

Spring 2012

ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMS AND MATERIAL CULTURE: THE 1934 LIVESTOCK REDUCTION PROGRAM AND WEAVING AMONG THE NAVAJO

Jessica L. Bertolozzi

Southern Illinois University-Carbondale, jcrspty@siu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/gs_rp

Recommended Citation

Bertolozzi, Jessica L., "ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMS AND MATERIAL CULTURE: THE 1934 LIVESTOCK REDUCTION PROGRAM AND WEAVING AMONG THE NAVAJO" (2012). *Research Papers*. Paper 195.
http://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/gs_rp/195

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at OpenSIUC. It has been accepted for inclusion in Research Papers by an authorized administrator of OpenSIUC. For more information, please contact opensiuc@lib.siu.edu.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMS AND MATERIAL CULTURE: THE 1934 LIVESTOCK
REDUCTION PROGRAM AND WEAVING AMONG THE NAVAJO

By

Jessica L. Bertolozzi

B.A. Southern Illinois University Carbondale, 2010

A Research Paper

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts

Department of History

In the Graduate School

Southern Illinois University Carbondale

May 2012

RESEARCH PAPER APPROVAL

ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMS AND MATERIAL CULTURE: THE 1934 LIVESTOCK
REDUCTION PROGRAM AND WEAVING AMONG THE NAVAJO

By

Jessica L. Bertolozzi

A Research Paper Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
In the field of History

Approved By:

Dr. Kay Carr

Graduate School

Southern Illinois University Carbondale

March 20, 2012

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGES</u>
LIST OF TABLES	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	iv
TEXT	1
BIBLIOGRAPHY	31
VITA	34

LIST OF TABLES

<u>TABLE</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
Table 1.....	30

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>FIGURES</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
Figure 1.....	23
Figure 2.....	24
Figure 3.....	25
Figure 4.....	26
Figure 5.....	27
Figure 6.....	28
Figure 7.....	29

One must bear in mind constantly that livestock enjoys both a sacred and privileged role in Navajo culture. The animals were gifts from the Holy People themselves and form one of the important cornerstones of Navajo life. The reduction or elimination of something that is measured in spiritual as well as material value is filled with danger, particularly when those responsible are exclusively concerned with resource management (material) rather than the emotional (spiritual) values. —Ruth Roessel & Broderick Johnson¹

The 1934 Livestock Reduction Program, put in place by the United States government, sought to reduce the number of animals that grazed on the Navajo Reservation. It was meant to manage the environment and correct the problems of overgrazing and soil erosion. However, the federal program did not take into account the weaving culture of the Navajo people. Despite the dismissive character of this program, Navajo weaving underwent changes, often negative ones, but survived because of the resiliency of the Navajo culture.² The experience of the Navajo people shows how government policies and the environment not only influence each other, but also influence the material culture of a people, which is tied to their daily lives, income base, creative outlets, history, traditions, and spiritual beliefs.

The Livestock Reduction of 1934 was just the start of a program that would last years. The duration of the program stands out as just one cause of the negative and long-lasting effects that this policy had on the Navajo culture of weaving. At first the reduction of the Navajos' livestock, which included sheep, goats, cattle, and horses, was voluntary. It was implemented with poor and scant organization. Because of the Navajos' resistance to the reduction of their

¹ Ruth Roessel and Broderick Johnson, *Navajo Livestock Reduction: A National Disgrace* (Chinle: Navajo Community College Press, 1974), 224. Cited from discussion in Appendix of source.

² Marsha Weisiger, *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2009), 7. When writing about the livestock reduction Weisiger writes that "...in their haste to respond to an environmental crisis, federal administrators and conservationists unwittingly made matters worse, both ecologically and culturally." She goes on to state that "...They imposed on the Navajos an experimental program based on the emerging sciences of ecology and soil conservation, while disparaging local knowledge and ignoring the importance of long-established cultural patterns." Her main focus is on women and their place in this period of history. Her gendered study of the livestock reduction years does not, however, solely concentrate on weaving and the changes that occurred in this particular piece of material culture like this study, which provides a focus on the effects on weaving from this environmental program from 1935-1970. Lori Jacobi's SIU graduate school thesis, entitled "The Navajo Livestock Reduction Plan of 1934," mainly focuses on the bureaucracy and governmental workings of the Livestock Reduction. It did not focus on the Navajo weaving culture.

stock, the voluntary nature can be described as coercive and filled with intimidation. It was not only the reduction of the animals, but the manner in which they were discarded that upset the Navajo people. According to historians Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glen Bailey, through various methods which included shipping animals to market, butchering, cremation, or starvation, the Navajo people lost close to 150,000 goats and 50,000 sheep in 1934.³

The next part of the reduction program was no longer voluntary but mandatory. Under the mandatory system a census of how many sheep, goats, cattle, and horses was taken. After this census, the reservation was split into grazing districts and the number of livestock converted into units. Only so many units were allowed to exist in each district, depending on the condition and size. Permits were issued and enforced.⁴ The irony lies in the fact that Commissioner Collier was conscious of how stock reduction would affect the Navajo people economically.⁵ This realization and Collier's actions prove that the people and their culture were not the foremost consideration in the implementation of Livestock Reduction. In trying to save one resource, the land, another resource was sacrificed and, in many cases, wasted, which were the livestock and also the Navajo culture and way of life.

There is a considerable amount of scholarship available for the years leading up to and including the Livestock Reduction years. When researching weaving in relation to the New Deal program of Livestock Reduction, the historiography often seemed to be split, solely concentrating on one or the other. Often times weaving would be mentioned in studies concerning the Livestock Reduction years and vice versa. The most focused study available comparing the effects of history, including the Livestock Reduction program, to material culture

³ Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glen Bailey, *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1986), 187-188. Authors cite James F. Downs, 1964:57 and David F. Aberle, 1966:57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 188-193.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 192.

is Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glenn Bailey's book, entitled *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years*. At the end of most chapters is a section on the changes in material culture. However, this record of change does not solely focus on weaving practices, but on other cultural activities of the Navajo people, as well.

Livestock Reduction in the 1930s and 1940s has been studied from many different perspectives. Donald A. Grinde and Bruce E. Johansen write about stock reduction and the varying perceptions that the Navajo and the U.S. Government held concerning the environment and ecology.⁶ In turn, Marsha Weisiger writes about the years that encompass livestock reduction from a varied, but gendered, perspective. In the foreword to Marsha Weisiger's book, written by William Cronon, he points out that

In an effort to forge a multigendered, multicultural understanding of a tragic environmental episode, Marsha Weisiger rethinks that episode through the lenses of Enlightenment science, progressive optimism, Dine culture, the gendered experiences of women and men, and — not least — the changing web of material and symbolic relationships within which animals and people occupy their shared landscape.⁷

William Cronon indicates in an alternate work that Native Americans often did not stop being Native Americans just because their ways of life changed, but they changed the nature of their connection to their environment.⁸ The relationships that he mentions in both references coincide with the change in material culture of weaving throughout history.

Peter Iverson, in his book *The Navajo Nation*, writes about nationalism within the Navajo community. He writes how the Navajo have preserved their culture and how the formation of the

⁶ Donald Grinde and Bruce E. Johansen, *Ecocide of Native America: Environmental Destruction of Indian Lands and Peoples* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1995), 105-117. Bailey and Bailey also mention differing cultural perceptions on page 186 citing Roessel and Johnson 1974:x. Cultural perceptions and how they differ are well noted in much of the literature on the topic of Livestock Reduction.

⁷ Marsha Weisiger, *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2009), xii, Foreword to the book written by William Cronon, entitled *Sheep Are Good to Think With*. The fact that William Cronon is mentioned as a "mentor and teacher" (p. xxi) exhibits the dialogue between historians on this environmental issue.

⁸ William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983, 2003), 164.

Navajo Nation is part of this preservation.⁹ His second chapter addresses the Livestock Reduction Program of 1934.¹⁰ He makes the statement that “rather than reducing individual herds on a percentage basis, the initial version of stock reduction called for an across-the-board slashing of herds.”¹¹ This impacted the smaller herd owners to a greater extent than it did the larger ones. It was not just the loss of their stock, but what was done with the livestock that impacted the collective memories of many of the Navajo that experienced the reduction program. Iverson also tells of how many animals were “...shot and left to rot on the ground; animals that were sold often brought only a dollar a head.”¹²

Sharon Begay gives a record of this collective memory when she tells in a book of oral history that

Early on, my parents witnessed the sheep reduction, and that was one of the most devastating things in their life. I remember my grandma crying and she was saying, “The police just came in here, and I ran out to the corral and told them, ‘Don’t shoot those animals!’” But they shot them anyway. That was like shooting their children. She was trying to protect her lambs and her sheep, and they actually had to drag her out of the corral. And one, two officers had to hold her down. They just shot them. They just left a pile of carcasses there and went to the next camp. A lot of people still have sadness about that. When the older people see the Churro coming back now, it brings tears to their eyes.¹³

The years of livestock reduction and the New Deal programs are not just about the statistics surrounding how many sheep were sold and killed, but these years were also about the long-lasting effects of how these policies and choices that managed the environment and society affected generations and their material cultures, in this case Navajo weaving.¹⁴ The collective

⁹ Peter Iverson, *The Navajo Nation* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), xxiv.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 23-45.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹² *Ibid.*, 29.

¹³ Stacia Spragg-Braude, *To Walk in Beauty: A Navajo Family's Journey Home* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2009), 26. Quote from Sharon Begay.

¹⁴ Ruth Roessel and Broderick Johnson, *Navajo Livestock Reduction: A National Disgrace* (Chinle: Navajo Community College Press, 1974), ix-x. In the foreword Roessel discusses the perspective this book portrays and the detrimental effects of the reduction on the lives and collective memory of the Navajo people. Historiographically, she seems to indirectly challenge historians and anthropologists who study the Navajo to examine the Livestock

memories of the people like Sharon Begay are examples of how Livestock Reduction caused resentment of the U.S. Government by the Navajos and the negative feelings concerning any further reductions of their stock. They also bring into question the “voluntary” nature of this program.

The history of the Navajo and weaving illuminates the importance of the weaving culture and why the collective memory of the Livestock Reduction Program is so strong. The Navajo people are Athabaskan-speaking people who moved from the northwest portion of present-day Canada to the southwestern portion of what is now the United States. Different sources put the date of this migration in different years, but most agree that they were settled in the southwest by the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁵ They came in contact with many people who were also moving into the southwest. The late seventeenth century was a time of much turmoil in the area. The Pueblo Revolt occurred in 1680 and the return of the Spanish happened shortly afterward. There was raiding against the Spanish and neighboring tribes by many native peoples, including the Navajo, who stole sheep, goats, horses, and cattle. The Pueblo people cohabitated with neighboring tribes, such as the Navajo, when the Spanish once again conquered the area.¹⁶ Historians, Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glen Bailey, write that scholars would rather observe Athabaskan and Puebloan people as two separate groups, even though they adopted pieces of each others’ culture. They state that the Navajo people and culture came into being in the early

Reduction in relation to the country’s history and writes of the failure of these researchers to do anything to “stop the atrocities.” (p. xi).

¹⁵ Bertha P. Dutton, *Indians of the American Southwest* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1975), 73-75; Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glen Bailey, *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1986), 11-12. Both authors discuss the arrival of Athabaskan speaking people, such as the Navajo and the Apache, to the Southwest. Bailey and Bailey acknowledges “the widespread disagreement” about the date that these people migrated to the Southwest, stating that archaeologists “...differ widely on the date of this migration, placing it between A.D. 800 and 1000; 1200 and 1400; and sometime after 1541, when the Spaniards first arrived in the Southwest.”

¹⁶ Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glen Bailey, *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1986), 14-15.

1700s.¹⁷ No matter what date is given; there is historical agreement that the Navajo adopted many of their cultural qualities from the Pueblo, especially weaving. Charles Avery Amsden writes of Pedro Pino, who agreed in 1812 about the adoption of Pueblo qualities in Navajo weaving, but noticed the higher quality of Navajo craftsmanship in the weaving trade.¹⁸

As the Navajo lived in the southwest during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, they developed a semi-nomadic lifestyle that relied on previous hunting and gathering skills, but also on farming, herding, and pastoralism.¹⁹ There is much scholarship that agrees that their success with herding was due to the fact that they were not fixed in one place and they could move their herds to find the food and water that was needed.²⁰ The herds continued to grow on the land that the Navajo claimed as their own. This land included the geographic area of the four corners region of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado. As encroachment of eastern settlers and the United States government increased during the nineteenth century, conflict arose between the new settlers, other tribes, and the Navajo. This led to what is called the Navajo War, the Long Walk years, and the imprisonment of many Navajo people at Fort Sumner/ Bosque Redondo.²¹ The release of the Navajo in 1868 and the return to their land,

¹⁷ Ibid., 15.

¹⁸ Charles Avery Amsden, *Navaho Weaving: It's Technic and History* (Santa Anna: The Fine Arts Press, 1934), 133. Amsden also gives a history of the Navajo people in his book, their origins, and their adoption of weaving into their lifestyle, citing dates and people who commented on Navajo weaving.

¹⁹ Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glen Bailey, *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1986), 17-21.

²⁰ Ibid., 21.

²¹ Bosque Redondo or Fort Sumner was the place in New Mexico where many Navajo were forcibly marched to and held from 1864-1868 by the U.S. government. The two main U.S. officials involved in the implementation of this internment program were General James Carleton and Colonel "Kit" Carson. The program was deemed a failure and cost the U.S. government a considerable amount of money. Therefore, it was ended by the Treaty of 1868, and the Navajo returned to their present reservation land. Due to treaty concessions, the U.S. government issued the Navajo people approximately 15000 sheep and goats, upon their return to the reservation (Bailey and Bailey, 1986: 38). Potential sources for this information and history include: Bailey, Lynn R. *The Long Walk: A History of the Navajo Wars, 1846-1868*. Pasadena: Westernlore Publications, 1964; Bailey, Garrick, and Roberta Glenn Bailey. *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1986; Kelly, Lawrence C. *Navajo Roundup: Selected Correspondence of Kit Carson's Expedition Against the Navajo, 1863-*

although now geographically much smaller, saw the beginning of the environmental problems on the Navajo Reservation that led to the Livestock Reduction Program of 1934.

The historical background of the Livestock Reduction includes information that involves the driving forces of colonialism and conquest, which caused assimilation, relocation, and removal practices that were carried out by the federal government. This background also includes the reduction and change in materials used to create Navajo blankets and rugs, and the changes brought on by a capitalist, westward-expanding society. The encroachment of the European settlers, stimulated by their desire for land, brought about the exploitation and disruption of the indigenous peoples' environment and changes in their geographic boundaries.

Historians Alfred Crosby and Elinor Melville both consider the "biological conquest" of the New World.²² Melville discusses grazing animals such as cattle, horses, and sheep and their detrimental environmental effects on the New World environment.²³ Melville also acknowledges Alfred Crosby and how her study adds to his study concerning the changing environments of the New World.²⁴ According to Crosby, sheep first arrived in 1493 with Columbus.²⁵ Crosby also acknowledges the fact that the Navajo owned "large herds of sheep."²⁶ They were among the few Native groups to own sheep.

There is considerable scholarship on the evolution of the Churro sheep, which the Navajo predominantly raised. Lynn R. Bailey traces these sheep back to the Greeks and Phoenicians.

1865. Boulder: The Pruett Publishing Company, 1970; Roessel, Ruth (Prepared under Supervision of). *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period*. Tsaile: Navajo Community College Press, 1973; The Dine, of the Eastern Region of the Navajo Reservation. *Oral History of The Long Walk Hweeldi Baa Hane*. Crownpoint: Lake Valley Navajo School, 1990.

²² Elinor Melville, *The Plague of Sheep* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1.

²³ Ibid., Main discussion of book.

²⁴ Ibid., xi.

²⁵ Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport: Praeger Publishing, 2003), 75.

²⁶ Ibid., 100.

According to Bailey, Churro sheep are well suited to a dry and desert environment.²⁷ He chronicles the introduction of the Churro and Merino sheep to the New World and to the Pueblo and Navajo groups of people. He also discusses overgrazing and raises the question of if the environment was being affected in the 1700s by the sheep that the Navajo already had.²⁸ Bailey connects the Navajo, the sheep, and weaving by discussing the high utility and quality of wool for weaving compared to the cotton that had been previously used.²⁹ Pre-dating Navajos weaving wool, cotton was the chief material that was used in weaving, but they also used yucca, plant fibers, mountain goat hair, and turkey feathers.³⁰ Bailey includes details about the Navajo and their time of internment at Bosque Redondo. In the last chapter, he sums up the emotions expressed by the Navajo people at having the sheep and goats returned to them. These emotions exhibited their connection that had been developed over the years within the relationship with the sheep and goats.³¹

Laura Jane Moore exhibits the strong cultural ties of the Navajo with their sheep and weaving in her essay. She discusses how the Navajo peoples' subsistence and culture relied on their sheep herds. The Navajo wove blankets and clothing for trade and everyday use. Eventually the blankets and rugs that were woven by the Navajo were highly demanded because of the quality and marketability.³² She goes on to comment on their years of incarceration at Bosque Redondo, also. She records how the Navajo weavers weaved what they could find during their

²⁷ Lynn R. Bailey, *If You Take My Sheep: The Evolution and Conflicts of Navajo Pastoralism, 1630-1868* (Pasadena, Westernlore Publications, 1980), 44.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 117.

³⁰ Craig Watson, "Navajo Germantown Blankets." *Germantown Crier*. 52. No. 2, (Fall 2002): 57.

³¹ Lynn R. Bailey, *If You Take My Sheep: The Evolution and Conflicts of Navajo Pastoralism, 1630-1868* (Pasadena, Westernlore Publications, 1980), 117.

³² Laura Jane Moore, *Women and Gender in the American West: Jensen-Miller Prize Essays from the Coalition for Western Women's History*. Ed. By Mary Ann Irwin and James F. Brooks (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 286-287.

internment and kept the weaving culture alive.³³ Important to this study is the fact that Moore documents how Navajo people were adopting new materials because of their availability, but retained the manner in which they produced the finished product.³⁴

Charles Avery Amsden discusses the symbolism used in weaving Navajo textiles in the end chapter of his book, *Navaho Weaving: Its Technic and Its History*. He writes of the revival movement of weaving from 1920 to the present and questions the future of Navajo weaving. It must be noted that his book was published in 1934; so many years have passed in the lives of present-day Navajo weavers.³⁵ However, he saw the binary opposition between the Navajo culture and the American culture as two “antagonizing forces.”³⁶ Livestock Reduction is just one example of how these two forces have played against each other to influence the lives of Navajo weavers in the years since Amsden’s prediction. These forces were obstacles for the Navajo people and the process of weaving that they carried out.

Also important to the understanding of the Navajo response to livestock reduction is the spiritual and religious culture that was intertwined with the weaving culture. The main cultural story that influences Navajo culture and weaving is the Navajo creation story. In *Dine bahane: The Navajo Creation Story*, by Paul G. Zolbrod, the Navajo creation is retold to reflect the many ways and manners in which the story can be told. The stories of creation can be very unique to the individual telling them or the circumstances that the story is told in.³⁷ In applying the creation story and its symbolism in relation to weaving, the concentration is on a principal theme

³³ Ibid., 287. Moore cites in her notes “set up looms and created blankets of strength and beauty” as quoted in footnote 15 “Hedlund, “More of a Survival Than an Art,”” page 54.”

³⁴ Ibid., 287.

³⁵ Charles Avery Amsden, *Navaho Weaving: Its Technic and History* (Santa Anna: The Fine Arts Press, 1934), 223.

³⁶ Ibid., 235.

³⁷ Paul G. Zolbrod, *Dine bahane: The Navajo Creation Story* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 19.

of what is called Hozho. The word Hozho can be translated “...in English by combining words like beauty, balance and harmony.”³⁸

As told by the Navajo people, Spider woman taught the Navajo how to weave, but according to Gladys Reichard’s account of a Navajo legend in her book, *Spider Woman: A Story of Navajo Weavers and Chanters*, Spider Man is the one responsible for constructing the loom used to weave. The words are filled with beautiful imagery and symbolic energy that connects the loom and the process of weaving to the earth. The legend, as quoted in Reichard’s inside title page of her book, tells how

the crosspoles were made of sky and earth cords, the warp sticks of sunrays, the healds of rock crystal and sheet lightning. The batten was a sun halo, white shell made the comb. There were four spindles: one a stick of zigzag lightning with a whirl of cannel coal; one a stick of flash lightning with a whorl of turquoise; a third had a stick of sheet lightning with a whorl of abalone; a rain streamer formed the stick of the fourth, and its whorl was white shell.³⁹

These stories not only relay a symbolism to the materials used to weave, but also to the action of weaving itself. They connect the act of weaving to the everyday life of the Navajo people and the environment, not only “revealing the centrality of weaving as a means of cultural survival,” but also to the process of weaving and the creativeness that connects the weaver to the blanket or rug that is being weaved.⁴⁰ The stories account for the historical changes in weaving for the Navajo people and deposit the ownership of the process of the craft with the Navajo. Weaving is a process that has guided them through the changes that have occurred in their lives, but more than that, it is something that they still hold onto. From this story, there is meaning attached to every aspect of weaving and Navajo life.⁴¹ This meaning is found in every rug or blanket.

³⁸ Ibid., 5.

³⁹ Gladys Reichard, *Spider Woman: A Story of Navajo Weavers and Chanters* (Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1934), inside title page of book, not numbered.

⁴⁰ Kathy M’Closkey, *Swept Under The Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 20.

⁴¹ Ibid., 17-20.

In the book, *Weaving a World*, by Paul Zolbrod and Roseann Sandoval Willink, published in the mid-nineties, the meaning behind weaving and the rugs and blankets were explored. More than fifty Navajo people were interviewed about weaving and Navajo culture.⁴² The sample group's ages were from forty to the nineties.⁴³ These two authors talked of the stories behind the rugs and blankets that are and have been weaved. They also discussed the prayers that are an integral part of weaving and Navajo life.⁴⁴ The process of weaving and making the tools and the loom symbolizes how personal weaving is to the Navajo weavers. The loom is often compared to the body, which can experience pain if either is stationary for a long amount of time.⁴⁵ This personification is an integral part of a Navajo weaver's identity. It is important to realize that "weaving was a way of life: To live as a Navajo was to weave; to weave was to live as a Navajo."⁴⁶

This "way of life" has changed through history and has had varying influences on blanket and rug weaving.⁴⁷ With these changes the lives of the weavers have been affected in various ways. Weaving still holds the same symbolic significance, but is even more significant because of the necessity and desire to retain the Navajo culture, beliefs, and practices. Materially, weaving has been affected throughout history. Weavers have had to find ways to adapt, not only with the process of weaving, but in their daily lives. The recent film, "Weaving Worlds" by Bennie Klain, tells of the problems of raising sheep because of water shortages. The difficulty of obtaining water for sustaining Navajo herds makes the process of weaving more difficult, but the

⁴² Roseann Sandoval Willink and Paul G. Zolbrod, *Weaving a World: Textiles and the Navajo Way of Seeing* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1996), 5. The interviews were carried out over eighteen months presumably in the mid-nineties before publication. No exact date is found of when the interviews were done.

⁴³ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 2.

⁴⁵ Kathy M'Closkey, *Swept Under The Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 227.

⁴⁶ Roseann Sandoval Willink and Paul G. Zolbrod. *Weaving a World: Textiles and the Navajo Way of Seeing* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1996), 2.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 2.

weavers in the film persevere. They are still producing textiles to sell and use.⁴⁸ The problem of water to sustain the Navajo herds has been a problem that goes back to before the Livestock Reduction years. Marsha Weisiger makes the observation that “looking back on this era, few—if any—Dine recall the New Dealers’ efforts to revive weavers’ wool and develop water.”⁴⁹ She seems to suggest the question that there could have been alternatives to the reduction policies.

Other material adaptations have centered on the change in the materials the tools or looms were made out of and the changes in the availability of commercial dyes and yarns. The changes in materials started to occur during the Bosque Redondo years, but resurfaced once again after the Livestock Reduction Program was started in 1934. The Navajo weavers did not give up on the practice of weaving after Bosque Redondo and despite the altered or scarce materials available, they showed resistance to the imprisoned situation they were forced into. They continued to weave. When they were able to return to their homelands, the symbolism from their internment appears in the rugs and blankets that they wove from then to the present.⁵⁰ Although this symbolism can be viewed when observing the rugs and blankets, it is the retention of the concepts and processes of weaving that is an important aspect to Navajo weavers and culture.⁵¹

In addition to the symbolism and process of weaving discussed, there is a history and evolution to the varying patterns and colors seen in Navajo weaved blankets and rugs that would continue to persist. The different designs and patterns are created by the various ways the weft is

⁴⁸ *Weaving Worlds*. Directed by Bennie Klain. 2007, 2008. Viewed in Dr. Anthony Webster’s Anthropology class: Peoples and Cultures of the Southwest, Fall 2010.

⁴⁹ Marsha Weisiger, *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2009), 195.

⁵⁰ Roseann Sandoval Willink and Paul G. Zolbrod. *Weaving a World: Textiles and the Navajo Way of Seeing* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1996), 17-18.

⁵¹ Louise Lamphere, Eva Price, Carole Cadman, and Valerie Darwin. *Weaving Women's Lives: Three Generations in a Navajo Family* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 19. I want to follow Louise Lamphere’s comment when she writes that “[she] want[s] to show change not just as loss or the product of “conflicting cultures.””

weaved through the warp threads, which are maintained by the heddle and shed rods.⁵²

According to Charles Avery Amsden, there were and are nine different types of weaves used in Navajo weaving.⁵³ These different weaves and techniques make it possible for the different designs to emerge in the Navajo blankets and rugs. The design elements are classified into four different styles and periods of time. The styles coincide with different “pattern types.”⁵⁴ The first style is the earliest and incorporates what is called the “all-striped pattern (see figure 1).”⁵⁵ The second style is called the terraced style and dates from 1800-1863 (see figure 2).⁵⁶ It incorporates diagonal lines and right angles.⁵⁷ There is symbolism in the directional change in this design pattern. The stripes are arranged horizontally, while the steps move in an ascending direction. This signifies the improvement in the weaver’s expertise and weaving competency.⁵⁸

The third style encompasses the years surrounding the Navajos’ long walk and Bosque Redondo. It is called the diamond style and dates between the years of 1863-1900 (see figure 3).⁵⁹ The diamond style has diagonal upward moving lines.⁶⁰ This period and style leads to what Amsden labels the “transition period.”⁶¹ He writes this period is one “of adjustment” to living on the reservation, American culture, the United States government, interaction with traders, and the change in materials available.⁶² The settlement of the southwest brought many changes to the Navajo people. Amsden marks this transition period as exhibiting these changes within the

⁵² Charles Avery Amsden, *Navaho Weaving: It's Technic and History* (Santa Anna: The Fine Arts Press, 1934), 49.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 49-50. These are listed as the “plain weave, diagonal twill, five diamond twills, two-faced, and double cloth,” which are listed on page 50.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 205.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 205-209. Plate 38a. See figure 1.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 209-211. Plate 1. See figure 2.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 209-211.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 211-213. Plate 111. See figure 3.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 211-213.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 213.

blankets and rugs that were being weaved.⁶³ The last style and period is the fourth or bordered style which dates from around 1890 to the present (see figure 4).⁶⁴ This “framed” style is the direct influence of the white Anglo-American culture.⁶⁵ To show resistance to this practice, the Navajo weavers would often break the border somewhere with another color. The bordered style occurred during the start of the reservation period after Bosque Redondo.⁶⁶

After the Navajo’s return from Bosque Redondo, the government issued them livestock. The Navajo were issued sheep and goats and also possessed some livestock upon their return in 1868 to the reservation. Previous weather incidents occurred before the droughts that affected the Navajos’ livestock and land in the 1930s. These incidents added to the conditions that ultimately ended in the Livestock Reduction of the 1930s. The drought that occurred from 1893-1902 gravely affected the land and the livestock that grazed on it. There were also unusually harsh winters that gravely affected the livestock herds.⁶⁷ In spite of these conditions, the herds increased and rug production increased.⁶⁸ The exact number of livestock still remains unknown (see table 1).⁶⁹ The Bureau of Indian Affairs did attempt to get a more accurate account “at the

⁶³ Ibid., 213.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 215-216. Plate 95. See figure 4.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 216.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 213-217.

⁶⁷ Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glen Bailey, *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1986), 103. Information concerning droughts of 1893-1902 and heavy winters cited from p. 100-104.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 163. “In 1914 income from rug weaving reached an estimated \$700,000, and in 1915 the sheep and goat herds peaked at slightly more than 1,800,000.”

⁶⁹ Marsha Weisiger, *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2009), 135. However, according to Weisiger, “...the truth is that we have no idea how many head of stock there were on the Navajo Reservation until the 1930’s.” The author gives many “guesstimates” (p. 135). On page 136, she discusses the statistics that were recorded on the 1890 federal Census Bureau’s report. These were reported as 1.6 million sheep and goats, 119,000 horses, and 9,000 cattle. She goes on to question “the accuracy of that count” (p. 136). Also see table 1. Data from the Table II in the Appendix of Ruth Roessel and Broderick Johnson. *Navajo Livestock Reduction: A National Disgrace*. Chinle: Navajo Community College Press, 1974, 222.

sheep dipping vats.”⁷⁰ In 1930, it is reported that the numbers totaled over seven hundred thousand sheep and goats.⁷¹ This had severe affects on the grasses that were available and the erosion of the soil. The problem was compounded by cycles of drought that had occurred over the years and was taking place again, in the 1930s, across the country, which in the end led to the Livestock Reduction Program of 1934 on the Navajo Reservation.

In response to Livestock Reduction, programs were started, such as the Southwestern Sheep Breeding Laboratory at Fort Wingate, New Mexico. This program was just one of the direct responses to the government’s answer to try and correct the negative effects of reducing the livestock on the Navajo people. According to an economic study carried out by Robert Youngblood in 1934, the complications of supporting a family was made evident by the women weavers because of the lack of quality materials.⁷² This led to another resource, which was off reservation wage work for the Navajo people, as an alternative to the economic resource of their livestock.⁷³ This, however, reduced the amount of time that weavers had to weave, which in turn reduced the amount of weaving that was accomplished and severely affected the income levels of the Navajo people.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Ibid., 137. Weisiger recounts how “the chemical residues hurt the eyes of the women and girls who carded and spun the wool” (p. 137-138). This is one way government control already has affected the weaving culture.

⁷¹ Ibid., 138. Weisiger writes that “...the 1930 count tells us with near certainty that the range supported at least some 575,000 sheep and nearly 187,000 goats, not to mention other domestic herbivores.”

⁷² Marsha Weisiger, *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2009), 194. A discussion of the lab follows. The end result was that “the lab never managed to produce a hybrid sheep whose wool compared favorably with that of the old churras, nor did they succeed in making the sheep more marketable.” (p. 195).

⁷³ Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glen Bailey, *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1986), 192-200. According to Bailey and Bailey, public works projects employed many of the Navajo people during the 1930s. Programs with the Soil Conservation Service, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Indian Service, the Works Progress Administration, and the Soil Erosion Service were among the ones that were cited. Navajo people were involved in WWII, as well. During the war, the government programs were not as prevalent.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 201-203. The authors write on page 203 that “That in 1924 rugs accounted for an estimated 22.2 percent of the income in Northern Navajo, but in 1936, with high income from wage labor and low demand for rugs, they accounted for only 6 percent of the tribe’s income as a whole (U.S. Soil Conservation Service 1938: table III). In

Throughout history, weaving has been a source of economic income for Navajo women and their families. Much can be gathered from trading post records concerning the monetary value that the rugs or blankets held, for both the trader and the weaver. By understanding the trading, credit, pawning, and business aspects of the relationship between traders and the Navajo people, an insight is achieved into both economic and cultural positions. The dominance exhibited by the traders, who basically profited off of the material culture of the Navajo, no matter what the interest or connection to the people was at the time, can be seen.⁷⁵ The economic positions that the Navajo were and still are in, in some cases, shows how uneven the compensation can be between the traders and the Navajo. To survive they created their blankets and rugs and, in most cases, had no choice but to accept the trader's offer of compensation. The blankets were "the unit of exchange."⁷⁶

By March of 1948, a report written by J. A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior, recounted grave and startling information regarding the condition of many aspects of Navajo life. He discusses the stock reduction and the negative effects it had on the Navajo people economically speaking.⁷⁷ In summary, the Navajo Reservation lands still suffered from soil erosion even though the stock had been reduced and the geographic land area increased.⁷⁸ He states that the effects of the livestock reduction years were that "...some families were forced out of the livestock business, and many others were left with too few sheep to support themselves."⁷⁹ Krug proposes a program to aid the Navajo and their land, but the motivation behind his proposal

1940, when income from wage labor had fallen off considerably, weaving accounted for 9 percent of the total Navajo income (US Bureau of Indian Affairs 1941: table III)."

⁷⁵ Kathy M'Closkey, *Swept Under The Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 62-140. Kathy M'Closkey examines the economic world of weaving by examining the Hubbell trading post records.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 27.

⁷⁷ J.A. Krug, *The Navajo: Report of J.A. Krug, Secretary of Interior, A Long Range Program for Navajo Rehabilitation* (Department of Interior, March 1948), vii-ix.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 3-5.

comes into question in some of the statements that are made in his report. When discussing how to improve the range lands and slow the process of soil erosion, Krug writes that “even if Navajo lands were not considered worth saving, it would still be good business to stop soil erosion on the Navajo Reservation.”⁸⁰ He states this in response to the silt from eroding lands costing a huge amount of money every year for the Hoover Dam and Lake Mead area.⁸¹ Although the report seems to have the Navajo peoples’ lives in the forefront of concern, the choice of words that are used at times raises the question of whose interests are really the motivation behind this rehabilitation program. In regards to weaving, in the 1948 report, it is written that “under present conditions, a rug weaver does not earn sufficient income to support a family. It is, rather, a supplemental source of income.”⁸² The hopes of this program were to increase the ability of arts and crafts to support a set number of families on the Navajo reservation.⁸³ This sounds like a promising suggestion, but once again, the attitude behind the suggestion did not seem to coincide with the best interests of the Navajo people and their culture. In the preface of this report, Mr. Krug makes the comment that “in a real sense, the work with the Indians cannot be considered completed until they have been assimilated into the general population. This program for the Navajos is a long step toward assimilation.”⁸⁴ As evidenced by much of United States history, assimilation is not about maintaining an indigenous culture or set of beliefs, but solely about erasing these and turning indigenous people into the assimilating culture or society. Being that this is the comment that a person of authority begins this report with, any suggestions for

⁸⁰ Ibid., 14.

⁸¹ Ibid., 14.

⁸² Ibid., 23.

⁸³ Ibid., 29. Table that summarizes “resource development and utilization and employment on the reservation” (p. 29) Statistics are as follows from table: “Livestock raising, 2,400 families; Small irrigation projects, 1,500 families; Timber and Sawmill, 500 families; Coal mining, 500 families; Mineral development other than coal, 300 families; Arts and crafts, 500 families; General on-reservation employment, 750 families; and Community enterprises and industries, 500 families for a total of 6,950 families.” Krug states that “the remaining 5,050 families must find some other means of earning a living.”

⁸⁴ Ibid., preface page in the beginning of the report, signed by J.A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior.

improvement tend to have a distrustful quality to them. The fact that the art of weaving was noticed as a means of economic subsistence in this report, exhibits how important weaving still was to many Navajo people. However, the fact that weaving was only supposed to support an estimated five hundred families exhibits where on the hierarchy of importance that the craft of weaving and other crafts were placed by the U.S. Government.

The 1950s brought much change to the Navajo economy and weaving. “Wage labor and welfare became the major sources of income, and herding, farming, and weaving declined to the point of little overall significance.”⁸⁵ As reported in the January 18, 1959 edition of the Farmington Daily Times from January 18, 1959, the “interest in the craft” of weaving was waning.⁸⁶ However, by the late sixties and early seventies, the arts and crafts market started to turn around and weaving again increased.⁸⁷

Programs, such as the Navajo Sheep Project, started by Dr. Lyle McNeal in the 1970s, arose. The Navajo Sheep Project is one example of a man whose involvement brought about change for the Navajo people, subsequently turning around the results of policies put in place years ago like the Livestock Reduction of 1934. The purpose of this program is to breed the Churro sheep and to return this breed to the Navajo people. This will in turn help the economy and aid in the craft of weaving good quality Churro wool.⁸⁸ Although some weavers still weave alternatives to Churro sheep’s wool, this program will aid in the availability of materials to promote the craft of weaving.

⁸⁵ Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glenn Bailey, *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1986), 232. The authors also write how “the Krug Report formed the basis of the Navajo-Hopi Long Range Rehabilitation Act, passed by Congress in 1950.”

⁸⁶ Ibid., 250.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 252. The authors referred to this period as “another of its periodic “Indian Crazes.””

⁸⁸ *Navajo Sheep Project*. 2008. <http://navajosheepproject.com/intro.html> (accessed February 7, 2011). This information is a summary of the project’s mission statement found on the website.

Weaving has survived and can be evidenced in many places across the country. In the 1987-1988 Wingate Elementary School Poetry Calendar, Benjamin Hunch, a Navajo student, saw his poem published (see figure 5).⁸⁹ He wrote the poem about his grandmother. Within the verse he writes of her, who he sees as being old, yet still a connection to the past. The grandmother is weaving a rug. Benjamin incorporates the spiritual stories of Spider Woman and Spider Man by comparing the weaving grandmother's fingers to that of a spider. This poem is evidence that the weaving culture is still alive in recent times. Weaving is still being observed and written about by young people and being learned by those who wish to retain the Navajo culture.

In a photo from the Library of Congress archival website, there is visual evidence of the education process involved in weaving and the connection to the past (see figure 6).⁹⁰ While a woman works at her weaving, with the sheep elevated on the plateau above her, a baby (presumably hers) is leaning next to the weaving loom, wrapped up and secure in a traditional cradle board. Weaving is being taught to the next generation through observation from a young age. Not every Navajo person grew up to be a weaver, but through this photo weaving was a daily part of life that was and still is connected to the family, land, and livestock. Only now weaving can be learned differently than just observation.

Weaving does not just appear in photographs, books, or in the Southwest, but also in the Midwest. In the Cahokia Mounds gift shop, at the bottom of a display case, sits a Navajo Yei Rug for sale for \$195.00 (see figure 7).⁹¹ The gift shop also sell books on Navajo weaving and

⁸⁹ Arlene Hirschfelder and Beverly R. Singer, *Rising Voices: Writings of Young Native Americans*. Ballantine Books: New York, 1992, 34. Poem is entitled "About Grandma." See figure 5.

⁹⁰ William M. Pennington and Wesley R. Powell, *Navajo Weavers*, c. 1914, Reproduction No. LC-DIG ppmsc-00135, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Online Digital Repository, Washington, D.C. See figure 6 for photo.

⁹¹ See figure 7. Photo taken by Jessica Bertolozzi, Cahokia Mounds Museum Gift Shop, March 11, 2011.

how to learn the weaving process.⁹² The weaving culture survived the Livestock Reduction Program of 1934 and can be seen and learned about across the country. A person who wants to learn about Navajo weaving can learn about the process through books, videos, websites, and museum resources. However, there is no doubt that weaving and the Navajo have undergone many harmful changes as a result of the 1934 Livestock Reduction Program. The fact that the weaving industry is still recovering in the twenty-first century and that there is a need for programs like the Navajo Sheep Project shows progress and intended effort. However, the existence of such a program also exhibits the negative effects of policies like the Livestock Reduction Program of 1934 on the material culture of weaving.

An important perspective to gain when studying Navajo weaving in relation to Livestock Reduction is the relationship between the dominating culture, in this case the U.S. government and policy makers, and the Navajo people as one that is constantly in motion and one that is filled with choices and responses from both sides. The Navajo changed weaving in response to the actions that were put in place by the United States policy makers. The ones that chose to keep the weaving culture alive carried weaving into the present, while adapting and retaining elements along the way.⁹³ This statement puts the responsibility of the changes within the weaving culture of the Navajo into an association with the people outside of their own world, the traders, the government, and settlers that were moving into their geographically occupied space. This

⁹² Noel Bennett and Tiana Bighorse. *Navajo Weaving Way: The Path From Fleece to Rug*. Loveland: Interweave Press, LLC, 1997. This is an excellent source to learn how to build a weaving loom and start weaving a rug or textile. It relays the many beliefs that coincide with weaving and the symbolism and beliefs that surround it.

⁹³ Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 387. Eric R. Wolf writes in his book, *Europe and the People Without History*, "that the key relationships of a mode of production empower human action, inform it, and are carried forward by it. As Marx said, men make their own history but not under conditions of their own choosing. They do so under the constraint of relationships and forces that direct their will and their desires."

relationship has had varying “tensions” involved, just as the rug or blanket that the Navajo weave does.⁹⁴

Government programs and interventions, such as the Livestock Reduction Program of 1934, which attempted to manage the changing ecological environment, interacted with the material culture of weaving. This interaction caused intermittent changes in the materials used to make blankets and rugs, the amount of weaving accomplished, design choices that were influenced by non-Navajo people, and the overall physical quantity and existence of the end product. Through too much government control, the Navajo people were forced into additional adaptive measures to survive, which caused displacement of living and working environments, decrease in weaving, and conditions that were “...bad for the total economy of [the] people.”⁹⁵ However, the continuation of Navajo weaving in the present is largely due to an adherence, passed down through generations, to traditional practices and processes of weaving, which can be observed through the blankets, rugs, testimonies, stories, and poetry produced by Navajo people. Lena Benally, a Navajo weaver, speaks of weaving, saying “I like weaving because it’s stress-free. It makes me feel better. I think a lot of things when I weave, a lot of positive thoughts. My family, my sheep. Never a bad thought.”⁹⁶ Terrell Piechowski speaks of “the relationship to the past and the spiritual value of the sheep” being the reason that many Navajo will keep sheep and livestock.⁹⁷ Although the Navajo are a unique group of people, with a very adaptive culture, the model of comparing the actions of the environment, environmental programs, and the changes that have occurred in material culture is a result that can be applied to

⁹⁴ Kathy M’Closkey, *Swept Under The Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 214.

⁹⁵ Peter Iverson and Monty Roessel. *For Our Navajo People: Dine Letters, Speeches and Petitions, 1900-1960* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 32.

⁹⁶ Stacia Spragg-Braude, *To Walk in Beauty: A Navajo Family’s Journey Home* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2009), 38, photo on page 39.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 64.

various indigenous cultures throughout North America. By examining this history, the resilient but adaptive nature of the artistic expressions and practices that are still possessed by indigenous people can be observed.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glenn Bailey. *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1986), 289-297. The concluding chapter of this book discusses the adaptive nature of the Navajo and is entitled "Why the Navajos are Different." It compares them to other indigenous tribes who were not as successful at retaining their cultural identity. The authors raise the "what if history would have been different" question for the Navajo people. Ultimately, the reason these authors say that Navajo culture survives is that "the resident extended family" has remained intact. (p. 297).



Figure 1 – First Design Style. The striped pattern. Photo from Primary Source. Amsden, Charles Avery. *Navaho Weaving: Its Technic and its History*. Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1934, Plate 38a.



Figure 2 – Second Design Style. The Terraced Style. Photo from Primary Source. Amsden, Charles Avery. *Navaho Weaving: Its Technic and its History*. Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1934, Plate 1.



Figure 3 – Third Design Style. The Diamond Style. Photo from Primary Source.
Amsden, Charles Avery. *Navaho Weaving: Its Technic and its History*. Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1934, Plate 111.

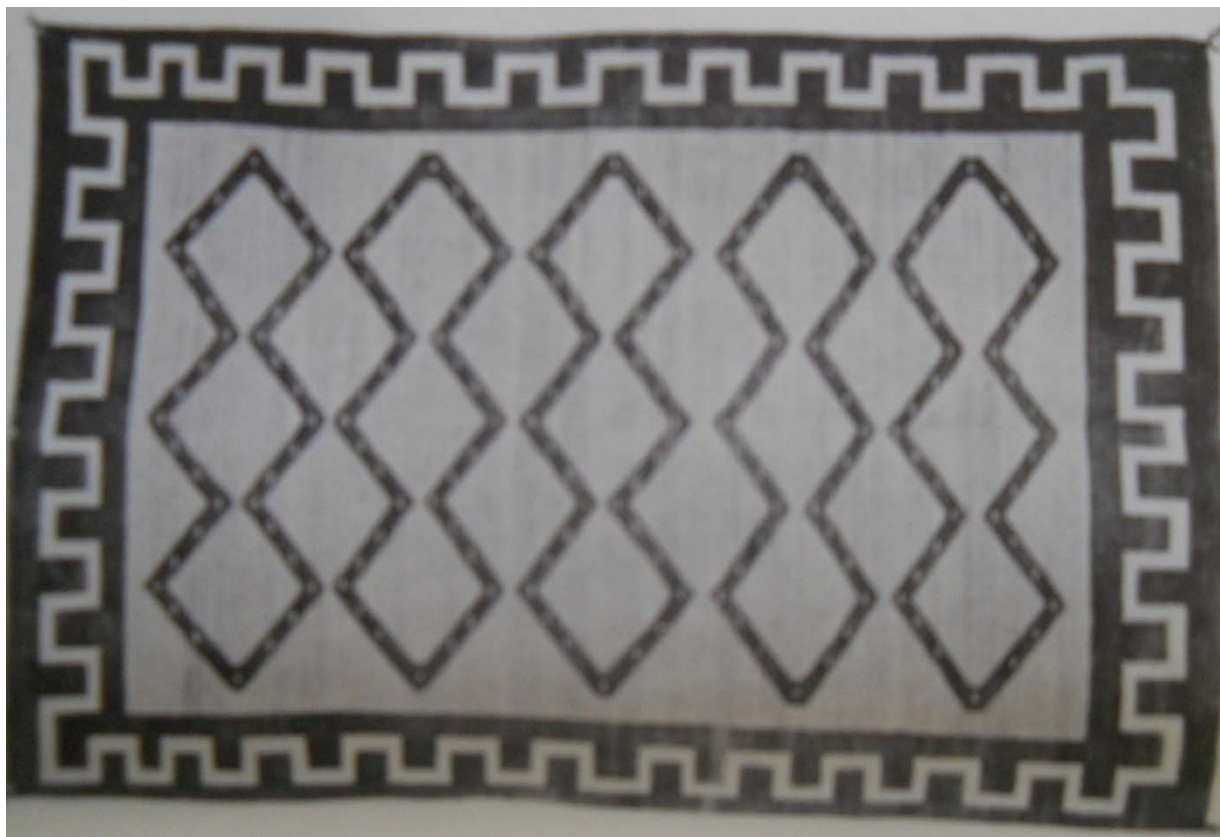


Figure 4 – Fourth Design Style. The Bordered Style. Photo from Primary Source. Amsden, Charles Avery. *Navaho Weaving: Its Technic and its History*. Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1934, Plate 95.

About Grandma

By Benjamin Hunch, Edited by Mick Fedullo

The old lady is sitting
outside the Hogan
weaving a rug,
with her white hair
going back and forth
in the air as the wind
goes by very slow,
her fingers moving like the legs of a spider,
with her mind full
of the things that she
did before she got old,
and her mind on the rug,
forgetting all about the things she planned
to do for the day, and her
eyes just moving upon the wind.

Figure 5 – Poem. From collection selected by Arlene Hirschfelder and Beverly R. Singer, *Rising Voices: Writings of Young Native Americans*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1992, page 34.

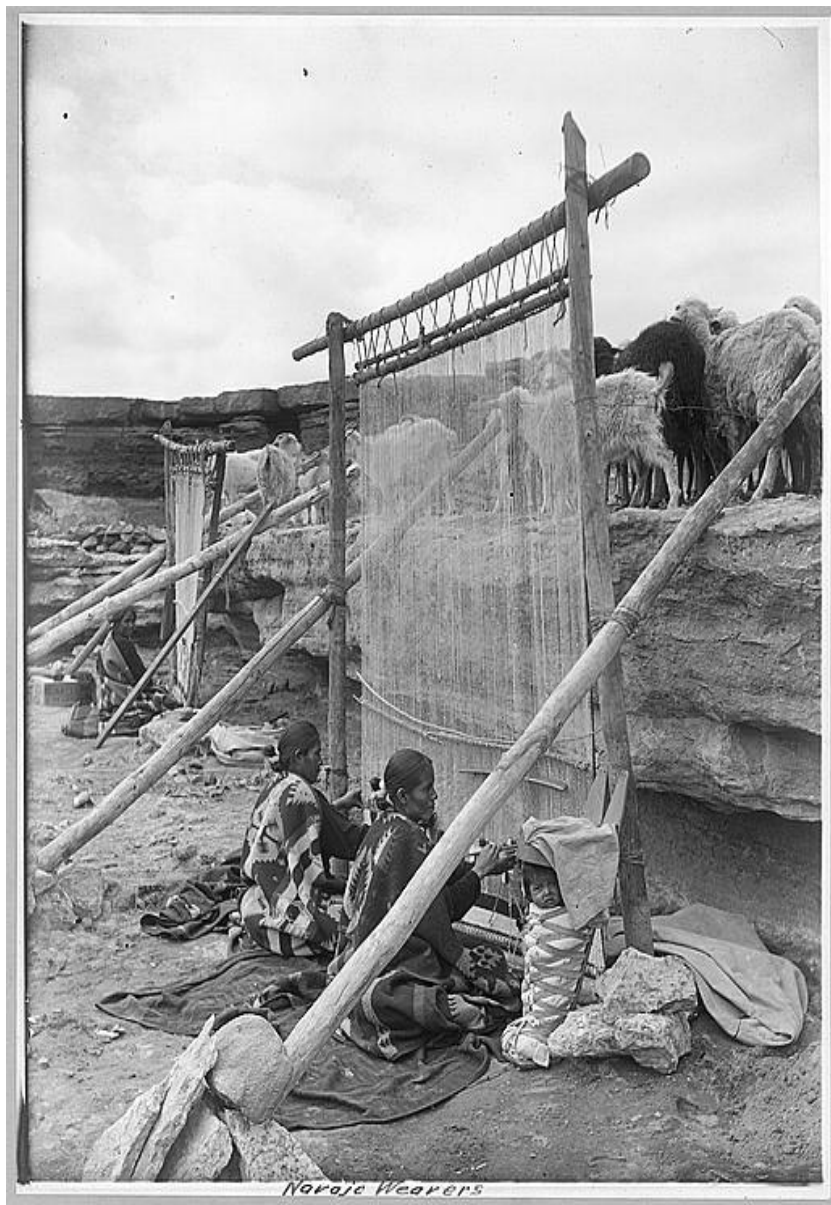


Figure 6 – Photo from the Library of Congress entitled *Navajo Weavers*.



Figure 7 - "Navajo Yei Rug." Displayed in Cahokia, Illinois Mounds Museum Gift Shop. From author's personal photo collection.

Table 1: Census of Livestock on the Navajo Reservation⁹⁹

Year	Sheep	Goats	Cattle	Horses	Sheep Units
1930	574,821	186,768	25,000	50,000	1,111,589
1936	459,285	73,600	12,557	32,007	711,148
1952	220,476	41,997	8,847	27,802	433,983
1955	257,042	55,945	12,583	26,122	497,001
1967*	300,360	103,656	27,250	18,511	605,733

*This year reflects only Navajo statistics, not Navajo and Hopi, as the rest of the table does. The cited source obtained the 1967 data from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

⁹⁹ Source: Data from Ruth Roessel and Broderick Johnson. *Navajo Livestock Reduction: A National Disgrace*. Chinle: Navajo Community College Press, 1974, 222. Table II. Roessel and Johnson cite the information from Robert Young: *The Navajo Yearbook: 1951-1961 – A Decade of Progress*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Amsden, Charles Avery. *Navaho Weaving: Its Technic and its History*. Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1934.

Campbell, Tyrone, and Joel and Kate Kopp. *Navajo Pictorial Weaving 1880-1950: Folk Art Images of Native Americans*. New York: Dutton Studio Books, 1991.

Hirschfelder, Arlene, and Beverly R. Singer, . *Rising Voices: Writings of Young Native Americans*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1992.

Iverson, Peter, and Monty Roessel. *For Our Navajo People: Dine Letters, Speeches and Petitions, 1900-1960*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

Krug, J.A. *The Navajo: Report of J.A. Krug, Secretary of Interior, A Long Range Program for Navajo Rehabilitation*. Government, Department of the Interior, 1948.

Library of Congress Digital Photograph Archive. 2011. <http://www.loc.gov> (accessed March 14, 2011).

Navajo Sheep Project. 2008. <http://navajosheepproject.com/intro.html> (accessed February 7, 2011).

Navajo Weaving at Arizona State Museum. 2006.
http://www.statemuseum.arizona.edu/exhibits/navajoweave/contemp/learning_to_weave.shtml
(accessed March 14, 2011).

Roessel, Ruth, and Broderick Johnson. *Navajo Livestock Reduction: A National Disgrace*. Chinle: Navajo Community College Press, 1974.

Spragg-Braude, Stacia. *To Walk In Beauty*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2009.

Willink, Roseann Sandoval, and Paul G. Zolbrod. *Weaving a World: Textiles and the Navajo Way of Seeing*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1996.

Zolbrod, Paul G. *Dine bahane: The Navajo Creation Story*. Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.

Secondary Sources

Bailey, Garrick, and Roberta Glenn Bailey. *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1986.

Bailey, Lynn R. *If You Take My Sheep: The Evolution and Conflicts of Navajo Pastoralism, 1630-1868*. Pasadena: Westernlore Publications, 1980.

Bennett, Noel, and Tiana Bighorse. *Navajo Weaving Way: The Path From Fleece to Rug*. Loveland: Interweave Press, LLC, 1997.

Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983, 2003.

Crosby, Alfred. *The Columbian Exchange: The Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003.

Dutton, Bertha P. *Indians of the American Southwest*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1975.

Grinde, Donald, and Bruce E. Johansen. *Ecocide of Native America: Environmental Destruction of Indian Lands and Peoples*. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1995.

Iverson, Peter. *The Navajo Nation*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981.

Jacobi, Lori B. "The Navajo Livestock Reduction Plan of 1934." Theses, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale, 1984.

Kent, Kate Peck. *Navajo Weaving: Three Centuries of Change*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press, 1985.

Weaving Worlds. Documentary Film. Directed by Bennie Klain. 2007, 2008.

Lamphere, Louise, Eva Price, Carole Cadman, and Valerie Darwin. *Weaving Women's Lives: Three Generations in a Navajo Family*. Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2007.

M'Closkey, Kathy. *Swept Under The Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving*. Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

Melville, Elinor G.K. *A Plague of Sheep*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Moore, Laura Jane. *Women and Gender in the American West: Jensen-Miller Prize Essays from the Coalition for Western Women's History*. Edited by Mary Ann Irwin and James F. Brooks. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004.

Reichard, Gladys A. *Navajo Shepherd and Weaver*. New York City, New York: J.J. Augustine Publisher, 1936.

—. *Spider Woman: A Story of Navajo Weavers and Chanters*. Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1934.

Spencer, Robert F. and Jesse d. Jennings, et al. *The Native Americans: Ethnology and Backgrounds of the North American Indians*. 2nd Ed. New York: Harpe and Row Publishers, 1977.

Utley, Robert M. *The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890*. Edited by Ray Allen Billington, Howard R. Lamar, Martin Ridge and David J. Weber. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.

Watson, Craig. "Navajo Germantown Blankets." *Germantown Crier*, Fall 2002: 55-60.

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

Wolf, Eric R. *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

VITA

Graduate School

Southern Illinois University

Jessica L. Bertolozzi

bertolozzijm@gmail.com

Southern Illinois University Carbondale
Bachelor of Arts, English, May 2010

Special Awards and Honors:

Southern Illinois Association of Museums Scholarship Award, August 2009

Research Paper Title:

Environmental Programs and Material Culture: The 1934 Livestock Reduction Program and Weaving Among the Navajo

Major Professor: Dr. Kay Carr