the pantheon carefully and tenderly. Completing his task, he left his most precious possessions behind, perhaps hoping to retrieve them again one day. That the mysterious medicine man never returned to collect his bundle suggests he succumbed to the long march, limited rations, or drought, like so many others that followed the trek to Bosque Redondo[174]

The Long Walk, represents in many ways a chasm left in Navajo culture, defining the period before and after U.S. presence intensified within the southwest. Both politically and

[171] Ibid, 93-94.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid.

socially the Diné people experienced drastic changes. The years of Navajo history defined as the American Period are often marred by famine, disease, an increase in inter-tribal skirmishes and Indian slavery. Hosteen Klah was born during this tumultuous period, and the effects of U.S. political and cultural nfluence echoed throughout many of the stories and experiences that painted Klah's life.

Just as Spanish influences in chapter two introduced a cultural erosion of traditional *nadle* roles and support structures, this pattern continues throughout the American Period. Within the American period the Diné people experienced a slow but persistent re-shaping of gender concepts, family structures, and traditional religions. These effects later play a large part in the way Klah and other *nadle* were perceived and, I will argue, in part motivated him to create his infamous sandpainting textiles.[175] Like the hidden painted cave, aspects of Navajo life that supported the role for *nadleehi* began to fade from memory or became hidden from the eyes of U.S. Agents. Indeed, the effects of U.S. policy and other Anglo-American influences greatly affected the Navajo views and uses of traditional kinship structures, religion, gender roles, and sexuality all of which played a part in supporting the role of the *nadle* within the Navajo tribe.

U.S. Government and Navajo Relationship

Beginning in 1848 the United States acquired the whole of Navajo land through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.[176] The Treaty expanded U.S. territory into what is current day New Mexico and allowed for the later expansion of U.S. territories into the areas of Utah, Colorado, Nevada and California.[177] U.S. Military leaders promised protection to the Navajo in

[175] View Chapter five for a more in depth analysis of Klah's sandpainting textiles and their relation to early chapters.
[176] Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo [Exchange copy], February 2, 1848; Perfected Treaties, 1778-1945; Record Group 11; General Records of the United States Government, 1778-1992; National Archives. (retrieved from the access to archives database www.archives.gov,
[177] Ibid.

the aftermath of the treaty and many Navajo hoped for an expansion of sovereignty and self-governing rights. However by winter, military expeditions expanded into Navajo territory and aggressively removed the Diné people from their tribal lands.[178] The Navajo and Apache took advantage of the chaos and confusion during the Civil War, and for a period of time enjoyed a reduction in U.S. military personnel within their lands.[179] However, by 1864 the substantial groups of Navajo began to surrender, overwhelmed by drought, outgunned, and outnumbered by U.S. military.

These events lead up to "The Long Walk." Beginning in March, 1864 the U.S. military removed the surrendered bands of Navajo and forced them to travel, often walking, over 300 miles to Fort Sumner, New Mexico.[180] Klah's own mother survived the walk as did many members of his community. Many historians consider this event to be the beginning of the decaying of traditional kinship bonds and leadership organization with the tribe.[181] At Fort Sumner the military often treated the Navajo as prisoners. Within the boundaries of their new territory, a discontent grew among the Navajo people directed not only at the white soldiers but also towards their own band leaders who seemed incapable of directing action or protecting their people from the disorganization and chaos.[182] In 1868, seeing that the relocation had been a failure, the U.S. allowed the Navajo to return to their traditional homelands, after signing the Navajo Treaty.

Clan Politics, Matrilineal Structures, and Gender Roles

[178] Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navaho* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 39-40.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Austin D. Raymond, *Navajo Courts and Navajo Common Law: A Tradition of Tribal Self-Governance.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 2.
[181] Ibid, 8.
[182] Ibid.

Hosteen Klah's mother, Slim Women, gave birth to him in 1867, as she and her husband made the trek back to *Nee-yai-tsay*, the home first established by her grandfather, Chief Narbona.[183] When the Navajo returned from Bosque Redondo, the unflinching confidence that they once held for their clan leaders diminished. The Diné had fallen on hard times in the past, but counted on the smaller clan leaders to speak on their behalf. The traditional Navajo "government" remained organized by clan leadership to address the needs of those closest to them. In the cases of important decisions that affected many, Clan members occasionally held large meetings called *Naachid*.[184] This lead to a more communal style political system wherein individual clans discussed concerns or desires with their clan leader. These clan leaders represented the voices of their individual clans and no individual clan leader held more power or influence than any other. At Fort Sumner one begins to see the incomplete understanding the U.S. government had for the Navajo political structure and its relationship to kinship clans. This egalitarian political organization made it difficult for the U.S. government to arrange treaties that suited each clan individually, while also fitting into the community.

Although, agents discussed organizing the Navajo reservation by separating the clans into twelve smaller "villages," this did not come to fruition.[185] Yet others, writing after the formation of the Navajo Council in 1924, lamented the mistakes made, suggesting that the transition to "educated politics" may have been made easier if the Navajo reservation had originally been organized into locally functioning groups, more similar to their traditional clan structures.[186]

---

[183] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah*, 62.
[184] Raymond, *Navajo Courts and Navajo Common Law*, 11.
[185] Ibid, 8.
[186] Navajo Explanatory Statement. Section 6, 6, Box 1, MS 1-4-4. Manuscript Collection, Located within the Wheelwright Research Library, Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, Santa Fe, New Mexico. (Here after cited as WMAI.)

Navajo politics and kinship organization also helped formulate the traditional gender roles, often placing both men and women as political, family and economic leaders. Traditionally, the Navajo practiced a matrilineal lineage tracing their ancestry through their mother's lines. Although, a common introduction between Navajo people is to say they "belong to their mother's clan but are born *for* their father's clan."[187] Matrilineal lines often dictated the division or inheritance of property, and the location of new homesteads after a marriage.[188]

Many of the earliest anthropologists to observe the Navajo throughout the 30s and 40s, commented on the matri-centered qualities of Navajo communities.[189] Many observed that women stood at the center of almost all aspects of Diné life and thought: "spiritual beliefs, kinship residence patterns, land-use patterns & economy."[190] Interviews from the period frequently mention women within the tribe as the owners of most sheep.[191] Women brokered the trade dealings between husbands and mother in laws. Because women owned and managed their own flocks, husbands often consulted wives in the economic decisions for the house hold. However, regardless of how the husband may choose to manage his flock, he could never sell his wife's without her consent.

Politically, women held many of the same positions as men. Although men more frequently stood as clan leaders, women, especially elders, also held that honor. Even here the matrilineal practices seemed to foster a greater balance and cooperation between the sexes. Matrilocal clan practices dictated a husband move close to his wife's family, but this did not remove him from his familial objections to his origin clan. For this reason men often became

[187] Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho*, 112
[188] Matrilocal customs often dictated that a husband move closer to a wife's clan.
[189] Marsha Weisiger, *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2009), 82.
[190] Ibid, 80.
[191] Ibid, 90.

clan leaders. Men more frequently traveled distances, forming relationships and economic partnerships among other clans. It's possible this influenced the policy reformer's decision to work exclusively with men in their legal negotiations.[192]

Additionally, when the issue of women's suffrage came to vote in the Navajo Council, the vote passed unanimously and with great speed.[193] In an explanatory report on the council, Agents suggested that Navajo women be invited to join the council, as they found a great hesitation on the part of the council members to make decisions without consulting wives.[194] So, although woman may not have frequently filled the role of a political leadership recognizable to the U.S. government, they played a major part in the economic, social, and political decisions of their clans and tribe.[195]

U.S. policy conflicted with kinship, clan, and traditional gender roles simultaneously in the political years after Fort Sumner. The Dawes Allotment Act (1887) affected social organizations of tribes all across the United States. The Dawes Act intended to create a more structured individual ownership of land, property, and livelihood in the traditional Anglo-American sense. Named after Senator Dawes, the act drastically shrank the sizes of reservations across the United States. To help entice Native Americans to take their 140 acres in lieu of communal living, they offered U.S. citizenship.[196] Initially reformers, applauded the Dawes Act as a great leap towards civilization, individualism and paving the way for traditional heteronormative family structures.

---

[192] Ibid, 83,
[193] Ibid.
[194] Navajo Explanatory Statement, 6, WMAI.
[195] Will Roscoe, Changes Ones: *Third and Fourth Genders in Native America* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin Press, 1998) ,41.
[196] An Act to Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians on the Various Reservations (General Allotment Act or Dawes Act), Statutes at Large 24, 388-91, NADP Document A1887. (on Archives.gov)

Although the Navajo escaped some of the larger negative consequences seen in areas like Oklahoma territory during the Dawes Allotments, the act failed in many of the same ways within the southwest. Throughout the U.S., many Native Americans struggled to satisfy the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) criteria when applying for allotment. This bias also found its way into the southwest where until 1921, the BIA declined the applications of married women because Congress restricted homestead ownership to "heads of families" which the government gendered male. Even after the 1921 revision, few women succeeded in patenting their land claim.[197]

Mark Rifkin, a historian who explores the role of kinship, sexuality, and Native sovereignty in his work *When Did Indians Become Straight*? (2011) argues that the restructuring of kinship roles through the allotment process intended to dismantle the constellation of kinship structures as they functioned in the home. Frequently, extended family shared the same roof, or lived communally within the same plot of land. One goal of the Dawes Allotment Act, Rifkin argues, intended to further remove these extended family members so that socialism is forgotten and in its place individualism emphasized.[198]

Yet, even this aspect of U.S. policy and it's relation to clanship directly affects the survival of the *nadleehi* role. Kinship structures dictated the appropriate mentor/apprentice relationship. These defined the education of *nadle* individuals whom were expected to excel in variety of activities. Traditionally the instruction of many spheres of Navajo life rely on the wealth of knowledge from Uncles, Aunts, and Grandparents. In the case of ceremonialism, knowledge could only be passed down through approved clan connections. Franc Newcomb mentions this very issue in the life of Klah, who wished to expand his ceremonial knowledge.

[197] Navajo Explanatory Statement, Section 6, 6, WMAI.
[198] Mark Rifkin, When Did Indians Become Straight?: The History of Sexuality and Native Sovereignty. (New York, Oxford Press, 2011), 155.

However, long established codes "limited his study to teachers who belonged to his mothers, father's or Grandmother's clan."[199] U.S. policy encouraged Navajo families to practice more nuclear family structures, making the formation of teacher relationship such as these difficult to accomplish. This, coupled with Anglo-American influences created yet another hurdle for the propagation of further generations of *nadleeh*i individuals.

In addition to structuring families, economies and politics, kinship roles even indirectly bolstered the *nadleehi* within Navajo society. "Typical of many matrilocal societies in which a brother and sister live closely connected lives, taboos of incest are strongly present in Navajo society."[200] Many of the taboos against incest are rooted in the Mothway myth in which *Begochidiin*, the alternative gendered deity, cures the madness caused by incest.[201] According to historian William Roscoe, this places the deity, *Begochidiin* centrally in Navajo kinship customs.[202] On a cursory glance the incest taboo seems to direct itself at incestuous relationships between siblings, the greater threat Roscoe contends, are overbearing parents that foster such a dependency on family.[203] For this reason, Navajo men typically moved into their new wife's homestead. The Mothway myth not only guided kinship structures to lessen the likelihood of incestuous relationships, it also guided the interactions between individuals.

Begochiddy also combats the likelihood of incest through an approved sexual outlet, masturbation. The Mothway Myth for instance describes, that once *begochidiin* left, the people began to engage incest, unable to control their urges. Roscoe compares *Begochidiin's* fluid

[199] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah,* 107.
[200] Roscoe, *Changing Ones*,59.
[201] Curly Txoaxedlini Interviewed by Leland Wyman, Leland Clifton Wyman Papers on Navajo Myths and Sandpainting, MSS 650 BC, folder on Prostitution and Mothway Myth, V. Located within the Center for Southwestern Research, University of New Mexico, Albquerque. (Here after cited as CSWR)
[202] See first chapter, pages 7-9, for more information on Mothway Myth.
[203] Roscoe, *Changing Ones,* 59.

gender status to that of "complete self-autonomy, lack of differentiation, He (*begociddiin*) represents a form of sexuality that does not require a partner- masturbation."[204] This theory is also reinforced through details within the Mothway myth itself, which describes Begochiddy, as he is frequently sneaks up upon women and hunters and fondling their genitals.[205]

Beginning at Fort Sumner, the Diné began to lose confidence in their Clan leaders and their political organization, founded in traditional kinship structures. The period of time that followed the Long Walk represented a massive loss of culture through the deaths of many Navajo, particularly of elders and medicine men who took their ceremonial knowledges with them. Many Navajo felt a loss in self-agency and saw the government process as futile, arguing that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs could easily overturn any decision they made as a people through their council. U.S. agents and reformers diminished the role of women as economic, political, and family leaders by refusing to acknowledge their successes in these areas and granting property allotments. By forcing the Navajo to cooperate within their own gendered political understanding, the U.S. influenced a new familial structure that affected the high esteem and balance held between sexes as well as the passing of traditional skills and knowledge. Kinship structures that supported the "feminine" and designed in part by the Mothway Myth diminished, substituted for a more rigid patriarchal political and social system.

US Policy and Christianity

After the Civil War evangelical Christian views influenced Indian policy more than any other time.[206] Three of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs during this period previously held

[204] Ibid.
[205] Curly Txoaxedlini Interviewed by Leland Wyman, 94, CSWR.
[206] Francis Paul Prucha, *Indian Policy in the United States* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981) 194.

positons as religious leaders, including Thomas J. Morgan. The Protestant Church remained so present in the affairs of the Board of Indian Commissioners that historian Francis Prucha described it as "almost a Protestant Church body."[207] Indian Agents, however came from a variety of backgrounds.

Marriages and relationships outside of Christian conjugal home-making fell under the scrutiny of Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan (1889-1893), Commissioner Daniel M. Browning (1893-1897), and Commissioner William A Jones (1897-1904). Commissioner Morgan, in particular battled with a Comanche Leader by the name of Quanah Parker for his "much-married" position, before stepping out of office in 1893. Described as a staunch Baptist and former minister, Morgan took the office of commissioner only after he did not receive the position of Secretary of Education.[208] When offered the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Morgan took it as an opportunity to spread Christian values and principles to the Native American population through government boarding schools. In his first annual report, He wrote that Indians lacked a moral compass, saying of traditional kinship principals "The tribal relations should be broken up, socialism destroyed, and the family and the autonomy of the individual substituted."[209]

Morgan also regularly attended The Lake Mohawk Conference of the Friends of The Indian.[210] While not having a direct backing of the state, the Friends of the Indians influenced the shaping of Indian policy. In addition to Commissioner Morgan, other leading federal figures

---

[207] Ibid.
[208] Mark Rifkin, *When Did Indians Become Straight?:The History of Sexuality and Native Sovereignty*. (New York, Oxford Press, 2011), 150.
[209] United States. Office of Indian Affairs *Annual report of the commissioner of Indian affairs, for the year 1883* G.P.O., [1883] v. : fold. maps ; 23 cm, Located within UW Madison Library Collections in the University of Wisconsin Digital Collections Center, Madison. (Here after cited as UWDCC). available at http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep83,
[210] "More Indian Talk -The Visiting Sioux Confer with Commissioner Morgan." *The Evening Star. Washington D.C.* Feb 09, 1981. 3, available at http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1891-02-09/ed-1/seq-3/

such as Senator Henry Dawes, the sponsor of the Dawes Act, also regularly attended The Lake Mohawk Conferences.[211] Reformers at the Lake Mohawk Conference pushed policy that focused assimilation and Christian values. Organizations like the Lake Mohawk Conference influenced the policies of the time especially in regard to the allowances of Christianity on reservations and within government policies where as it would ordinarily be separated from state affairs. [212] One policy gave religious institutions special permission to remain in Native American reservations.[213] Other policies included the criminalization of interrupting Christian worship on the reservation.

U.S. policy largely failed to address the issue of polygamy among the Native Americans until the formation of the Court of Indian Offenses (CIA) in 1886.[214] However, two federal laws passed that targeted Mormon polygamists. The first law, the Morill Act (1862), forbade plural marriages in the expanding U.S. territories, and the second, the Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887), revoked the corporate license of the Mormon Church and allowed a federal seizure of all its properties and assets.[215] In 1890, the Supreme Court voted to uphold the act saying: "The organization of a community for the spread and practice of polygamy is, in a measure, a return to barbarism. It is contrary to the spirit of Christianity, and of the civilization which Christianity has produced in the western world."[216]

In December of 1883, Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller made a proposition to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at the time, Hiram Price. Secretary Teller called for a

---

[211] Ibid.
[212] Mark Rifkin, *When Did Indians Become Straight?:The History of Sexuality and Native Sovereignty*. (New York, Oxford Press, 2011), 280.
[213]Ibid.
[214] David Wallace Adams, *On the Borders of Love and Power: families and Kinship the Intercultural American Southwest* (Los Angeles: University of California, 2012), 57.
[215]Mark Rifkin, *When Did Indians Become Straight?*, 165.
[216] U.S. Supreme Court Late Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints v. United States, 136 U.S. 1 (1890). Available at http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?court=us&vol=136&invol=1.

formulation of "rules for suppression of certain practices considered a hindrance to the civilization of the tribes."[217] Secretary Teller listed dances, medicine making and plural marriage among the grievous practices, saying:

> "The Marriage relation is also one requiring the immediate attention of the attention of the agents…while dependent on the chase the Indian did not take take many wives…but since the government supports them, this objection no no longer exists and the more numerous the family, the greater the number of of rations allowed. I would not advise any interference with plural marriages now existing, but I would by all possible methods discourage future marriages of that character. The marriage relation if it may be said to exist at all among the Indians, is exceeding lax in its character, and will be found impossible for some time yet, to impress them with our idea of this important relation."[218]

Commissioner Price responded in March 1884 with a fully drafted list of rules for the newly formed Court of Indian Offenses (CIO), "with the view of evil practices mentioned by the Honorable secretary Teller ultimately abolished." Guidelines followed, listing the procedures for judge appointment as well as wages, court responsibilities, and the "Indian offenses." The CIO handled cases involving "Sun Dances, Scalp Dances, Polygamy, Medicine making, timber selling, disturbances, fighting, stealing and selling girls."[219] The punishment for any Indian found partaking in plural marriages after the fact, included a fine of no less than twenty dollars, a period of twenty days of hard labor, or both at the discretion of the court.

These largely Christian influenced policies affected the daily lives of native families thousands of miles away. Rifkin, asserts that the U.S. government recycled the arguments used against Mormon polygamy when policy makers eventually turned their eyes to Native American

---

[217] Ken Peak, "Criminal Justice, Law and Policy in Indian Country: A Historical Perspective" *Journal of Criminal Justice. 17 (1989):393-407*

[218] Department of Interior. Office of Indian Affairs. Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses. March 30, 1883.Available at http://tribal-law.blogspot.com/2008/02/code-of-indian-offenses.html.

[219] Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanche: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, University of Norman Oklahoma, 1976), 342.

family and kinship structures. While Polygamy is not directly related to alternative gender roles, it serves as an example of the political emphasis on heteronormative family-structure and the extent to which Christian perceptions influenced these ideas at the time. A "bribe of straightness" mired Indian policy, threatening those who fit outside of the nuclear family structure to fall into place or face the consequences.[220] To fail in this regard, could result in exclusion from political leadership positions and the denial of deeds or allotments.

Formulated on a back bone of established Anti-polygamy policy and pseudo-scientific scholarship, U.S. reformers proceeded with legislation that indirectly and directly fueled the erasure of Native American kinship practices and family structures that went outside of the binary gender system. Furthermore, at the heart of many of these well-intended but oft ill-conceived policy reforms stood a Christian agenda of conversion. Christian ideals exhibited power through both the Christian organizations and influences of the leaders in those organizations. Influential policy reformers like Henry Dawes and Thomas J. Morgan pushed policy that widely affected Indian lives and family organizations. The Court of Indian Offenses strongly punished activities like "medicine-making," forcing many ceremonies to go underground. These policies worked together to try and effectively define a civilized house hold as one man and woman, certainly alternative genders did not fit into this picture.

Missionaries and Native Spirituality

While Historians agree that the forced removal from their Native homelands shattered the confidence and use of traditional political structures, I argue the same can be said for the religious sphere.[221] Franc Newcomb, an accomplished author on the subject of Navajo

[220] Rifkin, *When Did Indians Become Straight?*, 277.
[221] Raymond, Navajo Courts and Navajo Common Law, 2.

ceremonialism and friend to Hosteen Klah described the erasure of many ceremonies after The Long Walk, including several which she believed to be wholly Navajo and free from pueblo influences.[222] One aspect to this is the forced removal from the four peaks which defined the native home land of the Navajo. The Navajo saw landmarks and specific sites as the locations of some of their most important religious stories.[223] Elders recounted the stories of Changing Woman, Begochiddy and the Heroes as historical events. Here, the arroyos and hills of their country served as a stage for their people's history to unfold.[224] The Long Walk represented not only a metaphorical removal from their religious roots, but also a literal separation from the sacred sites in which they took place. The era that followed The Long Walk saw an onrush of Christian missionaries, that continued to chip away at traditional Navajo spirituality and further introduced Christian gender and sexual perceptions.

The years that followed the Long Walk also saw a growth in Christian influence and missionaries within the Navajo tribe. Before long the Navajo carried a reputation as the "most missionaried people in the world."[225] Although missionaries dotted the southwest long before the expansion of the U.S. territories into Arizona and New Mexico, the westward migration of Anglo-Americans opened Navajo land and minds to new social and religious constructs. This is especially true of the newly enacted Indian policies under President Ulysses S. Grant in 1868. Known as the "Quaker Policy" or the "Peace Policy", Grant initiated a sweeping legislation that sought to improve the appearance of corrupt and inefficient Indian programs by placing the

[222] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah,* 107.
[223] Franc Newcomb Original Notes, A-H, MSS Folder, Manuscript Collection. Located within the Wheelwright Research Library, Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, Santa Fe, New Mexico.(here after cited as WMAI).
[224] Ibid.
[225] Steve Pavlik, "Navajo Christianity: Historical Origins and Modern Trends," *Wicazo Sa Review* (1997): 43.

administrative responsibilities under various Church groups.[226] Arriving shortly after the Civil War, some of the first Christian schools in the area are dated in the 1870s.[227] The greater push to move westward in the 1880's with the advent of the railroad, created the largest migration of thrill-seekers and fortune finders yet in the Southwest. With them, came the missionaries. Often these missions stood as the first establishments of Anglo-American culture for miles.

While the primary objective was to bring the Navajo to Christ, other well-intentioned missionaries brought much needed goods, medicine, and vocational training to some communities. Missions located within the Navajo reservation offered a variety of services including health care, education, and religious instruction within government operated and maintained schools.[228] Being that the Navajo reservation stood as the largest in both terms of land acreage and population it should be no surprise that by the 1930s the community of missionaries and missionary networks within the reservation "flourished."[229] A 1930s investigation into the efforts, of these groups reviewed mission activities with mixed results.[230] The assessment found that within the 250 missionary individuals within the reservation sixty-five were Navajos.[231] By 1942, over 300 missionaries existed on the Navajo reservation.[232] Ultimately the investigation found some successes in the programs offered by these groups, but accused others of offering services and goods as a reward for participation in Christian practices:

> "In Missionary terminology, the fundamental service is evangelism, the preaching of the gospel and the winning of souls to a belief in Christ. All Christian Missionaries accept this as a primary objective, but changing concepts of Christian life have in recent years expanded this basic conviction to include the

[226] Ibid, 45.
[227] Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho,* 42.
[228] *The Navajo Problem*, Wathen's Report on the Navajo Situation, 1947, United States Department of Interior Office of the Indian Affairs, Box 2, Folder 21, 90, CSWR.
[229] *The Navajo Problem*, 10, CSWR.
[230] *The Navajo Problem*, 107, CSWR.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho,* 132.

> varying human needs as responsibilities of Christian services. Unfortunately some of the evangelistic types are inclined to exclude the varying human needs from their concerns and to limit their efforts to emotional appeal for conversion to belief in a religious creed."[233]

However, anthropologists who worked closely with the Navajo found that conversion within the Navajo tribe was often stymied by a general lack of understanding on the part of the Navajo.[234] Here, we begin to see a fundamental differences between many of spiritual philosophies of the Whites and Diné. Multiple philosophical and spiritual views held by the Navajo directly conflicted with many of those preached by white missionaries. First and most obviously, the traditional Navajo spiritual circle encompassed a wide pantheon of holy deities of many genders, attributes, and personalities. Among these was *Begochiddin*, the *nadleehi* deity, the curer of madness caused by incest. Changing Woman, considered by many to be the most important deity, in some variations of stories, changed not only her appearance but also her gender. The Navajo viewed many of their gods as humanly flawed, neither wholly good nor bad.[235] The Christian notion of a singular, all powerful and omnipotent god whom sacrificed his only earthly son for mankind was a tough concept for the Diné to accept on many levels. Even here, in the narrative of Christ's crucifixion, arguable the center of the Christian belief structure exist several concepts which jarred with Navajo spiritual philosophy.

Firstly, the Navajo have a taboo, or, as Gladys Reichard described it, "an inherent fear of handling or touching the dead."[236] The idea of Christ's death and resurrection perhaps sounded to many as a terrifying account. This belief is echoed in the actions of Klah and in his Uncle as they discovered the medicine bundle at the beginning of this chapter. Fearing the retribution for

[233]Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho*, 105.
[234] Gladys Reichard, *The Navaho and Christianity, 66.*
[235] Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho,*133.
[236] Reichard, *The Navaho and Christianity*, 68.

disturbing a dead man's possessions, they quietly returned the stones and hid the contents of the cave. Secondly, the Navajo had no concept of spiritual sacrifices. The Navajo saw ceremonial rights as gifts and as a fair trade in the hopes of a blessing or protection.[237] However in the general sense of things the Navajo spiritual philosophy did not easily translate into the some of the more rigid practices of Christianity. One Navajo man described the Diné spiritual experience as a "personal one," not defined by beliefs or institutions. Many Navajo misunderstood the influence of god as being limited to within the church building itself, or only on Sunday considering Christian observances.[238] However, regardless of the many issues which stymied conversions, Navajo peoples slowly joined the congregations of many denominations. The Church of Latter Day Saints in particular exhibited a successful campaign on the reservation, pulling in more converts than any other organization, an impact which is still seen today.

Aside from salvation of the soul, missionaries also preoccupied themselves with issues of sex within their congregation, the most well documented of these included the subjects of masturbation and polygamy.[239] Reichard notes that polygamy, a widely practiced marriage custom went underground during this time. In the same way that the Navajo practiced some religious rites away from the public view, I believe that many of the *nadleehi* individuals that lived throughout this time secreted away their role. Reichard reported by the time she explored this subject, many Navajo found the practice of polygamy dishonest and repugnant.[240] While polygamy is not *directly* related to the role of *nadle* within the tribe or alternative genders, it

[237] Ibid.
[238] Ibid, 70.
[239] Ibid, 69.
[240] Navajo Explanatory Statement. Section 3. Pg 3. Box 1. MS 1-4-4. Manuscript Collection. Located within the Wheelwright Research Library, Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, Santa Fe, New Mexico.(here after cited as WMAI).

serves as a well-documented example of the erosion of certain cultural practices where they clashed with newer Anglo-Christian practices.

Additionally, the Navajo tended to have a more balanced view of the sexes. Certainly the Navajo had their own gender norms but in many ways, Navajo religion allowed for a more open acceptance of alternative gender roles. Traditional spirituality supported *Nadleehi* roles through alternative gendered deities. Furthermore, The Navajo tended to see a balance of masculine and feminine qualities in all things. Inner and outer forms, represented a balance of positive life force (Hozsho) and created the stage for which gender fluidity was not only well conceived but expected in some degree, through all individuals.[241]

Conversely, Christianity in many ways supported a binary gender system, incorporating a more rigid role in the family and the larger society based on sex. Fundamental differences between traditional and Christian views hindered the successes of a complete erasure of Navajo traditional perspectives. However, the prevalence of missions within the reservation slowly made its mark. Kluckhohn noted that "those who practice Christianity exclusively, directly or indirectly, relied on the mission for their livelihood."[242] Certainly by the 1930s many in the Navajo community adopted these views, finding polygamy, cross-dressing, and homosexuality as an embarrassing aspect of the Navajo past which they wished to sweep under the rug.[243]

An Education in Civility

Despite the agreements made between the Navajo and the U.S. government within the Treaty of 1868 to send children between the ages of six and sixteen to school, both sides seemed

[241] Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 45.
[242] Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho*, 133.
[243] Reichard, "Navaho and Christianity", 70. ; Willard W. Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture" *American Anthropologist* (1935), 3.

to share an apparent apathy in mandating this.[244] The first boarding schools began to pop up around 1870, roughly two years after the treaty.[245] The US government played a large part in many of the education facilities throughout the southwest. The driving motion for the education of Indian children within reservation and boarding schools was to "civilize."[246] Education like many aspects of the U.S. involvement in the assimilation of Native Americans was well intended but often caused more harm than good for those who wished retain traditional tribal identities, languages, customs and religious philosophies. The primary object of the boarding school system intended to set the Indian children on the path to civilization, often defined by Christian reformers and educators.

In 1919, a survey found only 2,089 children of the 9,613 regularly attended institutional schools within the Navajo reservation.[247] In order to cut back on useless expenditures and to revitalize enrollment numbers, reformers informed the superintendents of Navajo schools that "every Indian Boarding school in the country should be filled to capacity at all times."[248] Those schools unable to fulfill an enrollment number of at least 75% would be shut down. This apparent lagging behind, resulted in a forceful push for education on the Navajo reservation in the years to come.

The Navajo tribe in particular had the misfortunate of sending many of its children to boarding schools rather than day schools. One summer in particular shifted many Navajo

---

[244] Roscoe, *Changing Ones,* 171.
[245] United States. Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual report of the commissioner of Indian affairs, for the year 1871, Statistics,* 608, UWDCC. Available at http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep71.
[246] Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, United States. Office of Indian Affairs, A*nnual report of the commissioner of Indian affairs, for the year 1889, 334, UWDCC. Available at* http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep89
[247] Roscoe, *Changing Ones,* 172
[248] Lawrence Kelly, *The Navajo Indians and Federal Indian Policy: 1900-1935* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968), 172.

children to boarding schools far away from their homes, when nearby Hopi and Pueblo children began attending the more local schools. Displaced by overcrowding, Navajo children attended reservation boarding schools a greater distance away. Fines and imprisonment hung over the head of any Parent who refused to enroll their child.[249] In 1924, the Navajo protested this through their newly formed council.[250] Distance remained the issue at hand, both literally and figuratively, children were carried away from their families, their elders, their language and more. Unlike children who attended day school, boarding school children spent as much as nine months of the year away from home, only returning in the summer months.[251]

For many years a pervasive stereotype akin to the "noble savage" rested strongly in the minds of many reformers, that of the battered squaw. Many wrongly believed that women within Native American societies held statuses no better than slaves or cattle. For these reasons, a restructuring of gender roles and norms within Indian society became a priority. "In the eyes of reformers no sphere of Indian life was more reprehensible than the relations between the sexes."[252] Additionally reformers believed that Indian societies lacked the "rigid moral code necessary to govern" themselves ethically or sexually.[253] For this reason, Teachers monitored students as frequently as possible.

Upon arriving at the boarding school many children were bathed and checked for lice or other ailments. Each child received a proper gender appropriate uniform. Schools strongly stressed the importance of following the appropriate gendered uniform, beginning to place

[249] Wesiger, *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country*, 173.
[250] Ibid, 174.
[251] Ibid.
[252] David Wallace Adams, *Education For Extinction: The Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928.* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1995), 173.
[253] Ibid.

embarrassment with the association of cross-dressing. One example of this can be gleamed from Irene Steward, who described being required to strut back in fourth in boys clothing in front of the dormitories, as punishment for sneaking out.[254] This enforced a connection of embarrassment or shame with wearing blended clothes or dressing as a third or fourth gendered individual.[255] In fact, it seems views on cross-dressing eventually expanded beyond the classroom. One witness testified that Hosteen Klah received insults and jokes from younger Navajo boys as they returned home from school.[256] The collaborator, herself a nadle, suggests that this greatly influenced Klah to abandon more gender fluid attire in exchange for trousers which were popularly worn by men at the time.[257]

Additionally, Teachers instructed students on the evils of masturbation, premarital sex and same-sex intimacy. However, as it to be expected, students still participated in sexual experimentation and gender fluidity in secret. Walter William, a historian who has written extensively on third and fourth gendered roles throughout Native America, has one account of a *nadle* student being discovered at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. The Navajo collaborator shared the story of how she, and her cousin, arrived at the school: "Since he was dressed as a girl, school officials assumed he was female and placed him in the girl's dormitory. The Navajo students protected him, and he went undiscovered."[258] Later, however, when one of the school teachers checked the students for lice, she discovered the *nadle* student's penis. The collaborator recalled how angry school leaders became at this discovery, promptly removing the

[254] Ibid, 264.
[255] Ibid.
[256] Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture", 5.
[257] Ibid.
[258] Walter Williams, *Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture,* 180.

student from the school. The collaborator never saw her cousin again and to this day the whereabouts of this student are unknown.[259]

While some students ignored the warnings and scoldings of authority figures, the threat of god's divine judgement carried a heavy weight of guilt and shame for some. This is particularly evident in the story of a young Navajo woman named Ada. Ada secreted her pregnancy from her teachers and nurses until one morning she appeared ill when everyone gathered for breakfast. Suspicious, an instructor examined Ada's belongs and discovered a dead infant in a trunk at the foot of her bed. The Principal teacher for the school, Gertrude Golden, felt she carried the blame for this incident, saying later that she perhaps too harshly spoke to the girls on the wickedness and shame of bringing a bastard child into the world.[260] Upon being asked why she did the horrible thing, Ada confessed, so that "She (Golden) wouldn't know, she say it is a sin to marry so. Her god will burn me forever if he finds out, now she will tattle to her god and he will burn me."[261] Perhaps this same internal conflict that waged inside Ada, also grew in the hearts and minds of *nadle* students who found themselves hopelessly conflicted by the teachings within Anglo-American schools and the customs and faith of their own people.

While some students described their time within the education program as fulfilling, even for those students the acclimation to Victorian life came at a self-admitted price, as Irene Steward described it "My attempts to live the traditional Navajo way of life was chopped up with school."[262] For even with the best efforts to resist the rigid custom changes and indoctrinations, many found themselves on a balance beam between white society, and the traditional society

[259] Ibid.
[260] Gertrude Golden, *Red Moon Called Me: Memoirs of a School Teacher in the Government Indian Service* (San Antonio: Naylor, 1954), 155.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 266.

they left behind. The loss of language over time made it difficult for students to better practice, converse, and learn from their elders in the tribe who were often the source for information on spiritualism and traditional practices. Additionally the strictly Christian messaging both in the chapel and in the classroom eroded beliefs and understandings of traditional religion. Masturbation, became associated with as a source of shame and sickness, not the Mothway Myth. While the older generation revered the few remaining *nadle* on the reservation, one collaborator noted that the younger generation delivered insults.[263] In fact, Hosteen Klah himself is mentioned as the target of some of these insults. For when the younger boys returned from the boarding schools, they teased him on his feminine attire leading him to abandon this in exchange for pants.[264] Christian messages on marriage and gender roles undoubtedly narrowed the scope of many young Navajo from seeing alternatives genders as a viable choice in their new world for themselves and their peers.

Conclusion

U.S. Policy and Anglo-American influence played a significant part in the lives of the Navajo and other tribes within the southwest. U.S. policy intensified within Navajo homes and families more after The Long Walk, than any time previously. This lead to a disillusionment with tribal politics. The Navajo political system, ingrained in their kinship structures, supported matrilineal systems and the general high status of women. The weakening of traditional kinship connections effected *nadleehi* people by dismantling matri-local customs that housed the *nadleehi* diety, *begochiddin* as a guardian against incest and encouraged the close quarter living of aunts, uncles and grandparents which were often the source for traditional knowledges and

[263] Willard W. Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture" American Anthropologist (1935), 3.
[264] Ibid.

apprenticeships. Additionally, U.S. policy focused on re-shaping Native family structures so that they more closely reflected the desired heteronormative Christian home. These changes did not foster the traditional role of the nadleehi or support gender identities outside the binary. By forcing the Navajo to cooperate within their own gendered political understanding, the U.S. influenced a new familial structure that affected the high esteem and balance held between sexes as well as the passing of traditional skills and knowledge. Kinship structures that supported the "feminine" and designed in part by the Mothway Myth diminished, substituted for a more rigid patriarchal political and social system.

Furthermore, the U.S. government itself had many ties to Christian influences including the funding and political support for missions and schools on the reservation. These institutions re-shaped gender roles, and contributed to the erasure of tribal religions, and language. Within the walls of these institutions many Navajo relied on the missions for their livelihood and likely felt pressure to adopt Christian practices and beliefs in order to receive desperately need goods and services. Additionally many Navajo converted to Christian denominations, incorporating elements of Christianity into their beliefs or accepting them entirely in lieu of traditional spirituality. Government boarding schools had an effect on Klah's life personally as a nadleehi witness attested that Hosteen Klah began wearing male trousers after teasing from the young school boys.[265]

In the school system, often many miles from home, Navajo children were removed from their cultural cosmos. In the classroom, traditional language began to be replaced with English, which great diminished many student's ability to speak or comprehend their Native tongue. The

[265] Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture" , 5.

distance from their homes and family also effectively cut them off from kinship structures which supported the education of ceremonialism and spirituality. Gender rigidity began to replace the concept of gender balance in Navajo children, equating cross-dressing and other aspects of gender fluidity as embarrassing and strange. Sex was taught as a source of shame and embarrassment and the practice of masturbation, which is linked to *Begochidiin*, demoralized. Affectively these forces worked in tandem to erode cultural aspects of the Navajo society. Indeed the effects of U.S. policy and other Anglo-American influences greatly affected the Navajo views and uses of traditional kinship structures, religion, gender roles, and sexuality all of which played a part in supporting the role of the *nadleehi* within the Navajo tribe.

Chapter 4: The Loom and Hogan: Traditional Navajo Gender Roles and the Nadleehi

In Western society, activities pertaining to child-rearing and home keeping, largely fell into the domestic sphere, which was largely relegated to women. Although Navajo men readily participated in activities like preparing meals and child raising, gender roles still existed in traditional Navajo society. Navajo men and women fulfilled various obligations and activities within their tribe. As the previous chapter illustrated, in many ways the Navajo did not employ gender roles as rigid as those seen in Anglo-American society. However, the Navajo did indeed have their own gendered activities and roles. Many activities were "sex-typed to such a degree that many adults would find it embarrassing to be photographed performing them."[266] Weaving fell almost exclusively to women. The realm of ceremonialism, religion, and medicine making, largely employed men. While women used the medium of wool as a creative and economic outlet, men utilized colored pollen, ash, and sand to create intricate ceremonial sandpaintings. Hosteen Klah blended these two spheres, taking his knowledge from weaving and ceremonialism to create some of the first ever sandpaintings textiles. In order to better understand the innovations of Klah's work, this chapter explores the spheres of wool and sand as well as the changes undertaken in the expansion of Indian trade markets and modern reservation life. Klah's artistic innovations, I argue, were due in part to his formidable knowledge in the face of cultural assimilation. It also was his unique role as a Nadleehi which allowed him to step into the worlds of sand and wool.

Wool and Women's Role

[266] Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navaho* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 94.

The Navajo likely learned the art of weaving from the Pueblo, who wove their earliest textiles from their own cotton crops. The artistic and trade relationship between the Pueblo, Zuni and Navajo is furthered evidenced by pottery shards with distinctive Navajo designs within a known Pueblo site.[267] Further comparisons can be made between the tools such as the loom design used by both tribes. The Spanish introduction of sheep into the region not only offered dietary variety but introduced the versatility of wool as a textile medium.[268] Although the Navajo may not have started out as the preeminent weavers of the southwest, by the early 17th century the Navajo distinguished themselves as master weavers in their own right.[269]

Women predominately held the role as weavers within the tribe. This is noted several times within Indian affairs documents as well as anthropologists who observed the lives of the Navajo.[270] The process of creating a wool textile, as well as the training to undertake such an endeavor, often began young. The Navajo word for "teach" is best translated as "to show," and this seems especially true for the education of weaving.[271] Children received their first sheep or "flock" as young as six years old.[272] Children who showed a particular drive or talent in weaving sold textiles to traders as young as five years old, yet even these children did not obtain a mastery of the many phases of creating a textile such as carding, spinning, and dying. [273]

Through weaving, women held the reigns to their own occupational standing, as well as familiarized them with the process of caring for their sheep, such as shearing, carding, and

[267] Dorothy Keur, "A Chapter in Navaho-Pueblo Relations", *Society of American Archaeology* Vol 10, (1944), 79.
[268] Gladys A Reichard, *Navajo Shepard and Weaver* (Locust Valley: Augustin, 1936), 17.
[269] Kate Peck Kent, *Pueblo Indian Textiles: A Living Tradition* (Santa Fe: University of Washington Press, 1983), 11.
[270] C.E. Vandever to Comissioner of Indian Affairs, August 22, 1890. Report on Navajo Agency. Box 2, folder 1, 161. CSWR.
[271] Reichard, *Navajo Shepard and Weaver,* 3.
[272] Marsha Weisiger, *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country,* 79.
[273] Reichard, Navajo Shepherds and Weavers, 3.

spinning wool. Aunts, Mothers and Grandmothers usually instructed young women and girls on the art of weaving, starting them with the simple tasks at first. However, to truly be considered an expert weaver one must command a mastery of all phases of the task of weaving. Spinning, the process of turning the wool into strands of thread is notoriously difficult to master. One weaver remarked "Spinning, like a few other things, cannot be taught. A woman can "show" me how to do it; I must learn the coordination through practice."[274]

Weaving also held its own spiritual significance. Weaving served as a cathartic release, and an expressive experience for many women. The Navajo deity, Spider Woman, is said to have instructed the Navajo women in the art of weaving and is often called upon as a source of inspiration.[275] Mother weavers often rubbed spider webs on the hands and arms of their infant daughters to ensure their strength and dexterity as weavers in the future. Even personal weaving tools were prayed over and passed on from matriarch to kin.[276] Will Roscoe, perhaps summarizes this best, saying: "Through weaving, women expressed such values as self-control, and self-esteem, creativity, beauty and balance between the world of animals and plants- symbolized by the fibers and dyes used in weaving and the world of humans."[277]

Creating a rug could take upwards of 300 hours. However, a small tapestry could be achieved by a skilled and efficient weaver in as little as three days.[278] Many believe that act of weaving on the loom, is the task which consumes the most time. However, according to one trader, the weaving process took only one third of the entire process. Tasks such as spinning,

[274] Ibid, 18.
[275] William Roscoe, "We'wha and Klah American Indian Berdache as Artist and Priest", *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol 12, (1998), 140.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Gladys S. Reichard, Navajo Shepard and Weaver, 33.

carding and dying took as much as two thirds of the labor required to create even a single blanket.[279] For her work, a small tapestry could be purchased for prices of $2.50 to $3.00, although this estimate is based on the summer of 1932 when prices were low.[280] More often than not the processes of carding wool, spinning it into thread and the weaving process are carried out simultaneously so that women switched between jobs when they became fatigued. Frequently women worked on multiple rugs at a time.[281] Even in the areas of the day that required a break from weaving, such as cooking or tending to flocks, women kept busy with spinning or carding.[282]

Klah's mother, Ahson Tsosie, garnered a reputation as an accomplished weaver in her own right. Described as spry and industrious well into her old age, she always, "looked for some task to complete or something to keep her hands busy."[283] When near the end of her life, her eye sight began to fade, she worked only with highly contrasting colors so that she could see the design on the loom easier. Franc Newcomb described Ahson Tsosie's last rug saying: "It was not well woven and the pattern was uneven." Despite its apparent lack of grace of hand, it remained one of Franc's prized possessions. It hung prominently displayed in the Newcomb trading post until a fire took it along with the most of the structure.[284]

Ahson Tsosie taught Klah's sister, Abdesah, the art of weaving from a young age. In fact, Klah returned from his Uncle's residence in the early spring and summer in his teen years to aid in the process of dipping sheep, shearing, and the spinning of carding of wool.[285] Once this

[279] Will Evans, *Daily Life and Customs of the Navajo People Along the Navajo Trails: Recollections of A Trader 1898-1948*, (Denver: University of Colorado Press, 2005), 193
[280] Gladys S. Reichard, Navajo Shepard and Weaver, 33.
[281] Ibid, 1.
[282] Ibid, 4.
[283] Franc Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah: Navajo Medicine Man*, 71
[284] Ibid.
[285] Ibid, 103.

process was completed the family began the task of turning the wool yarn into saddle blankets, shawls, and rugs. In his advanced years Klah himself took his nieces as apprentices.[286] As demand of his textiles increased his three nieces often helped him complete his works.[287] While Klah gained a reputation as an expert weaver in his adult years, the first rug he completed without assistance, was created in front of the many observing eyes at the Chicago World's Fair in 1917. Klah later further reinforced the perspective of weaving as a female gendered activity when he explained his refusal to card or spin own wool after becoming an established weaver, calling it "purely a woman's task."[288] Regardless, the sphere of wool was not just simply a task relegated to women, but a specialized and respected role. Weaving connected generations of women together and brought income into their homes, while expressing themselves through a spiritual and creative outlet.

Changing Styles: Navajo Creativity and Western Trade Demands

Navajo women experienced a variety of pressures to change the way they conceptualized the purpose and task of weaving, as well as the economic advantages of doing so from traders, collectors and Indian agents**.** In 1910, the Commission on Indian Affairs noted that the popularity of Navajo textiles boomed. They estimated that in that year alone that Navajo weavers and wool earned Navajo families, and Indian traders nearly $675,000 and that an additional 36,000 dollars' worth of textiles made from commercially dyed Germantown wool had been sold.[289] This revelation sent the Commission on a misguided attempt to identify and label genuine "Indian made" goods in an effort to preserve native practices and economies as well as

[286] Ibid, 93.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Ibid, 110.
[289] Bsumek, *Indian Made*, 200.

protecting eager consumers.[290] These efforts culminated in the marketing of Navajo rugs in department stores, lavishly displayed, although this did little to encourage sells or to protect the authenticity of traditional techniques.[291]

Navaho textiles started out as an apparel and outer wrap. Nearly all apparel textiles from this early 19th century displayed a bolded stripped pattern which moved across the textile horizontally. These shawls and cloaks were not everyday apparel but worn to endure though long treks on horseback or on foot. According to Reichard this earliest pattern, in a ceremonial context, represented protection because the stripped pattern had a "terrifying visual effect."[292] Additionally, wool offered protection from the sun, the cool nights, and a served as a waterproof barrier against rain. In this way the Navajo shawl protected travelers both literally and figuratively. The Navajo frequently traded these outer capes with other Indians, as well as Mexican and Spanish traders.[293]

The most common style after the earliest horizontal stripped pattern is the terraced style. These works are not usually regionalized and experienced popularity from 1800-1860.[294] A variation of the stripped pattern, the terrace style is often referred to as "Bayeta Blankets" due to their common use of vibrant reds. Typically Navajo blankets during this period refrained from using colors outside of white, blue, black, and red as well as naturally occurring wool color variations. A new stylistic variation appeared in the years following the Navajo defeat and captivity at Fort Sumner in 1863. This style, sometimes called, "diamond", "serrated", or

[290] Ibid, 201.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho,* 94.
[293] Roscoe, "We'wha and Klah", 98
[294] Evelyn Payne Hatcher, *Visual Metaphors: A Formal Analysis of Navajo Art,* (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1974), 144.

"dazzle" blankets grew in popularity from the years of 1863-1900.[295] These styles were often referred to as "dazzlers" due to their incorporation of bright colors and synthetic dyes. From these came the more common "Chief Blanket," a transition from the striped or terraced.[296]

The "Chief Blanket" is a bit of a misnomer, and a popular misconception persisted that blankets in this style were so named because only a chief could afford to purchase them. This is untrue in multiple capacities, firstly the Navajo did not have a "chief" as is discussed in the third chapter. Secondly, anyone could freely purchase these blankets if they had the tradable goods or money to purchase one, including women. It is noted that many historians contend traders this coined this term in order to drive sales.[297]

By the 1880s the railroad established itself from coast to coast, connecting the whole of America through a nervous system of trade routes and railways. With the transcontinental railroad came traders and with them came cheaply manufactured clothing and textiles which lowered the demand for hand-made items. The most famous of these, the Pendleton blanket, dominated the market.[298] Nevertheless, there was money to be made and Traders saw the merit in creating a uniquely "authentic" Indian market. As they established posts throughout the reservation, traders encouraged women to weave the most popular designs, even going so far as to provide pictures to work from.[299] By the 1890s, two-thirds of the woven textiles on the reservation were created for non-tribal use.[300]

---

[295] Hatcher, *Visual Metaphors,*179
[296] Ibid, 181.
[297] Peter J. Durkin, "Navajo Chief Blankets On the Plains…Past and Present" *Whisper Winds* (2003), 3.
[298] Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho,* 177
[299] Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America,* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998), 47
[300] Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho,* 94.

By 1900, the weaving of blankets for outerwear and apparel purposes ceased almost entirely. Most textiles ended up between horse and saddle or underfoot, as a decorative rug.[301] Within a short period of time the demand for authentic Navajo rugs boomed and both weaver and trader played to market and collector preferences. The partnership between the Indian and the trader represented the complicated symbiotic relationship between traditional Navajo art and western trade demands. For some, the trader ruled as a middle man between the artist and the market, paying very little for textiles that took hours to make.[302] Weavers began creating larger than life textiles, because prices were often based on weight, not design. The larger the rug, the larger the profit.[303] However, a good entrepreneur–trader saw the benefit to treating the women he traded with respect.

Erika Marie Bsumek, detailed the relationships between Indian artisans, traders, and government intervention in her book *Indian-Made: Navajo Cultre in the Marketplace 1868-1940* (2008). One account, describes the positive relationship between one trader and weaver. Having fallen ill, weaver Lousia Alcott writes to a trader in the area Lorenzo Hubbell Jr. In her letter, Alcott fears she may not be able to purchase desperately needed groceries and requests that Hubbell allow her a forwarded payment of these goods based on their mutually beneficial professional relationship.[304] Bsumek writes "Hubbell provided Alcott with the goods she request because he too recognized the importance of keeping his customers and workers alive and happy."[305]

[301] Ibid, 176.
[302] Evans, *Daily Life and Customs,* 192.
[303] Reichard, Navajo Shepard and Weaver, 38.
[304] Erika Marie Bsumek, *Indian-Made: Navajo Cultre in the Marketplace 1868-1940.*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008) 47.
[305] Ibid.

These relationships proved influential to both parties. For example, a weaver might take the advice or stylistic suggestions of the trader to increase the value of the rug to white collectors and increase the profit of both parties. During this period of time, the trade of weaving provided significant economic independence for women and allowed them to contribute a respectable sum of money to their families. All across the reservation, a demand for traditional art practices increased. However, it seems the demand for textiles greatly outpaced those for basketry or silver works. One census in 1870 broke down the occupations of the Navajo Dennehotos Valley as: one hundred and seventeen weavers, twenty seven medicine men, six silver smiths, and one basket maker.[306] Due in part to the preferences and guidance of specific traders and the personal styles taught between women created regionalized styles of weaving.[307]

One example of western preferences impacting Navajo design is the introduction of the border in woven textiles. Hatcher contends that the boarder is "perhaps the greatest single stylistic change" associated with white influence.[308] It seems Navajo artists held conflicted feelings towards the use of boundaries in their rugs and textiles. Some argue that the use of borders eventually came to represent a control of space, or safety. Alternatively, others argue that the use of borders traditionally symbolized a "constricting and threatening" force.[309] The comparison between the uses of boarders on the textiles being imposed on Navajo weavers has been compared to the boarders of the reservation, stifling and limiting. Regardless of the ulterior meanings behind the use of the boarder to the Navajo artists themselves, white collectors saw the

[306] Kluckhohn and Leighton, The Navaho, 94-95.
[307] Hatcher, *Visual Metaphors*, 180.
[308] Ibid.
[309] Ibid.

inclusion of a boarder as a stylistic plus. For many, the rug simply looked more "complete." The dark outline created a more clear division between the space of the work and its surroundings.[310]

The boarder also presented an opportunity for artists to display or hide the "spirit trail", a unique element to Navajo weaving. Amateur collectors and tourists often viewed the spirit trail as a symbol of Indian superstition. For this reason, individuals sought out rugs which displayed this detail. The spirit trail varies between several designs qualities depending on the weaver. The spirit trail can appear as a colored strand of yarn which breaks through the exterior border, or the weaver can choose to hide the trail by matching it with the colors of the background. Finding the practice unnecessary or archaic, some weavers chose not to include a spirit trail at all. Still other weavers intentionally brought attention to the detail by leaving the colored strand long and uncut from the edge of the textile.[311]

The spirit trail served many purposes, for one, it can be used to help the viewer navigate the proper "view" of the blanket, placing the spirit trail towards the east, the most sacred and holy Navajo direction.[312] However, the spirit trail also holds a more personal role for the weaver herself. When Noel Bennett lived and worked on the Navajo reservation, her mentors described an entirely different purpose for the spirit trail. To these women, the spirit trail served a similar function as a period to the end of a sentence. Rather than allowing "evil spirits" to escape the textile as some enterprising traders may have advertised, it allowed the weaver's creative energy to escape the textile.[313] The process of creating a textile proved to be extremely taxing and in

[310] Ibid, 181.
[311] See page 133,, figure 1 for an example of a spirit trail in Navajo weaving.
[312] Noel Bennett, *The Weavers Pathway: A Clarification of the "Spirit Trail" in Navajo Weaving,* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1974), 27.
[313] Ibid.

fact, women were encouraged to take frequent breaks lest they become fatigued. The inclusion of spirit trail, allowed the weaver's creative energy to pass into the next textile.[314]

Another area in which trade influence can be seen is in the use of artificial dyes. Initially the Navajo relied on natural plant sources for their dyes. This limited not only the color range but also resulted in inherent vices in the quality of the dye. This included the fading of colors over time.[315] Dying wool is similar in process to washing a textile. While the weaver heats water with the natural dyes over a fire, she prepares the skeins for dying by washing them briskly with cold water. In times before soap, Yucca root was easily obtained and used for this purpose.[316] When the water reached a rolling boil, the wool strands and dye were combined and allowed to stew, the heat trapping the natural dyes within the fibers.

When writing on the subject Franc Newcomb clearly prefers the plant based dyes to those of the aniline dyes introduced by traders and demanded by western consumers. While, in her opinion the traditional color pallets of grey, white, black and red are more pleasing to the eye, and this also seems to be the opinion of many of the Navajo weavers themselves.[317] Although the combinations of synthetic dyes could in the words of Reichard appear "garish" or even "hideous" it seemed to be these that more frequently caught the eyes of travelers, and amateur collectors who wanted something to take home and hang on their wall or place in front of the fire place.[318]

[314] Ibid.
[315] Reichard, *Shepard and Weaver,* 36.
[316] Ibid.
[317] Ibid, 33.
[318] Ibid.

The Ceremonial Sphere and Men

As weaving fell to the sphere of women, ceremony and religion largely employed to well-trained men. The realm of ceremonialism encompassed all aspects of spirituality including dances, medicine making, as well as prayers and chants. Women also pursued the path as medicine makers, although more commonly these activities employed men. Although few individuals held the honor of becoming certified medicine men, many tribal members participated in ceremonies either as singers or dancers or, simply as patients. This allowed the general public to view and engage in some of the most esoteric aspects of Navajo religion, but these glimpses were fleeting. Only a fully trained and reputable medicine man created the most sacred of images, sandpaintings. In the same way women used wool as the medium to illustrate their skill, experience and creativity, "sand" served as the medium for established and respected medicine men to create their works.

Writing of the event afterwards, Franc Newcomb described the anticipation and long journey to view a Blessing Way ceremony. Eager to examine and record the sandpainting of the ceremony, Franc and Hosteen Klah packed sandwiches and coffee, and began the trek to the Hogan located some miles away. When they arrived at the ceremony, already in progress, Newcomb admitted her awe on laying eyes on a medicine woman. While she had heard of female medicine men, in her *ten years* of research around the Navajo reservation she had never met a single medicine woman.[319] Newcomb described the woman and her ceremony saying:

> Here at last I was seeing a real Navajo medicine-woman conducting a ceremony in exactly the same manner as I had witnessed conducted by medicine men…I listened intently to distinguish the tone of her voice, but her tones had the same guttural resonance

[319] Franc Newcomb, *Medicine Woman,* Newcomb Original Notes. Box MSS A-H, 1-3. Manuscript Collection, Located within the Wheelwright Research Library, Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, Santa Fe, New Mexico. (Here after cited as WMAI.)

> as the voices of the male singers and her chant was as sure and steady as that of any medicine man"[320]

Two significant findings can be established from this testimony. Women, when they so choose, excelled as medicine practitioners and were permitted to participate in this role fully. However, the amount of time it took for such a prolific researcher such as Newcomb to encounter a medicine woman is a testament to its rarity. Having recording hundreds Navajo ceremonials and sandpaintings it is remarkable that such a period of time lapsed before she could reasonably confirm the existence and role of women in this sphere.

The process of becoming a reputable medicine man required years of training and apprenticeship. For this reason, the education to become a medicine man began at a young age. The task required full dedication and determination on the part of the apprentice. The training took massive of amounts of memorization and repetition. When a student wanted to test their knowledge of a chant or ceremony, many medicine men and elders gathered and observe their process, noting even the slightest variation from that of their mentor. To pass this examination was no small task, and often limited the number of chants or ceremonies an apprentice could learn in their life time.

Because the realm of spiritualism was largely dominated by a select few, the knowledge quickly eroding with the passing of each medicine man. This coupled with the fact that many Navajo began to leave the reservation, converted to Christianity, or lost their native language created a lack of eager students. In Klah's life time, opportunities to learn extensive ceremonies faded quickly. Franc Newcomb lamented this saying: "Now the children of the Navajo tribe are

[320] Ibid.

being educated: but not in the traditional ways and patterns of Navajo living or on the ancient legends nor yet in the complicated religious observances which have been so much a part of Navajo life during the past generations."[321]

Additionally, personal preferences of medicine men played a large part in the erosion and loss of ceremonial knowledge. Variations of ceremonialism seem to stem from "different schools or guilds among the medicine men" who drew their sand paintings with slight variations in detail.[322] Within some regions or clans, the preference of some more powerful chants led to the abandonment of others, creating a loss of some of the lesser known ceremonies and paintings.[323] Hosteen Klah is even guilty of this, choosing to practice a less intricate three day Hail Chant during his career, rather than the five day chant taught to him by his maternal Uncle.[324]

Ceremony Structure and Use

Like weaving, many elements of early Navajo ceremonialism and religion are likely influenced from the Pueblo peoples. Pueblo medicine men performed their ceremonies in underground kivas in which they could afford to store a wide variety of fetishes, tools and sacred objects in.[325] If one compares to the tools and bundles of Navajo medicine to those of a Pueblo medicine man you will find that the Navajo tool kit is substantially trimmed down. However, there are similarities in the tools used between the two. Regardless of these differences, it is clear that the Pueblo deeply influenced many of the more intricate aspects of Navajo ceremony. In

[321] Franc Newcomb, Mary C. Wheelwright Eulogy, Box 1, Folder Wheelwright, Mary C.: Interview, MS-1-27, 20. WMAI.
[322] Washington Matthews, *Mythic Dry Paintings of the Navajos* 1843-1905,(HRAF NT13 59 category 116 card 112, 934. UCO Library Microfiche Collection. Located within the University of Central Oklahoma Chambers Library, Edmond, Oklahoma. (Hereafter cited to as UCOCL.)
[323]Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho*, 196.
[324] Frank Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah,* 98.
[325] Franc Newcomb, *Comparisons,* Box Franc Newcomb L-M, Folder A Study of Navajo Symbolism,WMAI.

regards to sandpaintings Newcomb says "It is vital to attribute the art of powder or sand paintings to the Pueblo."[326]

The role of the medicine man like the weaver, served an occupational and culturally significant role. Similarly in the way a pastor may be paid to officiate a christening or marriage, customers paid Navajo medicine men handsomely for their expertise. A Navajo man once described the role of the medicine man in the tribe in the way that a white man may describe the role of the surgeon.[327] Navajo medicine treated both body and mind.[328] Patients called upon medicine men to perform ceremonies in the hopes of repelling evil spiritual or body ailments. Ceremonies had limited powers for curing, and not just any ceremony could be invoked for any ailment. Like choosing the right tonic or elixir, the correct ceremony must be performed. For instance, the Yeibichai ceremony cured eye trouble or trachoma, a disease which plagued the Navajo.[329] In unusual injuries or circumstances many ceremonies may be performed, or a diagnostician employed to give their opinion on which ceremony should be performed. In Klah's training one such diagnostician was called upon to determine what should be done for a boy that lost his voice after being struck by lightning. Klah and his uncle performed the Hail Chant after the recommendations of the medium, and eventually the boy's voice restored.[330]

The person for whom the ceremony is being performed is known as the "one-sung-over" or bik'Inahagha. A Navajo medicine man charged for his services and traveled to his patients. When called upon the medicine man, the family of the patient paid for the services.[331] "In the

[326] Ibid.
[327] Witchcraft- Grave Robbing Account, March 28, 1948. Box 2, Folder MSS672, CSWR.
[328] Witchcraft, March 28, 1948, CSWR.
[329] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah*, 93.
[330] Newcomb, *Short Descriptions of Navajo Ceremonies*, Box Franc Newcomb L-M, Folder MCW, Book, Not Publish, On Symbols, MS1-47. WMAI.
[331] Ibid.

Navajo case it seems appropriate to analyze chants as a system of symbolic objects and actions which both express cosmology and provides a means of dealing with individual illness through symbolic manipulation of man/god relationships and the patient body-state." In addition to healing physical ailments, Navajo ceremonials brought an equilibrium to the patient's positive life force, or hozho.[332] This balance between the positive life force, and physical health illustrates an element of duality that harkens back to the balance of the feminine in masculine discussed in the third chapter. Additionally, this theme of duality is present in many aspects of Navajo ceremonialism and weaving and will be further analyzed in the final chapter.

Sometimes medicine men treated multiple patients in the same ceremony. This allowed multiple patients to split the cost of the ceremony being performed. Even bystanders could, at the resolution of the ceremony, grab a handful of the left over sandpainting and bless themselves with it.[333] Overall, the one constant in the diversity of Navajo spiritualism is this: the belief that spiritualism and the power of spiritual forces to counteract evil influences and to control the elements. Newcomb described this saying, "We find the belief that concentrated power of the mind has command over material things and over human destinies."[334]

Sandpainting and Ceremony: Living Legends

Long ago, the gods taught varying ceremonies and their accompanying sandpaintings to mythical Navajo heroes. These events, according to Klah were as historical as they are mythical.[335] Newcomb described this in her study notes, saying:

---

[332] Lousie, Lamphere, "Symbolic Elements in Navajo Ritual" *Journal of Anthropological Research* (1986), 451.
[333] Newcomb, Newcomb, *Short Descriptions of Navajo Ceremonies*, Box Franc Newcomb L-M, Folder MCW, Book, Not Publish, On Symbols, MS1-47. WMAI.
[334] 1433-wheel Franc Newcomb,*Sandpaintings as Illustrations for Navajo Mythology*, Box Franc Newcomb A-H, Folder F. J. Newcomb. WMAI.
[335] Franc Newcomb, Box Franc Newcomb A-H, Folder Sandpainting Symbolism, WMAI.

> The Era of the origin of the ceremonials in an era of heroic adventures. The heroes invariably in the process of a journey, enter forbidden territory or violate some regulation. As a consequence, they suffer in a number of ways. When the heroes are unable to get out of their predicament, Holy people come to aid them. The enactment of these ceremonies not only brings restoration, but it initiates the heroes into the knowledge of ceremonial ways. The heroes are allowed to return home to teach these ceremonies but they must return to give permanently in the domain of the holy people. The myths which describe in detail the ceremonial performances are the architypes for Navajo ceremony."[336]

Many of these heroic figures are responsible for delivering the accompanying sandpainting to the Navajo people. For example, the Bear gods are responsible for giving the detailed instructions on creating the bear chant sandpainting. In the story, the Bear gods instructed the Navajo prophet to create images in sand, because they could not create them in "cloud."[337] In this story, Dzil-yi-ne-yani (the hero figure) is lead to the lodge of dew and taught to make sandpaintings by the four goddesses saying, who instruct the hero on the process of sandpainting, including the details of where each figure shall be placed.[338] Upon returning, Dzil-yi-ne-yani instructed the Navajo in the process of creating sandpaintings.

The process of creating a sandpainting was as ritualized as any other aspect of Navajo ceremony. The Medicine man always created the sandpainting from the center out.[339] This seemingly minuscule detail is meant to invoke the emergence story in which all life expanded from the origin point, until meeting the botyrders of the world.[340] It also a small detail in the ceremonial process that does not translate well on the loom. When sandpainting textiles are

---

[336] Sam Gill, *Sacred Words: A Study of Navajo Religion and Prayer,* (London: Greenwood Publishing, 1981), 56.
[337] Hosteen Klah interviewed by Arthur Newcomb, *Male Bear Ceremony or Mountain Chant*, May 29th and 30th, June 5th and 6th, MS Box 1, Located within the Center for Southwestern Research, University of New Mexico, Albquerque. (Here after cited as CSWR)
[338] Ibid.
[339] Washington Matthews, Mythic Dry Paintings of the Navajos 1843-1905,UCOCL.
[340] Ibid.

created, no longer may these images expanded outwards in all directions, but simply built upon from one end of the loom to the other.

If the medicine man made a mistake while drawing, expectations permitted him to cover the error with more sand, rather than smudging or erasing the mistake.[341] Similarly figures in the paintings are first drawn naked, and then later their clothes are layered on through different colored pigments. [342] A combination of materials can be collected and crushed to be used as pigment in the sandpainting, including pollen, ash, flowers and charcoal.[343]. With each of these he created the images by drawing a delicate line of sand between his thumb and first finger.[344] As the medicine man creates the sandpainting he may first lay down a deer skin to use as a surface. Although the pigment colors are limited, when the task is completed the ceremonial image has a breadth of detail and wide variety of depictions. The colors used in sandpaintings are meant designate the directions, south represents blue, west is yellow, north is white, and east is black.[345] The figures and natural elements within sandpaintings are carefully placed within the design and each color embodies a cultural significance. Some natural phenomenal such as sun, moon and mountains are personified by "inner forms" and these inner forms are depicted in sandpaintings by stick figures with human attributes."[346] The significance of outer and inner forms, as well as duality I believe are central to Navajo spiritualism and philosophy. These ideas in part, support the role of the *nadleehi* individual, but also play an important role in the depiction of these ideas in Navajo art.

---

[341] Ibid.
[342] Ibid.
[343] Washington Matthews, Mythic Dry Paintings of the Navajos 1843-1905,UCOCL.
[344] Newcomb, Newcomb, Short Descriptions of Navajo Ceremonies,. WMAI.
[345] Ibid.
[346] Lousie Lamphere, "Symbolic Elements in Navajo Ritual (Abridged)", *Journal of Anthropological Research* , 1986, 448.

Hosteen Klah and the Nadleehi Role: Mixing Sand and Wool

While staying with his maternal uncle mentioned in the previous chapter, Klah sustained a critical injury. While riding his pony alone, the soft sandy banks of arroyo gave way beneath his pony's feet, dragging both to the canyon floor. Klah's sustained a broken collar bone, as well as fractured ribs. He laid in such pain from a pelvis injury that he could not make his way home and could only watch as his pony scrambled home, the reins dragging. During his period of recovery from this spill, Newcomb claims Klah's status as intersexed was discovered.[347]

> "It was during this period of invalidism that Klah was discovered to be a hermaphrodite. This accident of birth placed him in a very special category among his family and his contemporaries. The Navaho believed him to be honored by the gods and to possess unusual mental capacity combination both male and female attributes. "He was expected to master all the knowledge, skill, and leadership of a man and also all the skills, ability, and intuition of a woman. Klah during his lifetime lived up to these expectations in every way."[348]

This area of Klah's life is one of conflicting opinions. William Roscoe, one of the few academic historians who has written about Klah's life thoroughly disagrees with this notion. Roscoe argues instead that if Klah were intersexed, his parents, Uncles, Aunts and grandparents surely would have discovered his unique state in infancy, or in his youth during countless diaper changes and baths.

However, there is some evidence to strengthen this possibility. For one, there is very little mention of Klah aiding in the work of weaving before this incident. In earlier accounts of Klah's life it is described that Ahson Tsosie needed Klah and his sister's help around the house too much to send them to a nearby boarding school.[349] This indicates that both may have helped in

[347] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah*, 97.
[348] Ibid, 96.
[349] Ibid, 90.

the weaving process in some capacity, although it is more likely they helped in tasks around the house such as gathering firewood and tending crops and sheep. Shortly after, when the Ute Raids come too close to his family's homestead, Klah is sent to live with his maternal Uncle. When asked why his sister did not join him in the safety of his Uncle's homestead Klah explains that his mother refused to let Abdesah stay because she was too badly needed by his mother for aiding in weaving.[350] Shortly after his recovery from this accident, Klah, now in his teens, is requested to return home from his Uncle and help in the shearing, lambing and marketing of wool.[351]

I believe there is some evidence to suggest that the accident which occurred did in fact illuminate Klah's possible intersex status. Intersexuality falls on a spectrum and can be displayed in a variety of subtleties or extremities. It's possible that Klah, now a teenager, did not meet milestones in puberty which would have only become apparent in his adolescence. This may explain why, against Roscoe's arguments, Klah's condition was not discovered until later. This confusion is only further muddled by possibility of Klah having been married early in life. According to one account, Klah began weaving roughly in 1889, making him twenty three years old. This places Klah well within the age range of 18-25, wherein expectations permitted that an individual decide whether or not they want to commit to the nadle status and role within the tribe.[352] Regardless, the truth of this matter will never be known for certainly. In any case the accident does appear to solidify the view within Hosteen's family member that he was *nadleehi* if for no other reason than his miraculous recovery.

[350] Ibid.
[351] Ibid, 99.
[352] Roscoe, *Changing Ones,* 199.

Previous to this experience Klah clearly displayed some talent in ceremonialism. At the age of five, he learned the Hail Chant from his grandfather. Around the age of ten, he is sent to live with his Uncle, the Mescalero Apache medicine man. During his time here, he quickly acquired experience, observing his Uncle's practices. To aid in his recovery after the accident Klah took the role as patient in both the Wind and Knife Chant. Klah apparently memorized the Wind Chant from simply observing as a patient.[353] In the years that followed, Klah continued his ceremonial education under his Uncle, and served two autumns as assistant to Tall Chanter, who was one of Washington Matthew's collaborators.[354] In his lifetime Klah learned a total of eight full ceremonies, where most medicine men knew an average of two.[355] Klah was the last man to give the Hail chant and it died with him.[356] In 1917 after, 27 years of study and at the age of 37, Klah gave his first Yeibichai ceremony. It was the largest gathering of Navajo since the time of his grandfather, Narbona.[357]

As a weaver Klah was equally accomplished. From the beginning Klah's style was distinctive. In his region the "Two Hills" style reigned supreme.[358] Klah remained true to this style, and largely refrained from utilizing the vibrant dyes and fibers available through the traders. Instead, he preferred to set his patterns on a "background" of undyed wool. Upon this, with images of stacked diamonds, rectangles and geometric patterns he sometimes utilized dyes made from local plants, indigio, cochinal, only much later using commercial dyes.[359]

---

[353] Ibid.
[354] Ibid, 111.
[355] Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 49
[356] Mary C Wheelwight Interview, Box 1, Folder Wheelwright, Mary C.: Interview, MS-1-27, 20. WMAI.
[357]Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 11.
[358] See page 134, figure 2 for an example of the Two Hills style.
[359] Ibid, 52.

The next stylistic venture Klah undertook was the pictorial or figurative textile. As early as 1880 Navajo, Hopi and Zuni weavers experimented in including horses, cowboys, and livestock such as goats and cattle.[360] These varied between the beautifully accomplished and comically amateurish. Later, as demand for these works increased artists began including patriotic symbols such as American flags, and government boarding schools, as well as modern planes, trains and automobiles.[361] *In the Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (1885), anthropologist and surgeon Washington Matthews disapprovingly described these new designs saying:

> "The ancient designs of the Navaho weavers were elegant, artistic and congruous; but there is a modern tendency to deterioration which must be deplored by all true lovers of art. I have lately seen on Navaho blanket a design in curved vines and leaves which was badly managed; poorly executed figures of men and animals are becoming common; and one small blanket I have seen in hideous representation in black, of a locomotive and a train."[362]

Hosteen Klah first completed his own pictorial textile in the year 1917, depicting Yeibichai dance figures.[363] This alone created quite the fervor in his local community, but when in 1920 he decided to recreate the whirling log sandpainting design as part of the Nightway chant, outrage spread across the reservation. Although Klah is not the first person to weave a sandpainting textile, his name is irrevocably connected to the creation of the style because of his prolific turn out and their demand as collector's items. I believe that Klah's nadleehi status played an intergral part in allowing him to further innovate the Navajo textile arts. With Klah's

[360] Tyrone Campbell and Joel and Katie Kopp, *Navajo Pictorial Weaving, 1880-1950.* (Albquerque: University of New Mexico, 1991), 20.
[361] Ibid, 73.
[362] Washington Matthews, The Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1885, November. 34. Located in the Special Collections at the Charles E. Young Research Library in University of California in Los Angeles. (Hereafter cited as UCLASC).
[363] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah,* 115

knowledge and position he was able to take the already growing pictorial style and innovate it further.

Conclusion

Although the Navajo did not utilize as rigid gender roles in many of the same ways as Anglo-Americans during this period of time. However, the Navajo people had their own gendered roles and activities. For women, the sphere of the wool and loom served as both an economic and creative outlet. The process of learning every phase of becoming an expert weaver, started young. Family matriarchs led by example and expectations permitted their students master every aspect of the process from shearing to the trading post. Like weaving, ceremonialism required the masterful guidance of elders and kin. Here too, young men served an economic, spiritual and creative role as medicine men. To go down the path of ceremonialism also required a lengthy education. Young men were expected to study and memorize every detail and gesture of their mentors and their sandpaintings. The process could take a lifetime just to learn and accomplish.

While these two spheres share some similarities it is difficult to see how they overlap through the role of the *Nadleehi*, until one examines the concept of sandpainting textiles. These works, could only be created through and individual whom commanded a mastery of both spheres of weaving and ceremony. Although it is believed that others experimented in this style before Klah, there is very little information about these works or the individuals who experimented with this design. It is likely that these works incorporated elements of ceremonialism, yet I believe Klah alone had the knowledge to create sandpainting replicas through the medium of wool. In the years that followed, many individuals began to experiment

with sandpainting textiles, it is noted that either intentionally or through lack of education, many of these works held errors compared to their traditional visages.

Klah's Nadleehi status gave him the avenue to explore both of these roles, and eventually combine them in his sandpainting textiles. Hosteen Klah fit at an intersection between the two spheres, of men and women, that of ceremony and wool. Klah remained one the remnants of traditional life. Neither he nor his sister ever attended a state school, and Klah was encouraged from an early age to learn both arts of ceremony and weaving. That one person could be so masterful in the two fields was largely unheard of. This position allowed Klah to innovate the weaving history of the Navajo and opened the door for future sand painting textile innovations.

Chapter 5. Sand and Wool: The Images, Meanings and Motivations behind Hosteen Klah's Sandpainting Textiles

In 1916, Hosteen Klah began experimenting with incorporating figurative or sandpainting elements in his weaving. Klah's first ceremonial design in this style depicted Yeibichai dancers.[364] Although textiles depicting Yeibichai dancers had been popular since as early as the 1880s, disapproval spread like rapid fire across the reservation.[365] These works by and large were not considered to hold the power of a sandpainting image. However, around 1920 Klah held a meeting with his closest family members, and with their approval, decided to create a textile of the Whirling logs sandpainting.[366] Many took Klah's work as a blatant disregard for the power that the image held, and believed that Klah's experimentation would incite the wrath of the gods. Even white researchers largely responded to the pictorial movement with disgust. Evelyn Hatcher spoke of the Yeibichai rugs saying "most persons with understanding and sympathy for the Navajo religion dislike them heartily."[367]

To fit the entire image of the sandpainting, Klah created a new loom, much larger than the traditional size. This ensured that the full sandpainting image fit within the rug. Franc Newcomb, a close neighbor and friend of Klah's, feared that both the loom and the textile would be destroyed in the night by disapproving tribal members.[368] To protect Klah's work in progress, Arthur Newcomb suggested that guards be placed outside the hogan which housed the loom at

[364] Ibid.
[365] Franc Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah: Navaho Medicine Man and Sand Painter,* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 157.
[366] Refer to page 136, Figure 5, 136 to see an example of Klah's Whirling Logs Sandpainting Textile.
[367] Evelyn Payne Hatcher, *Visual Metaphors: A Formal Analysis of Navajo Art,* (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1974), 140.
[368] Franc Newcomb, Hosteen Klah, 158.

night.[369] Yet Klah continued his work, un-phased by the backlash, certain that nothing would happen to him or his work. The outrage against Klah's sandpainting textiles was not for nothing. Traditionally, Navajo sandpaintings existed only temporarily. Expectations permeated these works be destroyed at the resolution of the ceremony.[370] This in part, ensured that these sacred images would not survive throughout the night, where evil spirits may view them and learn of the power embedded within them.[371] That Klah ignored these taboos and permanently captured these traditional visages in wool, remained in the eyes of many in his community as a sacrilegious act.

Weavers before Klah experimented with pictorial imagery, but rarely did these works include any sacred designs pulled directly from sandpaintings. However, evidence indicates that an unknown weaver or weavers experimented with sandpainting textiles as early as the 1880s in the Chaco Canyon region.[372] Although little information exists about the people who explored these designs or the works themselves, research shows that the earliest rugs were sold to a trader named Wetherill connected the with the Hyde expedition. Further evidence suggests that this man already had a trade relationship with Klah.[373] Because there is little information available on these early sandpainting textiles, it is possible, that these tapestries were not in fact sandpainting textiles but early uses of pictorial designs such as those seen in the western region of the reservation at this time.[374] This may have been misunderstood by early collectors or

[369] Ibid.
[370] Washington Matthews, *Mythic Dry Paintings of the Navajos* 1843-1905,(HRAF NT13 59 category 116 card 112, 934. UCO Library Microfiche Collection. Located within the University of Central Oklahoma Chambers Library, Edmond, Oklahoma. (Hereafter cited to as UCOCL.)
[371] Ibid.
[372] Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America,* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998), 53
[373] Erna Fergusson, New Mexico: A Pageant of Three Peoples. (New York: Stein and Day, 1951), 81.
[374] See page 134, figure 4 to see a map of stylistic regions within the Navajo reservation.

traders. Some early design elements that may have appeared ceremonial, include figurative elements of women, dancers, hogans and even varied forms of snakes, vines, and other symbolic motifs.[375]

Yet it is Klah's name that is most synonymous with the art of sandpainting textiles. This leads us to the bigger questions about Klah's inspirations, motivations and self-perceptions of his work. Why did Hosteen Klah feel the need to combine the spheres of ceremony and weaving to create sandpainting tapestries despite the cultural taboos against this and in spite of the outrage expressed by his community? What compelled his design choices, and what is his lasting legacy? In this chapter I will explore not only the motivations of Klah but examine the cultural influences through his life and work. Ultimately I seek to answer the question, what spurred these creations? Are Klah's works perhaps an expression of his *nadleehi* status, a means of satisfying economic and trade demands, or are they ultimately meant to preserve the fading religious and artistic knowledges of his people?

The Nadleehi Role and Personal Expression

Klah's expressed his *nadleehi* status in every aspect of his adult life, from his occupation to his role within his family and community. As a nadle individual, Klah balanced the ability to participate in weaving and pursue a ceremonial education as a medicine man. He continually sought to add to his extensive knowledge, always searching for another ceremony or chant he was not yet acquainted with. Yet, Klah stepped into this role during a precarious period within Navajo history.

[375] Tyrone Campbell and Joel and Katie Kopp, *Navajo Pictorial Weaving, 1880-1950.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1991), 20.

Klah grew up in a very different society than many of his peers. This age can be defined by growing conflict, the introduction of new people and cultures, and of new ideas and languages. Klah took this all in eagerly, describing his excitement at seeing his first "yellow haired" woman whom "had the eyes of a coyote."[376] He enjoyed the luxuries brought from the east by traders, such as fresh peaches and beautifully ornamented saddles.[377] However, Klah's adolescent traipses into the world outside the reservation were limited compared to many of the experiences of his peers and his community in general. Whereas Klah stayed on the reservation, learning of medicinal plants, of sacred tools and chants, many children his age left to attend school. Where Klah's classroom resided in the ceremonial Hogan, his peers education stemmed from behind the desks at government schools or the pews of new missionary establishments.

Klah represented in many ways, an attachment to the old traditional ways. Klah was described as a quiet, mature child. While well respected, he found it hard to engage with other boys his age. This is noted by Newcomb in Klah's biography, in one instance where he returned from his maternal Uncle's, saying: "He found when he returned from his Uncle's one summer, that the year of ceremonial education had made him much less interested in engaging with the other boys."[378] Other accounts suggest that in his later years school children targeted Klah, teasing him about his supposed cross-dressing.[379] Although it's never been confirmed Klah participated in cross dressing, it's likely that such jeers made it apparent of that the gender fluidity of the past nadle, would not be so easily understood or accepted by the younger Navajo generation.

[376] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah*, 83
[377] Ibid.
[378] Ibid, 101.
[379] Willard W. Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture" *American Anthropologist* (1935), 3.

Yet Klah seemed to stand in defiance of this, proud of his status, proud of his *nadleehi* role. Klah seemed in particular to favor *Begochiddin*. the alternative gendered deity. Even going so far as to attributive more powers to *Begochiddin* then most medicine men traditionally prescribed.[380] Klah described *Begochiddin* as both male and female, changing sex and appearance at will.[381] During his year trip to Maine with the Newcombs, he fondly told Franc that "He was sure that *Begochiddin*, the god, lived in Maine because it smelled so sweet."[382] Even other Navajo seemed aware of Klah's particular favoritism towards this deity, blatantly accusing him of giving the god more significance then most medicine men or elders.[383]

Could it be then, that Klah's textiles served to illustrate not only his technical knowledge and skill, but also intended to bring significance to a style that only a *nadleehi* could have reasonable achieved? Additionally, could his work represent his own perceptions, as a *nadleehi* individual within a changing world? Will Roscoe, has written extensively on Hosteen Klah, explored this notion. Roscoe argues there is some evidence to support the possibility that Klah used weaving as an outlet to connect with his *nadleehi* role. The strongest evidence for this, Roscoe indicates, is the sheer number of sandpainting textiles Klah created in his life time that use the whirling logs sandpainting from the Yeibichai.[384]

On the cursory glance, the whirling log sandpainting in all its iterations, may not seem to reveal anything about Klah's personal understanding or relationship to this *nadleehi* status, but

[380] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah,* 62
[381] Ibid.
[382] Franc Newcomb, *Wheelwright Mary C Interview,* Newcomb Original Notes. Box MSS A-H, 1-3. 1. Manuscript Collection, Located within the Wheelwright Research Library, Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, Santa Fe, New Mexico. (Here after cited as WMAI.)
[383] Ibid.
[384] Franc Newcomb, *Wheelwright Mary C Interview,* Newcomb Original Notes. Box MSS A-H, 1-3. 3. WMAI.

Roscoe disagrees.[385] When one examines the Nightway chant myth related to this image, connections begin to appear. In the myth, the hero is unmarried, much like Klah. There is even reference that the hero lives with his grandmother, indicating a life long period of bachelorhood. Roscoe argues that this suggests that the hero, like Klah, chose to remain unmarried.[386] Despite the fact that slight variations existed between Navajo chants, I believe that Klah was familiar with the Nightway chant as it is described below because Washington Matthews recorded this story from one of Klah's ceremonial mentors.[387]

However, the similarities do not end there. Both the hero in the story and Klah in their lives searched for or had a knowledge of scared sites and places. As stated in previous chapters, Navajo people believed the events of Navajo lore to be equally historical as well as spiritual. "Every word is true." Klah said when describing the Mountain Chant to Newcomb.[388] In the Nightway chant, the hero goes to search for sacred knowledge down the San Juan River.[389] The hero character prepares a log canoe and eventually, after trials and tribulations, finds a sacred point in a lake were four logs are rotating, creating the whirling log motif. The hero encounters several deities in his journey who teach him two different versions of the whirling logs sandpainting as well as give him addition knowledge in the areas of cooking, hogan building, and farming, after which he returns to his family.[390]

Here, I make comparisons between the intrepid explorer of the Nightway chant and Klah's own search to identify sacred sites and places. One example of this is recorded by

[385] Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America,* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998), 50
[386]Ibid.
[387]Washington Matthews, "The Navaho Night Chant" *The Journal of American Folk Lore,* (1901), 176.
[388] Franc Newcomb, *Wheelwright Mary C Interview,* Newcomb Original Notes. Box MSS A-H, 1-3. 9. WMAI.
[389] Washington Matthews, "The Navaho Night Chant, 176.
[390] Roscoe, *Changing Ones,* 58.

Newcomb herself, when she, her husband Arthur, and Klah headed westward in 1936.[391] While traveling to the west coast during this excursion, Franc noted on the frequency of which Klah correctly identified streams, rivers and bodies of water miles away from his home. He connected all of these to their mythological counterparts from stories he learned or grew up hearing. In particular, Klah frustrated himself, searching for a mythological island from which Changing Woman derived when they reached the pacific coast.[392]

However, the whirling log motif is connected to several chants, including the Nightway, Hail and Water Chant.[393] Klah didn't seem to have knowledge of the water chant as he sent Newcomb to two brothers who knew the chant so that she may observe it through them.[394] However, according to another medicine man, the Hail Chant which is associated with the Whirling Log sandpainting is also connected to the Water Chant, and Klah conceded that this may be true.[395] This leads for the opportunity to explore many overlapping ceremonies and their accompanying sandpaintings.

The symbol of the whirling log has been popularly used in Navajo weaving outside of sandpainting textiles as early as 1880.[396] This motif proved popular with weavers because it combines the figurative elements, which later became highly demanded by collectors, but does not include any taboo or sacred imageries such as those found in a sandpainting. Yet, despite the significance of this icon in the whirling logs ceremony and sandpainting, in the earliest textiles it

[391] Newcomb *Hosteen Klah, 211.*
[392] Ibid, 182.
[393] Roscoe, *Changing Ones, 58;* Franc Newcomb, *Wheelwright Mary C Interview,* Newcomb Original Notes. Box MSS A-H, 1-3. 3. WMAI.
[394] Franc Newcomb, *Wheelwright Mary C Interview,* Newcomb Original Notes. Box MSS A-H, 1-3. 3. WMAI.
[395] Ibid.
[396] George Wharton James, Indian Blankets and Their Weavers, (New York: Dover Publications, 1974), 127. ; See Page 135 Figure 3. For an example of the whirling log motif's early use in weaving.

is referred only as "that which revolves".[397] More complex meanings behind the variations of the swastika have alternative meanings, including a depiction of the Navajo lands, each corner representing a peak, and the pinwheels, the winds and four directions.[398]

Are these really connections to Hosteen Klah's *nadleehi* status and perception of self? What do his other sandpainting textiles tell us about him and how do they compare to their traditional powder visages? When I first began my research into this topic, I theorized that because other weavers made slight variations between their work and the actual sandpainting images, that perhaps Klah, too, made slight changes. These changes, whether they be variations in placement, color, or composition could reveal personal preferences of Klah and perhaps illuminate his own perceptions on the topic of alternative genders and Navajo religion. However, in the examples I have explored it apparent to me that Klah remains as true as possible to the sandpainting's original visages. To the best of his ability it seems, Klah recreates sandpainting designs "line by line" in his weavings.[399] However, there are some variations between Klah's work and the original sandpanting textiles that are due to translating the images from one medium to another.

The first of these is of course, the size of sandpaintings compared to the average size of textiles. While some sandpaintings could be accomplished in a space of one or two feet, others required more space depending on the power and length of the ceremony.[400] The largest sandpaintings could be as large nine to twelve feet in length. As stated earlier in the chapter, to

[397] Ibid, 180.
[398] Observations Relative to the Origin of the Fylfot or Swastika, Reel 6, p16-17. Microfiche Collection, Autry Library, Located within the Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, California. (Here after cited as AMAW)
[399] Campbell and Kopp, *Navajo Pictorial Weaving, 1880-1950*, 80.
[400] Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navaho* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 213-214.

fit these works with accurate detail Klah required a new loom to be made. But there were other issues to be tackled, including the weaving process itself which hindered the traditional way in which Navajo sandpaintings were created.

Firstly, medicine men created sandpaintings from the center outward.[401] Additionally, sandpaintings varied in their shape, often coming about organically through the movement and pace of the medicine man. As one researcher put it, the shape of a sandpainting "is nothing something one starts with, but is something that one ends up with, and its form is almost a matter of indifference."[402] Here is one of the major differences when one compares the aesthetics of a sandpainting to its textile counterpart, sand paintings took on many shapes including circular or rounded forms, but the shape of a textile from the loom remained limited to a square or rectangle.

To achieve the colors needed to represent sandpainting textiles, took a great deal of extra work. One must thoroughly clean the wool of its natural oils and card it so that more easily takes the dyes. To achieve the dusty pinks and soft reds of crushed flower powders was no easy task. One must combined undyed white wool with dyed red wool to create a pleasing warm tone without variations.[403] Additionally, some of the colors naturally found in the ash, pollen and sand of the powdered paintings could not be easily duplicated in wool.

Despite popular conceptions, Navajo sheep came in a variety of colors. Their coats varied from white, black, grey, some apparently verged on a bluish gray.[404] Despite this, the light browns and tans required to create a background similar to the sandpaintings proved difficult to

[401] Evelyn Payne Hatcher, *Visual Metaphors: A Formal Analysis of Navajo Art*, (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1974), 53.
[402] Ibid, 54.
[403] Gladys A Reichard, *Navajo Shepard and Weaver* (Locust Valley: Augustin, 1936), 33.
[404] George H. Pepper, "The Making of a Navaho Blanket", *Everybody's Magazine,* 41. UCLASC

gather.[405] Because the light tan color could only be harvested from the underside of brown sheep, this required Klah, his family members and the Newcombs to scour the reservation and trading posts to purchase the required wool.[406]

Determining the symbolic meanings of textiles compared to their symbolic counter parts in sandpaintings can be difficult. Ultimately to definitively make a statement in regards to Klah's textiles and their connection to his *nadleehi* status or to *begochiddin* is impossible without a critical analysis of his entire library of works. However, even with Klah's entire work laid before one, a research must take into consideration the unavoidable changes by moving from one medium to another. Bias concerns about placing the researcher's own personal agenda come to the forefront. When discussing issues such as these, wherein historians and researchers attempt to dismantle an Navajo's work to uncover personal or hidden meanings may be impossible. Perhaps George Wharton James, said it best on the subject: "No Living person can determine what the meaning of the design of any given basket is- provided it has meaning- save for the weaver herself, and I am fully satisfied that the same caution must be observed in determining the meaning of any design upon a Navaho blanket."[407]

The Influence of the Trader and the Demand of the Market

One possibility of Klah's decision to pursue the stylistic innovation of sandpainting textiles could be trade demands. It is possible Klah sought to create sandpainting tapestries under the influence of traders in the area, or to take advantage of the lucrative business of appealing to collectors that sought rare or unusual textiles. Certainly, traders and collectors played a large role

[405] George H. Pepper, "The Making of a Navaho Blanket", *Everybody's Magazine,* 34. UCLASC
[406] Newcomb, Hosteen Klah, 157.
[407] James, *Indian Blankets and Their Makers,* 73.

in Klah's life both personally and financially. In fact, Franc Newcomb, the wife of a trader and friend of Hosteen Klah, attributes herself as planting the idea in Klah's head of experimenting with sandpainting textiles.[408] When Klah seemed unsure about the idea and told her that such images could never be walked upon like a rug, Newcomb responded by telling Klah that such tapestries, if he chose to weave them, would be hung on the wall in a museum. Klah responded "that he would think about it."[409] It is ironic then, that Klah's first sandpainting textile actually sold to a collector while still on the loom.[410]

The Newcombs arrived in New Mexico in 1914 in the area of Pes-do-clish, later renamed "Newcomb" for the trading post in the area that stood as one of the few settlement structures for miles.[411] The Newcomb trading post served as a hub of activity in the eastern area of Navajo country. Klah frequently perused the many beautifully illustrated magazines and brochures from which he ordered supplies for many of his ceremonies.[412] Klah's nieces, sister, and Mother often displayed their work for sell within the trading post. However, in general I believe the Newcomb and Klah's relationship remained largely rooted in their common affection and respect for one another. Klah and the Newcomb's were present for many of the most important events in each other's lives. They nursed each other in illness, blessing children at birth, as well as preparing and attending the funeral of Klah's sister and mother.[413]

While the Newcombs were not the only traders in Klah's life, it seems his relationship to them lead to many fortuitous events leading up to the development of the sandpainting textile.

[408] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah*, 157.
[409] Ibid.
[410] Ibid, 158.
[411] Ibid, 47.
[412] Ibid, 128.
[413] Ibid, 89, 145, 201.

One of these first important events is the arrival of the Hyde expedition in 1868.[414] It is important to note that both George Warton James, the author of *Indian Blankets and their Makers* (1974), as well as Roscoe disagree with Newcomb about the period of time the expedition was present in the area, as well as the dates of trade exchanges between the group and Hosteen Klah. It appears that Newcomb erroneously suggests that the expedition arrived in 1903 and stayed as late as 1910. However, this is unlikely as further evidence suggests that the expedition party remained in the area between 1898 to 1903.[415] Lead by Benjamin B.T. Babitt Hyde and his brother, the Hyde expedition played a vital role in building Klah's reputation as a gifted weaver.

The Hyde expedition according to James, "seemed to genuinely want to understand the Navajo weaver and textile and imagined a country of depot in American cities" which would bring authentic Navajo arts to the general public.[416] Although the Hyde expedition had high hopes for marketing, collecting and preserving traditional Navajo weaving, "the flood of poor quality, thick, coarse, loosely woven blanketed, wretchedly dyed in hideous combinations of colors continued to pour into the market."[417] Despite the failure of the Hyde expedition to single handedly preserve authentic Navajo works in the marketplace, their stance towards cultural preservation and understanding should lend some testament in their decision to work with Klah on several accounts.

The first of these came when the expedition approached Klah to copy and reconstruction a blanket fragment the expedition discovered in the Chaco Canyon region, this he completed in half a days' time.[418] Because there is some evidence to suggest that sandpainting textiles

[414] Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 51.
[415] Frank McNitt,*The Indian Traders* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1962), 84.
[416] James, *Indian Blankets and Their Makers*, 49.
[417] Ibid.
[418] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah*, 114.

experimentation began in the Chaco Canyon region it's possible that this rug fragment was one of these early attempts but, in my opinion this seems unlikely. Descriptions of the fragment are brief but describe the piece as being "ancient", this suggests the rug fragment was created long before the sandpainting experimentation began around the 1890s.[419] Furthermore, there is no mention of pictorial elements in the fragment. Indeed, the main concern of the expedition seems to be recreating an accurate representation of the colors of the blanket which had faded so much in the years that they were undistinguishable. Klah took the offer to recreate the fragment to the best of his ability and was paid.[420] Klah also apparently had trade relations with another prominent trader in the area, Wetherill, one of the first traders to purchase these mysterious ceremonial rugs. [421]

Klah's first sandpainting textile, the whirling logs, was created in 1920.[422] While Newcomb accredits herself with planting the idea in Klah's head, he says the idea came about on his own. This first rug's purchase was coincidentally tied once again to the Newcombs. While Klah was in the process of creating the piece, the Newcombs hosted two guests, Mr. and Mrs, King C. Gillette.[423] Learning that Mrs. Gillette was a wealthy collector, with an interest in rare and unusual rugs, the Newcombs told her about Klah's work. Upon visiting the half-finished piece, she purchased it immediately and requested that it be sent to her after its completion.[424] Mrs. Gillette later purchased several other pieces of Klah's work. Newcomb said of this "We

[419] James, *Indian Blankets and Their Makers,* 52.
[420] Ibid.
[421] Roscoe, Changing Ones, 51.
[422] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah*, 157.
[423] Ibid, 158.
[424] Ibid,

were glad to receive her order,..now he (Klah) was definitely started on a new vocation- that of a weaver of ceremonial rugs."[425]

As demand increased for his textile pieces, Klah's nieces began aiding in the weaving process. Taboos against the weaving of sandpainting images still permeated the reservation. To alleviate fears, Klah performed the Yeibichai chant over the two women, as well as their tools and looms. Still, many on the reservation were convinced the young women would suffer from illness or blindness from staring for so many hours at the sacred images.[426]

The fact that Klah enlisted his nieces to speed production suggests that Klah over came any earlier qualms he held of making ceremonial tapestries. Perhaps these ceremonial rights were performed merely to appease the other Navajo, for Klah always seemed self-assured that "nothing will happen and nothing did!" as Newcomb described it.[427] Within the year Klah and his nieces had produced several pieces without harm or incident. Seeing now that no injury befell them, many women across the reservation began partaking in the style, eager to enjoy of a slice of the pie. However, according to Marian Rodee, many of these women who specialized in ceremonial patterns did so "in spite of a personal discomfort. They think they are performing a sacrilegious act."[428] After Klah's death in 1937, only one of his nieces continued to create sandpainting textiles. The other returned to non-pictorial rugs.

Klah the Collaborator and Agent for Cultural Preservation

[425] Ibid, 159.
[426] Ibid, 162.
[427] Ibid, 158.
[428] Marian Rodee, *Old Navajo Rugs: Their Development from 1900 to 1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 103.

Perhaps the strongest influence or motivation into Klah's decision to create sandpainting rugs is his life long tradition of breaking taboos and his role as an informant for anthropologists and researchers. Roscoe makes a similar argument in his work suggesting that perhaps Klah's greatest achievement is his preservation of Navajo ceremonialism. Klah served as a collaborator to Gladys Reichard, Franc Newcomb, Mary C. Wheelwright, among others. He recorded interviews with researchers on a variety of subjects including Navajo folk lore and stories, spirituality and ceremonialism. It seems Klah realized that many of his tribe's traditional knowledge were eroding through time. Newcomb described the difficulty in trying to preserve Navajo ceremonies saying "Finding the old medicine man or woman who attended rare ceremonies when they were young, then trying to get an accurate records from the dimness of the past is not an easy task. At times the results are discouraging as the pictures are often incomplete and ethnologically worthless."[429]

Klah always seemed to bend the rules, long before his foray into sandpainting textiles. One example of this is in the mere fact that he so openly allowed many of these white women into the ceremonial hogan to begin with. Others took efforts to restrict the passing of knowledge to white researchers for a variety of reasons. One example of this can be gleamed from Newcomb's own experiences. The first, when she was asked by a Navajo medicine man whom she wished to interview, if she was a Baptist. Newcomb said "I knew that if I said I were a Baptist he would not let me into the Hogan or speak to me about his knowledge."[430] Newcomb also mentions a sense of tension at being present in Navajo ceremonies, especially those where she observed a ceremony as a guest or in which Klah himself was not the one performing the

[429] Franc Newcomb, Box Franc Newcomb A-H, Folder Sandpainting Symbolism, WMAI.
[430] Mary C Wheelwight Interview, Box 1, Folder Wheelwright, Mary C.: Interview, MS-1-27, 20. WMAI

ceremony.[431] In fact, this uncomfortable tension persisted until Newcomb fell ill and Klah held his own ceremony over her. After which she need only say 'I have had a ceremony" and her admittance was not questioned.[432]

Another example in which Klah broke taboos in his sharing of stories fairly openly. As is the case with Washington Matthews, whom he warned that telling or hearing of such stories out of the proper season could encourage illness or injury from the gods.[433] However, I believe the best example of Klah's earnest wish to share his culture's knowledge in spite of prevailing taboos, comes from a story of his visit to Maine in 1934. While there, Klah created a small sand painting depicting the Black Wind.[434] Klah created the image at the request of Franc who told Klah that one of her friends had a hobby of learning about Navajo religion and would enjoy seeing a sandpainting. However, Franc's friend was not available to view the piece until *three days* later.[435] Klah chose to let the sandpainting sit on the terrace of the residence overnight, a taboo in Navajo culture. In the morning, Klah took delight in seeing the various animal tracks that appeared through the sand painting.[436]

All of these stories about Klah's life indicate that Klah enjoyed sharing his knowledge with others who also genuinely wished to learn. This seems to go both ways, as Klah seemed to enjoy visiting new places and asking questions about the lifestyles of the people there. Over the course of his life Klah provided his researchers with the connections to record hundreds of

[431] Rain Parrish, "Hosteen Klah and Mary C. Wheelwright: The Founders and the Founding", Woven Holy People: Navajo Sandpainting Textiles, 1-7, WMAI.
[432] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah,* 156.
[433] Franc Newcomb, *Wheelwright Mary C Interview,* Newcomb Original Notes. Box MSS A-H Folder, M-S-1-27, 1-3. 3. WMAI.
[434] Mary C. Wheelwright Interview Transcript, Box 1 Reel 1, Side A Transcript, Folder Mary C Interview M-S-1-27, 1, WMAI.
[435] Mary C Wheelwight Interview, Box 1, Folder Wheelwright, Mary C.: Interview, MS-1-27, 2. WMAI
[436] Ibid.

ceremonies and sandpainting. Even ceremonies that Klah was not familiar with, he willing set up meetings and did the introductory work of getting his researchers into these ceremonies.[437]

Another driving force that I believe motivated Klah into working his sandpainting textiles is the rapid erosion of ceremonial knowledge in general. As discussed in chapter four, many of the Navajo ceremonies and sandpaintings were quickly being lost due to the death of medicine men. Additionally, the removal of children from the families through the use of boarding schools as well as the adoption of Christian religious practices created a small crop of eager or interested neophytes to learn the extravagant and detailed ceremonies. In addition to an erosion of knowledge of traditional religion in the general Navajo public due to assimilation, knowledge was often intentionally abandoned by some medicine men in favor of other more powerful or useful spells. Klah himself was known to condense ceremonies from 5 days to 3 days as he chose the parts which he considered the most powerful.[438] Newcomb described this thusly saying "One reason why some paintings are discarded and eventually forgotten, the younger men learn only the "safe" painting…In this way their memorized galaxy is ever less than that of their teachers"

In rare cases, tragedy would strike a take a medicine man too soon, before his knowledge was passed on in full. In even rarer cases misfortunate struck down the medicine man's apprentice, taking away the next crop of ceremonial masters. Klah experienced this calamity himself, with the passing of his student, Beaal Begay.[439] This incident, I believe furthered Klah's decision to later donate his ceremonial tools and knowledge to those who would preserve it for future generations.

[437] Mary C Wheelwight Interview, Box 1, Folder Wheelwright, Mary C.: Interview, MS-1-27, 4, WMAI
[438] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah*, 98.
[439] Ibid., 144.

For these reasons I believe one of the biggest motivating factors in Klah's sandpainting textiles was the preservation of Navajo ceremonies through the weaving of ceremonial imagery. As mentioned earlier in this chapter Newcomb suggested to Klah that he consider taking this step so that the rugs could be hung in a museum. This suggestion would later become a reality through another of Newcomb and Klah's friends, Mary C. Wheelwright.

Mary C. Wheelwright met Klah in the Demez Mountains, after a fierce snow storm at a Gallup Fiesta. Shortly after meeting she purchased one of his blankets, and a friendship soon followed.[440] Wheelwright, a wealthy Bostonian formed a friendship with Klah and together, the two planned the design and concept for the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Arts. The museum opened in 1937. It was later renamed the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian. Although Klah passed away before the opening of the museum, he worked closely with Wheelwright in deciding the collection and design of the museum. In the midst of construction, Klah, Newcomb, and Wheelwright visited the site, where Klah showed pleasure at the design of the structure. "He was especially pleased to find that the main part of the structure was built like a Navaho ceremonial Hogan".[441]

The Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian would serve an important role in preserving Klah's legacy. Due to the untimely death of his apprentice, and his advanced years, it was clear that Klah would not be taking on another neophyte. When, he passed away before the opening of the museum, it left some uncertainty about what would happen to his expansive collection of ceremonial tools. One of Klah's nieces held on the tools, in the hopes that her son may one day take up the torch and go down the path of becoming a medicine man. However,

[440] Mary C Wheelwight Interview, Box 1, Folder Wheelwright, Mary C.: Interview, MS-1-27, 8, WMAI.
[441] Ibid, 202.

when he left for school, she gave up this idea.[442] Later, Mary Wheelwright bought these items from the family and relocated them in the museum. In the years that followed, many ceremonial artifacts and Navajo sandpainting were added to the museum's primary collection, along with several of Klah's own sandpainting textiles.[443] The Wheelwright Museum and its founding collecting stand as a testament to Klah's work as an innovator, educator and preserver of Navajo culture and knowledge.

Conclusion

There are several factors that played a role in the creation of sandpainting textile. The first of these to consider is Klah's *nadleehi* status which Historians Will Roscoe argue is the vital role necessary to combine these two spheres to create a sandpainting textile. Did Klah's Nadleehi status encourage not only the development of the style but also the artistic decisions Klah made? I believe that this is less likely. It is difficult to determine exactly the motivations behind Klah's decisions to choose certain designs over others. Largely Klah chose the whirling logs design which Roscoe believes is connected to Klah's *nadleehi* status through the fact that the hero in this story is an unmarried bachelor, indicating that he may have also been a *nadleehi.*

However, the whirling logs ceremony is itself is a fairly common weaving motif, connected to the Yeibichai, Nightway, or Hail Chant family of ceremonies.[444] The Yeibichai is the first chant Klah mastered.[445] Additionally, this ceremony marked Klah's "graduation" into a reputable medicine man. Klah famously invited over 2,000 Navajo to critique this ceremony in 1917.[446]The Yeibichai chant was also one of the first ceremonies that Klah recorded by interview

[442] Ibid, 214.
[443] Ibid, 220.
[444] Mary C Wheelwight Interview, Box 1, Folder Wheelwright, Mary C.: Interview, MS-1-27, 8, WMAI.
[445]Ibid.
[446] Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah,* 117.

with Newcomb in 1931.[447] It seems possible, that the Yeibichai ceremony and all its derivative ceremonies were significant to Klah as educational milestones. Additionally there are several other sandpainting ceremonies, such as the Mothway, Emergence and Bear that feature *begochiddi*.,and there is little mention if Klah created works of these designs.

Then perhaps the biggest motivator to Klah's sandpainting textiles was simply the economic and trade demands for unusual and unique rugs and textiles. Some evidence points to this, including the personal and professional relationship Klah had with several collectors and traders. Most notably his three trips to Chicago where he displayed his weaving ability in front of anxious crowds. Perhaps the fact that Klah encouraged his two nieces to aid in the production of the textiles indicated that the work represented more of an assembly line need for efficiency than a desire to create each piece as a personal expression. Notably, Klah remained one of the wealthiest men on the reservation, with 5,000 sheep and 40 head of cattle.[448]

Nevertheless, in my opinion the biggest motivating factor is Klah's desire to preserve traditional Navajo sandpaintings, and knowledge. This is evident in his countless relationships with researchers and anthropologists. Klah frequently shared information with those who seemed to share an earnest drive to learn or interest in Navajo ways. Perhaps the strongest indicator of this comes from Newcomb who said Klah realized that religion of the Navajo would die out if there was no way of writing down. Klah spoke no English, but despite this continued to work with researchers though interpreters.[449]

[447] Mary C Wheelwight Interview, Box 1, Folder Wheelwright, Mary C.: Interview, MS-1-27, 11, WMAI.
[448] Mary C Wheelwight Interview, Box 1, Folder Wheelwright, Mary C.: Interview, MS-1-27, 21, WMAI.
[449] Mary C Wheelwight Interview, Box 1, Folder Wheelwright, Mary C.: Interview, MS-1-27, 20, WMAI.

According to Roscoe "Klah innovated to preserve traditional cultural forms and values"[450] Perhaps Roscoe summarizes it best, saying "As Klah's life shows, in return for the acceptance of individual differences, tribal society gained outstanding service an invention."[451] As one collaborator casually put it, the Navajo motto is "Unity in Diversity" and perhaps this is truest through Klah's example.[452] Through his place niched in society, he ended up united many aspects of Navajo society, beyond just the religious and weaving sphere, but created a lasting legacy and collection of work from which future generations can learn from and continue to innovate.

[450] Roscoe, Changing Ones, 64
[451] Ibid, 63.
[452] Kluckhon and Leighton, *The Navaho,*311.

Conclusion

This research project slowly built upon its self through the guidance of my professors, advisors, and peers at the University of Central Oklahoma. As I examined Native American history through a variety of lenses, I gravitated to the personal stories and experiences of Two-Spirit individuals. This set me down a path of research that eventually fell beyond art history and gender studies in Hosteen Klah's work. As my research grew, the more answers I wished to uncover the more avenues I needed to rule out or better understand. Soon, I found myself reading up on political, economic, and military history that impacted the Navajo tribe and subsequently family structures and perspectives of gender. I believed that a better understanding of these aspects could possibly better illuminate Klah's community and own perceptions, as well as what motivated Klah to create these pieces despite the taboos against them.

My research began at the introduction of Spanish influence into Navajo territory. Although Native Americans within the southwest faced many of the same issues under the Spanish crown as they did the in the American period, these influences manifested themselves largely in more violent ways under Spanish colonial rule. The Spanish frequently enforced aspects for heteronormativity by whippings.[453] Early in areas of South America, records discuss the Spanish setting dogs on individuals who cross-dressed or were seen as "feminine."[454] This begins a boarder bombardment towards shifting the Navajo cultural view from one that sees the sexes as equal or balanced to one that supports a patriarchal society. The Spanish impact of colonization, violence and Christian influence reveals how early concepts of masculinity introduced by the Spanish began to erode the spectrum of what was acceptable within gender

[453] Roscoe, The Zuni Man Woman, 175
[454] Ibid, 177.

norms. Christianity brought by Catholic missionaries altered the concepts of family by focusing on a heteronormative family structures.

Hosteen Klah's birth in 1867 marked an important period of time in Navajo history. Only three years earlier, the Navajo people were forcibly marched out of their home lands to Bosque Rendondo. The year after Klah's birth the Navajo people signed the Navajo Treaty of 1868, allowing them to return their homelands. This period of time marks the end of the Spanish control over the area and a transition into the American period. During this time, multiple influences pressured the Navajo people to assimilate more closely to general American culture. These pressures can be seen through U.S. Policy, Missionary groups and government boarding schools.

U.S. Policy on the surface doesn't seem to have a lot of influence on the personal lives of Navajo people. It's difficult to imagine the decisions of politicians thousands of miles away, affecting the perceptions of Navajo people within the reservation. However, U.S. Policy did manage to reshape directly and indirectly, perspectives on gender roles. Additionally, policy effected Navajo systems of kinship, matrilineal customs, or created a loss of language and traditional religious or cultural practices. Policies like the Dawes Act and the structures of the Navajo political system after the American Period by and large support patriarchal society and home structures. In many ways, women were seen as equal in society in many ways and consulted frequently in decision making. Women were often the owners of property and sheep in the tribe. However, the Dawes Allotment Act largely failed to recognize women in their allotment requests.

In addition to targeting cultural practices through policy efforts such as the Court of Indian Offenses, U.S. policy greatly supported many of the Christian missionaries on the

reservation. Christian boarding schools removed children from their spiritual mentors and tribal traditions that fostered Two-Spirit qualities and roles. Much like the missionaries of Spanish time, under the American period hundreds of missions sprouted across the reservation. Whereas under Spain, missionaries were predominately Catholic, in the American period many denominations flooded to evangelicise to the Navajo. Among these included Presbyterians, Catholics, and Mormons. These institutions re-shaped gender roles, and contributed to the erasure of tribal religions, and language. Within the walls of these institutions many Navajo relied on the missions for their livelihood and likely felt pressure to adopt Christian practices and beliefs in order to receive desperately need goods and services. Additionally many Navajo converted to Christian denominations, incorporating elements of Christianity into their beliefs or accepting them entirely in lieu of traditional spirituality. Government boarding schools had an effect on Klah's life personally as a nadleehi witness attested that Hosteen Klah began wearing male trousers after teasing from the young school boys.[455]

In the school system, often many miles from home, Navajo children were removed from their cultural cosmos. In the classroom, traditional language began to be replaced with English, which great diminished many student's ability to speak or comprehend their Native tongue. The distance from their homes and family also effectively cut them off from kinship structures which supported the education of ceremonialism and spirituality. Gender rigidity began to replace the concept of gender balance in Navajo children, equating cross-dressing and other aspects of gender fluidity as embarrassing and strange. Sex was taught as a source of shame and embarrassment and the practice of masturbation, which is linked to *Begochidiin*, demoralized. Affectively these forces worked in tandem to erode cultural aspects of the Navajo society. Indeed

[455] Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture , 5.

the effects of U.S. policy and other Anglo-American influences greatly affected the Navajo views and uses of traditional kinship structures, religion, gender roles, and sexuality all of which played a part in supporting the role of the *nadleehi* within the Navajo tribe.

It's these cultural erosions that make Klah's sandpainting textiles during their period of time so phenomenal. In many ways Klah was one of the few with proper skill and training to the sandpainting weaving style. Klah's *nadleehi* status placed him in a unique niche in Navajo society. Hosteen Klah stood as both a prolific medicine man and weaver, and that was unusual, even in the Navajo tribe. Weaving generally remained in the women's sphere. Weaving allowed Navajo women to express themselves creatively, as well as support their families through trade. To become an expert weaver was no small task, it was a process which required years of practice and instruction often from the family matriarch. However, the realm of medicine men, that of ceremonialism, religious knowledge and healing rites largely employed men. Klah blended his knowledge from Navajo ceremonialism and weaving to help create a whole new style of Navajo weaving, the sandpainting textile. However, Klah broke some major Navajo taboos by taking the scared images from Navajo ceremony, the sandpainting, and incorporating it in full and accurate detail into his weavings.

I wondered why Hosteen Klah risked enraging his community members by breaking this taboo, and this initial question of what motivated Klah is what drew me further into this topic. Will Roscoe has also researched this topic and argues that in many ways the works of Hosteen Klah can be interpreted as an expression of his *nadleehi* status. I wondered if there was further evidence of Klah's use of sandpainting textiles as an outlet to express his role in a changing world.

I theorized that by examining a large sample of Klah's work and carefully categorizing the differences between his textile works and examples of his or other medicine men's sandpaintings I could identify intentional changes in the designs. These intentional changes, I believed, would reveal Klah's personal creative inclinations as well as his personal perceptions. However I found that in the examples of Klah's work I found there appeared to be little difference between Klah's sandpainting textile and those of their traditional images in ceremony. Additionally I have found that identifying changes even within sandpainting deigns themselves can be difficult due to variations between family and clans. I next explored the possibility that Klah's works were largely motivated by financial interests. Indeed, Klah's textile rapidly became highly demanded, and many collectors paid handsomely for his sandpainting textiles. Eventually, he enlisted his nieces to aid in the process, increasing the amount of sandpainting textiles the house hold created substantially.

However, I believe preservation motivated Klah's innovative works more than creative expression or financial gain. It is here, that the historical background of the Navajo becomes so important into the research of Klah and his life. Klah served a research informant and preserver of knowledge for many of his active years as a medicine man. Due to years of cultural assimilation, as well as a loss of ceremonial knowledge, many ceremonies and their sandpantings died with the medicine men who knew them. Klah expressed the worry that these religious knowledges would eventually be lost. Later in his life Klah worked closely with Mary C. Wheelwright to found the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Within the walls of this institution, many of Klah's sandpainting textiles were held in trust for the tribe, to inspire future generations of Navajo weavers and artists

Illustrations and Figures

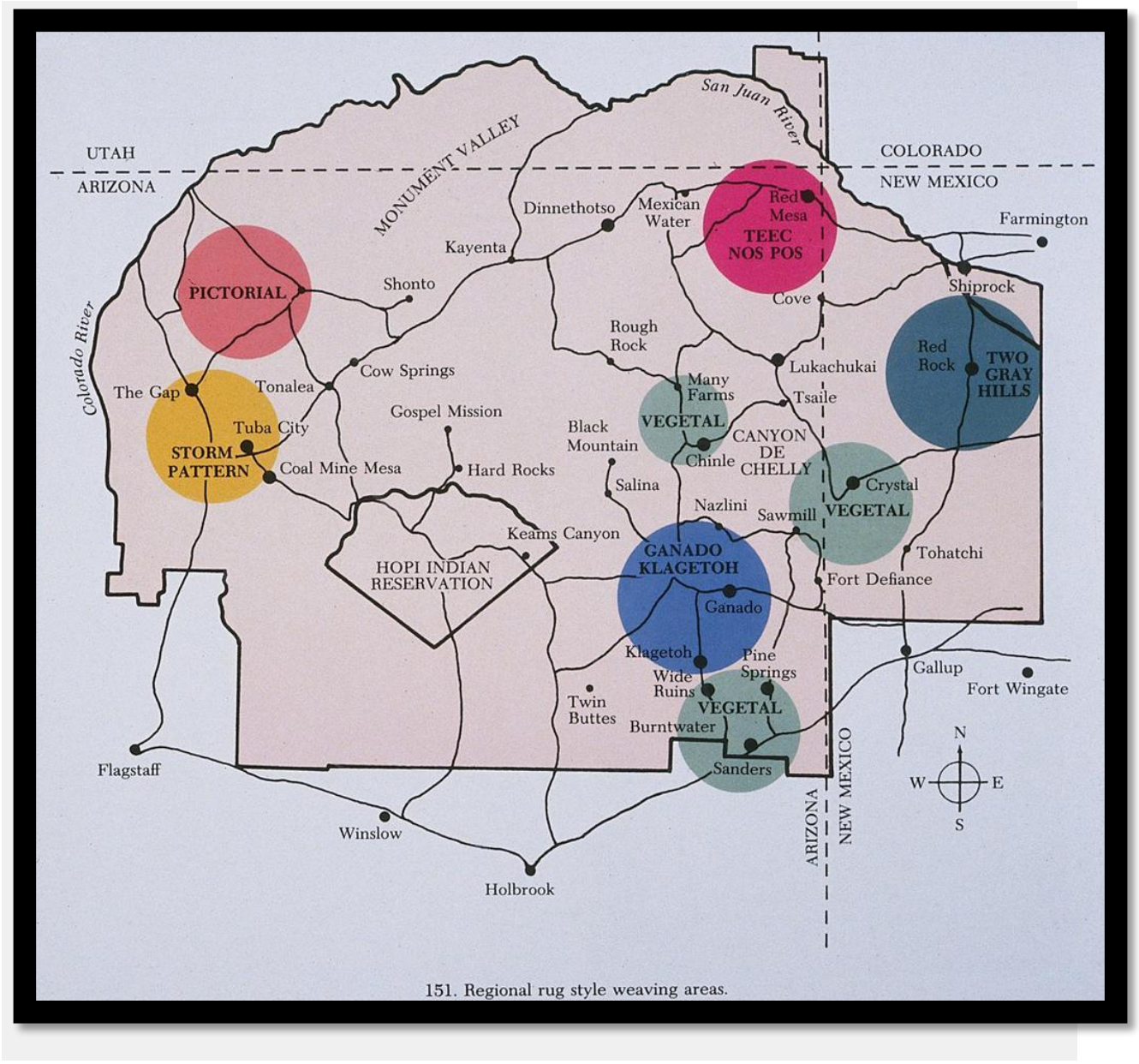
Fig. 1. Detail of Spirit Trail in Two Hill Textile by Daisy Tauglechee c. late 1940 78 x 48 First Prize at the 1957 International Indian Ceremonial in Gallup, New Mexico. Available from: http://www.canyonroadarts.com (accessed March 13. 2016).

Fig. 2. Navajo Two Grey Hills Storm Pattern Textile by Daisy Tauglechee c. late 1940 78 x 48 First Prize at the 1957 International Indian Ceremonial in Gallup, New Mexico. Available from: http://www.canyonroadarts.com (accessed March 13. 2016).

Fig. 3. Navajo Crystal Four Directions Textile with Whirling Logs c. 1900 89 x 61. Year and Artist Unknown. Available from: http://www.canyonroadarts.com (accessed March 13. 2016).

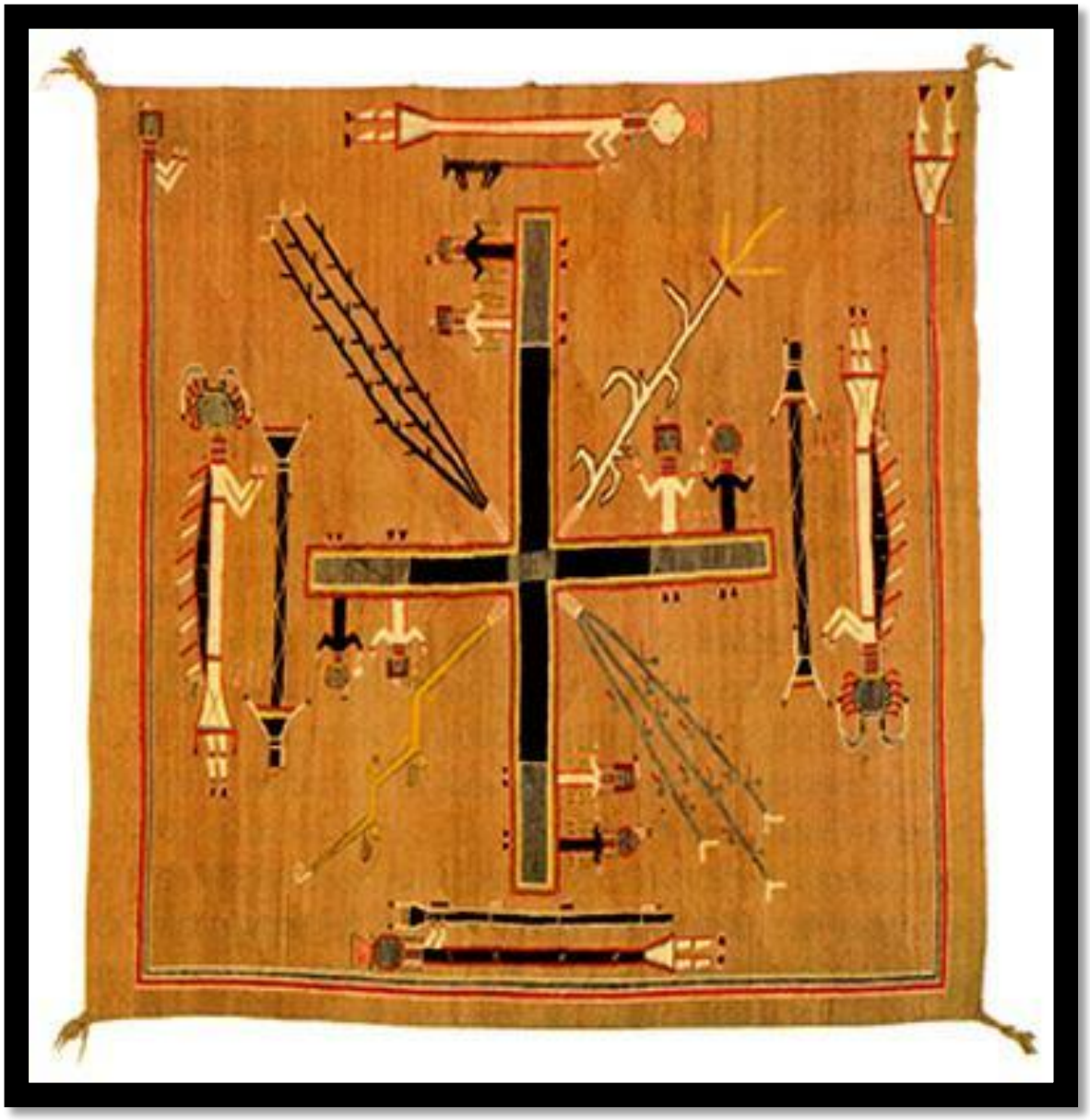
Fig. 4. Sandpainting Textile by Hosteen Klah. c. 1925. 172 x 160.8 cm. Available from Art Institute of Chicago Digital Collections, http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/160028 (accessed March 7. 2016).

Fig. 5. Map Showing Regional Rug Style Weaving Areas", Accessed from the University of California, San Diego. Located on the Artstor databases. http://internal.artstor.org/library/ (Accessed March 7. 2016).



151. Regional rug style weaving areas.

Fig. 5. Whirling Logs Sandpainting Textile by Hosteen Klah. c. 1925. 1.69 x 7.82 m.. Located on the ARTstor databases. http://internal.artstor.org/library/ (Accessed March 7. 2016).



Archives

UW Madison Library Collections in the University of Wisconsin Digital Collections Center, Madison. (UWDCC). Available at http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep83. (Accessed February 2016).

University of Central Oklahoma Chambers Library, Edmond, Oklahoma. (UCOCL)

Autry Library Collection, Located within the Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, California. (AMAW)

Charles E. Young Research Library in University of California in Los Angeles. (UCLASC).

Wheelwright Research Library, Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, Santa Fe, New Mexico. (WMAI)

Center for Southwestern Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque. (CSWR).

Bibliography

Adams, David Wallace. *Education For Extinction: The Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928.* Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1995.

Adams, David Wallace. *On the Borders of Love and Power: families and Kinship the Intercultural American Southwest*. Los Angeles: University of California, 2012.

Albers, Patricia and Beatrice Medicine. *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women.* US: University of America, 1983.

Allen, Paula Gunn, *The Scared Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in America Indian Traditions.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1986.

Allen, Paula Gunn., *Spider Woman's Granddaughters: Traditional Tales and Contemporary Writings by Native American Women* New York: Fawcett Books, 1989.

Angelio, Henry and Charles L. Shedd. "A Note on Berdache" *American Anthropologist,* Vol 57 no 1. 1955.

Bennett, Noel and Tiana Bighorse, *Working With Wool: How to Weave a Navajo Rug,* Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1971.

Bennett, Noel. *Designing With Wool: Advanced Techniques in Navajo Weaving,* Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1979.

Blackwood, Evelyn. "Evenlyn Blackwood: Department of Anthropology," *Department of Sociology and Anthropology at University of Purdue,* http://web.ics.purdue.edu/~blackwood

Blackwood, Evelyn. *Female Desires: Same Sex-Sex Relations and Transgendered Practices Across Cultures.* New York: Columbia Press University, 1999.

Bronski, Michael. *A Queer History of the United States* .Boston: Beacon Press, 2011.

Bsumek, Erika Marie. *Indian-Made: Navajo Culture in the Marketplace 1868-1940.*, Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008.

Campbell, Tyrone and Joel and Katie Kopp, *Navajo Pictorial Weaving, 1880-1950.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1991.

Durkin, Peter J. "Navajo Chief Blankets On the Plains…Past and Present" *Whisper Winds* 2003.

Epple, Carolyn. "Coming to Terms with Navajo "Nadleehi": A Critique of "Berdache", "Gay", "Alternative Gender" and "Two-Spirit." *American Ethnologist* Vol 25, 1998.

Evans, Will. *Daily Life and Customs of the Navajo People Along the Navajo Trails: Recollections of A Trader 1898-1948,* (Denver: University of Colorado Press, 2005.

Fergusson, Erna. *New Mexico: A Pageant of Three Peoples.* New York: Stein and Day, 1951.

Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnological Dictionary of the Navajo Language.* New York: Saint Michaels Historical Press, 1990.

Fogelman Lange, Patricia. *The Spiritual World of Franc Johnson Newcomb* August 1, 2015. http://www.francnewcomb.org/

Freed, Stanley A, and Ruth S. Freed "A Note on Regional Variations in Navajo Kinship Terminology" *American Anthropologist,* Vol 72. 1970.

Gill, Sam. *Sacred Words: A Study of Navajo Religion and Prayer.* London: Greenwood Publishing, 1981.

Gilley, Brian. *Becoming Two-Spririt: Gay Identity and Social Acceptance in Indian Country* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Pess. 2006.

Golden, Gertrude. *Red Moon Called Me: Memoirs of a School Teacher in the Government Indian Service.* San Antonio: Naylor. 1954.

Haile, Berard. "Navaho Chantways and Ceremony," *American Anthropologist* Vol 43. 1938.

Hatcher, Evelyn Payne. *Visual Metaphors: A Formal Analysis of Navajo Art.* St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1974.

Herdt, Gilbert. *Gilbertherdt.com* 2010. Accessed April, 2014. http://gilbertherdt.com/

Herdt, Gilbert. *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimporhism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone Books, 1994.

Hill, W.W. "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture", *The American Anthropologist*, Vol 37, 1935. 273.

Jacobs, Sue-Ellen and Wesley Thomas, Sabine Lang, ed., *Two-spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality.* Chicago: University of Illinois, 1997.

James, George Wharton. Indian Blankets and Their Weavers. New York: Dover Publications, 1974.

J.M. " In Memorium: Washington Matthews". *American Anthropologist* Vol 7. 1905.

Johnson, Lyman L and Sonya Lipsett Rivera, eds, *Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America.* Albuqreque: University of New Mexico Press. 1998.

Kelly, Lawrence. *The Navajo Indians and Federal Indian Policy: 1900-1935.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1968.

Kent, Kate Peck. *Pueblo Indian Textiles: A Living Tradition.* Santa Fe: University of Washington Press, 1983.

Keur, Dorothy. "A Chapter in Navaho-Pueblo Relations", *Society of American Archaeology* Vol 10. 1944.

Kluckhohn, Clyde, W.W. Hill, and Lucy Klukhohn. *Navaho Material Culture* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1971.

Kluckhohn, Clyde, and Dorthea Leighton, *The Navaho.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1974.

Koerner, E.F. Konrad. "Edward Sapir : Appraisals of His Life and Work" *Studies in the History of the Language Sciences,* Volume 36. 1984.

Lamphere, Lousie. "Replacing Heteronormative Views of Kinship and Marriage", *American Ethnologist,* vol 32, 2005.

Lamphere, Louis. "Symbolic Elements in Navajo Ritual", *Journal of Anthropological Research,* Vol 42, 1986.

Lamphere, Lousie. "Gladys Reichard Among the Navajo," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies,* Vol 12. .1995.

Lang, Sabine. *SabineLang.org.* accessed April, 2014. http://www.sabinelang.org

Lurie, Nancy "The Winnebago Berdache," *The American Anthropological Journal* Vol 55. 1953.

Matthews, Washington. "Prayer of a Navajo Shaman," *American Anthropologist* Vol 1 1888.

Matthews, Washington Matthews. "Noqoìlpi, the Gambler: A Navajo Myth", *The Journal of American Folklore,* Vol 2. 1885.

Martin, M Kay, and Barbara Voorhies, *Female of the Species* (New York: Columbia Press University, 1974.

McNitt, Frank. *The Indian Traders* Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1962.

Newcomb, Franc. *Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant.* New York: Dover Printing. 1937.

Newcomb, Franc. *Hosteen Klah: Navajo Medicine Man and Sand Painter*. Norman: University of Oklahoma. 1964.

Parezo, Nancy. "The Importance of Sex Roles in Craft Production", *American Indian Quarterly,* Vol 6, 1982.

Pavlik, Steve. "Navajo Christianity: Historical Origins and Modern Trends," *Wicazo Sa Review.* 1997.

Peak, Ken. "Criminal Justice, Law and Policy in Indian Country: A Historical Perspective" *Journal of Criminal Justice. 17* 1989.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *Indian Policy in the United States* .Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1981.

Raymond, Austin D. *Navajo Courts and Navajo Common Law: A Tradition of Tribal Self-Governance.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2009.

Reichard, Gladys. "Navajo and Christianity," *American Anthropologist* Vol 51. 1949.

Reichard, Gladys A. *Navajo Shepard and Weaver*. Locust Valley: Augustin, 1936.

Rifkin, Mark. *When Did Indians Become Straight?: Kinship, The History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Rodee, Marian. *Old Navajo Rugs: Their Development from 1900 to 1940* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981.

Roscoe, Will. *The Zuni Man- Woman.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991.

Roscoe, Will. "Who is Will Roscoe…" *Willsworld.org, 2012. Accessed April 1, 2014.* http://www.willsword.org/whois.html.

Roscoe, Will. *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* New York: St. Martin's Press. 1998.

Roscoe, Will., "We'Wha and Klah: The American Berdache as Artist and Priest," *American Indian Quarterly* Vol 12. 1988.

Sapir, Edward. "Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho" *American Anthropologist,* Vol 38. 1936.

Sapir, Edward., "A Navaho Sandpainting Blanket" *American Anthropologist,* Vol 37 1935.

Slater, Sandra. *Gender and Sexuality in Indigenous North America, 1400-1850. New York: St. Martin's Publishing,* 1998.

Thomas, Wesley and Sue-Ellen Jacobs, "…And we are Still Here": Berdache to Two-Spirit People" *American Indian Research and Culture Research Journal 20,no 2.*1999.

Wallace, Ernest and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanche: Lords of the South Plains* Norman, University of Norman Oklahoma. 1976.

Waters, Frank. *Masked Gods: Navaho and Pueblo Ceremonialism.* Chicago: The Swallow Press, 1950.

Weisiger, Marsha. *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country*. Seattle: University of Washington, 2009.

Williams, Walter. *Spirit of the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture,* Boston: Beacon Press, 1986.

Witherspoon, Gary Witherspoon. "A New Look at Navajo Social Organization," *American Anthropologist* Vol 72. 1970.