

GLADYS REICHARD AMONG THE NAVAJO



Louise Lamphere

Chance seems to have favored my introduction into the field. Why was the tribe Navaho rather than Fiji? Quite simply because there was money for a Navaho fieldtrip at the time I was ready to undertake one. Why did I find an auspicious introduction to the people upon whom I was inflicting myself? I can see several reasons for the result: one is the character (personality?) of the Navaho people and their culture, . . . and the other, the character of the white people who introduced me to them . . . That which distinguished each of these individuals from others in the same category was a willingness to view Navaho differences as legitimate and proper without assuming the customs or habits to be inferior to ours.

Gladys Reichard
(*n.d.*: 29)

BETWEEN 1930 and 1960, Gladys Reichard was the most important female anthropologist who studied with the Navajo, the nation's largest Native American population.¹ Almost 20 years younger than Elsie Clews Parsons and 5 years younger than Ruth Benedict, Reichard was part of the extraordinary number of women who received Ph.D.'s from Columbia during the 1920s and 1930s. Reichard, through Franz Boas' influence, obtained a position at Barnard College, where she taught for her entire career. During the 1930s she experimented with new forms of ethnographic and quasi-fictional writing, leaving several rich, descriptive accounts of Navajo weaving, family life, and ritual. As she focused more on the study of Navajo language and religion during the 1940s and 1950s, her monograph on Navajo prayer, her Navajo grammar, and particu-

larly her massive volumes on Navajo religion should have made her a major figure in Navajo studies.² But her work was always overshadowed by that of Clyde Kluckhohn, a full professor at Harvard University whose book *The Navaho* (co-authored with Dorothea Leighton) was, for years, the culture's major ethnographic study. Kluckhohn's research with Leland Wyman on Navajo religion and the extensive publications of Navajo myths by Franciscan missionary Father Berard Haile had more influence on other anthropologists and students of Navajo culture than did the work of Reichard.³

From the standpoint of the 1990s, it is possible to see in Reichard's prolific work the precursors of several methodological and theoretical trends that blossomed in anthropology in the 1960s and 1970s. Her study of Navajo prayer (Reichard

1944) seems very similar to the kind of structuralism Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963, 1964) brought to the study of Native American myth, an approach utilized by Sam Gill (1981) in his more recent analysis of Navajo prayer texts. Her work on Navajo classification of their ceremonials prefigures ethnoscience, a methodology for studying native systems of classification, which flourished in the 1960s. And her work on Navajo symbolism had a significant impact on Gary Witherspoon, whose training by David Schneider and Clifford Geertz at the University of Chicago led him to take a symbolic or interpretivist approach to Navajo categories of thought and Navajo religion. Witherspoon dedicated his book *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe* (1977) to Reichard and contributed to an issue of the *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1980) that included papers written in her honor. In Witherspoon's view (1980:1),

Gladys Reichard was an extraordinary ethnologist and an exceptional linguist. Her work has provided me with a model to emulate and an endeavor to continue. She took a holistic view of Navajo life, learning as much as she could about its many dimensions and aspects.

Still, the question remains, why did the quality of Reichard's work remain undervalued during her lifetime and until 15 years after her death?

The answer is not a simple one. The analysis in this chapter stresses the role of gender as it operated at a number of different levels throughout Reichard's lifetime. Gender is implicated in the kinds of roles Reichard played vis-à-vis her intellectual mentors and the Navajo family with whom she lived during the 1930s. It structured the professional network of anthropologists (including Reichard) that undergirded Navajo studies in the 1940s and 1950s. And it was relevant to the institutional position in which Reichard found herself as a female teacher in a woman's undergraduate college with a small department, in contrast to men in larger male-dominated graduate departments at universities (and in field

schools) where the profession of anthropology developed and expanded between 1920 and 1950.

Reichard, I believe, did not see herself as a feminist, and she would undoubtedly have played down the role of gender in shaping her life. Many of her students and anthropological colleagues emphasized her personality in contributing to her intellectual, and even social, isolation within the profession. Frederica de Laguna, one of her students who later became head of the Department of Anthropology at Bryn Mawr, in a tribute written after Reichard's death described her as "a lonely spirit." "Her attachments were warm and true, but they were not easily made" (de Laguna 1955:11). Her letters also indicate a close relationship to her mentors, Parsons and Boas, yet a distance from other women in the New York community, especially from Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead. There were gender differences in how Reichard's personality was viewed. Women colleagues and students tended to be more positive, while male anthropologists often found her difficult, and the correspondence between her and Kluckhohn over the fine points of Navajo religion was full of harsh words. Perhaps because she was a woman, her personality could become more of an issue in the acceptance of her intellectual work, more so than for her contemporary male colleagues.⁴

There was a dialectical relation between Reichard's position as a woman (in the larger U.S. society, in anthropology, and in her fieldwork with the Navajo) and the kinds of strategies she used to order her relationships with anthropologists and Navajos. These strategies, in turn, gave shape to her research and writing. During the first 20 years of her career, Reichard as a single woman adopted a daughter role with both of her intellectual patrons, Franz Boas and Elsie Clews Parsons, and with her Navajo sponsors, Red Point and his wife, Maria Antonio, who taught her to weave and introduced her to the Navajo language and religion. Both sets of metaphorical "parents" were her mentors and teachers.

In the early period of her professional life,

gender shaped Reichard's career in enormously positive, yet limiting ways. In the course of her fieldwork, the daughter role opened up new possibilities for ethnographic description. Living within a Navajo extended family and learning to weave from its female members allowed Reichard access to the nuances of interaction between women in a matrilineal, matrilocal society. She, in turn, wrote about these experiences in three different ways (in *Spider Woman*, *Navajo Shepherd and Weaver*, and *Dezba*), creating texts that were innovative for their time because they focused on women and used interactive and dialogical textual strategies.

In contrast, Reichard's intellectual commitment to Boasian description steered her away from theory and developing a sense of problem and method that characterized the "cutting edge" nature of Kluckhohn's career. She had difficulty growing out of the role of an intellectual daughter but also was marginalized by the major male anthropologists who studied Navajo religion. Thus, during the last 15 years of her life (after the deaths of Boas, Parsons, Red Point, and Maria Antonio), Reichard's peripheral and contentious position within the network of those studying Navajo language and religion (both men and women) shaped her intellectual work and the acceptance of her ideas among colleagues. Her institutional position at a women's college without an anthropology department and graduate students further limited her impact on the profession as a whole. In this period the limitations of her gender role (in an American professional institutional context rather than a Navajo one) came to predominate.

These major contradictions also appear in the content of Reichard's research. On the one hand her eclectic empiricism allowed her to grasp Navajo categories on their own terms to a greater extent than Kluckhohn and Wyman were able to do, given their tendency to impose Western categories on Navajo thought. On the other hand, a lack of theory gave her work no framework. For example, *Navaho Religion* (1950) seems to be a

mass of details, something like an encyclopedia, a compendium of facts that one could consult, but not a book that was easily read. Yet it contains within it great attention to Navajo categories themselves and to the role of color, direction, and gender symbolism in structuring Navajo ritual. Witherspoon (1977:1) has noted that while many have been dismayed by the "amount of unconjoined information," more recently others have perceived that in Reichard's work "there is a vision that there is a center, a core, where all things connect and according to which all facts make sense and all details derive their place and meaning." Although I would not go as far as to argue that Reichard's attention to Navajo categories and their relationship was a product of her gender (i.e., that she had a different way of looking at Navajo language and religion because she was a woman), I do believe that her insights went unappreciated until the 1970s because of her marginal professional and institutional position, which was, in turn, affected by her gender.

WOMEN AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Franz Boas molded the Columbia Department of Anthropology and the discipline itself between 1900 and 1930. He argued against the broad evolutionary schemes that characterized anthropology in the late nineteenth century and advocated the careful collection of data from a wide variety of cultures. For Boas, the diffusion of culture elements was more important than the classification of a people along a continuum that ranged from savage to civilized.

A champion of cultural relativism, later in his life Boas felt that scientific laws of human nature were difficult, if not impossible, to formulate. He argued that Native American cultures were fast disappearing with the advent of reservations, missionization, and acculturation. As a result, Boas and many of his students engaged in "salvage ethnography": the collection of myths, tales, details of kinship and social organization, items of material culture, details of phonology and grammar,

and accounts of ritual practices and belief systems before cultures “died out” (Boas 1966; Stocking 1968).

By the 1920s, Boas was turning to new interests, particularly the relationship between the individual and culture, and several of his students (now mainly women), notably Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, began to conduct research on this topic. They continued to work extensively in the Southwest. Twenty women earned their Ph.D.’s at Columbia University between 1920 and 1940; as Boas wrote to Berthold Laufer in 1920, “I have had a curious experience in graduate work during the last few years. All my best students are women” (cited in Babcock and Parezo 1988:88). Each of these women occupied a different niche in the constellation of roles that made up Columbia’s Department of Anthropology. Reichard’s privileged place within Boas’ circle of students and colleagues is made clear when her position is contrasted with those of Elsie Clews Parsons, Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead, three of the best-known female students who received Ph.D.’s from Columbia between 1920 and 1940.⁵ Parsons, the oldest, was the first woman Boas interested in anthropology. From an wealthy, upper-class background and married to a Republican congressman, Parsons became a patron as well as a student of anthropology (see Hieb’s chapter in this volume). She had close friendships with Alfred Kroeber, Pliny Goddard, and Robert Lowie, some of Boas’ prominent male students who received Ph.D.’s before 1920. Parsons made her first trips to the Southwest between 1910 and 1913, later working at Zuni, Hopi, Cochiti, Taos, and other pueblos. Beginning in 1920 she began to fund the secretarial position in the Department of Anthropology at Columbia. She founded the Southwest Society, which, through her money, funded the research of Ruth Benedict, Ruth Bunzel, Gladys Reichard, Leslie White, and others. Her role toward many women at Columbia University, particularly Reichard, was that of mentor and patron.

Benedict, Mead, and Reichard were much younger and in some respects were all “daughters” to Boas, who by the 1920s was referred to by all as “Papa Franz.” Of these three, Reichard was the most loyal and dutiful, sticking closely to Boas’ approach to anthropology and living with his family. Mead and Benedict moved away from Boasian anthropology and took Boas’ work into new phases, focusing on patterns and configurations that related the individual to culture. During the 1930s they participated in developing the new subfield of culture and personality (see Babcock’s chapter in this volume).

In this early stage of anthropology as a profession, Boas was instrumental in finding jobs, obtaining fellowships, and acquiring research funds for all of his students. Although often marginalized within Columbia University and in the profession (partly because of his socialist political views and attacks on academic racism), Boas did find ways to support those who studied with him (Stocking 1968). He was particularly protective of his women students, taking a kindly paternalist stance towards them. Thus, Reichard received the first permanent job held by any of the women in the Columbia circle, an instructorship at Barnard College. This was a position Boas obtained for her since she, unlike Benedict, was not married and had no male to support her. In 1927, after Benedict’s marriage began to fall apart, Boas attempted to obtain a position for her within Columbia’s Department of Anthropology, but he was rebuffed by the administration. With a change of administrators in 1931 and a more sympathetic climate regarding the presence of women on the Columbia faculty, Boas was finally able to secure her appointment as an assistant professor, a year after she separated from her husband, Stanley Benedict. Margaret Mead began her employment at the American Museum of Natural History in 1927 as Assistant Curator and was promoted to Associate Curator in 1942, becoming Curator only in 1964. Mead did not begin teaching at Columbia until 1934 and then

only in the extension program, but she was a forceful presence in the Columbia circle of anthropologists. She later turned down a permanent position in the Columbia anthropology department, offered to her by Charles Wagley, because of the freedom of movement her museum position offered (Bunzel 1983).

In the 1920s Reichard had the most secure academic position of Boas' women students, although her place at Barnard, an undergraduate college for women, rather than at Columbia, made her more marginal than Mead and Benedict. By the 1930s, through their courses at Columbia, Mead and Benedict had a greater impact on future generations of anthropologists, even though they too faced discrimination and marginalization in the department and the discipline as a whole. Reichard's closest relationships, as the next two sections of this chapter stress, were not with her contemporaries, but with her mentors Franz Boas, Elsie Clews Parsons, and Earle Pliny Goddard, curator at the American Museum of Natural History and another Boasian. While at the beginning of her career, Reichard seemed well-placed in a secure position with important mentors; by the end of her life, she was more isolated, both intellectually and institutionally, with the result that many of her contributions, particularly to the study of women's roles and to Navajo religion and thought, have been overlooked.⁶

BECOMING AN ANTHROPOLOGIST

Gladys Reichard was born on July 17, 1893, at Bangor, Pennsylvania, where her father, Noah W. Reichard, was a respected physician. Her family was of Pennsylvania Dutch (German) heritage, and she grew up in a Quaker household. She graduated from the local high school at the age of 16, then taught for two years in a country school. "You didn't have to learn to teach in those days," Reichard said in a 1944 interview. "I was certainly awfully dumb but just the same I was in

full charge at a nearby country school that had 29 pupils and 28 classes—all in one room! My father believed you should know what you wanted to study before starting at College" (McElroy 1944).⁷ Between 1911 and 1915 she returned to her hometown of Bangor and taught in the public schools. In 1915, when she was 22, she enrolled in Swarthmore College. She received her A.B. in 1919, graduating as a Phi Beta Kappan. She majored in classics, intending to become a doctor, but, during her senior year, after hearing several lectures from the anthropologist who taught at Swarthmore (Dr. Spencer Trotter), she converted. She received a Lucretia Mott Fellowship for graduate study and entered Columbia University in the fall of 1919 to study with Franz Boas.⁸

Reichard received an M.A. in 1920 and assisted Boas in his classes at Barnard College during the 1920–1921 academic year. A research fellowship in 1922–1923 at the University of California at Berkeley enabled her to conduct her first fieldwork among the Wiyot and to write a Wiyot grammar as her dissertation. Boas' student Alfred Kroeber, who had become chair of the Anthropology Department, was impressed with Reichard's success in locating a Wiyot informant and obtaining several good texts. However, as he wrote in 1924 to Edward Sapir, a linguist and former Boas student, he found her overinfluenced by her mentor:

Try kidding Reichard next time. I rather liked and much admired her. Her work capacity is enormous. The chief fault I found was the super-impregnation with Boas, so that she neither gave nor received anything in her year with us. What she had, was el puro Boas; and she wanted nothing else. She did her Wiyot the way he would approve; and no doubt her Christmas paper sprang from the same motive. She is hard and efficient and charmless—the opposite of Haeberlin; but equally saturated with the old man; and Haeberlin's successor, almost, in his devotion. She's neither quarrelsome nor dogmatic, but argument with her is useless because she had Boas lock her mind and keep the key (Golla 1984:410, letter 355).

Clearly, Reichard's close association with Boas (assuming the role of an intellectual daughter) was already affecting her relations with the older generation of Boas' male students who had broken away, to some degree, from their former professor.

Reichard returned to New York in 1923 and became an instructor in anthropology at Barnard. Boas had written to her in Berkeley in January 1923, telling her that the appointment, which he was arranging, was in the final stages of approval. "You can perhaps imagine my delight at the news you sent which reached me Sunday," Reichard replied. "I hope nothing will happen because of the Trustees to dampen my ardor" (FB: GR/FB, 2/8/23). There is indication in Benedict's letters that she felt slighted by Boas' decision to obtain the job for Reichard. Judith Modell (1983: 167) characterized Reichard and Benedict's relationship as one of "a reluctant professional respect while competitiveness characterized their personal relationship." Reichard received her Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1925, when she was 32 years old.

Reichard was almost a member of the Boas family, living at the Boas house during the winter and engaging in fieldwork during the summer. Remaining a daughter and continuing to live with aging parents or, in this case, a professor and mentor, was one of the acceptable strategies young academic women adopted as they entered the professions.⁹ Reichard's correspondence with Boas dates from 1919, when she first wrote him to ask if she could study anthropology at Columbia. Her letters to Boas during the 1920s are full of chatty news to both "Mamma and Papa Franz," especially during her year in Berkeley and her year in Germany, when Boas helped her make personal and professional contacts. Some of these letters consisted of "shop" talk and clearly point out Reichard's training as a linguist in the Boasian mold. Both her letters from Berkeley and those from Idaho when she was working on the Coeur d'Alene language are full of texts, queries about each language, and tentative presenta-

tions of her data to Boas. Some of the correspondence from Germany concerns problems with getting the Navajo genealogies reproduced and published.

Later letters, especially those written to Elsie Clews Parsons, her maternal patron, are often full of news of Boas' health and moods, especially in his waning years. In 1925 she wrote to Father Berard Haile and catalogued the troubles of the Boas family that year (including the illness of Boas' daughter, the death of his son, his wife's operation, and his lame arm) as well as Reichard's own father's death. "You can easily understand how we have been thrown out of our usual schedule leaving very little time or spirit for extra work such as the Navajo. Nevertheless I occasionally eke out—steal would be more accurate—a few hours to work on it" (BHP:GR/FBH 3/12/25).

In 1929, after Mrs. Boas' death, Reichard wrote to Parsons,

It was most kind of you to send the message you did. The day your letter came Papa Franz was still too stunned to have anything from the outside register. But I showed it to his children who were constantly with him so they could use it if the opportunity seemed at hand . . . [Yesterday] He read it and then with that sweet look which comes into his eyes he said, "Isn't that just like Elsie" (ECP:GR/ECP 12/21/29).

In 1931 and 1932 Boas was both depressed and ill, "withering away and with no spirit at all." Reichard reported hauling Boas and his books back and forth from department to home in her car and discussed the progress of his recovery from an embolism in her letters to Parsons (ECP:GR/ECP 2/24/31; ECP:GR/ECP 1/25/32). As a devoted resident in the household, Reichard took the role of someone who communicated his emotional and physical situation to other close friends. This role of emotional mediator is often assumed by women in family networks, and Reichard's ability to take on such a position indicates her closeness and quasi-familial position in the

Boas family. She often personally attended to her aging mentor's wishes, particularly those that pertained to his work.

EARLY RESEARCH AMONG THE NAVAJO

Sometime in 1923, when she was 30, Reichard began a close relationship with Pliny Earle Goddard, Curator of Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History. She accompanied Goddard on a field trip to the Navajo Reservation during 1923, and she returned with him again in 1924 and 1925. It is part of anthropological folklore that Reichard had an affair with Goddard, a much older, married man with a family. Certainly, she was close to him, enjoyed her fieldwork with him, and continued his work, particularly in editing the manuscript of the Shooting Chant, after his death. Her relationship with Goddard created tensions with both Boas and Goddard's wife, while Parsons remained a confidante and friend when it came to Reichard's relation with Goddard.

These first summers of research, as well as subsequent field trips, were funded by Parsons through her Southwest Society. Parsons' role of mentor and confidante emerges in their correspondence and shows that Parsons took a hand in directing the research as well as financing it. In a letter of August 16, 1923, Parsons stated, "Glad to hear that you can go on the Navaho field trip. More than twice the amount of work will be done, as I have a notion you will stimulate your colleague to work harder than were he alone" (ECP:ECP/GR n.d.). Parsons suggested that \$500 is "cutting it rather close, . . . so I am enclosing a check for \$200 as an emergency fund. I am wondering where you are jumping off and where you expect to be, as far as you can tell in advance." Parsons suggested that Reichard visit the Pueblos and also describe the Navajo Fire Dance. She encouraged Reichard by stating that "an intensive clan and chieftaincy study would be valuable"(GR:ECP/GR 8/16/23).¹⁰ The next day

Reichard wrote thanking Parsons for the check, stating that they would not work on language but would focus on social and political organization, with some attention to ceremonies.

This letter and the ones that followed during the next few summers set the pattern for Reichard's correspondence with Parsons. She reported on the data she had collected and accounted for her expenses but also shared her opinions of those whom she met and her growing feelings for the Southwest and the Navajo. The letters are often open and chatty and give a clear sense of Reichard's emotional attachment to her work, her informants, and the setting for her research. In September 1923, she wrote of the first few days on the reservation:

We arrived at Aztec last Mond. & Mr. [Earl] Morris took us in hand at once. He knows the country [thoroughly] & had negotiated for a Ford for us at Farmington. On Tues. we went for it and had to wait until 3:30 while it was fixed. We have named her Elsie Elizabeth, but like naming a baby, her name is appropriate in almost no respect. She is more temperamental than a movie star & keeps Peggy busy cranking her (altho she has a self-starter), but when she does start she goes like the wind (ECP:GR/ECP 9/4/23).¹¹

Reichard attended an Enemyway ceremony, also called '*ana'ji* or *nda*, a three-day chant given for patients who have become ill due to dangerous contact with non-Navajos ("enemies"). She was not impressed with (and misunderstood) the Squaw Dance, or round dance, which took place on the second night; her comments reveal how much she was disturbed by the impact of Anglo-American culture on the Navajo:

This was followed by a squaw dance—very monotonous & a mixture of old Navaho step and white man position—in fact it was pathetic and a bit disgusting. For the men were required to pay the girls before they could stop dancing & as soon as one was released the old folk on the side lines goaded her out to get another man. The girls did not look a bit happy to say the least (ECP:GR/ECP 9/4/23).

My own observation of the round dances held at 'ana'ji ceremonies during the 1960s and 1970s indicates that the "white-man" position, perhaps a 1920s innovation, is no longer used.¹² The payment of the girls is probably more traditional than Reichard asserts, and the reluctance of the young women is more feigned than real. From my point of view this passage indicates that Reichard was willing to impose her own views on Navajo behavior, but in her published writing, her own position is not disguised as "scientific fact" but rather usually presented as her own opinion.

Reichard and Goddard traveled as a couple and used traditional field techniques. They covered several communities each summer, hired an interpreter, and worked with informants, collecting genealogies, data on Navajo clans, kin terms, Navajo names, and folklore. Her report to Parsons of their second summer's trip reveals this approach: "We spent about three weeks at Shiprock, one at Lukachukai, both places being very fertile in material and easy to work because of good interpreters" (ECP:GR/ECP 9/24/24). Reichard felt they had less success in Chinle because of an informant who insisted he had nine wives (and thus gave an "unreliable" genealogy) and an indifferent interpreter. However, at Ganado, "We had an ideal interpreter and were again able to see the *Nda* ceremony, one which was much more elaborate and complete than the one we saw last year" (ECP:GR/ECP 9/24/24). Reichard and Goddard also traveled to Gallup, with a short side trip to Zuni, before going to California to talk with Kroeber and renew acquaintances with Reichard's Wiyot and Goddard's Hoopa informants.

As a result of these three field trips, Reichard published *Social Life of the Navajo Indians* (1928). The monograph seems very much shaped by Parsons, since Reichard acknowledges using the genealogical method through Parsons' influence. She includes material on the *nac'it* (or presumed tribal assembly), which was as close to a study of "chieftaincy" as one could get. Based on her ob-

servations during both 1923 and 1924, she included a long description and pictures of the *nda* or 'ana'ji, (which she calls the War Ceremony, but which is now translated Enemyway). There are also bits and pieces of observations in a chapter on folklore and belief, including witchcraft and divination. The monograph's most distinctive feature is the inclusion of the lengthy genealogies Reichard mentioned in her letters to Parsons. They were collected from a number of different sectors of the reservation and included 3,500 individuals (about 10% of the Navajo at the time).

Father Berard Haile had been quite helpful to Reichard and Goddard during 1923 and 1924 (as Reichard acknowledged in her chapter on the tribal assembly). He undoubtedly provided them with interpreters and even informants during their stays in Lukachukai. Reichard's early letters to Haile from 1925 and 1928 are chatty and relaxed, even though Reichard defends her criticism of Christian missionaries in a manuscript she sent to Haile. Later their relationship became more strained. The critical tone of his review of *Social Life of the Navajo Indians* for the *American Anthropologist* (Haile 1932) is similar to that of other reviews of Reichard's later work by male anthropologists. For example, Haile chastises Reichard for using the genealogical method in such a restricted number of communities and suggests that she could have constructed much more meaningful tables about clan lineages and marriage preferences from her "massive data."¹³ He finds a number of errors in Reichard's data on religion and ceremonies and alludes to his own work in preparation. The *nac'it*, he argues, is the "gesture dance," not a "tribal assembly." He concludes on a kinder note that "the several chapters which treat social aspects of Navajo life are well presented, and much new material has been gathered, which is appreciated by all students of the American Indian" (Haile 1932:715).

Reichard could be equally argumentative and critical in her own reviews, which indicates that

controversies over small details were often the battleground for validating one's own work as against that of others. As is particularly true in a new and developing profession, theoretical arguments are sometimes very heated. There was clearly a "battle for territory" among the major ethnographers of the Navajo between 1930 and 1960, although disagreements on how to interpret Navajo social organization continued even in the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁴

During the years following her first three summers on the Navajo Reservation, Reichard's research took her away from Navajo studies. She spent 1926–1927 in Hamburg, Germany, on a Guggenheim Fellowship, where she studied Melanesian design. (Boas may have arranged this fellowship to take her away from Goddard; Goddard, however, was able to visit Reichard in Rome during the International Congress of Americanists in 1926.) Reichard finished the work on the *Social Life* monograph while in Germany, having the elaborate genealogies drawn and reproduced there. She won the A. Cressy Morrison prize of the New York Academy of Sciences in 1932 for her monograph *Melanesian Design* (Reichard 1932), an innovative technological design study based on museum collections. In 1928 she went to Idaho to gather data for an analysis of the Coeur d'Alene grammar for the *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (Reichard 1938b). Boas was again able to help his protégée obtain a grant of \$800 for the fieldwork through his position on the Linguistics Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies.

Pliny Goddard died suddenly in 1928, and Reichard became his literary executor. Goddard died at the Newtown, Connecticut, house that Reichard owned, and their relationship came to the attention of Dean Gildersleeve of Barnard College. Reichard may have been threatened with dismissal and had difficulties with promotions and benefits later because of this incident.

A letter from Parsons in 1928 apparently ac-

knowledged Reichard's close relationship to Goddard and provided Reichard with funds to purchase the Navajo books in Goddard's library. In October Reichard answered Parsons:

Your note received Wednesday moved me more deeply than I can say. As if you hadn't done enough for us already! Just the evening before I had told Myra what might be valuable & had given up hope of having any of Dr. G.'s books, because the ones I wanted are expensive. So you can imagine—you can anyway or you would not have [thought] of the most understanding thing you could do—what your note meant to me. Perhaps when you are in the wilds with no books I can do some reference work for you or send you the books (ECP:GR/ECP 10/12/28).

Reichard's position as literary executor at first went smoothly but then ended in conflict with Mrs. Goddard, possibly as a result of Reichard's close relationship with Pliny Goddard. There are several letters to Haile attempting to arrange for him to purchase Goddard's collection of the *American Anthropologist* and the *Journal of American Folklore*, as well as a number of Bureau of American Ethnology reports and reprints. After Haile paid, Mrs. Goddard "got the idea she was being cheated or something—nobody ever knows what ideas she *will* get" and returned the check to Reichard (BHP:GR/FBH 1/19/29). Later Reichard mailed the check to Haile stating, "Do not think that *you* caused the trouble about the books. It is a circumstance too complicated to discuss and the less said about it the better anyhow" (BHP:GR/FBH 2/8/29). Finally in June of 1929, Reichard wrote to Haile that Goddard's son David had told her that the books were in the family attic and if Haile was still interested in them he could write the family directly and offer \$50 for them. These letters suggest that some aspects of Reichard's relationship with Goddard (perhaps its intimate nature) rankled Mrs. Goddard and led her to interfere with Reichard's role in disposing of Goddard's library.¹⁵

REICHARD'S NAVAJO ETHNOGRAPHY
IN THE 1930S

In 1930 Reichard returned to the Navajo Reservation, beginning a decade in which she produced her richest ethnographic material. Reichard wrote three important books in this period, each experimenting with a different type of description. Dissatisfied with the typical Boasian approach to field research, she decided to live with a Navajo family, adopting the role of daughter and student, someone who came to learn the Navajo language and how to weave. In her unpublished manuscript *Another Look at the Navajo*, Reichard gives an account of her new interests:

I had started the study of Navaho social structure by accident, the genealogical method being used by my sponsor [Parsons]. After working three summers at the job, it seemed that I had come to know a good deal about Navaho clans, linked clans, marriage and related abstractions, but little about the Navaho themselves. (Personality was not largely used at the time). I concluded that a study of structure is indispensable for any kind of social study, but that it is by no means enough for the understanding of behavior, attitude, and motivation . . . I was interested in crafts and decided that learning to weave would be a way of developing the trust of the women, as well as of learning to weave and to speak the language. By this attempt I would put myself under the family aegis; my work would at first deal primarily with women, and I could observe the daily round as a participant, rather than as a mere onlooker (Reichard n.d.: handwritten insert, p. 1).

At that point in time, it was unusual to live with a family and become intimately connected with women's activities while doing fieldwork. Living in a more detached setting was the norm: Malinowski had pitched his tent adjacent to a village of Trobriand Islanders in Melanesia, Mead had lived in a missionary's home while studying adolescent girls in Samoa, and Benedict and Bunzel had rented a house at the end of the village of

Zuni, so that Benedict could work with older male informants and Bunzel with women potters (Caffrey 1989; Malinowski 1961; Mead 1928). Reichard's choice of living in a dwelling within a Navajo extended family residence group not only gave her an opportunity to learn to weave but also brought her closer to the daily interactions among women. Perhaps because it was unusual and certainly because Reichard was a woman alone, she at first found it difficult to get an Anglo-American to help her locate a family.

In 1930, when Reichard wrote to Haile asking about a singer and his family with whom she could live, she commented to Parsons on his reply:

I thought he had my point of view. He answers at length & with great detail saying he doesn't think I know enough even to wash behind the ears! Holds up Mrs Armer as a model of how to do work among the Navajo! Even mentions a nice house with curtains, easy armchair, etc. I guess except for linguistic help I can count him out (ECP:GR/ECP 2/24/37).¹⁶

Haile seemed to think that a young Anglo-American woman was incapable of living with a family in rather "primitive" conditions.

Even so, in the summer of 1930, Reichard spent a week in Lukachukai working with Haile's interpreter (Albert "Chic" Sandoval), but given Haile's sense that she needed a place with "window curtains," Reichard went on to Ganado with Ann Morris, the wife of archaeologist Earl Morris, to ask trader Roman Hubbell's assistance in finding a family to live with. She was much more successful this time.

We arrived—Ann left at once—on Fri. night & on Mon. at 9 a.m. I was established in my hogan. Roman knew just the family, Miguelito's, & we went up & asked them to build me a shade. But they had a storage house, [brand] new & unbuggy—but somehow I never think of bugs now! which is built just like a hogan only it is dug out & has no smokehole. It is much better protection from wind & rain (if any)

than a shade could be. There is lots of wind & papers do fly around. I have all my things in this house which is only 6 mi. from Hubbell's (ECP:GR/ECP 7/6/30).

Red Point, or Miguelito, was a well-known Navajo singer (or curer) who lived near Ganado, a mile from the Hubbell Trading Post.¹⁷ Miguelito, his wife, and his daughters had worked for Fred Harvey's Indian Department in Albuquerque, demonstrating weaving for tourists. The family traveled to San Francisco and San Diego for exhibitions in 1915, remaining in California for the greater part of two years. After returning to the reservation, Miguelito apprenticed himself to a number of singers and learned several important Navajo ceremonies over the years. In 1923 Miguelito participated in the dedication of the El Navajo Hotel in Gallup (Parezo 1983). Mary Colter, who designed the interior, used sandpainting motifs based on reproductions by Miguelito and other Navajo singers and collected by Sam Day, a trader from St. Michaels. As a Navajo who had a great deal of experience working with traders and other Anglo-Americans, Miguelito nonetheless continued a traditional way of life until his death (Reichard 1939b).

In 1930, when Reichard went to live with them, the family consisted of Red Point, Maria Antonio (his wife), and their two married daughters (Marie and Altnaba).¹⁸ A third daughter, known as Yikadezba's Mother, lived with her husband, Ben Wilson, and their baby several miles away, although the three young Wilson girls resided with their aunts and grandmother in Red Point's residence group.

Living with a Navajo family (though in a separate dwelling) allowed Reichard to see Navajo social life from the inside. The fact that she was a woman helped her to obtain a sense of the internal core of Navajo kinship—a mother and her children. In a matrilineal society, with a tendency to matrilocal residence, the closest relations within an extended family are between a woman and her daughters. Men, both Navajo males and outsider

Anglo-Americans, are peripheral to this core; they are not part of the food preparation, child care, and weaving activities that take place daily inside the hogan. Also, since in the 1930s, Navajo men still practiced mother-in-law avoidance, a custom that pushed men further to the periphery of the Navajo matrilocal extended family. A Navajo man was not allowed to look at his mother-in-law, communication with her was always mediated by his wife, and he always left his own hogan when his wife's mother arrived for a visit. Reichard's position as a woman placed her in close contact with the women of the family, rather than on the periphery where male anthropologists and other male outsiders often found themselves when visiting or living with Navajo families.

Reichard's letters to Parsons that summer recount her experiences learning to weave and her difficulties with the Navajo language:

There are times when the language has me stopped. At such times I go to Hubbell's, stay overnight, get mail, food, etc. & start in fresh & early the next morning. Hubbells have breakfast at 6:30! I love the language but have to learn it blindly . . . [A]fter all Nav. is a hell of a language what with length, pitch, accent, verbs with a dozen principal parts, —the verbs are my Jonah—& all the rest. The FF [Franciscan Fathers'] vocabulary is very helpful but the grammar is *nil*. So I collect necessary phrases & learn them, even *use* them, & weeks after it dawns on me what they mean analytically. Well, perhaps that is the way to learn a language properly (ECP:GR/ECP 7/6/30).

Reichard also wrote of her love of the Southwest, deepened by this experience with a Navajo family:

But I want you to know that there is a kind of unexplainable balm about the S.W.—you doubtless know it already; I found it last summer and needed it even more this. There is a peace which comes to us at evening when the air is cool and the sun sets, the mountains become purple rose & blue—we are high in cedar & pinon country, a most comfortable setting— &

night settles down with the sheep in the corral & the stars & the moon & the air! Most people would hate the quiet—it *is* quiet—but I love it. It is the sort of thing some writers (a few) have gotten across, but somehow needs experiencing (ECP:GR/ECP 7/6/30).

Reichard published her experiences during that summer as well as during 1931 and 1932 in three very different books. The first, *Spider Woman* (1934a), is a personal memoir. *Spider Woman* reads like well-digested field notes, a sort of personal account of the trials of learning to weave, interspersed with descriptions of family activities—the summer sheep dip, a trip to the Gallup Ceremonials, a tornado, a sing, and even, sadly, the death of Maria Antonio during Reichard's third summer with the family.¹⁹

Recent discussions of ethnographic writing, particularly by James Clifford, George Marcus, Renato Rosaldo, and others, have focused on the textual strategies anthropologists have used to give authority to their accounts of other ways of life. Reichard's texts contrast in important ways with classic ethnographic writing, typified by Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1961), Evans-Pritchard's *The Nuer* (1940), and Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928). In these books, observations and dialogue gathered in particular places and at particular times are assembled into a text containing a unified voice, that of the ethnographer representing beliefs, practices, and behaviors of a whole culture.

The position of the ethnographer is a panoptic one, above the scene of the action. The wholes represented tend to be "synchronic, products of short term research activity" sketched in the "ethnographic present" (Clifford 1988:31–32). The Trobrianders, the Nuer, or the Samoans become an absolute subject and the research process is separated from the texts it generates.

Spider Woman is much more dialogic, a goal currently espoused by many contemporary ethnographers. It contains more of the research process, the interaction between ethnographer and subject, and it records conversations as well as de-

scriptions. Though Reichard does the recording and much of the interpreting, the voices of members of Red Point's family are heard. For example, one afternoon Reichard paid several Navajo boys for helping her pull her car out of the mud on the way home from a trip to the well to dye wool. Red Point strongly objected that Reichard paid them, since the boys had come to the rescue of a car that was carrying Navajo passengers and normally Navajos are expected to help each other without monetary payment. She describes the next morning's scene in her shelter as follows:

Red-Point was so excited last evening about the Navajo boys taking pay for helping us that he did not think of anything else. Today, as Marie is stringing the new blanket over the temporary frame and as I unwind the yarn from the skein, preparatory to winding the ball, he comes in. He is in his usual mild temper, but cannot refrain from mild remonstrance. "Too bad you paid that money. You wouldn't have had to do it if I had been here." He has come to see my first blanket. As I spread it out I tell him that at Ganado they all laughed at it. Whereupon he leaps to my defense with "Tell *them* to make one" (Reichard 1934a:60).

Although Reichard described Red Point's emotions in her words, much of the conversation is presented in his words, and Reichard herself has a place, a set of behaviors, and reactions within the dialogue. In a later chapter, she reports her own ambivalence about not taking a very sick Marie Antonio to the hospital, instead finding a singer to perform a Navajo ceremony over her. Red Point tells her, "You see we can't possibly take her to the hospital. Little-Singer died there yesterday afternoon" (Reichard 1934a:250). She then recounts her reaction:

I am shocked. I understand perfectly why my grandmother cannot go there. A place where one dies is contaminated, and if anyone goes there, he puts himself in the way of the worst. I know, too, as do they all, although they do not say it, that Little-Singer is the fourth person to die at the hospital within a week. After considering the implications I suggest, "But

could the doctor come here to see her?" (Reichard 1934a:250).

The family agrees, but the doctor is not to be found, and Reichard eventually helps the family find an appropriate singer. Her attempt in this passage, both through dialogue and her own internal thought processes, is to present the Navajo view of events as well as her own. The passage is contextual, interactional, and dialogical. It is much different from a flat ethnographic statement that Navajos fear hospitals because they are places in which people die.

Throughout the book, Reichard's descriptions of the Southwest, her nights under the stars, and the sunsets are quite evocative. Designed for a popular audience, but using surprisingly modern textual strategies, the book portrays the "feel" of Navajo life as well as an Anglo-American woman experiencing that life, a combination rarely found in ethnographies of the period.

A second book, *Navajo Shepherd and Weaver* (1936), is a technical monograph on Navajo weaving. Reichard focuses on a step-by-step account of learning how to card wool, spin it, prepare a loom, and weave a rug. By the end of her first summer of fieldwork she had completed two regular-sized rugs and one very small one. At the conclusion of the third summer, she had become a proficient weaver.

In her written text, Reichard often adopted a distant descriptive prose in the "ethnographic present." For example, in describing techniques of weaving, Reichard writes about an abstract "weaver": "Although the weaver has arranged the tension rope of the loom, she has done so only casually, her purpose being merely to attach the moveable part of the loom to the loomframe" (1936:69). But then in the next paragraph she describes an actual incident with Marie and Maria Antonio as actors. "When Marie and her mother strung my first rug, one of the cross-pieces of the warpframe must have moved after the length was measured and before it was fastened. Consequently, it was at least an inch and a half longer

at the right than at the left" (1936:69). In other places, Reichard's own views come through, clearly framed in the text: for example, "I have roundly criticized the [store-bought] dyes which the Navajo must use and I think with justification" (1936:34).

These textual strategies convey the interaction between an Anglo-American outsider and her Navajo teachers. They are possible only because Reichard was a woman and thus in a position to learn a woman's craft from female instructors. Charles Amsden, a noted authority on Navajo weaving, was appreciative of this fact in his favorable review of her book, when he contrasted her approach with that of her six male predecessors who wrote as "bystanders" and observers of this "feminine craft":

Dr. Reichard, a woman, first of all learned to weave, then wrote about it as a weaver. We have long known how Navaho weaving looks; now, thanks to her, we know how it feels. She writes of the labor, the errors and frustrations and minor triumphs that lie behind the finished product on which her male predecessors fixed their admiring eyes" (Amsden 1938:725).²⁰

Her third innovative book, *Dezba: Woman of the Desert* (1939a), is a novelistic account of Navajo life based on Reichard's experiences during her summers with Miguelito's family. The book centers on Dezba, the female head of an extended family. It gives a rich sense of women's roles in Navajo society and, though a novel, is used by some anthropologists as a woman's life history in undergraduate classes (since there are few such documents on Navajo females). Reichard's purpose in writing the book (1939a:v and passim) was to "answer questions asked by laymen, teachers, writers, artists and tourists whom I have met during many years of sojourn with the Navajo Indians." She portrays the problems Navajos have faced in "the seventy-year attempt to adjust themselves to the ways of an alien civilization." She felt that there was no clear-cut solution to the problems her characters faced in deciding whether or not to send their children to school, in

using Western medicine or rejecting it, and in dealing with government regulations or resisting them. Dezba was a conservative Navajo woman who was ambivalent about the impact of schooling on her different children, but Reichard presented other characters who were more enthusiastic about assimilation.

Although the characters were fictitious, it seems that Dezba and her two daughters were patterned after Maria Antonio, Marie, and Alt-naba. It is also possible that Lassos-a-Warrior, Dezba's brother, a *nadlay* and singer, was modeled after Hastiin Klah (*tl'ab*) or Left Handed, the singer from Newcomb, New Mexico, who worked closely with Reichard, Franc Newcomb, and Mary Wheelwright in the late 1930s.

Reichard uses several textual strategies designed to convey Navajo thoughts and feelings as well as Navajo religious beliefs. For example, she attributes aspects of the Navajo ceremonial system, normally described in the abstract, to the inner belief system of her central character. In addition, she describes her character's life situation in a way that makes it clear that for the Navajo there is an intimate connection between religious belief and bodily well-being. Thus, at the beginning of one chapter, she writes about Dezba as follows:

Dezba was brought up to believe in the relationship between man and nature sustained by ceremonial order, that order attained by song. She had never known any other religion and there was no confusion in her faith. In her youth she had been strong, healthy and full of energy. When she was about thirty-five she began to lose her ambition. She had frequent severe headaches. She had little appetite and became very thin (Reichard 1939a:93).

The chapter goes on to describe the family's active efforts to cure Dezba through the appropriate diagnosis and ceremonial.

From the point of view of the 1990s, when first-person narratives of Native Americans or novels written by Native American writers seem

more "authentic" in giving voice to American Indian women, Reichard's novel may seem disappointing. Her implicit position is like that offered in many studies of acculturation and assimilation written since the 1930s. The focus is on how American Indians *adapted* to change, either individually or as a group, rather than on the economic and political factors in the larger society that forced them to change in a particular way (Lamphere 1976:6).

Deborah Gordon, in her chapter in this volume, has characterized Reichard's approach as "matronization," that is, "genuine concern for and friendship with Native American women" while at the same time attempting to "educate the lay public as a means of countering a general lack of empathy for and interest in Navajo Americans on the part of members of the white culture" (p. 157). Yet Reichard and others, Gordon argues, saw themselves outside the dynamic of power relations between Whites and Indians and made Native American women into proper models of femininity, imposing on Navajo family structure, in Reichard's case, the Anglo-American pattern where women became central to the home during the Great Depression, with its high levels of male unemployment and family abandonment.

This judgment misses Reichard's attempt to describe the internal dynamics of extended family life in a matrilineal society and her range of male and female characters. The descriptions of Dezba's participation in a sheep dip, the preparation of a Navajo dish made from ground fresh corn, and the Navajo girl's puberty ceremony are all based on careful participant observation. Though the language is often flowery, overdrawn, and not particularly close to what a description of an event in the Navajo language might be, *Dezba* takes a woman's point of view. It seems to me to be a more authentic account of Indian life than that found in such popular novels as *The Man Who Killed Deer* by Frank Waters (1942) and Tony Hillerman's mystery stories (1989a, 1989b, 1990).

By the end of three summers, Reichard had be-

come fluent in Navajo (an extraordinary task), thanks to her teachers Red Point, Maria Antonio, Marie, and Altnaba. In the summer of 1934 she was able to get funding from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) for a Hogan School to be held at Miguelito's residence group site. The school's primary purpose was to teach literacy in Navajo to adults. For Reichard it offered the opportunity to provide an educational structure more compatible with Navajo culture, which could address some of the difficulties of the adjustment to the dominant society that she wrote about three years later in *Dezba*. Here was a school, attended by 18 students, in a home setting, where Navajos could communicate in their own language, discuss how to put technical medical English words into Navajo (such as *tuberculosis*, *trachoma*, *antiseptic*), and write about their own history and differences they saw between Navajo and Anglo-American cultures (Reichard 1934b). This experiment was possible because John Collier's administration of the BIA, beginning in 1933, was sympathetic to educational innovations that were more closely in tune with American Indian cultures, a radical change in U.S. policy.

Building on the importance of oral tradition in Navajo life, Reichard asked Red Point to be the primary teacher, providing traditional Navajo knowledge that was to be learned through writing the Navajo language. Reichard worked with the students, teaching them the symbols to use for each sound, helping them to write down vocabulary, and correcting essays. If one examines the account of the Hogan School in *Dezba*, it is clear that Reichard not only taught Navajos to read and write in their own language but also made it possible for them to devise ways in which the Anglo-American view (for example, on health and disease) could be integrated with Navajo healing and religious practices (Reichard 1939a: 130-40). Her one-summer experiment with the Hogan School was an early version of Navajo bilingual, bicultural education of the kind that only began to flourish in the 1970s with the founding

of several community-controlled schools that specialized in Navajo literacy (for example, Rough Rock, Pine Hill, Rock Point, Borrego Pass).

Miguelito died in October 1937, and his daughter, Altnaba, died the next spring. Reichard was clearly upset by both deaths. She wrote to Roman Hubbell in response to his letter telling her of the singer's death:

I am sorta numb still from the shock of your letter which arrived yesterday. Before everything I want you to know how much I appreciate your sitting down and writing me the first thing, and in such detail, too. It marks the end of an epoch with me, really I shall have to start all over psychologically and I am doubtful so far as to how I shall do it . . . But if that is true with me, how much more so with you and all those who came to depend on Miguelito for the things he had to offer. It is too unbelievable and sudden to be able to get a perspective . . . I don't seem to have any fancy words in which to say it, but it is simply that the experience with Mig's family was an event in my life and if you had not sent me to him, I should have missed all that richness (HP:GR/RH 10/14/36).

TURNING TO NAVAJO RELIGION AND WORKING WITH OTHER ANGLO-AMERICAN WOMEN

During the 1930s, Reichard's interests turned more and more to the study of Navajo religion. Living with a Navajo singer, who was a specialist in the Shooting Chant as well as several other Navajo curing ceremonies, gave Reichard the opportunity to see parts of this ceremony at the invitation of her mentor and teacher, Red Point:

Having indicated my interest in religion, I was invited to participate in an elaborate nine-day performance of Male Shooting Chant Holy at White Sands where the family lived. I had become well-informed of ritualistic procedure by an intensive study of the existing literature and was able to converse with the chanter about ceremonial lore. He had no inkling that I knew anything about anything of this kind. One time after a Navajo had voiced objections to my

presence with pencil and paper in the ceremonial hogan, the chanter came to my dwelling to excuse his own compromise suggestion that I try to remember instead of writing, and concluded somewhat defiantly, 'I'll sing over you some day!' So I did not even have to request the part of my program I had always planned, namely to be the 'one-sung-over' or patient as it is sometimes called (Reichard n.d.: 5).

Between 1932 and 1937 she had seen Red Point perform the Shooting Chant three times and also had been a patient in the ceremony herself. Reichard has also continued the work she had begun with Goddard by translating the text of the Male Shooting Chant (one of the two major versions of the ceremony) as told to Father Berard Haile by Blue Eyes, a Navajo singer from Lukachukai, in 1924.

Early in the 1930s Reichard began to collaborate with Franc Newcomb, the wife of a trader who operated a trading post 60 miles north of Gallup, and Mary Wheelwright, a wealthy Bostonian. Neither of these women was a professionally trained anthropologist, but with Reichard they became the three women who contributed most to the anthropological study of Navajo religion and mythology. They constituted a female network, as opposed to the male network that consisted of Clyde Kluckhohn, Leland Wyman, Harry Hoijer (a linguist), and Father Berard Haile.

Reichard was particularly impressed with the watercolor copies that Franc Newcomb had been making of sandpaintings used by singers in the area near her husband's trading post. In the summer of 1930, Reichard met Newcomb, and they began a voluminous correspondence. Reichard wrote to Parsons, "I stopped to see Mrs. Arthur Newcomb, Miss Wheelwright's liegeman and I venture to say hers is the most scientific collection of sand-paintings. She has been working on them for 12 years and is a greater hound for accuracy than for beauty (sales value I mean)" (ECP:GR/ECP 7/6/30).

The three women were separated by differences

of class and education, but Reichard, with her unpretentious, down-to-earth personality, undoubtedly was more comfortable with Newcomb than with the upper-class Boston brahmin, Wheelwright. By February 1932, Newcomb was collecting sandpaintings of *Na'at'oe ba'aad* (Female Shooting Chant) for Reichard, who soon suggested that they collaborate. "I think that it is very generous of you to say that the sketches are mine—what would you think of collaborating on a [Na'at'oe] write up. My failing is that I am a chronic collector" (GR:FN/GR 5/7/32). Several months later, Newcomb replied to an apparent offer of putting together a book on the Male Shooting Chant,

I certainly feel like saying, "Oh, Boy!! May I, to a college instructor?" There is nothing I would like better than to assemble a group of [Na'at'oe] paintings for publication. This winter has almost taken the starch out of me, but I have come to life after receiving your letter (GR:FN/GR 1/18/33).

Reichard's impressions of Mary Wheelwright were less favorable. In a letter to Parsons in the summer she describes an encounter with Wheelwright that occurred when she was visiting Newcomb:

Mary Cabot doesn't think directly and sat on me so hard I was squashed flatter than a pancake. I know I used the wrong psychology on her, but it did make me hot under the collar when she insinuated I was superficial (as are all who study the Navs but her!) I saw Mrs. N[ewcomb] in Gallup and she said she was sorry for me. Mary C. thinks in circles—like Navs! and she explained her psychology. I don't need sympathy; I have been squelched by such as her before, but I'm done with her. I [thought] I was doing her a favor. She has the idea that nobody is doing the Nav. right but her (ECP:GR/ECP 2/13/31).

Newcomb, for her part, was equally ambivalent about Wheelwright and often felt that she was being exploited by the wealthy Boston patroness.

In January 1937, Reichard worked with Hastiin Klah, the singer who collaborated with New-

comb and Wheelwright. Reichard collected and translated his version of the Shooting Chant (Male Shootingway) and the myth of the Hail Chant. Klah died March 3, 1937, and his medicine bundles, copies of sandpaintings, and other paraphernalia were placed in the museum built for him by Wheelwright (Newcomb 1964). As with the death of Miguelito, Reichard was deeply affected by Klah's death. In writing to Roman Hubbell she says,

I read today in the *New York Sun* that Klah died at Rehoboth . . . When you say I live a self-centered self-ish life, could it be that I have tried to build up a defense against having a load like the Navajo on my back? I might say too that I haven't succeeded in this defense. At any rate I am very sad about this affair of Klah . . . And he certainly was remarkable as a person, as a chanter and as a friend (HP:GR/RH 3/3/37).

By 1937 the product of Reichard and Newcomb's collaboration was published as *Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant*, which included color and line drawing reprints of 44 sandpaintings, a condensed translation of the myth, and a symbolic analysis of the sandpaintings. The first book to look specifically at what is often the most fascinating aspect of Navajo ceremonies, it was also the first to look at the variations in sandpaintings during the course of a ceremony. In 1939, Reichard published *Navajo Medicine Man: Sandpaintings and Legends of Miguelito* (1939b). The volume included color reproductions of the sandpaintings Miguelito had painted for John Frederick Huckel, son-in-law of Fred Harvey, whose chain of hotels and restaurants hosted tourists throughout the Southwest. The sandpaintings came from the Bead Chant and the Male Shooting Chant, and Reichard was able to use the Blue Eyes version of the Shooting Chant myth as well as a version collected from Miguelito to interpret the paintings. Reichard interspersed descriptions of each sandpainting with portions of the myth, showing which deities are depicted in each painting. The book is a sequel to the New-

comb and Reichard 1937 publication, but with a fuller treatment of the relationship between paintings and myth.

With the death of her Navajo teachers Maria Antonio, Red Point, and Hastiin Klah in the mid 1930s and with the deaths of Parsons in 1941 and Boas in 1942, Reichard's relationships with her anthropological colleagues and others studying Navajo religion became more important in her correspondence. This mirrored her shift away from the study of women in a family context toward the broader analysis of the Navajo language, belief, and religious practice. Between 1944 and 1950, Reichard published two important books on Navajo religion.

In her short monograph *Prayer: The Compulsive Word* (dedicated to Franz Boas and published in 1944), Reichard outlined some of her analysis of Navajo religion and then analyzed the function, content, and structure of prayers. She also included the text in Navajo and English of a prayer from the Male Shooting Chant (which was transcribed by Adolph Bitanny, the most promising of the students she trained in the 1934 Hogan School). In many places the text rambles, and Reichard often gets sidetracked on questions such as whether the Navajo chanter sees the prayer as a unit and whether Navajo prayer is poetry or prose. On the other hand, her analysis of prayer structure as including an invocation, petition, and benediction is clearly an important insight that was later elaborated in Sam Gill's more exhaustive study of prayer (Gill 1981). She is able to show how a number of prayers have basically one or two structures and that repetitions and elaborations can be reduced to a small number of patterns. The monograph is full of important insights and "nuggets of information" dropped in the middle of paragraphs. For example, Reichard says that "thought is the same, or has the same potentiality, as word" (Reichard 1950:46-47), a relationship later elaborated by Gary Witherspoon (1977). Her discussion of the important Navajo concepts embedded in the phrase *sa'ab*

naaghaii bik'eb hozho (in-old-age-walking-the-trail-of-beauty, according-to-old-age-may-it-be-perfect, or according-to-the-ideal-may-restoration-be-achieved) is illuminating, partly because she sticks closely to Navajo meaning and context rather than importing too many of our own conceptions into the translation.

Reichard's magnum opus, *Navaho Religion*, appeared in 1950, and *Navaho Grammar* (1951) was published in the following year. The work on religion was originally contained in two volumes, the first a discussion of Navajo dogma, symbolism, and ritual. The second volume contained three concordances, i.e., elaborate dictionaries of Navajo supernaturals, ritualistic ideas, and rites. Concordances were a tradition of the time and were used by Haile (1947) in his book on Shootingway. They were one way of handling a "mass of material that does not organize very well" (Aberle 1986).

Most would agree that *Navaho Religion* is not a book that can be read cover to cover; it is more like an encyclopedia to be consulted. Like Reichard's other writings, it is a compilation of facts much within the Boasian paradigm and very similar to Parsons' work, *Pueblo Indian Religion* (1939a). However, unlike that of Parsons who gives detailed accounts of many ceremonies drawn from her own field notes and those of other anthropologists, Reichard's work is less synthetic. Specific ceremonies and chants are not discussed as a whole but are treated under particular topics, such as the use of sex or direction in chants. It is difficult to find the overall structure of Navajo ceremonies and their origin stories. Oswald Werner, an anthropologist who has studied Navajo systems of classification (ethnoscience), provided a telling analogy (Werner, 1986, personal communication). It is as if Reichard had taken apart a motorcycle and carefully laid all the parts on the ground. Everything is there, but how it all fits together is not apparent. For those totally immersed in Navajo ritual and symbolism, there is

much to be found in the book. For someone new to the topic, it is difficult to "find the thread."

DEALING WITH THE MALE NETWORK

Reichard's work on religion brought her into disagreement with Haile, Hoijer, Kluckhohn, and Wyman on a number of points. The male network of specialists was particularly combative when dealing with disagreements. These cropped up between Reichard and Wyman, Kluckhohn, and Haile over several translations of Navajo chant names and whether to spell Navajo with a "j" or an "h."²¹ Since Newcomb and Wheelwright collected sandpaintings and myth texts and were not analysts of either the religion or the language, Reichard's more technical work on these topics was primarily evaluated by the white male scholars. It is in relationship to this network and to the profession as a whole that Reichard seems like "a woman alone."

To cite the best example of the kinds of controversies that arose between Reichard and male scholars, there is a long and complex argument between Wyman and Kluckhohn, on the one hand, and Reichard, on the other, over the classification of Navajo ceremonies. Haile (1938) had a third classificatory scheme as well.²² Basically, Wyman and Kluckhohn (1938) divided ceremonies into four main categories: Blessingway ceremonies, Holyway ceremonies (chants conducted with a rattle, which include sandpaintings and prayerstick offerings), Lifeway ceremonies, and Enemyway ceremonies. Reichard proposed a major division between those chants that emphasized good (or the transformation from neutral to sanctified) and those that emphasized evil (or the exorcism of evil). There is little difference in the placement of chants within these three classifications; in a letter Wyman wrote to Reichard, however, he vehemently objected to the classification of some of the Windways on the evil side (GR: LW/GR 3/24/46). The main contribution of Rei-

chard's classification is that it pinpoints the major differences in function of Navajo ceremonies—the attainment of *hozho* (pleasant conditions or harmony) versus the exorcism of *hoch'o* (ugly or dangerous conditions)—two themes that run through various subrituals, prayers, and parts of larger ceremonies that, in turn, emphasize one or the other theme (see Lamphere 1969). In this sense Reichard came closer than Wyman and Kluckhohn to organizing her classification around important Navajo concepts.

Reichard's correspondence with Kluckhohn and Wyman at times was full of charges and countercharges. In a letter of November 12, 1943, Kluckhohn began by saying, "I assure you I am not 'annoyed with you' as a person. I have always genuinely and deeply, liked you as a person and I continue to." He continued in the next paragraph,

But when it comes to Navaho studies I have slowly and regretfully come to the conclusion that your views and mine as to what constitutes evidence, your views and [mine] as to the basic canons of scientific logic were so far apart that agreement was not to be hoped for. With occasional and usually utterly minor qualifications, it has been my experiences that Wyman, Hill, Father Berard and I saw pretty much eye to eye on Navaho questions—when we had talked the matter out and discussed our separate evidence with one another. This has not been the case with you so consistently—largely I am persuaded, because our basic premises seem so different (GR:CK/GR 11/12/43).

Following this opening, the letter mostly set forth Kluckhohn's objections to the term *Chant of Waning Endurance*, his arguments against the term *War Ceremony*, and his preference for spelling Navajo with an "h." He also chided Reichard for criticizing him on the basis of his lectures at Columbia University in 1939 rather than on his most recent work.

On November 17, 1943, Reichard drafted a response that she did not send. In it she defended

her translation of *ba'neeneebie* and her use of the term *War Ceremony*.²³ She was particularly upset that Kluckhohn did not view her as a careful ethnographer and scientist:

Since I am condemned without a trial I shall send you only the three chapters which concern you most vitally. If you wish me to, I will cut out anything I may have said. My purpose in asking you to do so was just this as I said. There is no use in your reading any of the rest since you already know all about it. I find myself holding very curious opinions when I read your letter.²⁴

In closing, Reichard commented, "I am naturally very sorry that you feel as you do; I don't know anything to do about it. I thought I presented evidence for my attitudes but since you, not having read it, do not think so, I have no basis for discussion." She signed the letter, "Yours, nice person, lousy scientist!, Gladys" (GR:GR/CK 11/17/43).

Lee Wyman attempted to mediate in a letter written to Reichard on December 3, 1943:

I would say, sit tight, try to reserve judgement until Clyde or myself has had a good talk with you in person, and in the meantime continue to be your old friendly self. You see I think you are more disturbed than circumstances warrant and that you really have not heard all of Clyde's side of the story.

Later in the letter, Wyman suggests that Reichard

accept Clyde's letter as an attempt to let you know where he stands, and also an attempt to clear the air so future misunderstanding would not crop up, and *above all* an attempt to stay on the same friendly terms as always. If you cannot swallow that and my efforts as a peace-maker are in vain, please do hold fire til one of us (or both) has had a chance to talk with you. How about it??

Whether Wyman's effort at peacemaking worked is unknown. In a letter with a missing section, possibly addressed to Wyman, Reichard

again defended herself. She had heard that Kluckhohn had told Ralph Linton, then editor of the *American Anthropologist*, that Haile was the expert on Navajo language and that “Gladys’ work—especially on language—was all wet” (GR:GR/[LW] n.d.). Reichard felt Kluckhohn “double-crossed” her and that she really did not trust him. Wyman maintained that Kluckhohn might have said something like this but only in reference to one word—the translation of *ha’neeneebie*. Perhaps Wyman’s intervention worked, since later correspondence between Kluckhohn and Reichard seems civil.²⁵

This correspondence points up not only the heated nature of Reichard’s differences with Kluckhohn, but also the way in which she was excluded from their “inner circle.” Even very early on in her career, Reichard felt isolated. At one point she confessed to Parsons, “I just want to tell you how much I appreciate your keeping on believing in my job and the way I am doing it. I say this because you and Papa Franz are about the only ones who do” (ECP:GR/ECP 7/9/32).

ASSESSING REICHARD’S LIFE: PROFESSIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ISOLATION

Despite her very innovative work on women in the 1930s, it is difficult to argue that Reichard’s intellectual and personal stance was feminist, particularly in contrast to those of Parsons and Benedict. Eleanor Leacock (1986), a feminist who was a student and research assistant to Reichard at Barnard College, remembered, “She never talked to us as women and never talked about women in the cultures she studied. My marginal notes were that [when she did talk about male and female roles] she was echoing what I would call the active/passive dichotomy which has been with us forever, and which I was already wondering about [whether it was valid or not].”²⁶

If Reichard had feminist sympathies they came out primarily in her correspondence with Parsons,

the woman in the Columbia circle whose feminism was the most public. In the summer of 1929 Reichard wrote to Parsons concerning the differential treatment of three “girls” in the Laboratory of Anthropology’s archaeological field school: “The main contention of them all [the men],” she wrote to Parsons,

is that girls are all right, entertaining, etc. but no good in science because you can’t do anything with them. Kroeber ends all remarks with “Boas will place her.” It never seems to occur to any of them that if he can, others might be able to, were they sufficiently interested (ECP:GR/ECP 8/25/29).

Later she wrote to Parsons, “Incidentally Ruth Benedict has made Asst. Prof at Columbia which is a grand scoop for feminism! If there is another woman in Columbia proper I don’t know who it is” (ECP:GR/ECP 3/17/31). On the other hand, Reichard reported she felt no discrimination at the International Congress of Americanists meetings in Hamburg in 1930:

I was the only woman at the Congress Council Meeting. That fact was the only thrilling thing about it, for it was long drawn out and mostly in Spanish . . . Even tho there were few women at the Congress with a scientific interest I could not notice any discrimination. But I guess that is nonsense anyway. Birket-Smith spoke very highly of de Laguna and wants to take her with him in two years. Thilesius even now treats me as a colleague instead of as an infant in swaddling clothes as was the case when I was in Hamburg before (ECP:GR/ECP 9/30/30).

Reichard’s style seems much less sophisticated than that of upper-class Parsons or even that of Benedict and Mead, whose Greenwich Village connections and interests in the arts and poetry reflected the urban intellectual milieu in which they lived. Reichard gives the impression in her letters of an enthusiastic but unpolished individual. She says things like, “I had a gorgeous summer” (ECP:GR/ECP 10/5/31) or “I’m full of prunes about the Southwest” when speaking of

her experiences in 1936 (ECP:GR/ECP 10/2/36). Of the 1929 Pecos Conference she said, "We had a most awfully good time" and her initial appraisal of John Collier was that "he certainly is swell" (ECP:GR/ECP 8/25/29). She often alludes to feeling uncomfortable with upper-class women, and she disapproved of "society" and preferred straightforward interaction. It appears that she enjoyed Navajo life to a greater extent than the intellectual atmosphere of Barnard and Columbia. David Aberle (1986), who was a young researcher among the Navajo when he knew Reichard in the 1940s and 1950s, remarked, "There was a kind of naivete to Gladys' approach, and a simplicity of interpersonal style that was, I think, sort of put down both by women and men in the Columbia department." Conversely, Nathalie Woodbury (1987, personal communication), a student of Reichard's who later became an archaeologist, felt that Reichard did not play "intellectual games" in her conversations or try to "score points" with intellectual displays when with colleagues. She was very straightforward in her approach with no "guile or fancy footwork."

The Navajo appreciated Reichard's open, generous personality. She was called *'Asdzaan naad-lobii* (Laughing or Smiling Woman). Margaret Jose, a Navajo nurse, met Reichard while she was working at a hospital near Fort Defiance. She spent a year in New York taking postgraduate nursing classes at Barnard and working with social service students on the Lower East Side. She attended some of Reichard's classes at Barnard and helped her translate for Navajo patients whom Reichard brought to the hospital in Fort Defiance. She described Reichard as "kind": "She was always good natured, friendly, and full of fun. I never saw her sad or anything like that . . . good natured all the time." Jose called Reichard *'Asdzaan babozhoni* or Happy Woman (interview 1986).

Reichard's struggle for the acceptance of her views at times was a lonely one. Her isolation be-

comes clearer if we compare her intellectual commitments and her institutional situation with that of Clyde Kluckhohn. Although Reichard was a Boasian, Kluckhohn was much more interdisciplinary, reflecting his interest in the classics, a year of study in Vienna where he became acquainted with psychoanalysis, and his Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford where he read anthropology with R. R. Marrett. Kluckhohn's ideas changed and grew with American anthropology, both reflecting and shaping the interests in culture and personality and functionalism that emerged first in the 1930s and resurfaced in the Post-World War II period. One could argue that Kluckhohn's ideas "modernized," while Reichard remained a staunch Boasian long after others had turned to newer approaches and branched out beyond American Indian studies.

David Aberle (1986) has commented that Kluckhohn had a keen eye for the "à la mode" in anthropology, shifting to whatever he felt was the "cutting edge": "He understood the strategy of putting yourself in a position where you will have a lot of graduate students, which means being at a first-rate university and then going for grants that allow you to take students in the field." Reichard, whether she understood the strategy or not, could not do much about it.

Alice Kehoe, who studied with Reichard as an undergraduate and went on to Harvard to take courses with Kluckhohn, stresses that Kluckhohn and Reichard were two strong, but contrasting, personalities:

Reichard and Kluckhohn thus contrasted at every point: hidebound . . . in Boasian approach . . . vs. a fierce determination to be, and *to be seen* on the cutting edge of theory; constantly within Navajo experience for the comparative framework vs. using Navajo to explore theoretical points but not really emotionally engaged with the Navajo; working alone by choice vs. heading projects employing several graduate students; occupying a self-carved little niche vs. driven by a need to feel powerful . . . To sum up, the

differences between Reichard and Kluckhohn were much more differences between personality (including ambition) and theoretical position than difference stemming primarily from gender role assignment (Kehoe 1987, personal communication).

Woodbury (1987, personal communication) basically concurs with this position:

I think Gladys would have functioned about the same way wherever she was. She had a certain personality and it had a certain effect on her professional relationships. She did her work at a time when change was just underfoot; unlike Kluckhohn she didn't reach down and grab it to enhance her position or satisfy herself with trying new ideas and ways. She was conservative and yet maybe she was ahead of her time.

In contrast to Kehoe and Woodbury, who emphasize personality, a feminist analysis of Reichard's career cannot ignore the role of gender in both shaping some of Reichard's most important contributions to anthropology and limiting her impact on the discipline. Her own gender-based strategy of living with a Navajo family (adopting the role of daughter and student) allowed Reichard to learn to weave and to view Navajo life at much closer range than others were able to do with more traditional forms of fieldwork. Her most innovative books *Spider Woman* and *Dezba* came out of this experience and provide us with rich data on Navajo women's lives through a more dialogic text than even the more well-known ethnographies of Margaret Mead.

There are three important factors that limited Reichard's impact on anthropology. First, the gender-based strategy of apprenticing herself to Franz Boas as a kind of intellectual daughter was, in the end, a liability. Those women, like Benedict and Mead, who broke away from Boas' commitment to ethnographic particularism were able to innovate theoretically and methodologically in ways that eluded Reichard. Even so, Reichard's attempt to analyze Navajo categories, symbols, and the structure of Navajo prayer in their own

terms, rather than imposing more Westernized constructs (whether based on Freudian theory or scientific classification systems), prefigured structuralism and ethnohistory. That her efforts went unrecognized during her lifetime may be due partly to her insistence that there were no generalizations or overall framework (such as Kluckhohn's notion of "pattern") into which Navajo thought could be fit (a very Boasian position). By holding such a position and rejecting theory after the discipline as a whole had moved beyond Boas' position, Reichard perhaps colluded in keeping her views from gaining wide acceptance.

Second, her peripheral position within the network of scholars of Navajo religion limited her influence. That she had difficulty getting her ideas accepted by Kluckhohn, Wyman, and Haile meant that she could be dismissed in the way that Newcomb and Wheelwright were, as collectors of sandpaintings and myth texts but not serious analysts.

Third, Reichard was in an institutional situation where she had little impact on graduate students, with the exception of Eleanor Leacock, Nathalie Woodbury, Kate Peck Kent (who became a specialist in southwestern prehistoric textiles), and Katharine Bartlett (curator and librarian for the Museum of Northern Arizona).²⁷ In a two-person department where she had to teach a wide variety of courses, Reichard rarely had the opportunity to train graduate students, except for those who became her teaching assistants or helped with her research. Among the women who conducted research in the Southwest as described in *Daughters of the Desert* (Babcock and Parezo 1988), Reichard, unlike many, did have a Ph.D. and a full-time teaching job for her entire career. She is similar to a cluster of women archaeologists, museum specialists, and ethnographers who were in peripheral institutions: women's colleges, state universities without graduate departments, and less well known museums. Major male figures in southwestern stud-

ies such as Fred Eggan at the University of Chicago, Emil Haury and Edward Spicer at the University of Arizona, and Lee Wyman at Boston University were all members (and sometimes chairs) of departments with graduate programs. To cite the best example, Kluckhohn's position at Harvard where there was a nationally recognized anthropology graduate program meant that many well-known anthropologists of the next generation were trained by him.

Even using Reichard's personality as an explanation for her position within anthropology has a gender component. Biographers and commentators rarely argue that male contributions to a discipline hinge on their personalities, while, for women, personal style (such as their "difficultness") becomes a significant factor in their lack of renown or eminence (see the introduction to this volume and Hubbard 1990).

In all these contexts—her early apprenticeship to Boas, her fieldwork with a Navajo family in the 1930s, her marginalization within the network of those anthropologists who studied Navajo religion, and her peripheral institutional position—gender played a role, sometimes positively, but more often by limiting the impact of her work. It is gratifying, therefore, that Reichard's research has received more attention over the last 15 years.

Those who have used Reichard's early ethnographies, *Dezba* and *Spider Woman*, in their teaching have recognized her sensitive portrayal of Navajo women's lives. In the 1990s, when "objectivity" has been severely criticized within anthropology, and when characterizations of cultures that build on native concepts rather than externally imposed categories have become the accepted goal of much of cultural anthropology, Reichard's work seems very appropriate and relevant. As Ruth Bunzel said of Reichard in her 1955 tribute, "Above all in the field she never forgot that she was a human being working with subjects who were also human beings and with whom she shared a common humanity."

NOTES

1. This paper was first presented at the Daughters of the Desert Conference sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation, March 15–23, 1986, at a conference center in Oracle/Globe, Arizona. I would like to thank Barbara Babcock and Nancy Parezo for their help on the first draft. I would also like to thank Elizabeth Jameson, Jane Slaughter, Rayna Rapp, and Sue Armitage for their helpful comments, which guided this revision. A version of this paper was printed in *Frontiers* vol. 12, no. 1 (1991) with the permission of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and this volume's editor.

2. Reichard's ethnographic monographs include *Spider Woman: A Story of Navajo Weavers and Chanters* (1934a), *Navajo Shepherd and Weaver* (1936), and *Dezba: Woman of the Desert* (1939a). Her other major publications on the Navajo include *Social Life of the Navajo Indians*, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. 7 (1928), *Navaho Religion: A Study of Symbolism* (1950), and *Navaho Grammar* (1951).

3. Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho* (1946); Kluckhohn and Wyman, *An Introduction to Navaho Chant Practice with an Account of the Behaviors Observed in Four Chants* (1940); Wyman and Kluckhohn, *Navaho Classification of their Song Ceremonials* (1938); Haile, *Prayerstick Cutting in a Five-night Navajo Ceremony of the Male Branch of Shootingway* (1947).

4. I would like to thank Susan Armitage for this insight. This point also was discussed at the Daughters of the Desert Conference.

5. Other important women anthropologists who were part of the Columbia circle and worked in the Southwest were Esther Goldfrank, Ruth Bunzel, and Ruth Underhill. Goldfrank, who began as Boas' secretary, became a self-taught ethnographer in the mold of Elsie Clews Parsons but left anthropology during her first marriage to Walter Goldfrank. When she returned in 1937, she remained peripheral to the Mead/Benedict coalition and was somewhat envious of those women in more central positions. Her marriage to Karl Wittfogel allied her with another powerful male intellectual (apart from Boas), and much of her remaining career utilized his perspectives and sup-

ported his work. Bunzel also started as a secretary to Boas, but she went on to receive a Ph.D. on the basis of her work at Zuni. She, too, remained peripheral to the department, supported continuously on “temporary” research projects and lecturer appointments, but nevertheless was part of the Mead/Benedict coalition, especially in terms of her participation in the Linton-Kardiner seminars and her later work on culture and personality. Underhill, an older student who went to Columbia University in 1930, was perhaps the closest of these women to Reichard because of a summer’s work on the Navajo reservation with a Tohono O’Odham informant and her later teaching at Barnard College. However, she left the Columbia milieu for a career in government service, a new possibility in the years of the Collier Administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) (see Halpern’s and Tisdale’s chapters in this volume).

6. Reichard’s personal and intellectual life seems more that of a woman alone, harking back to Alice Fletcher’s characterization of her role in anthropology in the 1880s (Mark 1988).

7. A typescript of McElroy’s interview is in the Reichard collection at the Museum of Northern Arizona. Reichard evidently made some corrections in pencil, but it is difficult to tell how accurate the interview is.

8. Details of Reichard’s life are taken from de Laguna 1955; Goldfrank 1956; Mark 1988; and Smith 1956.

9. I am grateful to Virginia Scharff for this point. This pattern goes back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when intellectual women studied at home and were often tutored by their fathers. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, professional women often formed households with other women (often called “Boston marriages”) or lived in some other type of quasi-family. As an example of a woman who remained in the daughter role, Scharff mentioned June Etta Downey, psychologist and professor at the University of Wyoming who continued to live with her aging parents until they died. Virginia Scharff and Katherine Jensen, in “The Professors’ Club and the Complexities of Women’s Culture,” a paper presented at the Conference on Women’s Culture in the Great Plains, Lincoln, Nebraska, March 19, 1987, talk of these matters. Reichard, living in

New York, and at some distance from her parents in Bangor, Pennsylvania, was able to become a quasi-daughter in her mentor’s household.

10. The Fire Dance or Mountain Top Way is a nine-night ceremony to cure the effects of dangerous contact with mountain animals (deer, bear, mountain lion, etc.) The last night features a number of performances that take place around a large fire, including usually feather dancers and *nasjiimi* who swallow long, sword-like objects.

11. Earl Morris was a prominent archaeologist who is best known for his research on Betatakin and Keet Seel, two pueblo ruins located on the Navajo National Monument. Ann Morris actively conducted research alongside her husband.

12. The couple in a picture in Reichard’s book are dancing in a “white-man” position, though in the last 20 years, I have seen the dance done only in a traditional circle with each couple dancing side-by-side.

13. The Franciscan Fathers had collected large numbers of genealogies dating from the early twentieth century. If Haile was implicitly comparing his data with that of Reichard, one can imagine that he found her study less comprehensive.

14. There is still fierce defense of theoretical territory among Navajo specialists, as indicated by various disputes among ethnographers—both male and female—of my own generation. William Lyon (1989) has also assessed Reichard’s relationship with other specialists and has concluded that the major factors in her rivalries were personalities, professional jealousies, and male chauvinism.

15. Goddard’s daughter had a much more cordial relationship with Reichard, according to Nathalie Woodbury (1987, personal communication), and Goddard’s son David seemed to be sympathetic in resolving the controversy over the sale of books to Haile.

16. Laura Armer was a professional artist and author of children’s books who lived on the Navajo Reservation periodically between 1924 and 1932. She copied sandpaintings, working with a Navajo singer, taking artistic license with some of her reproductions (see Babcock and Parezo 1988). Reichard felt that Armer’s paintings ran to “artiness and quantity rather than to accuracy and Indian flavor” (ECP:GR/ECP 7/6/30).

17. Miguelito was called *lichii deez'abi* in Navajo, or "red-bluff-that-rises-up," hence Reichard's English translation of "Red Point."

18. Marie was married to Tom Curley and had two sons, Ben and Dan. Altnaba was married to Curley's son, Tom's half brother; she had one daughter, Ninaba.

19. Reichard's summers with Miguelito's family echo some of my own fieldwork experiences some 35 years later. Reichard took her own car, which soon became an important vehicle for transporting family members, and once the rainy season started, the car invariably became stuck on the muddy roads. She often took time out from her weaving to visit the Hubbells much as I retreated to my apartment in Gallup for a bath, a movie, and a respite from fieldwork. In contrast to my own fieldwork, where I always tried to live in the same hogan or house as other family members and share in the cooking, dishwashing, and housework, Reichard lived in a separate dwelling and seemed not to eat with other family members except on special occasions. I too learned to weave, but only worked on one rug, while Reichard completed several and really mastered the craft.

20. Reichard's opinion of Amsden's own book is less favorable. In a letter to Parsons containing criticism to be kept "in the bosom of the family," she found "Charlie's book" a great disappointment: "He reprints the old stuff including the old errors and illustrations. He didn't even give a new drawing of the loom! All this seems to me inexcusable" (ECP:GR/ECP n.d.).

21. Both Hoijer and Kluckhohn agreed that Reichard should have used the term *Navaho* rather than *Navajo*, since by the 1930s most scholars were using the "h" rather than the Spanish "j." Reichard finally gave in on this point and by the publication of *Navaho Religion* was using the "h" form. Ironically, the Navajo Nation elected to have the official spelling use a "j," so Reichard's view was the one that prevailed historically.

22. I have reanalyzed Wyman's and Kluckhohn's scheme in Lamphere and Vogt (1973).

23. Kluckhohn complained that Reichard used "War Ceremony" as a translation for *'ana'ji*, which he translated as "Enemyway." For her part, Reichard found fault with the use in English of *-way* at the end

of each chant name, e.g., Blessingway, Shootingway, Hailway, when the enclitic *-ji* appears at the end of *hozbooji'* (Blessingway). She notes further that some chants are also called by a name plus the word *bataal* (singer chant). In the end the Kluckhohn and Haile preferences won out over Reichard's translations both for *ba'neelnebee* and *'ana'ji*.

24. Reichard may be referring to *A New Look at the Navajo*, a book she was still writing when she died, which presented an alternative to Kluckhohn and Leighton's book, *The Navaho*.

25. See, for example, Kluckhohn's replies to Reichard's review of Kluckhohn's *Navajo Witchcraft* (1944b); also see her comments on Kluckhohn and Leighton's *The Navaho* (1946) (GR:CK/GR 5/9/47; GR:CK/GR 2/24/no year).

26. This is not surprising, given the facts that she was teaching during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, a period of feminist quiescence, and preferred to discuss "people" rather than men or women as separate categories (Woodbury 1987, personal communication). Leacock (1986) also noted Reichard's teaching style:

She sort of struck me as disorganized, but then I realized again, looking at my notes that she was very much organized. She was very much involved in the process of working with data and really becoming immersed in data. That was her approach to teaching. Teaching is not just a matter of giving facts; you need facts to teach with. One of the emphases was on learning how to find facts and that's a selective process that involves a theory behind it.

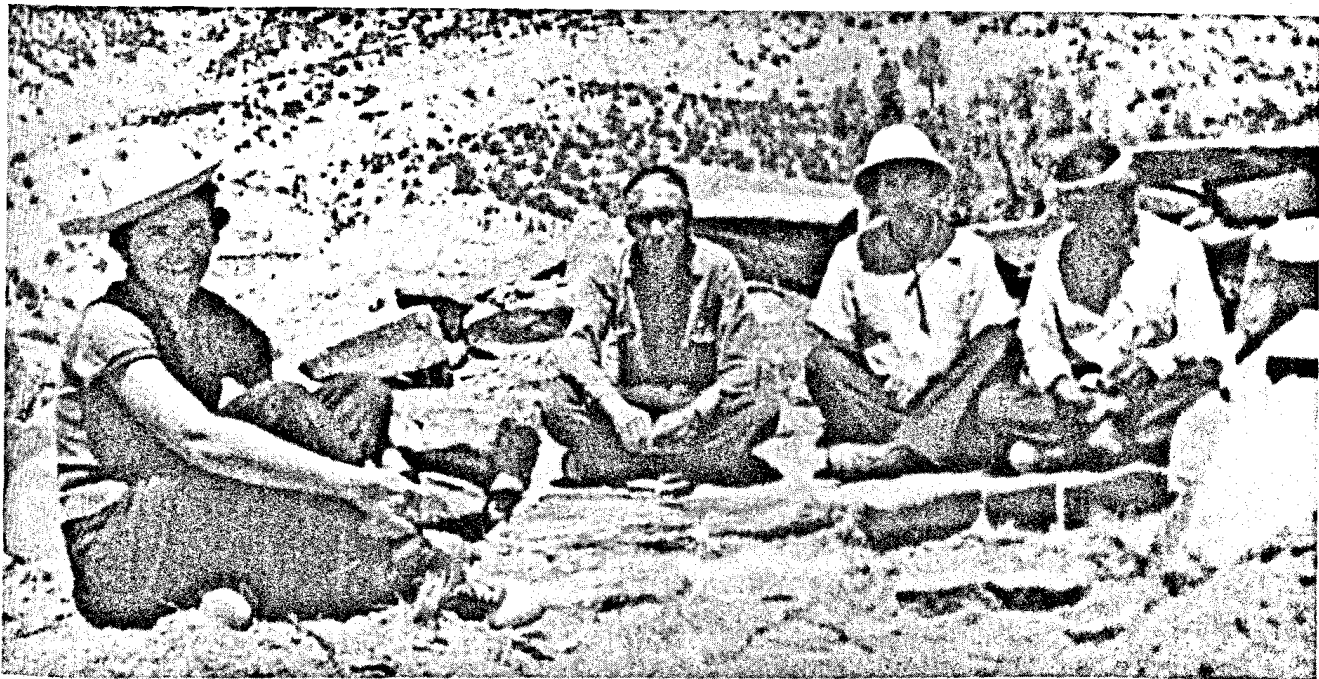
27. See other chapters in this volume and Babcock and Parezo 1988 for biographical information on Kent, Woodbury, and Bartlett. Kent, a graduate student at Columbia, was Reichard's assistant in the Barnard undergraduate department, a position later held by Marian Smith, who became a Iroquoian archaeologist. Woodbury took courses with Reichard as an undergraduate major and was appointed lecturer at Barnard between 1952 and 1955. Leacock was an undergraduate student of Reichard's while at Barnard and helped prepare the drawings for Reichard's *Prayer: The Compulsive Word*. De Laguna took a course from Reichard in 1927, and Kehoe studied with Reichard in the early 1950s before attending Harvard, where she took courses from Kluckhohn.



Esther Goldfrank with Pueblo man. Negative No. 86-1306. *Courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.*



Katherine Spencer Halpern, Malcolm Collier, and Jane Jennings (wife of Jessie Jennings who was park ranger) at Montezuma's Castle National Monument, 1937. *Courtesy of Katherine Spencer Halpern.*



Dorothy Keur and three archaeological colleagues at Big Bead Mesa excavations, 1940. Photographer: John Keur. *Courtesy of Hunter College.*



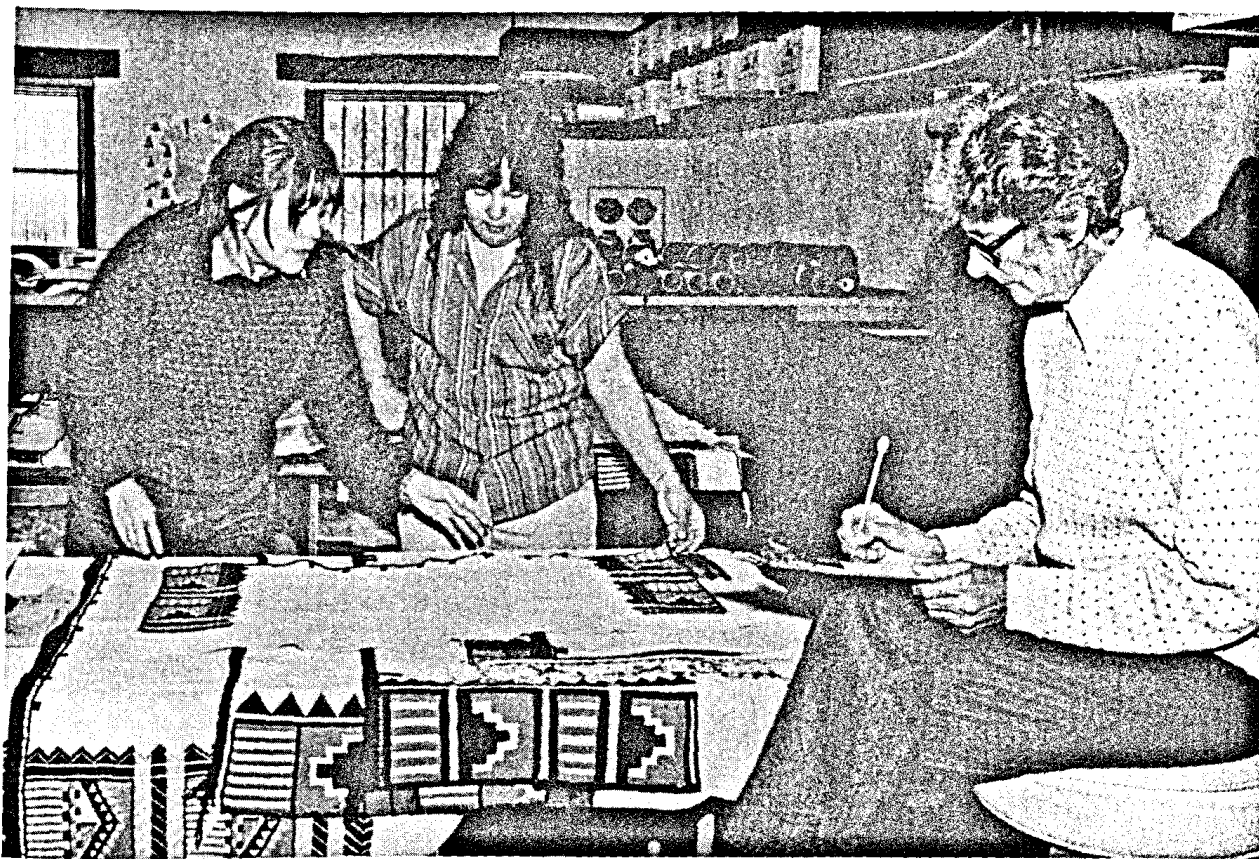
Edgar Lee Hewett in San Diego, 1932.
Photographer: Jack Adams. Negative No. 7373.
Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico.



Clyde Kluckhohn. Photographer: John Brock.
Negative No. N24655. *Courtesy of the Peabody Museum
of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.*



Dorothea Leighton with Jennifer Fox, filmed in Santa Fe during videodocumentary session for Daughters of the Desert project, 1985. *Courtesy of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.*

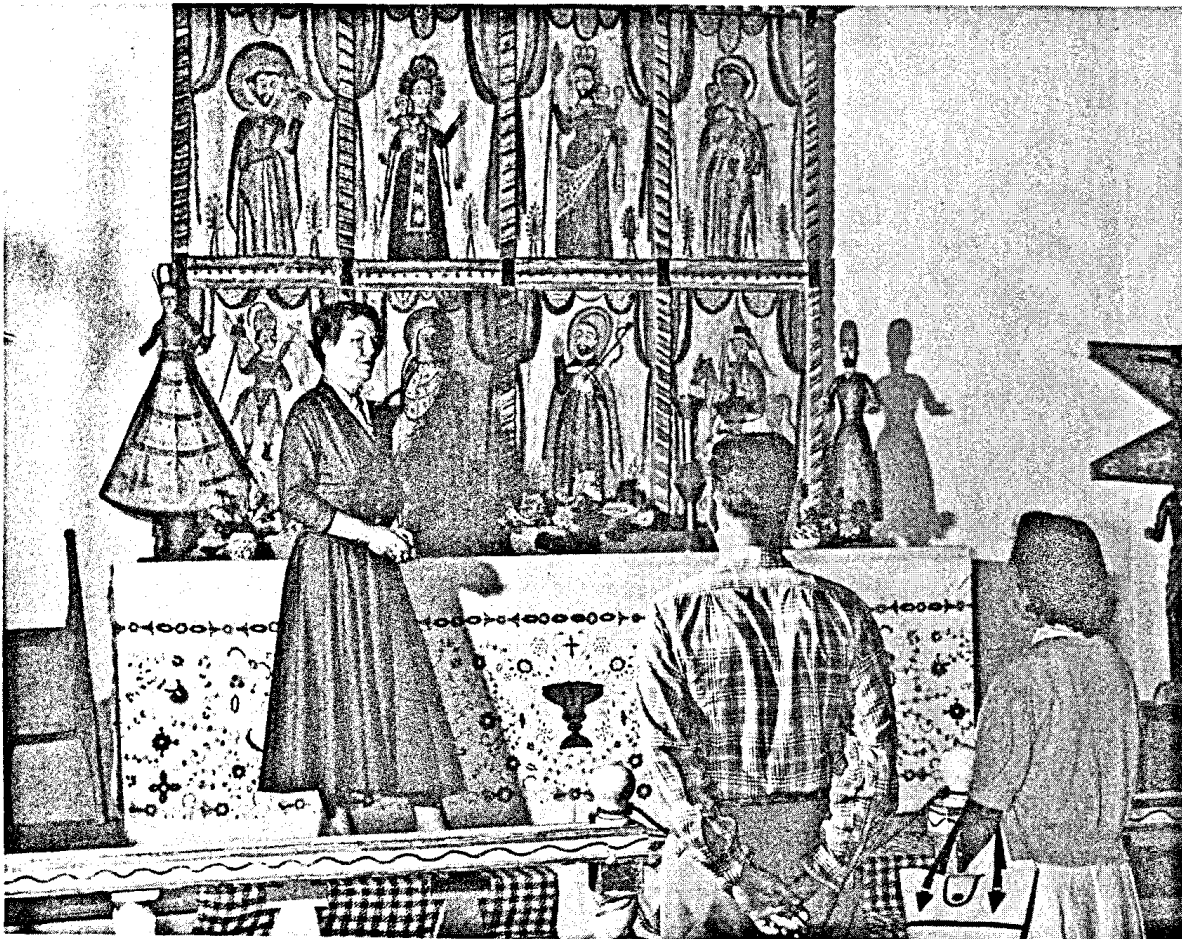


Kate Peck Kent and Ramona Sakiestewa with Pueblo artist working on embroidered dance kilt at School of American Research, 1985. *Courtesy of the School of American Research.*

Right: Hastiin Klah, Navajo singer, ca. 1935.
Photographer: T. Harmon Parkhurst.
Negative No. 4330.
Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico.



Below: Marjorie Lambert conducting visitor
tour in chapel room, Palace of the Governors,
Museum of New Mexico, ca. 1950.
Photographer: Charles Herbert.
Negative No. 1616.
Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico.



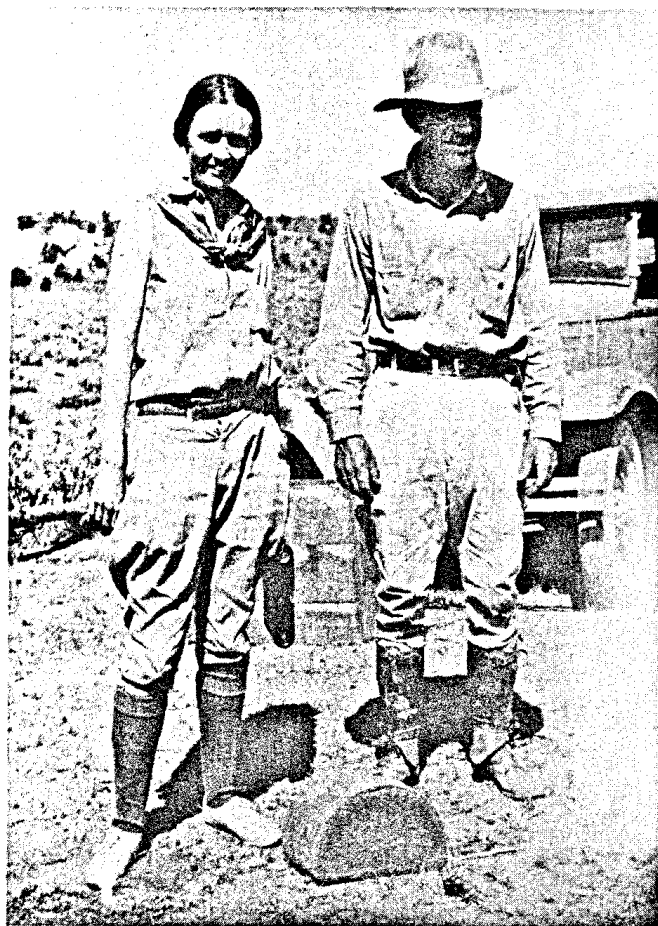


Alice Marriott, 1939. *Courtesy of Alice Marriott.*



Maria Martinez rolling coils for pottery walls, San Ildefonso Pueblo, ca. 1950.
Photographer: Tyler Dingee.
Negative No. 120174.
Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico.

Muriel Painter at New Pascua during Easter Ceremony, 1968. Photographer: Rosamond Spicer.
Courtesy of Rosamond Spicer.



Ann and Earl Morris in the field, ca. 1934. *Courtesy of Elizabeth Morris.*