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# A Study of Culture Resistance: The Veterans of World War II at Zuni Pueblo

John Joseph Adair

THE VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II AT ZUNI PUEBLO

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# A STUDY OF CULTURE RESISTANCE:
# THE VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II AT ZUNI PUEBLO

By

John Joseph Adair

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# INTRODUCTION

## I. THE PROBLEM

How does a pueblo resist the values, ideas, and habits of contemporary Western culture which are pressing in on it from all sides? This is the problem in its broadest aspect which will be examined in this dissertation.

Specifically I shall examine the way in which the Zuni veterans of World War II met with a buffer of resistance when they returned to the pueblo from war service, bringing with them non-Pueblo values, ideas, and habits which they had acquired while away from home.

My data indicate that the pueblo of Zuni went through a period of great tension during the years of World War II because the impact from the outside world was greatly intensified. We shall examine some of the forces at play which served to perpetuate the ideas and habits of these people, and what cultural techniques were used to combat these forces pressing in from the outside.

What was the nature of this critical period at Zuni? First, approximately ten per cent of the population was removed from the village by the draft; this was fifty-four per cent of the adult male population between the ages of twenty and thirty-five years. Second, the cash income of

the village was greatly augmented by a tremendous increase in the demand for Zuni jewelry for the curio trade, and by Government allotment checks. One result of this increased wealth was a rapid change in the material culture of the pueblo. Third, in 1943, the impeachment of the Zuni governor, attended by interference from the United States Indian Service, brought about a split in the village which had far-reaching effects. And fourth, the return of the veterans created a period of uncertainty for the elders who had lost, to a great degree, their traditional techniques for dealing with returned warriors. All of this took place during a period in which there was an underlying trend toward disintegration in certain parts of the religious structure of the village.

The pueblos had survived many crises in the past and those pueblos which still perpetuate their cultural heritage have been able to survive, in part, because of their cultural conservatism, possibly the most remarkable of all pueblo characteristics. This conservatism was the buffer of resistance confronting the veterans upon their return from the recent world war. In the study of anthropology an understanding of the past is essential to understand the present. We cannot expect to understand to a full degree the attitude of the village elders toward the veterans unless we examine what is known of traditional

methods of receiving warriors back into the pueblo. But, in anthropology, the study of the present may also shed some light on the past, especially in cultures which remain well integrated. It is reasonable to think that many of the cultural techniques, whereby Zuni is able to reincorporate this great number of men into the traditional life of the village, may indicate a process which remained the same throughout its long history.

The cultural continuum which we find in the pueblos is most noteworthy. At the present time these people adhere to religious practices with specific ritual observations which have been handed down for many hundreds of years. One phase of the religious life, the katchina cult, is flourishing and is more elaborate than it was when Cushing and Stevenson observed the masked dances of this cult in the 1880's. The social organization, intricately interwoven into the religious fabric by kin and clan (for at Zuni, as Kroeber pointed out long ago, clanship has ceremonial functions of a deep-rooted nature) remains intact, and is perpetuating the core of pueblo culture--its religion--for future generations. We see this continuum stretching into the future as well as receding into the past.

Now, as in the past, it is this socio-religious structure which remains basically unaltered. The

conquistadores introduced the Roman Catholic religion, but the Christian faith never took root at Zuni. The mission was abandoned in 1821 and not re-established until 1920. But even today the Franciscans have only one or two families who can be considered followers of the Church in any true sense, and the same is true of the Protestant sect, the Christian Reformed Church (formerly called the Dutch Reformed Church) which has had a mission at Zuni for over 50 years.

So too the Zuni language is a vital part of their cultural heritage, and is not only the language of the elders but that of the young children, a striking contrast to the linguistic situation among the Apache, the Papago, and Yuman-speaking peoples of southern Arizona. English is only a second language at Zuni. The children grow up in the home speaking the language of their fathers, and the language of the white man is spoken only at school, or when the occasion demands in dealing with whites.

We will see how the veterans of World War II, who have been speaking English as a primary language for several years, drop that language and revert to the use of Zunian, even when they are conversing with each other. We will see how the religious ideas and beliefs of the pueblo embrace them and keep them from participating in the Christian Church, which they may have attended while

away from the village.

In contrast to this resistance of foreign socio-religious values we find today that the Zuni accept elements of our material culture which may be conveniently fitted into their way of life. This differential has often been commented upon in anthropological literature--the way in which change in the ethos of a people "lags" behind the change in their technology. So too, the changing economy and material culture has received the bulk of attention in the literature on culture change, or "acculturation" as it is phrased in studies of Western (or European) and native contact situations.

This study passes by this aspect of culture change at Zuni. It is my belief that more may eventually be learned of the basic Pueblo ethos by studying that point of contact between the white and Indian worlds where values are in sharp conflict, where the resistance is the greatest. Although this is a study of resistance I do not propose that Pueblo culture has never changed in its socio-religious structure: that would be denying what has gone on in the remote past and in the present. Long ago priestcraft diffused to these people who, we may infer by historical reconstruction, had shamanism as their basic religious technique, and over a period of centuries that religious system has changed. So too it changes today,

but with an inertia present--a lag--which we have called conservatism.

This resistance to the values of the white world, to the culture which surrounds them will be examined from the following points of view, one the contemporary historical background is laid: from the point of view of the force of witch beliefs in Zuni culture; from the point of view of religious pressure; and the other techniques of control that are so important in the pueblo way of life: gossip, rumor, ridicule, and formal action on the part of the pueblo council.

## II. ETHNOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

The pueblo of Zuni is located in western New Mexico, forty-one miles south of the town of Gallup. Today the tribe consists of 2,575 individuals, an increase of 775 since Kroeber studied the village in 1915. The main village and the farming communities which surround it all are located on the Zuni River, a small but permanent stream with its headwaters at the base of the Zuni Mountains, lying to the northeast. Upstream lie Nutria, the largest of the farming villages, and Pescado, both of which are located on the road leading to Ramah, a Mormon village some fourteen miles to the east of Zuni proper. Downstream, to the south and west are Tekapo, the smallest of the outlying communities, and Ojo Caliente, which is eighteen miles from Zuni.[1]

The main pueblo, Zuni, is located at an elevation of approximately 6,200 feet, four miles to the west of the Government settlement of Black Rock, which is situated on a basaltic formation a hundred feet above the valley floor, and at the northern edge of Corn Mountain, a tremendous mesa lying to the southeast and rising about one thousand feet above Zuni. In 1909 the United States

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[1] For the most complete description of the geography of the Zuni region see Spier, Chronology of Zuni Ruins, pp. 213-218.

Government constructed a dam at Black Rock which impounds the water of one branch of the river, and provides irrigation for the fields lying on all sides of Zuni. There are smaller dams located at each of the farming villages.

Maize, beans and squash are still the principal crops grown, now as in aboriginal times, and these are supplemented by wheat originally introduced by the Spaniards, and alfalfa, both of which are important in the cash trading economy. Peaches, also derived from the Spaniards, are grown in orchards concentrated at the base of Corn Mountain. Sheep and horses were also derived from the Europeans at an early date, and in more recent years cattle have become important in the economy, but less so than sheep raising. In 1947, 18,665 grazed on the Zuni reservation, 813 cattle, and 1,192 horses. The size of the flocks of sheep has been considerably curtailed since 1941 when there were 24,355 sheep on the reservation; this reduction in sheep was enforced by the United States Indian Service in their over-all soil conservation policy. Cattle have remained constant during this period, and the horses allowed to increase approximately fifty per cent.

Economically the agricultural base of Zuni culture remains unchanged. But the total economy has changed to a marked degree since the days when Cushing was in the

village in the 1880's. This has been brought about by the establishment of trading posts in the village. There are three large stores in the pueblo today, and one smaller one, all of which are "white" owned (and very recently a Zuni owned store has been opened). With the growth of trading economy during the first 40 years of the present century the Zuni were encouraged to build up the size of their flocks as a source of store credit. Sheep became men's property (except for the ownership of a few flocks by women), and in every case they were herded by men, a practice which contrasts to that of the neighboring Navajo. This ownership of sheep, as well as of cattle and horses, has given the men a certain economic independence of the women which they did not have at an earlier day.

The economic base of Zuni life has also been greatly changed in the last 20 years by the tremendous growth of craft work. Today there are over five hundred silversmiths in the village, whereas in 1915 when Kroeber was in the village, there were probably not many more than a dozen, and at that time they made silver jewelry for wear and trade to the people of Santo Domingo rather than for its credit value in the trading post. This hand industry, as well as other items for the curio trade, such as bead work, has also been due to the traders' influence on the economy. The men do not dominate in this phase of

the economy: approximately one half of the silversmiths and all of the bead workers are women.

When Mindeleff was in the village in 1881 the architecture presented a totally different appearance from that of today.[2] The houses were terraced, one on top of the other, with entrance to small rooms by means of ladders extending up through the roofs, and light afforded by these hatches and by small panes of Selinite. Construction was of stone and adobe. When Kroeber and Spier were in the pueblo in 1915-1916 the terracing of the houses was well preserved, but now, 31 years later, all that remains of the terracing is the contour of the ground itself, which, when viewed from a distance of a mile or so, presents the shape of a large mound surmounted by houses, rather than of one house resting on another. All of the dwellings, with the exception of the kivas, are entered through doors from the ground level.

Today the houses for the most part are made of well cut native stone, with large windows, some homemade and some manufactured and purchased in Gallup. There are mingled with these stone houses many of adobe, built prior to the time when cut stone houses became fashionable (around 1920). An even more recent innovation is that of gable

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[2] Mindeleff, A Study of Pueblo Architecture, pp. 1-228.

roofs which now appear on many of the structures.

When Kroeber mapped the village in 1915 he indicated the "drift out of the pueblo"[3] showing that when families moved from the center of the village to a new house site on the edge of the village, they retained residence in the same quadrant of the total inhabited area. This process of drifting out of the village still takes place, and there are good indications that the sense of orientation is still the same. But, when Kroeber was in the village the doors of the outlying houses all faced towards the main part of the pueblo. Today this is not true of all houses built since 1916. Those which have been built on the Black Rock road, or on the other main roads to Caliente, are oriented, American wise, facing the road. The village has spread out following these main roads, some houses being a full mile from the old pueblo. In Kroeber's map less than a dozen houses are indicated on the south bank of the river; today there are a great many houses clustered on that side, behind the Christian Reformed Church (formerly known as the Dutch Reformed), and on either side of the road leading to Ojo Caliente. But the following statement by Kroeber could be equally valid as a description of the present day:

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[3] Kroeber, Zuñi Kin and Clan, p. 118.

"It is of interest that in spite of the strong inclination of the Zuñi today [1915-16] to leave the old pueblo, they appear to remain attached to it by invisible bonds."[4]

These are sentiments of attachment which are rooted in the religious organization of the village. While some of the fetishes of the Ashiwani (the rain priests) have been moved from the old village to the houses lying nearer the edge of town, the sacred religious properties are still, for the most part, retained in the center of the village. To the best of my knowledge the preponderance of the curing societies are housed in the old part of the village--one notable exception being Newekwe house which is on the south bank of the river, by the bridge. All of the six kivas still remain within a short radius of one another in the center of the pueblo.

While this spread of houses has been in good measure due to the increase in population, it is also a function of the traditional building of new houses, or remodeling and adding to old houses, in order to entertain the Gods at the annual Shalako, held each year in November or December. The size and shape of the rooms in the houses, as well as their arrangement, are dictated by the need for a

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[4] Kroeber, Zuñi Kin and Clan, p. 198.

dancing place where the tall masked figures will have room to move, and still allow space for a large audience. It is customary to build one large room, and two adjoining it, one at an end, adjacent to the narrow side of the dance room, and one along a long wall. Windows are put between so that spectators can see from these adjoining rooms. Later, after the family has moved into the newly constructed rooms, those inside windows may be boarded over and plastered--a recent innovation. There is also a current trend toward smaller rooms, and the one large bedroom where the whole family sleeps may be partitioned off into several rooms.

Measured by "white" standards of rural New Mexico, Zuni is a much more modern village than the village of Ramah, settled over 60 years ago. But this physical appearance of the village is misleading to the casual visitor. The whole of Zuni culture is by no means changed as this modern "facade" would indicate. The social organization, although modified in some important respects from the days of Cushing, Stevenson, and the later period studied by Kroeber, still is intact and essentially the same as it was 60 years ago. Likewise, the religion, in spite of certain lapses in ritual, and others in the functioning of the bow priesthood, Cactus Society, and Wood Society, remains a going concern. Although there

might not be as many taking part in the summer and winter katchina dances as formerly, and numerous changes in costuming may have taken place, still the kiva dance leaders are able to muster over a hundred men to take part in one of the masked rituals, not only once but many times a year.[5] In fact, as we shall see, within the last two years ceremonies have been performed which have not been given in the last twenty or more years. While six Shalako houses formerly were built every year, now there may be only four or five, but the full ritual as described by the early ethnographers may be seen. Elsie Clews Parsons wrote:

> "Ceremonial that has lapsed at Zuni is never quite as dead as it seems."[6]

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[5] Bunzel states that the katchina cult was on the ascendency when she was there in the mid-twenties, and more dances were held than in Stevenson's day. I am of the opinion that while the cult is still important and active, it is less so than in the 1920's, but more research is needed to definitely establish this point (Bunzel, Zuñi Katcinas, p. 843).

My material is at variance with Li An-che, who made a census of kiva membership when he was at Zuni in 1935. He gave a total of 261 active members in the kivas. I obtained a list of over 300 kiva members who were said to take part in the dances, and this represented a full census of the veteran members and only a partial sample of other males. While his informant might have differed in his conception of what constitutes an "active" member, I am inclined to think that he greatly underestimated the total kiva membership. And as stated above I have reason to believe that membership has fallen off recently (Li An-che, Observations and Queries, p. 66.

[6] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 881.

Now, as 30 years ago,

". . . the foundation of Zuñi society is the family. Life centers about the house. The clan is above all a ceremonial institution."[7]

It might be added that the clans' other important function is to regulate marriage which must be outside of the clan. Membership in the clan is reckoned through the female line. It is preferred that marriages be out of the father's clan as well as that of the mother, and as at Hopi, a man's children are known as "sons" and "daughters" of his clan. In Kroeber's day there were fifteen such exogamic clans, and today an incomplete census (based on the population of veterans, or close to 10% of the total population of the tribe) reveals thirteen clans. In 1915 there was only a single member in Yellow-wood, and also in Chaparral Cock, and these are the two that do not appear in my census. The three largest clans of 30 years ago are still the largest, and their respective order of clans by size of membership is still the same.[8] Kroeber found only one instance of marriage within the clan, that

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[7] Kroeber, Zuñi Kin and Clan, p. 47.

[8] For a clan census of veterans and Kroeber's census broken down by number of households to each clan, see Appendix I.

is with another member of one's own clan.[9] On my random sample one such marriage also turned up.

Residence continues to be matrilocal, a man going to live in the house owned by his wife's mother and shared by her sisters and their families, but I discovered that there were quite a number of exceptions to this habit of residence which I thought might indicate the breakdown of the old pattern. However, this was also true when Kroeber made his study, and while he at first attributed it to a "modern decadence of ancient institutions," he came to the conclusion that probably there always had been such deviations from the accepted pattern:

> "I should estimate that from five to ten percent of Zuñi women always flew in the face of propriety to live with their husbands rather than lose them."[10]

In my sample I encountered six such examples of patrilocal residence. But a new development, and one that seems to be gaining favor among the younger generation, is the establishment of residence independent of either family. The sentiment of many of the young men with whom I talked was:

> "It is best to have your own house; then you can live as you want and do not get into quarrels with

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[9] Kroeber, Zuñi Kin and Clan, p. 92.

[10] Ibid., p. 105.

your wife's family."

Such an outlook would not have been continanced by the pueblo, I infer, 30 years ago, for Kroeber does not mention any such type of residence.

There is also a growing number of Zuni marriages outside of the pueblo. While there have always been a certain number of inter-pueblo marriages, now there are some marriages to Navajo and Indians of other tribes. This seems to be a function of being away at Indian School where these foreign spouses are met. There are also several instances where Zuni men have married Mexican girls and in that case live outside of the pueblo. Twenty-three of the veterans were married to non-Zuni women, and most of them (seventeen) lived away from the pueblo. The traditional feeling about Mexicans still holds, but an exception is made of one family which is allowed to live on the reservation. However, neither they nor any other Mexicans are allowed to see the religious ceremonies. This is as rigidly prescribed now as it was in Cushing's day.

Kroeber pointed out that the kiva is an independent grouping which crosscuts membership by clan. The kiva is primarily a men's dance club, and it is by kiva that the katchina dances of both the summer and winter series are presented. A boy joins the kiva of the husband of the

woman who is the first to touch him after birth. Initiation is in two parts: the first stage takes place when the boys are young, from six to ten years of age, and the second stage is usually when they are in their teens. After the second initiation the boys are allowed to take part in the masked dances. There is ceremonial whipping of the youths on both occasions, but it is not as severe as it is at the Hopi village--the boys are well covered with blankets at the time.

There are twelve societies at Zuni which also crosscut the membership of both clan and kiva; in other words two blood brothers may belong to completely different kivas and societies. All but one of these groups, a hunting cult, have curing rites, and the usual way of joining such a society is by vow upon being cured of illness, but membership by trespass also takes place. Usually a clan relative of either the mother or father is called in to attend the sick person, and consequently membership in societies tends to follow family lines.

An important grouping in the old days was that of the bow priesthood, which at one time had as many as thirteen members: now there is only one bow priest and, as described later, considerable pressure has been put on the younger men to join that society, but no one is willing to accept the position.

The other important religious grouping is that of the rain-makers, the Ashiwanni; there is a total of twelve such priesthoods. Each contains from two to six members. Membership in these priesthoods is handed down in the female line, and the all important fetishes, the "e'towe," are kept in the houses of women who belong to certain lineages within the clan and are in the custody of the woman who heads that house. Bunzel says that these objects are "the most sancrosanct objects of Zuñi worship."[11]

The priests of these rain-making cults go into a regular series of retreats at the winter solstice, and again for a longer period after the summer solstice. Of these rain chiefs four are paramount in their importance, the so-called "day people," in distinction to the minor chiefs, the "night people." The four groups of "day people" are associated with the cardinal directions, and of these the chieftancy of the north, headed by the Town Chief, is of special importance. He and the sun priest are at the head of this elaborate Zuni theocracy. They meet with the bow priest and certain other high priests to form a council which in former times had supreme political power.[12]

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[11] Bunzel, Zuñi Ceremonialism, p. 513.

[12] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 877.
Bunzel, Zuñi Ceremonialism, p. 478.

Traditionally the governor of the Pueblo, the lieutenant governor, and the eight tenientes were all selected by the council of the priests and removed at their will. This was the body which acted in all cases with non-pueblo agencies; and with the passing of years and the establishment of the Indian Bureau, it has become increasingly important. Action concerning such things as schooling, medical service, road building, and the sale of livestock, all of which impinge on the function of Indian Service, is relegated to these men, as well as more traditional but secular village affairs, such as property rights, disorder in the village, and the cleaning of the irrigation ditches.

In recent years this system has changed. During the period 1924-34 the council had difficulty arriving at any agreement as to who the civil officers should be, and the Indian Service devised a system whereby a nominating committee selected these officers after canvassing the village to see if their candidates were acceptable to the people. This has resulted in the civil authority being divorced from the religious authority to a much greater degree than was formerly the case, making it easier for the United States Government to deal with native authority.[13]

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[13] Memorandum to Files, January 8, 1945, Black Rock, New Mexico.

The governor and his assistants are much more important in village affairs than they used to be, but they still do not have the prestige which goes with high religious office. As it has worked out, the governor has in recent years always been one of the wealthier livestock men, and it has become apparent that the Zuni with their shrewd sense of politics have managed to keep in office those men who best represent their economic interests and who can "talk back" to the United States Government officials.

This is the background against which the present study is laid. It is a highly confusing background in that it is a mixture of many things traditional and new; Indian, Spanish, and most recent of all--traits derived from contemporary western culture of the United States. We find the Indian metate still in use, and the threshing floors borrowed centuries ago from the Spanish, on which the grain is spread and horses driven (no doubt this diffused as a trait complex when wheat was introduced), and we also find a modern threshing machine. But the machine is not used as much as the Indian Service people would like; we find that the Zuni, after 40 years of instruction, still resist using manure on their fields (in traditional Indian belief manure brings bugs; fertility is a matter of rain and the power of the Ashiwanni and katchina dancers).

The age-old Pueblo way of life still dominates, and the social and religious patterning, although slightly skewed, is effective, and Zuni culture remains well integrated.

Now, let us see the way in which this traditional pattern determines the actions of some 213 men, ten per cent of the population, and reweaves their life, broken from the pueblo pattern, back into the traditional warp and woof.

## III. PROCEDURE AND FIELD TECHNIQUE

Zuni was chosen as the subject of this study for several reasons. It had the largest veteran population (213) of any single pueblo. I had contacts in the village going back to 1938 when I was there for a month or so making a study of the craft of silversmithing. And of any single pueblo Zuni was probably the best known in the literature. An additional reason was the fact that a group of Navajo veterans was being studied by another anthropologist (Evon Vogt) in the adjacent Ramah area.

I approached the pueblo of Zuni with a very different "set" in respect to what I wished to study than I hold at the present time. I thought that the veterans would be important agents of diffusion of new ideas and habits which could be observed and described at this time. But this was not the case, and after a period of some months I began to think of Zuni in terms of resistance to diffusion, in terms of a reaction within the pueblo whereby a tightening took place that made the diffusion of new ideas not only ineffectual but even impossible. The study was re-oriented from one of culture change to one of cultural stability, of cultural conservatism.

The time perspective offered by past studies at

Zuni affords the anthropologist an invaluable asset. Hodge explored the archaeology of Hawikuh and later examined the historical documents bearing on early Spanish-Zuni contacts. Cushing was the first of a long line of ethnographers to study Zuni and during his day Matilda Coxe Stevenson started work on her detailed description of Zuni religion. During the first decades of this century our knowledge of Zuni culture was greatly expanded by the work in social organization of Kroeber, in the sequence of its archaeology by Spier, and further studies of the ritual made by Bunzel, and the mythology by Benedict. In 1939 Li An-che saw the village in quite a different perspective, that lent by Chinese glasses, so to speak.

A complete treatment of resistance to change at Zuni, of cultural conservatism must take into account the work of these writers. For this depth of focus will help us understand what is going on in Zuni today, and in turn our studies of the contemporary scene will enable us to better interpret the period from 1540 to 1948.

Evon Vogt was studying a similar cultural situation among the Ramah Navajo. It was our opinion that studying the outcome of what resulted from the return of the Navajo veterans to their culture would afford valuable comparative material. During the period spent on the "outside" the

Navajo men and the Zuni men were subjected to much the same set of influences. The important point is, upon return home due to the differences in Pueblo culture from Navajo, what is accepted and what is rejected.[1] The fact that the Navajo have accepted many more ideas from the White world than has the pueblo of Zuni is evident at this point, and this is in accord with the historical fact that the Navajo have always been quicker to borrow than their Pueblo neighbors. Mr. Vogt's data have not been analyzed as yet and comparative treatment must wait.

I contacted the uncle of one of my Zuni friends in searching for suitable quarters for the summer. He referred me to a middle-aged woman, telling me that she had put up "whites" before. For this very reason I avoided seeking her out. I knew that she had been the landlady of most of the anthropologists who had lived in the pueblo and I knew that knowledge of Zuni obtained in recent years had been gathered from her clan mates, for the most part. I was then referred to this man's father-in-law, in whose house I rented a room on the second story, used for Shalako

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[1] It is to be pointed out that Navajo and Pueblo cultures are marked in their contrast when examining the cultures at close range and in considerable detail. But when the perspective of the Americanist is assumed, seeing both cultures in their broadest outlines, many similarities in the cultures outweigh the differences.

guests. I lived there for the summer, taking my meals with the family.[2] In late summer I moved over to a house owned by the woman to whom I was originally recommended. My family had come out from Albuquerque and these were the only suitable housekeeping quarters that I could find.

From the first I noticed any number of changes in the village since my stay there in 1938. There were many more houses along the Black Rock road. Most of these were non-Pueblo in style, copying the architectural styles of Gallup.[3] Many of these were made of concrete blocks. An electric line ran down from Black Rock and wires branched off to the houses along this road. Before, pumps had been evident as a gathering place for the women (just as had been the wells at an earlier period), and now these were gone and the water was piped into the houses. Automobiles were everywhere, and relatively few men were seen on horseback compared to only ten years ago. In the houses

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[2] The man with whom I made these arrangements was an ex-governor of the pueblo. He had married a second time subsequent to the death of his first wife and lived in another house, but had never turned over this house to his daughters who made this fact known to me.

[3] In fact I later learned that many of these houses had been built by one of the Indian traders for his clerks. These in turn had been imitated by Zuni who built in that section of the pueblo, some of whom were agency employees, and all of whom came from "progressive" families.

there was much more furniture and the rooms did not have the bare look I always associated with the large rooms at Zuni.[4] In several houses I saw old phonographs and several of these were used for storing bread rather than to play music. Most of the school age girls wore their hair curled and make-up on their faces. In these and many other ways the village displayed the results of its increased wealth during the war years.

Another important difference was that the people seemed less friendly than they had beed during my earlier visit. I used to sit on the bridge in the evenings and as fellows crossed they would stop and talk with me. Now, they were cordial if I addressed them, but they would never take the initiative of speaking to me first. As the months passed this hostility, passive as it is at Zuni, became more and more evident. Dozens of appointments with informants were broken by the Zuni men, and it became difficult to find an informant that would work with me in the village. Although I was making a very different type of study in 1938, I do not recall ever being suspect.

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[4] I learned that much of this furniture had been obtained by the traders who went up to Colorado and bought much of it second hand from hotels built in the last century. Much of it was of the golden oak vintage, elaborate and heavy. More modern styled beds had supplanted the old rococo brass beds.

I knew before I arrived that in 1941 an anthropologist had been asked to leave the village, and the village council had confiscated and burned part of his notes, a census that he was working on.[5] He had been there the previous summer under the auspices of another Governor, and when he came back the next spring the new council, especially the Lieutenant Governor, were against him. To my knowledge he is the only anthropologist who had ever been asked to leave the village. This was not necessarily a reflection on him or his procedure in the field, but an indication that Zuni had changed in its attitude towards whites. Mrs. Gonzales, the principal of the school, who has lived in the pueblo since the early 20's said to me: "Miss Bunzel could not get the material that she did if she were working here today."

In my field procedure I used several methods. The summer before I had done some survey work with veterans in several Rio Grande villages and at Zuni for one day. I had used a schedule of questions, and while I obtained

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[5] I learned that the Zuni do not like to be counted nor do they like to have their livestock counted. They believe that to count something is to make it die. It is to be noted that the village recorder of vital statistics is not a Zuni, but half Cherokee and half white, a long resident in the pueblo.

answers to my questions, that is all I did get. I had so rigidly determined what I thought was important that I had overlooked many significant points and gathered material which turned out to be less revealing. So in my work at Zuni I directed some of my interviews, but never to the degree of following a fixed form; other interviews were directed as little as possible, picking up in conversations what came my way. I also obtained four life histories from veterans, not in this instance in an endeavor to study the personality of the Zuni but in an attempt to determine what in his life, particularly since he left the village, he deemed important and what he thought less so. I did not interrupt the course of the narrative, letting the informant tell me just what he wished. This material was then used as a basis for extensive interviews. Additionally two life histories were written by veterans (rather than dictated) just prior to my leaving the village. One of these was done this way at the suggestion of the informant who did not want to be subjected to the gossip and ridicule that would have resulted from my visiting his house repeatedly.

Of course, these men selected out of their total experience what they deemed fit to tell me, what they wanted me to know, and they withheld what they did not want me to know. Data of a religious nature they divulged

only after good rapport was established; in fact, in some cases an informant talked for hours before making even the most veiled reference to religion. While this is a time consuming method of collecting data, I found it fruitful. Gradually I learned of the ceremonies given for the fellows before they went away to the army and when they came back. It was in this way that I obtained a good deal of my material on witchcraft as it effected these veterans. It was through their experiences that I learned of, and began to understand, the controls that were at work, the checks that the culture provided to keep out the dangerous and the new.

## CHAPTER I

## GROWING TENSION AT ZUNI

By the time the United States entered World War II, eight Zuni men had enlisted or been drafted into the armed services. But the attitude of the inhabitants at that time, as recalled by one of the older and more progressive men, was that "the people thought that it was just a war between white men, and that it didn't have anything to do with Zuni." Although the Zuni depended on Gallup to an increasing degree for supplies, and Albuquerque was visited only by a small number of the villagers, these towns formed the outer limit of the pueblo world. Only a few Zuni lived away from the village, and they came back every year to Shalako.

The policy of the Indian Service during the previous decade had been one of encouraging the Zuni in their insularity. The practice of sending children away from the pueblo for their schooling had been reversed and now the children went to school right in the village, where they were excused from their lessons if the families wanted them to take part in any important ceremony. School was closed during Shalako week. More land had been obtained, some by lease, and this, plus a growing economy based on the handicraft production of tourist curios, had

enabled the Zuni to feel somewhat more secure in their isolated world than they had felt prior to this reversal in Government policy.

But now the picture changed overnight. The young men in the pueblo were being taken away from the village in an ever increasing number and for an indefinite period. The feeling of security within this isolated world must have been somewhat shattered, for some of the members of the priesthoods were threatened with being taken away from the village by force. These positions could be held only by members of certain lineages within particular clans, and young boys were trained in exact ritual and learning of set prayers from childhood. The elder rain priests (ashiwanni) and their apprentices went into a regular series of retreats, essential in bringing rain. Shalako is the one ceremony, and the only one, which cross-cuts all of Zuni social organization. It is the one ritual in which the whole village cooperates: the kiva groupings, the curing societies and all of the priesthoods are geared together at this one time of the year, and many of the participants in the dance itself are traditionally young men, especially those who carried the Shalako mask. To deprive the Zuni of certain key men would, in the minds of the people, put an end to this religious pageant. It would be like depriving a Catholic community of mass.

Faced with this prospect, on the 28th of January, six weeks after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the secretary of the tribal council wrote a letter to the Selective Service Board in Gallup requesting the deferment of twelve men in religious offices. Among these were members of the rain priesthoods, servants of the Shalako, and leaders in the various curing societies.[1] It is not clear from the record if this letter was posted or not, but a second letter was written and thumb-printed by the Governor and his council of Lieutenant Governor and tenientes, as well as by the council of priests. Traditionally, the priests do not enter into any relationship with the non-pueblo world. In speaking of the council of priests Bunzel says that one of the functions of these men is ". . . the discussion of what action should be taken in cases of calamity, such as earthquakes and drought, the determination of tribal policy in new contingencies . . . . The maintenance of these policies is the duty of the bow priests and the secular officers." Furthermore, "the priests do not act in secular affairs, being too sacred to contaminate themselves with disputes

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[1] Letter, Tribal Council to Selective Service Board, Gallup, New Mexico, January 28, 1942.

and wrangling."[2]

This great concern in the village was at least temporarily relieved by Indian Service which backed up the requests for deferment and a classification of 4-D, the class reserved for clergy in training, was given to these religious leaders.[3]

An advisory board for registrants, consisting of the Government school principal, her husband the farm agent, and one of the traders, was set up in the village. It was to this board that the council of priests made their immediate appeal for the deferment of religious officers. Their recommendations were accepted by the Selective Service Board in Gallup. The advisory board asked for exemption for the religious leaders and for deferment of the Mudheads and the Shalako participants for a period of one year. Since all sorts of pressures were put on them from all sides the board immediately became involved in the complicated web of Zuni politics, and the significance of this fact will be seen later, when a political split involving the dismissal of this farm

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[2] Bunzel, Zuñi Ceremonialism, p. 478. Sending such a letter was the duty of the Governor and his council only. "Civil law and relations with aliens, especially the United States Government, are delegated to the secular officers appointed by the council." Loc. cit.

[3] Letter, Supt. Aberle to Sub-agent Helander, Feb. 12, 1942. I am informed that at the Hopi villages this policy was not carried out by Indian Service; none of the religious officers were deferred. There were many Hopi who refused to go to war and many were held in a local jail for the war period.

agent is discussed.

Evidently the Selective Service Board became somewhat impatient with the ever increasing requests for deferments and they notified the advisory board that it would be their policy that "only those Zuni who are high priests serving for life will be deferred in the future, and that Zuni should select men from the older age groups or young boys who are not subject to the draft to serve as Mudheads and Shalakos this coming year."[4]

But when the Zuni knew that the Government would accept religious participation as a legally protected right the village went to the other extreme in order to prevent the young men from leaving the village. More young men than ever before were selected for Shalako and other religious positions. One informant, when he was telling of his induction, said:

> "_____'s family didn't want him to go, [they] got busy and went up to the Court house, and I don't know how they did it, but he was made part of the Shalako that year, even though he was in the army, so he stayed out."

We have seen how at the outset of the war the village became greatly concerned over losing important religious

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[4] Memorandum, undated, U.S.I.S. Files, Black Rock, New Mexico.

officers, and this fact was recognized by the Government. Later it will be pointed out that the Zuni, when threatened with outside forces, strengthen their religion, and in this case their action was facilitated by Government cooperation.

Between February, 1941, and March, 1946, 213 Zuni left the pueblo for war service. This number of men represented approximately 10% of the total population, which in 1940 was 2,205, and in 1947 was 2,575. The youngest draftees had just turned 18 and the oldest were in their late 30's; several were 39 at the time. But a preponderance of the men fell between the ages of 20 and 35, and of that age group 54% were drafted.

While the religious structure was temporarily secure, other sources of disruption and anxiety had developed as a result of rapid change in the economy. Within the families, as the young men were taken from the village, their places had to be filled in the subsistence economy by others. Older men went out to herd sheep, round up and care for the cattle, and women and men of all ages began to make silver jewelry set with turquoise and shell inlay.

In 1940 the population of silversmiths was 139; in 1947 it was approximately 431. At the earlier date, 11% of the craftsmen were women, and in 1947, 45% were

women.[5] This number does not include all of the children who helped the older members of their families with the silverwork. One young woman in her late teens, with the help of her husband, told me of how in a period of 30 days she made twenty bracelets for one of the traders and he paid her $900 for them.[6] Another trader in Gallup told of how every two weeks he paid the male head of one family from $500 to $600 for the jewelry he turned in. The peak year of this handicraft boom was in 1946, when the three traders in Zuni paid out in cash or store goods $1, 200,000 to the silversmiths and inlay workers.[7]

All of this is important as the greatly increased cash income immediately affected other phases of village life. A great many automobiles were bought, and this allowed more and more of the young people to get to town and to the recently built Pine Tree Tavern, a saloon located just outside of the reservation line. The young

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[5] Adair, The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths, App. II.

[6] In 1940 only 20% of all silversmiths earned as much as $800 in one year. Ibid.

[7] The Government had obtained an examption to War Production Board regulations for the Indian silversmiths, thus allowing them to fabricate jewelry when white manufacturers could not.

women at Zuni as well as the men began to drink, contrary to village custom. As a result of the behavior of many of these women, gossip circulated at a furious rate and even reached the draftees, many of whom were overseas at the time. One informant told of how, when he left the village, he asked one of his close friends to watch his wife and let him know if she was going around with other men. When these men in the service heard about their wives running around with other men they asked for a divorce to be put through the tribal council, so that these women would not receive their allotment checks. Such action was also initiated by the families who reported the affairs of the daughter-in-law to the sons overseas. A great number of divorces created hostilities between families and increased the total friction within the community. The allotment checks and the income from the jewelry also had an effect on the food economy. Agriculture declined, especially in the cultivation of wheat and the cereal crops (except corn) which were raised primarily for market rather than home consumption, because silversmithing brought a greater return for time spent.[8] With cash in their pockets and a greater credit

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[8] 1502 acres of wheat were under cultivation in 1941, and 393 in 1946. Annual Report, Extension Division, United Pueblo Agency, Albuquerque, 1941 and 1946.

in the trading posts more and more store food was purchased. Such foods as celery and lettuce and other fresh greens became popular items in Zuni diet. Some women even bought store bread rather than fire their own ovens and bake for themselves.

The Indian Service inaugurated their stock reduction program on the Zuni reservation in 1940. The year of greatest sheep reduction was in 1943 when the herds were reduced from 25,808 head to 20,484 head. This program met with a good deal of resistance on the part of the Zuni, as was the case on the Navajo reservation, and was a cause of friction, particularly as related to Indian Service. During the years 1940 to 1947 the sheep were reduced by 25%, but cattle and horses have not been cut to any significant degree.[9]

In 1943 when this rapid culture change was in progress an event of great moment took place which was to effect the village for at least the next five years.[10] In that year there was a change of village officers. A

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Note that this was the year of great stock reduction. There probably is a causal relationship between that action and the ensuing difficulty in the village.

short time after the Governor had received the cane of office he circulated a letter to the council of the high priests, which was explained as saying that the Zuni requested draft exemption for their religious leaders, so the caciques signed the letter with their thumb prints, because this action was, of course, to the interest of the people. But the letter was nothing of the sort, a fact which was later revealed in a village meeting. It was a letter written to Secretary Ickes, Department of the Interior, requesting the removal of Pete Gonzales who had recently been made Acting Sub-agent in the current shortage of Government personnel. Mr. Gonzales had worked at Zuni as farm agent since 1918 and had proved his competence to the satisfaction of the Indian Service. His wife was Principal of the Government School. The reason given in this letter for the expulsion of the sub-agent was, "This sub-agent and his wife being Spanish, are particularly obnoxious to us and we know that if there was an election held by the tribe tomorrow, they would support our request for the removal of the sub-agent and his wife."[11]

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[11] Letter addressed to H. Ickes, signed by Council of the Gods and dated March 5, 1943. It is to be pointed out that the sub-agent's wife was not "Spanish" but a native of the Cajun country of Louisiana.

Evidently Washington ignored the matter but was later forced to action when a letter was received from a Gallup attorney, at the request of the Sun Priest who, so it stated in the letter, had been delegated to do so by the Zuni people.[12] Action was taken by the Albuquerque office of the Indian Service and numerous meetings were held in the village during the ensuing months before matters were straightened out.

The Government followed the desires of the people and removed the sub-agent, but did not replace him with anyone else, which was the understanding at the time of his removal. Soon the Zuni recanted, when they saw that Indian Service cooperation was essential in cutting the logs for the Shalako houses in the tribal forest, and when they realized their dependence on the United States Government in many other ways. The sub-agent was brought back, and when it was learned under what false pretenses the original letter was written, the Zuni Governor was

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[12] This Sun Priest continues to be called the "Gallup Sun Priest" by many of the people . . . . "he is too busy up in Gallup to watch the sun for the Zuni people," I heard from one person in the pueblo. His is a most important office, according to Bunzel, "the most revered and holy man in Zuñi." Bunzel, Zuñi Ceremonialism, p. 515. It is he who sets the date for Shalako and other calandrical rites.

impeached by his people.[13] Further difficulties ensued when the Sun Priest who had gone into Gallup to live refused to return to the pueblo unless the impeached Governor was put back in office. However, with the aid of Indian Service the Lieutenant Governor was installed in office and remained to fill out the two year term, and the Sun Priest was persuaded to return to Zuni.[14]

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[13] It was said that these were the first meetings held at Zuni within the memory of living man when the priests "stepped down" from office and discussed village politics with the people.

[14] Each of the tenientes moved up one place, the first teniente, representative of Zuni proper, became Lieutenant Governor and the sixth office was left vacant for the remainder of the two years.

I learned from an informant, whose family sided with the political friends of the impeached governor, that the council of priests wanted this man to stay in office, in spite of his action, but when the Indian Service officials opposed him the people thought that more trouble might ensue if they kept this man in office against the wishes of Indian Service. "They thought that the reservation might be done away with, the Zuni might be deprived of their land and made to pay taxes," is the way this informant expressed their fears. (It must be remembered that the Indian Service had just reduced the size of the Zuni flocks and the people were in an excited state of mind just prior to this political trouble in the village.)

It is also of interest to note that the impeached Zuni governor had been discharged from an Indian Service position some years before. At that time he went over to the house of a Zuni woman (who was also employed by Indian Service) and swore revenge on the principal of the school (Mrs. Pete Gonzales, who was responsible for his being discharged) and her husband Pete Gonzales. This fact was later brought out (when this man was Governor and had taken action against Pete) by the above-mentioned Zuni woman who used to be employed by Indian Service and who was instrumental in his impeachment.

This political split was not just a matter of the Zuni taking sides in the public meetings. It effected the whole pueblo; many families broke apart, and feelings were so intense that some of those on one side would not speak to some of those on the other side. Families wrote to the men in the service about the matter and told of what a difficult time everyone was having at home. When the men did come home they knew of the political split, and they too lined up on one side or the other.

Added to all of this, the return of the veterans to the village after the war did not calm the fears of the people, but tended to increase them. They did not act like the Zuni who had left the village several years before. They were rough, loud, and intoxicated a good deal of the time. They went against the desires of their parents. Some of them refused to go through the cleansing ritual given at the outside of the village. Others refused to take part in the katchina dances. One of the young rain priests who had been exempt from the draft said,

> "Before the war the village was running smoothly. But when the veterans returned, a few, not all of them, favored the white man's religion. They more or less wanted to do away with the religious ceremonies and societies. This was because they felt they were more important than those that didn't go off to war."

The men wore their uniforms, setting themselves off from the rest of the village. At first they talked a good deal of English in public places, and at the trading posts and elsewhere they clubbed together. Many of them got into fights with those who had not gone to war, calling them 4-F's. One of the men in the village belonged to the American Legion, and he wanted to found a post in Zuni for the veterans. Some of the men who had been in combat could not sleep, were restless and irritable, and all of them could not settle down to doing a job of any sort, either out in the fields or at the silver benches, and they were unwilling to herd sheep. But drunkenness was the greatest source of trouble. At Shalako in 1945 most of the younger men spent the evening drinking out in the corrals, rather than in watching the ceremony in the houses. One of my older informants expressed it in this way,

> "It got real worse when the veterans came home from this war. The older people didn't know just what was the cause of it, from war or drunkenness. Instead of just arguing they got into fights with their own parents."

So we find that when the veterans returned home they found the pueblo in a state of unrest, and this confusion was increased by their un-pueblo behavior. Now let

us pick up the thread of our dissertation--the problem of resistance. In order to understand the forces of resistance it is necessary to examine an important underlying motivation in Zuni behavior, belief in witchcraft.

## CHAPTER II

## WITCHCRAFT

Ruth Benedict says,

> "The ideal man in Zuñi is a person of dignity and affability who has never tried to lead, and who has never called forth comment from his neighbors. Any conflict even though all right is on his side, is held against him."

She also says,

> ". . . and he should without fail cooperate easily with others either in the field or in ritual, never betraying a suspicion of arrogance or a strong emotion."[1]

This ideal pueblo pattern of behavior which Benedict terms "Apollonian" is described in some detail, but nowhere in Patterns of Culture is there sufficient explanation of the underlying motivation for this behavior.[2]

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[1] Benedict, Patterns of Culture, p. 99.

[2] It seems to me that Benedict has simplified her data for the purpose of contrasting the Pueblo pattern to that of the Northwest Coast and Dobu. By selecting other data from the literature one could make a good case for the Zuni being more dionysian than her interpretation allows. "The curing society is the part of Zuni ceremonialism least known to recent observers who therefore underestimate, I think, the 'orgiastic' potentiality of Zuni character. . . ." Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 879.

Some years before Benedict published her interpretation of Zuni, Elsie Clews Parsons wrote,

> "I cannot help but connect the very striking social timidities of the Pueblos with their witchcraft theories."[3]

With these two quotations in mind, the first an interpretation of Zuni overt behavior and the second a hint as to its motivation, let us examine a statement made by a Zuni to me:

> "There is an old man around here that everyone knows is a witch. He needed some meat for a dance that was coming up and he went over to my brother and asked him to butcher a cow for him. He asked him just like that, he wasn't a relative and my brother didn't even know that man. My brother said that he would think it over, that man had told him that he would pay him back by working on his house that he was building. My brothers-in-law's family told him that he better give him that cow or that man might want something more--like one of his children. So he gave it to him. Some time later he came over to work on that house. He worked on it for a long time, much more than the time he agreed on. Then when he got all

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[3] Parsons, Witchcraft Among the Pueblos, p. 107

through he asked for another cow. So my brother just had to give it to him."

The behavior of the informant's brother certainly fits neatly into Benedict's Apollonian ideal. "Right" was certainly "all on his side." The request was from a non-relative to whom the other had no economic obligations. Furthermore no "strong emotion" was shown when the request was later repeated and fulfilled. Superficially the observer would interpret this as the behavior of "one whose way of life is the way of measure and sobriety."[4] But when this man's brother explains <u>why</u> he acted this way we find that the motivation for his behavior is belief in witchcraft.

To return to the writings of Parsons, we have seen how as long as 20 years ago she suggested what the explanation for such behavior might be. Later, in her encyclopedia of pueblo ethnology, <u>Pueblo Indian Religion</u>, she carried the idea further, but never really developed it in any full treatment. Titiev, following her lead, published a short paper on witchcraft at Hopi. But in this paper he limits himself primarily to the folklore of the subject and while he indicates its force, he does not describe this force in action.

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[4] Benedict, <u>Patterns of Culture</u>, p. 129.

"Among the Hopi, as is true of all the Pueblo Indians, a belief in witches (poakam) is so deeply ingrained that it colors a large part of their total culture."[5]

The importance to the present study of witchcraft, as a motivating force, is that it acts as a control[6] and is one method by which the action of the individual is culturally determined, thus rendering witchcraft immediately relevant to maintaining the status quo of the society and to resisting diffusion. We shall see how veterans came back with certain ideas from the outside, but due in part to the strength of the witchcraft beliefs they were forced to abandon action, at least for the present. In order to understand the nature of this controlling force and the effect it has on the minds and behavior of the villagers, it will be necessary to see how witchery operates in Zuni society.

By witchcraft I mean "power used improperly." This

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[5] Titiev, Notes on Hopi Witchcraft, p. 549.

[6] It is interesting to note that among the Yokuts and Western Mono sorcery acts as a control on the actions of the people: "A man dared not cheat another at gambling or trading, commit adultery, or neglect any civil or ceremonial duty toward his neighbor, lest the offended person visit sickness or death upon him or some member of his family, either by his own power or that of a shaman hired for the purpose." Gayton, Yokuts-Mona Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 409-411.

is the essential core of the belief. It is the nexus around which a whole complex fabric of mythology, habits of mind and action are entwined. By "power" I specifically mean supernatural power, and by "improperly" I mean anti-social, malevolent action. It is malevolent in that it is supernatural power turned against the people of Zuni individually and collectively. A witch can work against a single individual and bring sickness, and he can work against the community and bring a plague of grasshoppers, or drought.

At the outset it is essential to say that no white person, to my knowledge, has ever seen a Zuni at work bewitching anyone.[7] This might indicate that witchcraft is purely imaginary, that it exists only in the minds of the Zuni, that such acts are not actually practiced. However, the fact that the Zuni believe that there are people who possess malevolent power which they turn against the people has been proved. The last Zuni to be publicly hung for witchery was Zuni Nick, in 1893. He was hung "in the usual way, by his arms behind his back over the church

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[7] Kluckhohn makes the same statement about whites never having seen Navajo in the act of bewitching. Kluckhohn, Navaho Witchcraft, p. 31.

beam."[8] Although public hangings have been outlawed it is a fact that on occasion a group of Zuni have attacked an individual. Victims of such assaults have been taken to the Indian Service hospital at Black Rock. Some of the following data will make it clear that the reason for this behavior is witch belief. It is relatively unimportant for the physical act of bewitchment to be substantiated. The Zuni say that they have seen witches at work, and conviction of these practices formerly brought death. This was the only pueblo crime so treated, sufficient evidence that we are not dealing with something inconsequential in Zuni rationale.

An investigator always brings with him certain precepts culturally determined from his own background. Our culture has largely lost its belief in malevolent supernatural powers such as our ancestors ascribed to witches, devils, and ghosts. Furthermore, the scientifically trained investigator or the layman is inclined to demand the empirical fact. Do Zuni practice witchery? they want to know. Even the testimony of the native assumes an aspect of folklore. No Zuni has confessed to practicing

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[8] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 65. Also see Bunzel, Zuni Texts, p. 51, for more material on this famous man who in his later life was an important informant to many anthropologists.

witchcraft (except under physical torture), and no Zuni has told of actually witnessing a witch in action. In the absence of such evidence (and for evidence the outsider accepts only validation by one of his own number), they conclude that all of this is simply a figment of the Zuni imagination, and thereby unsubstantiated witchery becomes much less important than the positive aspects of the religion. The investigator does not challenge the importance of the rain-making beliefs for he has seen the Zuni perform their dances.[9]

As at Hopi witchcraft "colors a large part of the culture." A short account of how witchery plays a part in the life cycle of the individual Zuni will make this more clear.

From the time the child is born on the sand bed in the Zuni house he is guarded constantly. A piece of turquoise and flint are put in the cradle board as a prophylaxis and a piece of corn is placed by the child's

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[9] One cannot help but speculate: if Zuni were studied by an investigator brought up in a culture where these negative aspects of religion assume more importance, South Africa for example, is not it quite possible that such a person would ascribe a more important role to Zuni witchery in the total religion of the pueblo than has been the case heretofore?

side if the mother wants to leave the room for a moment.[10] If the mother should leave the house for a short time a sibling is left to guard the cradle.[11] This is because mothers are afraid that some witch might sneak into the house and work on the baby. An informant told the following "true" story:

> "A boy was married to a girl in one of those big witch families. His wife went out of the house for a minute and when she came back she saw a bull snake breathing into that baby's mouth. She screamed, and she told her folks about it. The same day the baby died. If the baby had lived they said it would have grown up to be a witch."[12]

So in Zuni belief a child is not safe even in the nest of its own family.

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[10] The significance of corn as a prophylaxis is not clear, but possibly we have here the concept that good (symbolized by food) counteracts evil, which is also found in the belief that a man who tends to his prayers is not as subject to witchery. In the origin myth a witch pair came up from the underworld after the others and brought with it death and corn. Parsons, Witchcraft Among the Pueblos, p. 107.

[11] Omer Stewart, Field Notes, 1940.

[12] For another version of this same "true" story, see Benedict, Zuñi Mythology, p. 162.

The dangers at night from the witches are so imminent that few mothers will take their babies out of the house even to call on another relative until the baby is eight months old. When it is taken out for the first time at night a smudge of charcoal is rubbed over the baby's heart, so it will not be harmed by a witch. If a mother wishes to attend a dance at the plaza she will cover the head of the baby, and anyone but the most immediate relatives would be suspect if they asked to hold the child.

The conditioning process starts at a very young age. Girls and boys as young as two or three years of age are cautioned not to misbehave because "a witch might be looking through the window," not to wander off from the house at night because the coyotes might get them, or the owls--other manifestations of witches.[13] An informant recalled his childhood:

"The first time when we were kids they left us at sheep camp we used to get scared in the night because

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[13] By jumping through a hoop a witch can change from human form to animal guise. The coyote, cat, dog, owl, and bull snake are the most prevalent in the folklore. (See Benedict, Zuñi Mythology, pp. 110-297, for many stories of transformation into animal form.) It is probable that the jumping through the hoop is Spanish in origin.

they say that witches go around at night time. We used to take turns sleeping. They told us not to sleep too tight or the sheep might go off, or the coyotes would steal them."

As a result of such conditioning the Zuni child probably associates that which his parents consider "bad" and "dangerous" with the witches and even at this age his behavior is affected by these beliefs.

Children are not left in their families' houses alone. One woman even told of how she would never leave her daughter (age 15) by herself in the night.[14] Nor are children allowed to eat at the houses of any but the closest relatives.[15] The same woman said:

"When _____ (her third child) was about six I was afraid to stay alone with my children when the big boys and my husband were away. I asked my father or brother or sister to stay with us. Sometimes I stayed alone with the children and we put the beds

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[14] Omer Stewart, Field Notes, 1940.

[15] I infer that the mothers are afraid that their children might eat poisoned food. This is contrary to Parsons: ". . . the foremost Mexican witchcraft method, bewitching through food, is unfamiliar to the pueblos. . . . ," Parsons, Witchcraft Among the Pueblos, p. 128.

together or we slept together on the floor."[16]
Approximately fifteen years later this third child mentioned above is a married woman with a family of her own. When her parents were away on a trading trip and her husband at sheep camp she was afraid to stay in the house alone with her two children, and called her grandmother over to spend the night. So these fears are carried over into adulthood and re-enforced constantly; I believe that the fears are largely caused by their witch beliefs. In childhood the fears are used by the parents for the protection of their children, to get them in off the streets at night, etc., as they are in real danger. Someone might induct them into witch societies as children, or someone might "work on" them in seeking revenge on the parent.

Boys and adult men are afraid to go out by themselves to the edge of the village at night, and I never remember seeing an unaccompanied woman walking out from the village at night. Usually if a trip to the edge of the village is essential the men go in groups of two or three. One informant who lives in the last house out on the road to Ojo Caliente, about a half a mile from the center of the village, told of how when he had visitors

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[16] Omer Stewart, Field Notes, 1940.

at night, if they talked until late, the friends would prefer to stay all night than to walk back to the village alone.[17]

Not only the children are sent out in pairs to herd the sheep. The Zuni herd out from camps located sometimes many miles from the village and the usual practice is for two men, or a boy and a man, to go out together for a fortnight at a time, even though the size of the flocks do not demand the attention of two. In a conversation about witches, an informant told this story of a sheep camp incident:

> "_____'s son told his father that when he was out at sheep camp that someone was throwing stones up against the tent, that was whenever the fire started to go out. He was scared and so his father went out there with his whole outfit and they found that man. He was about 75 years old; he was at a fire nearby and they beat him up--almost killed him

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[17] This fear of being alone in the night enters into the folk tales. Benedict recorded, "The hunter stayed and told his adventures. Finally they went out to urinate. It was so late that all the lights were out. The boy said, 'I am afraid to go home.'" (Benedict, Zuñi Mythology, p. 119.)

Dr. Florence Hawley informs me that the Spanish-Americans have a great fear of the dark which may be attributed to a general fear of the unknown, and augmented by conceptualized witch beliefs.

and he said he was the one that had been doing that." The sheep are endangered as well as the herders, and the members of various curing societies are called out from the village to treat the sheep if they should fall ill. One sheep owner told of how he had his mother's sister's husband come out to "look over" his sheep about once a month. He described how this man pulled out of one of the sheep a thong wrapped around the blossoms of many different kinds of plants. "Those were the plants that had poisoned the sheep," he said. Another Zuni even mentioned that sometimes automobiles are bewitched and curers extract objects from the carburetors, feed line, etc., "shot" there by the witches. He also told of how dangerous witches are today "because they can easily get a piece of wire from your automobile and work against the owner with it."

One of the common methods of bewitching among the Zuni is for the witch to obtain a piece of finger-nail pairing, hair clippings, excreta, or bits of clothing. Hair cuttings are burned or thrown in the river, and only a close relative is called in as a barber. Even the ravels from the sewing machines are carefully burned in some houses, and padlocks are kept on the outhouses. All of these objects might be mixed in the witches' medicine and cause the person to fall sick.

It is evident from the above that the Zuni in their daily behavior avoid exposing themselves to this malevolent power, and this conditioning which sets in almost at birth continues through the early formative period of development and on into adulthood.

All of the above restrictions on behavior center around the evil of the unseen forces and unseen persons--witches <u>might</u> be looking in the window, witches <u>might</u> be lurking around the sheep camp, etc., but we also find these timidities carrying over into relationships with actual people, in face to face relationships, as illustrated by the example at the opening of this chapter. Dumarest wrote,

> ". . . their elders have taught them that nobody can know the hearts of men. There are witches everywhere."[18]

This is as true of Zuni as it is of Cochiti, which he was describing. On public occasions, as at a dance in the plaza or in one of the houses, each person is careful to stand between relatives or good friends, those with whom

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[18] Dumarest, <u>Notes on Cochiti</u>, p. 162.

one is on good terms, but never next to a stranger.[19]

It is even possible that a member of your own family might kill you, an action required of those who wish to join a witch society.[20] So it is of utmost importance for a Zuni to be careful of his manners and behavior towards others. Parsons said,

> "Bewitching is very commonly the result of a grievance, since a witch who feels injured will retaliate. Now as you never know who is a witch you are always careful not to give offense, unless you are yourself a witch. A reckless attitude towards others, 'not caring what you say' seems to be one indication of witchhood."[21]

One informant told me,

> "The worst thing that you can do is refuse to offer a visitor in your house a chair and food. It

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[19] Parsons wrote: "At a night dance at Zuni I saw a woman deliberately move away from two women, mother and daughter, sitting down next to her. The two women were said to be witches and nobody wanted to sit next to them." Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 66.

[20] But this feeling is not as strong as at Hopi where witches work at all times only on family members, an important difference from Zuni witch belief. (See Titiev, Notes on Hopi Witchcraft, p. 551).

[21] Parsons, Witchcraft Among the Pueblos, p. 107.

really makes people mad at you."

Not to do so is to risk displeasure and "hard-feelings," as the Zuni say, and this may lead to jealousy. It is jealousy that motivates a witch. The witches are spoken of as "those jealous people." For the same reason it is important not to give offense, not to talk in loud tones, or to joke constantly at the other person's expense. Bragging is bad because it attracts the attention of others to oneself, possibly even a witch. One informant said:

> "My wife was up at the trading post just a short time ago, and while she was there a friend came in and said in a loud tone of voice, as she placed some sheep pelts on the counter, 'Look at all the sheep we have eaten in our family!' My wife shivered when she heard that, for a well known witch was standing right next to that woman."

The informant's wife was afraid that this witch's attention would be attracted to the woman, and his jealousy for her wealth would lead him to work his magic against her. Another informant expressed it this way:

> "I just have to act cautiously when in the village, for fear that someone's parents might belong to some witch society. I just don't act smart to him. If he asks me for help I give it to him."

The wide range of behavior which might provoke jealousy in a witch may be seen in the following quotation from an informant:

"A long time ago when we used to have a lot of war chiefs, some witches used to get caught hanging around the village. They used to catch them and take them out to the big plaza and ask them why they wanted to kill a certain man. And the witches would say, 'I asked him for something and he wouldn't give it to me,' or 'I went to his house and asked him for food and he wouldn't give it to me,' or 'I ask for help and he never helps me,' or they would say, 'This man is rich or better off, he's got everything I don't have. That's why I want to kill him, he is a hard working man and raises a lot of crops.'"

This fear with its overt expression of caution works in two ways; it is a two edged sword. The Zuni is careful not to arouse the enmity of others, but it is equally important not to have anyone suspect him of witchery. To avoid acquiring the taint of suspicion it is necessary to conform as strictly as possible to the Zuni ideals of behavior; to be generous, cooperative, friendly, and pacific, in other words to act in accordance with what Benedict has termed the Apollonian pattern of behavior. For the greatest calamity of all is to be labelled as a

witch. The villagers are not only afraid of the witches on the edges of the village, but, in the words of one informant who was asked why he did not go out to see his girl after dark,

> "That is a long walk, kind of afraid of the dark, I didn't have nerve enough to go over there unless I had a partner. If you get caught out in that part of the village where there aren't many houses they just spread the story that you are witching around. It wasn't that I was afraid of witches, but just that people might think that I was witching."

This accusation, if it takes hold and spreads through the village as gossip, may lead to complete ostracism. It is reported that even today there are outcasts at Zuni whose families have thrown them out of their homes when these people became known as witches. I was told of two different members of the pueblo who in recent years have had to sleep out in the ovens, and live off the village refuse.[22]

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[22] This needs additional checking. I have this information from only two informants, and rather than actual fact it may be folklore, but even so it is indicative of present day attitudes.

Furthermore, once someone gets the reputation of being a witch the taint spreads to other members of that person's family. In Zuni rationale members of families initiate infants into witchery. This we have noted in the anecdote regarding the new-born child and the bull snake. There is the additional belief that to belong to a witch society one must kill a member of his own family. It seems that this is the final requirement, in Zuni belief, prior to initiation into a witch society,[23] and must be undergone in order to work magic against someone else. As an illustration of this attitude, the son of Zuni Nick is suspect. The father, Nick, was the last witch to be publicly hung and he survived due to the interference of the troops from Fort Wingate. He died in 1931, and according to Parsons who had used him as an informant, "The people still hate him."[24] There is good evidence that this hate is vented on his son, who is reported to claim another man as his real father to rid himself of the taint.

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[23] Again more material is needed. The facts are established that the child is inducted into witchery in infancy, but the relationship of this and the later killing of a relative is not sufficiently clear. An informant stated that the child is inducted into witchery but "you may be initiated in infancy but not actually do those things."

[24] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 64.

To recapitulate--we have seen how the individual from infancy is protected from the unseen dangers which are ever present in the village, and how, as the child grows up, bad behavior is associated in the mind of the individual with the threat of being bewitched. As the child comes more and more into contact with other individuals in the community, outside of his own home, the fears of the unknown (the witch who might be lurking outside the window) grow to encompass the known people in the village. One can never know the hearts of men, even members of your own family, so that everyone is suspect, and some are not only suspect but actually avoided. So one is polite, courteous, and ever willing to oblige when asked a favor, in part because of the belief in witches. So too, it is important for the individual Zuni to behave in the most accepted manner, according to the ideal pattern.

Thus, it may readily be seen that the institution of witchcraft actually serves to help maintain the status quo. The individual Zuni does not strive to introduce anything new or novel "because of that jealousy." I asked an informant (a veteran) why the veterans had not started any new businesses by taking advantage of the Government subsidy offered by the Veterans' Administration under the G. I. Bill. He answered,

"We were going to open a cafe here by the house. Pete Gonzales was going to lend us the money and we were going to pay him back later, but we never did that."

I asked him why, and he replied, "Because of that jealousy." At another time he spoke of his brother-in-law, who had not left the village for service,

"He is a good barber, he could set up a barber shop here in the village, but he won't do it because he is afraid of those jealous people, of what they will say."[25]

While all jealous people are not thought of as being witches; if public opinion was crystallized against a given person, it is quite possible for that person to be labelled a witch.

Individual action is blocked; no one wants to be an innovator and run the risk of arousing jealousy which may lead to being bewitched or being charged with witchcraft. Since diffusion of a culture trait starts with

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[25] The mother-in-law of this informant told of how some years before an anthropologist had suggested that she open a restaurant: "She said to me, 'Why don't you take about $200 and open up a small store for yourself, you would be able to make money with it.' But we didn't want to, all sorts of people come into stores and you never know what they are going to do, what they might put into your pocket."

the individual (and, if the society approves, the trait is taken up by others, and hence diffuses to a larger group) effective blocking of individual action makes diffusion impossible.

Native medical beliefs are very closely tied into the pattern of witchcraft, for in Zuni belief sickness is caused by witchery and it is the function of 11 curing societies to rid the bewitched person of foreign objects cast into his body.[26] It is also the duty of the bow priests, or more properly the bow priest, for there is only one in office at the present time,[27] to protect the village from the malevolence directed at the village and its individual members by witches and any other enemies. Bunzel says of the bow priests, "They must wage constant warfare against the insidious inner enemy--namely the witches--whose sacred power causes sickness and death."[28]

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[26] My data is at variance with that of Li An-che who says, based on his brief investigations, that Cactus Society became extinct in 1926. It is true that it is not very active, but it still exists, with a membership of at least four members, one of who was initiated about 1940.

[27] There were three bow priests in office when Bunzel was there in the mid-twenties and earlier. (Bunzel, Zuñi Ceremonialism, fnt. p. 474.)

[28] Ibid., p. 526.

In these medical beliefs as they are related to witchcraft there is a cultural force that has resisted the diffusion of new habits and ideas from the outside. The following story obtained from a veteran in the telling of his life history will illustrate this point. The informant arrived back in the pueblo after he was discharged from the army in May, 1946. Approximately three months later he had what he said the white doctors diagnosed as a gall bladder attack. When they discharged him from the hospital at Black Rock he went home and his family called in his uncle (mother's brother) who is a member of Little Fire Society. Then a few months later he had a more severe attack and went over to the Veterans' Hospital in Albuquerque. In time he overcame that attack. The next one occurred that fall, a period of over a year since his first hospitalization. This time I happened to go in his house when his uncle was singing over him. One informant later told me that he had the sing because he thought he was being bewitched by either a young man of about his age (also a veteran) or by a member of this man's family. My informant had been a rival of this man for the attention of one of the girls in the village when they had been in the Day-school before the war, and ultimately she had married the other fellow, but the informant returned from the war before this rival and began

to see this woman again. Then she had a child by him only a few months after her husband returned to the pueblo.

When I asked him why he went to the Zuni curer he replied:

> "Because I still believe in witches. There are certain things like the sour stomach and the gall bladder that are caused by witches and they have to get rid of the things the witches put in there before you can get well."

This Zuni obviously accepts, at least in part, the medical beliefs that he had been taught by the village nurse, by his teachers at the Government Day-school, and by lectures, physical examinations and innoculations received while in the army, or he would not have bothered to go to the hospital. However, even though his distress seemed to be relieved the first time by the "white" medicine, he immediately had a curer to rid himself of what no hospital could cope with--the object which the witch had "shot" into him.

In much of the literature on acculturation the conflicting sets of values of the dominating culture (economically speaking) juxtaposed with the native values is supposed to lead to frustration and social maladjustment. Here we certainly find an exception. The rationalization

of the Zuni allows him to hold both sets of values with a minimum of conflict. This was exactly expressed by an informant whom I had asked what he thought about the germs that he learned of when he was in the army. He said,

> "Just like with one of those flu epidemics, the germs cause it alright, but the people believe that the witches just work right along with it and make it that much worse. If a person gets a germ and gets sick the witches find out about it and get to work on those germs."

Not only disease, but general restlessness and cases of "combat fatigue" were attributed to witches. Another veteran speaking of the way he felt only a few months before said:

> "I just wanted to run around, to go up to the Pine Tree [Tavern] to drink a lot . . . . I had my sister call in a medicine man. He told me that three or four fellows in the village were working against me. He didn't tell me their names. He said that they were just trying to make me go crazy."

The medicine men and the veterans' families exerted pressure on the returnees, stimulating the latent witchcraft beliefs. Witchery was the frequent interpretation that the elders gave to the type of conduct that was prevalent

in the village. To the Zuni elder his son ran around because, as one informant put it, "A feather had been planted in his heart and that was making him do these things." And there is no doubt too, that the medicine men capitalized on this situation, which was good for both their prestige and their pocketbooks, since they are paid for each call they make. It was to their interest to play up the fears of these men, and to stimulate their witch beliefs.

Another veteran told me of how his foot had been paining him, then when I saw him a few days later he said:

> "Well, I called a medicine man in last night. I guess someone has been witching me. [I learned that he called in a certain member of the Big Fire Society.] Gee, that medicine man is smart. He took that human meat [flesh of the dead] out of me, and a cactus thorn. He just sucked it out. He took a drink of something before he did that, and then he took another drink afterwards. I feel all right now. He said that if that cactus thorn had broken up in there I would have gotten much worse. I would have had to go to bed, he told me."

There is good evidence of the fact that the Zuni are more preoccupied with witchery now than they have been at some periods in the past. One older woman who has

known most of the anthropologists who have been in the village said, in speaking of Ruth Benedict, who was there in 1922-23:

> "When she was here everything was quiet. There was nothing to worry about. No drunkards, no auto trips to town. It was different from just lately. I never thought about witches much that time, but just lately my husband has seen two of them."[29]

Material collected from other informants confirms these data. One of the village men of about 35 years of age said:

> "Nowadays witches don't have the respect that they used to have when they were tried and hung. There were more bow priests then too . . . [when I was a boy] the coyotes weren't as mean as they are today. Now even in the day time they go around and try to steal sheep. That's why every sheep man puts his sheep into a corral at night."

A veteran told me that

> ". . . a long time ago there was witchery just on account of hard feelings, or when some man ran off

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[29] This information was checked with Dr. Benedict and she told me that when she was in Zuni at that time the people did not seem to be disturbed about witches, nor were they when Bunzel lived in the village (1924-25), but when she revisited the pueblo in 1939 she found a great deal of witch anxiety.

with another man's wife. Now there is more to work on, more people have things like _____ with all his sheep and that house and those cars. More kids are being trained in witchcraft than ever before."

Another informant remarked to me that the bow priest was himself a witch!

It is clear then that witchcraft is on the ascendancy at Zuni.[30] It seems to me that the most rewarding

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[30] Kluckhohn has pointed out that in periods of great stress, such as the time following the Fort Summer "captivity" (1875-1890) witchcraft beliefs have a greater frequency. He believes that another such period for the Ramah Navajo (living only 20 miles to the southeast of Zuni) has been in very recent years. "In the Navaho group which I have been studying intensively there is no doubt that the last six years has been marked by a sharp rise in the number of persons whom gossip accuses as witches." Kluckhohn, Navaho Witchcraft, p. 66.

Malinowski (as edited by Kaberry) wrote: "In Africa, culture change produces, on the whole, conditions of economic distress, political unrest, and personal conflicts. No wonder therefore that the belief in witchcraft increases rather than abates." Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change, p. 97.

During this period when so many of the Zuni were witch-conscious it is quite possible that certain witch beliefs diffused from Santo Domingo and the other Keresan and Tanoan pueblos. The village would certainly have been receptive to these beliefs at this time. For a brief account of Santo Domingo witchcraft, see White, Keresan Medicine Societies, p. 608.

explanation of this fact is to be found in an interpretation from the point of view of social psychology. Because of the period of stress created by the war the anxieties of the people have increased. Witchcraft is, at Zuni, a traditional method of displacing these anxieties, that is attributing one's personal difficulties not to individual failure, but to a conceptualized scapegoat: the witch.

First let us look at the total situation from the point of view of the parents of the boys who are still in the armed forces. It would seem to me that such parents, at Zuni (or in any other society) would share in a certain set of fundamental fears, and attitudes: fears for the health and welfare of the child. Would he return to the village uninjured? If he had been in a hospital what was the extent of his injury? If the son had been married and his wife had divorced him while he was away what would he now do? Would he marry again, and if so how would he obtain enough food to support his wife and future children? These were but a few of such basic fears of the parent, and additionally there were others shared with most of the village elders. Their young men had been among an alien people as well as away at war. Would they act the same as the boys who had left them a few years before? Furthermore, had they learned

to like the foreign gods, the gods that the missionaries in the village had told them of?

Added to these uncertainties was the possible contamination from the enemy their boys were fighting. In the past the Zuni had traditional ways of handling contact with the enemy. Suffice it to say at this point that the traditional way of meeting this situation--the way in which it would have been met a hundred years ago, or even fifty years ago to a lesser degree--was through the war cult, directed by the bow priesthood. The scalp dance conducted by the bow priests turned the taint of the enemy into a positive good; in Zuni ritual the evil of the enemy was transformed into the bringing of rain. But now the war cult was beyond revival, the essential knowledge of the exact way to perform the rituals had been lost, and loss of knowledge is loss of ritual and religious control to the Zuni. This fact in itself probably was of concern to the older villagers. There was no way in which the evil could be changed to good.

Once the men came home the worst fears were exceeded. The grandfather of one of the men told me:

"After all of those veterans returned they acted like they were affected with rabies. It was due, of course, to war. Some were in combat and they got scared in battle. So when they returned they could

never get over their fright right away--they had that in their minds all the time. So when those boys got scared they don't know what they are doing. They tried to get their minds back to where they were before they were in battle. But that liquor they took ruined their minds."

Now let us look at the village from the point of view of the men who had been away at war. While many of them had been subjected to all of the horrors of war, when they were not in combat the service experience was a pleasant one. They had been accepted by their white buddies, and the more outgoing of the Zuni boys fitted into the group life of the army or navy. They went with girls without the accompanying gossip that followed such affairs in Zuni. Each one could, in his spare time, do pretty much what he wished; he could act as an individual. All of the free play that was the privilege of the other soldiers was his, and this was a new, and from what the veterans told me, a pleasant experience. Those who were overseas, as most were, had been constantly on the move; there was excitement in the daily life and an accompanying lack of responsibility. Food, shelter, and sex were all taken care of. Support of those at home was handled in a mechanical way by allotment checks. Drinking of liquor had become a part of their lives, something that had been

prohibited when at home (due to federal law). Drinking was pleasant and fun and also helped them forget, thus becoming an escape from the grilling realities of the war.

Furthermore, when on the outside one did not worry about witches. If one became ill it was a matter of germs, and after the germs were treated by the doctors one got well. They had this demonstrated for them daily in both the educational films and by the conduct of their white buddies.

They had rendered lip service to the white man's religion and some said their Zuni prayers and carried prayer meal, but among a people so different it was impossible to follow one's old beliefs. The old beliefs for the time seemed far away.

Upon return to the village everything was suddenly changed. The very language of the white man among whom they had lived had to be cast aside. Nor could they act as they pleased: there were the wishes of the parents to be followed. A ceremony must be gone through at the very outset, a cleansing ceremony before even coming into the village. The kiva leaders wanted them to dance in the summer and winter katchina dances. Even though they no longer believed that dancing brought rain it was necessary to dance on occasion or their parents would be ashamed.

Many men were now divorced; others knew through letters from home that their wives had been going around with other men, and this rivalry for the women made the veterans hostile to those men who had not been away. There were open fist fights (almost always after drinking). The families had "eaten off of their sheep" and along with the Government problem of stock reduction the result was insufficient flocks to gain the accustomed cash income. For a year after return the traders bought their silver work but when the outside market for that fell off again there was economic insecurity.

To add to all these troubles, Zuni was dull, a dead place to those who had seen excitement. There was nothing to do. A weekly movie was the only entertainment of the sort that they had grown to like. The only real excitement was going up to the tavern and getting illicit whiskey and beer to drink.

Now that they were back in the village the men had the witches to worry about. It was the witches that were the real cause of disease. Germs could be taken care of at Black Rock but that alone did not cure their illnesses.

So we find that the parents were concerned over their children and more concerned than ever when they saw them do so much drinking. And the veterans were worried

about fitting into the old way of life, or possibly it would be closer to their feelings to say that they looked at things in a different way from their parents and wives and wives-to-be. Fear and anxiety accompanied by obvious aggression, mostly over a rivalry for the women, were in the minds of many.

Hallowell has written a description of the psychology involved in an individual who thinks himself bewitched. This analysis seems to be an exact explanation of the behavior of the informant who had the gall bladder attack.

"Take the case of an Indian who believes himself bewitched, for example. At the first appearance of his illness, he may have thought that there was some other cause of his trouble, but as soon as he believes he is the victim of a hostile attack, he gets anxious. Why? Because he believes his illness is in retaliation for some previous act of aggression he has perpetuated. The assertion of these aggressive impulses on his part has led to a feeling of guilt and the illness from which he is suffering has

aroused anxiety because he senses danger."[31]

The informant and another man had been rivals for a woman, and the other man had married her. During that man's absence he had slept with this woman and she became pregnant. When he fell sick he first resorted to white medicine, but evidently he still had a sense of guilt and felt that he was being worked on by a witch. Danger was imminent, so he called in a curer whose slight of hand had therapeutic value. When shown the extracted object he felt better, the dangerous object had been removed and for the time his mind was at rest. His aggression had been displaced through the traditional belief in witchery, and this had been done with a "minimum of disturbance of social relationships."[32] There were no harsh

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[31] Hallowell, Anxiety in a Primitive Society, p. 875. Although Hallowell is discussing anxiety among the Salteaux, thousands of miles from the Zuni, I think that his analysis is basic to the psychological explanation of witchcraft. The cultural form of witchcraft among these two tribes would, of course, be at considerable variance.

[32] "Witchcraft," Kluckhohn says, "channels the displacement of aggression facilitating emotional adjustment with a minimum of disturbance of social relationships. Even direct aggression through witchcraft helps to maintain societal inhibitions consonant with the old native culture. Likewise, the witch is a convenient anxiety object. Anxieties may be disguised in ways which promote individual adjustment and social solidarity." Kluckhohn, Navaho Witchcraft, p. 67.

words, no open conflict between the two men; moreover, it is improbable that my informant would again court the attentions of this woman. Indeed the social relationships within the pueblo did not seem to be the least affected. If these two rivals met each other on the street it is certain that each would behave in a most polite fashion, each thinking the other to be a witch.

With the increase in anxiety due to uncertainties in the minds of the villagers and conflicting values in the minds of the men returning home, there was an accompanying increase in witch beliefs, and this in its turn acted as one of the controls which served to subjugate the individual to the will of the community.

## CHAPTER III

## THE FORCE OF RELIGION

In the previous chapter the negative aspect of Zuni religion, witchcraft, was discussed. It was pointed out that belief in witchcraft is instrumental as a controlling device, and that as a result of jealousy in the village (the Zuni make the assumption that jealous people are likely to be witches) many of the veterans have not utilized the knowledge, or followed the ideas and habits picked up while they were in the service. So witchcraft served as a means of reintegrating many of these men into the pattern of Zuni life. Now the force of the positive aspect of religion will be discussed. It too has had a great effect on the veterans, has served as a controlling force, and as is true of most religions, has been a means of conserving cultural values.

Religion and its expression in ritual has received more attention in the literature than any other phase of pueblo life, and this is fitting as it is the single most outstanding aspect of Pueblo culture. It is the point of greatest cultural elaboration. Just as in any comprehensive account of Plains culture war practices and the vision quest become the focus of attention, or in an account of Northwest Coast culture property and

status afford the central theme, so too in an account of Pueblo culture, (even at this late date, and in a dissertation which concerns only a very limited aspect of the present day total culture) religion and its endless elaboration in ritual is the aspect of life which spreads the farthest and the deepest.

To say that the Zuni are a very religious people is to mislead the lay reader, for we are conditioned to think of a devout man as one who attends church regularly and believes in the creed of his denomination. But among the Zuni, as among most primitive people, religiosity permeates a much greater sector of life. The Catholic Church in medieval Europe is the only parallel from our past which gives any indication of this sort of thing. Then, too, formal learning, recreation, warfare, the decorative and architectural arts, and nascent science were all tied into the religious fabric.

At Zuni much of the waking day of the elders, and a good part of each year for the middle-aged and younger people, is spent in ritual activity. In the old days everyone said prayers to the sun upon arising, "fed" the dead with prayer meal before eating, frequently uttered prayers at the river, and several times a year took part in long ceremonial dances which might last as long as ten days. All members of societies planted prayer plumes

monthly, in addition to those placed in the fields upon planting and harvesting crops, and the men spent many of their evenings and nights in the kivas, and observed sexual continence when partaking in ceremonial activity. Ritual was not a part of life: the ritual way of life was the way of life. Ritual controlled the weather, kept the sun on its course, determined the success of crops, the outcome of war, the birth of children, and the daily well-being of the individual. All of this ritual was exactly prescribed, and such prescription was re-enforced by a tremendous body of mythology and esoteric lore.

Furthermore, ritual efficacy depends on secrecy. To spread knowledge means to dissipate power. The knowledge of each one of the societies and rain cults is closely guarded, and the uninitiated, even if a child or spouse, is never told these secrets.

Therefore it was only natural for the townspeople to be much concerned over the religious needs of the men going off into the little known outside world. They were confronting the unknown and the uncontrollable, always an occasion for religious behavior. And so the ritual ways of the men when away, and proper observance upon coming home was paramount in the minds of the elders.

During the early months of the war there was no ceremony or group ritual of any sort given for the boys

going off from the pueblo. But due to pressure brought on the bowpriest, a ceremony was performed for those boys who left at a later date. One informant said:

"They didn't have a ceremony for me. It was after I was in the army I heard about it. The people got after that Owaleon [the 'younger-brother' bowpriest], told him that he should have a ceremony for those fellows, like they used to have in the old days."

This ceremony, called eułakʸa (going off to war) was described by one of those who went off to the service at a later date:

"The day before I went to the army I went over to Laʔate's house. Two other fellows who were going into the army went there with me. We went into the house and Lamy [priest of the east], Laʔate, Lee Napoli [sun priest], and Owaleon ['younger-brother' bowpriest] were all there. Lamy took us one by one. He was facing the east, and each one of us, as it was our turn, faced to the west while he put his arms around us, and we around him. He said a prayer which lasted for about fifteen minutes. I can't remember just what the words of the prayer were, but it was asking all the gods to watch over us, and to protect us and to bring us back safely. After the prayer he told each one of us to take care of ourselves and to

pray as often as possible. Then we took a bit of corn meal and sprinkled it on some prayer plumes which were in a basket in the middle of the room. Then each of us went back and sat down. That was all there was to it."

Another veteran mentioned that the ceremony given for him was held in another house: "the one on the west side of the plaza, where the rain priests get together all of the time." On this occasion the priest of the east was present, as well as the sun priest and the bowpriest. At a third ceremony, the only other one I was able to learn of, the two bowpriests (elder and younger brother) were mentioned. This variation in those present, and in the place of performance was probably due to the long lapse in this ceremony, presumably based on old war ritual; a variation which probably would have diminished with the passage of time.

When the men left the village after this ceremony they were not completely cut off from their religion. That is, for the most part at the behest of their elders, they carried with them certain practices and religious observances which they found reassuring to them as individuals. Group religious practices of necessity were abandoned when they left the pueblo: pueblo ritual, for the greater part, could be carried out only with the

cooperation of many men performing exact learned traditional procedures. Nor was there a necessity, I infer, for this type of activity when away from the village. Rain making, the core of the belief, was not essential to their way of life when out of the native environment.

Prayer meal[1] was carried by every veteran questioned. Many of the men carried the prayer meal on their persons, some in modern leather purses, others in buckskin bags. Others kept the meal in a convenient place in their luggage and took it out only when they wished to say their prayers.

One informant told me:

"I carried meal in a buckskin bag, and I also carried an arrowhead.[2] That is supposed to take care of you. I had it inlaid in a piece of silver along with my dog-tags [identification tags]. I also carried

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[1] "Corn meal is even more associated with prayer than prayer-stick or feather. Usually the meal is held in the hand to the mouth and prayed on and breathed on, before it is sprinkled." And "White corn is almost always used for ceremonial meal. The meal is coarse, since it is ground but once." (Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, pp. 292-5.)

[2] "Stone points are used as protective fetishes in many ways, . . . . As defensive charms they are carried on the person; and they are used in making passes against witches." (Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 483.)

in my wallet some of the foxtail grass, that makes you able to dodge the bullets: you know the way that waves in the wind. I also carried a bit of wild bee honey with me. Those bees are good at keeping people away. I used to put a little of it in my mouth, then rub it on other parts of my body. Also, before I left my home my mother took the fire poker and smeared some of the black under my eyes and on my face."

Here we find expressed a habit of mind that is basic to Zuni (and Pueblo) religion. It is what Elsie Clews Parsons called "thinking by analogy." "This use of resemblance as a principle of cause and effect or a means of determining effects is a conspicuous habit of the Pueblos, controlling and fundamental in their ceremonial life. In such ideology, which is quite familiar, since it is far from being confined to the Pueblos, like causes or produces like, or like follows like, like may also preclude or cure like."[3] The analogical qualities

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[3] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 88. Also see: Parsons, Reasoning from Analogy, pp. 365-9. This "thinking by analogy" is more commonly known as imitative and contagious magic, (see Lowie, An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology, p. 298), or sympathetic magic (see Benedict, "Religion," General Anthropology, p. 637).

of these objects are all explained except for the stove black. "Zuni warriors have blackened chins,"[4] according to Parsons. The rationalization for this may be found in the origin legend. It tells of how the two Ahayuta, the twin war gods, were being pursued by a girl whom they had killed on the previous day, and

> "They came to Shipapolima where there was a Stone knife (Flint) society. 'Here our people live. They will save us.' When they sat down, they gave them to eat. They took the bread and dipped it in the stew and put it in their mouths, four times only. 'Do you know any way to save us? Someone is chasing us.'-- 'Yes,' they said. To each they gave a bow, the bow-string to be held away from them as in the Thle'wekwe dance. They made them blacken their faces."[5]

Since the war gods were pursued by the girl they had killed, we may infer that it was her spirit or ghost that the legendary heroes were afraid of. Possibly a conscious fear

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[4] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 397.

Dr. Leslie Spier informs me that Plains warriors blackened their faces, and that this trait perhaps has a wider distribution.

[5] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, pp. 231-2. The dance referred to is put on by Wood Society, which is associated with the war cult. (See Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 168.)

of ghosts is the explanation for the blackening of this man's face, but it is more likely that it was done simply because that is the way warriors are treated, and in dealing with a dangerous situation it is best to hold to the old and tried ways of doing things, the ritual way. The use of black as a magical device, re-enforced in the mythology, may derive from a concept that the blackened person is rendered invisible, takes on the quality of blackness, of night. It will be remembered that the child when he is first taken out of doors at night has a black cross smudged over his heart, undoubtedly to render the heart invisible to the witches.[6]

I was able to question five veterans about their religious activities while they were overseas. All of them admitted saying Zuni prayers at one time or another, and all but one said that he carried corn meal with him. There was more variation in the religious behavior of these five men than would be the case in the village. While similar individual rites are traditional there, the religious sanctions are backed up by public opinion. If an individual does not follow the traditional way of performing a ritual he is made aware of the fact, for ritual

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[6] Black in Zuni thought and ritual is associated with the zenith and the nadir. (See Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 99.)

performed in other than the prescribed way may bring disaster, drought and bad times to the village. One informant said:

> "When I was in the army I received prayer meal one time from my folks. I hadn't taken any when I went away from home, I told them that it was no use sending it out there. . . . I took that meal out to the edge of camp where there were some bushes, I dug a hole, said a prayer, and poured it in the ground."

On being asked why he did that he said:

> "My sister wrote to me and said that my mother told her [to write me] to sprinkle a little every morning, or if I missed, then in the evening, and that meal should last about six months. She wrote that if I was ashamed to do that, if I had no way of doing that out there then dig a hole and say the prayers there. So I decided to do that and get it over with."

I asked him what he said in that prayer.

> "With all of this sacred meal that I am offering (as if I was speaking to the dead), here is all the meal I am offering you. With that I want you to bring me good luck, long life, and also to all my friends back home."

This informant went on to say:

"I sort of felt funny, here I was way off there in England, saying my prayers, it was a sort of funny feeling. I sort of felt as if that meal wouldn't do me any good away from home. I had a hard time there saying those prayers, it was the first time I had spoken Zuni since I had left the village after that furlough. Have you seen them saying prayers by the river? They say that they are feeding the dead. I used to think that the dogs would just get that food, but I suppose that it was just the spirit of the meal they were talking about. Sometimes I used to put that food to one side in the mess hall."[7]

This was the behavior of a Zuni who to a degree had lost his religion. He holds no ritual offices, belongs to no curing societies, and has taken part in only one ceremony (Shalako, 1945) since his return home, and that was when such a part was pressed on him by the family of his newly wed wife. While this informant denied taking part in ceremonies, it is not improbable that he did so to avoid answering "embarrassing" questions. One informant who does hold religious office, wrote a twenty-page life history without once mentioning religion. This is basic

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[7] Formerly a bit of food was cast into the fire by everybody before eating. Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 302.

in Zuni training, not to give away religious secrets. Another, who is less religious did likewise, but was willing to talk about his attitude towards the katchina cult when questioned.

The behavior of another Zuni is more typical of religious action when in the service:

> "About once a week, on Sunday before I went to Chapel, I would get up early in the morning, just after sunrise and go to the edge of camp, usually there was some wooded area. Like at Camp Buttner, and I would go there and say those prayers, I didn't want anyone to see me. I would have that thing that my uncle gave me and I would have a bag of corn meal, and I would face east and say those prayers. I used to keep that meal in my foot locker and when I ran out of it I would write home for more. That would be about every five months."

It is interesting to note that he observed his own religious practices and also went to the Christian religious services. There did not seem to be any great stress or confusion as a result of following the two religions. I found that it was quite possible for the Zuni to believe in both germs and witches, that the following of one set of beliefs did not exclude the other. It is relevant to look into an earlier period of this

man's life, when as a boy he went to the Sunday School of the Christian Reformed Church at Zuni:

> "I went and we sang the songs, and a lady teacher told us how the world was created and I went home and told my folks, and they said that they believed in it, that they believed in Jesus. They said that it was all right to believe both ways, as long as I believed in my Zuni way too. So that is the way it has been. When I was away from the village in the army . . . I go to church, but when I am in the village I don't.

This particular Zuni is a very friendly fellow, and when he is away from the village probably wants to fit into our way of life, as much as possible. I suspect that being part of the group and the "free show" offered by Christian services attracted him to church. But it is to be doubted that the "truth" in the Book of Genesis versus the Zuni Origin Myth caused any great conflict in the mind of this Zuni. The fact that he does not go to church in the village may be plausably explained by the gossip and ridicule that is showered on the heads of those who attend Christian church services in the pueblo.

The object that he prayed to, given to him by his uncle, was spoken of at another time:

> "I never did check to see what was inside of it,

it was just small like the end of my finger and was wrapped around with a piece of cloth. I just carried it around in my watch pocket. I used it a lot in combat before we went into attack. I held it in my mouth and talked to it and asked it to take care of me when the going was rugged."

And again:

"That time I was up front and the fighting got real hot and the going was rugged, I felt that something just pulled me out and sent me to the hospital that time . . . . Maybe it was that thing that my uncle gave me which was protecting me."

This object may have been a pebble, a stick, a small arrowhead, or a grain of corn.[8]

All of the men questioned who were in service and saw combat, said prayers in Zuni even if they did not carry pollen. I asked one informant if he carried any meal with him, and he replied:

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[8] [Some men] "possess collections of pebbles and sticks of black paint from which they seek help in special emergencies, and which are honored with prayer and song." Bunzel, Zuñi Ceremonialism, p. 491.

"Scalp-takers of Zia and Zuni put an arrowhead in the mouth." Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 332. ". . . arrowpoints have power because they have been shot by a powerful spirit by lightning." Ibid., p. 106.

"No, because I was one of the first to go, they didn't give us anything at all."

I asked him if he said Zuni prayers once in a while, and he answered:

"Yes, when the going got tough, . . . the Japs were giving us mass attacks; they were coming right up on foot, suicide attacks--that's the time I said those prayers. It was just like you would say a prayer to God, I said it to the Sun. 'Yadok$^{y}$a datchu' [father sun], I said, 'help us out today, things are getting rough.'"

Traditionally the sun is prayed to throughout life for longevity, and also is thought of in connection with war and hunting, giving power to the one who utters his prayers.[9]

This same veteran at another time told me that he also said his prayers to Santo Nina, whose image is handed down in one family line at Zuni and for whom the young women dance each fall. The grandfather of his

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[9] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, pp. 180-1.

wife is the present custodian of this santo.[10]

We have noted some of the religious behavior of Zuni who are of the "laity." What happened when one of the Zuni priests was drafted? This was a unique situation in recent pueblo history. Rain priests did not go off to war even in the old days. One of the Zuni priests who was deferred from the draft for several years was finally called to war service in October, 1944. Five months later a letter was written by the Governor of Zuni to his training camp in Maryland. Extracts from this letter follow:

"This soldier is one of the rain priests from the South. As such it is against the religion of the Zuni

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[10] This saint and certain other church properties (lace altar cloth and the old bells) are relics from the days when the Franciscans used the old church, now abandoned. There is confusion in the Zuni mind as to the identity of the saint. Some think of it as the Christ Child and others as the Virgin Mary. The Father at the revived Franciscan Mission, located on the other side of the village, says that it is representative of the Christ Child, yet all of the Zuni refer to it in English as "she." (Nor is this a mere linguistic confusion of pronouns, so often the case with English speaking Zuni, for those who speak good English and do not confuse "he" and "she" otherwise, speak of the saint as being a woman.) After all, why should a Zuni whose Christianity is only skin-deep, be expected to know the legends of the white man's gods? (See Fergusson, Dancing Gods, p. 89, for a short account of the Saint's Dance, also, Dickey, Saints and New Mexico, p. 316, for legends of Santo Nino de Atocha which enter into the legends of this saint. It is certain that this is not St. Francis, a statement made by Bunzel (Bunzel, Zuñi Ceremonialism, p. 491.)

people for this man to enter into combat. However, the Zuni people realize the significance of this great war and we wish to do everything possible to further the war effort. Nearly 200 of our men are now serving in the armed services.

"The above named soldier wishes to assist in the war effort in every way possible, but the Zuni people request that he be placed in a position where it will not be necessary for him to take part in actual combat operations."[11]

It is unfortunate that information is lacking as to the origin of this request. However, the significance of the document is the fact that when, against the will of the people, this man was taken away from his religious post in the village, religious sanctions followed him in his new life. Rain priests do not take part in warfare.

"The rain priests are, like the pekwin [sun priest], holy men. They are expected to keep themselves aloof from worldly affairs. In former times they did no manual labor, but lived on contributions from the people, but this is no longer the case. The priest should be gentle, humble, and kind. Above all he

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[11] Letter of Henry Gasper, Governor of Zuni Pueblo, to Whom it May Concern, Fort George G. Meade, Maryland, March 22, 1945. (In Government file, Black Rock, New Mexico.)

is supposed to eschew quarrels."[12]

The priest mentioned, one of the Ashiwanni, was an understudy in the Rain Society of the South, one of the four major chieftancies in the pueblo, known as the "daylight people."[13] This chieftancy numbered three priests, all of whom were members of Badger clan and related through the female line,[14] and the two elder members carried on the religious activities of the society during the absence of the younger member.

Two other members of the paramount chieftancies were also drafted, one from the west group, the other from the east. Each left two or more other members to carry on the activities of the Society. Of the other eight sets of Rain Chieftancies, less important than the "daylight people," the so-called "night people," four of the younger priests were drafted, and here too in each case at least one member was left to carry on the rituals performed by the society.

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[12] Bunzel, Zuñi Ceremonialism, p. 515.

[13] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 876.

[14] That is: one was the mother's brother, and the other was the grandmother's brother of this youngest priest.

Certainly the rituals were not performed in their absence just as they would have been carried out in the presence of all the priests, but there is in pueblo tradition a way of getting along in the face of necessity. There is the important process of what Parsons calls "substitution," whereby pueblo religion combats disintegration. This, as she points out, is "a quite general sociological method."[15] It was of course true in our own society during the war years. If a cleric joined the service as a chaplain, the congregation at home might not have had the accustomed attention to ritual detail that they had in the past, but where the Christian church was a functioning unit in an American community the institution itself had a resilience, an ability to survive in curtailed form. So it was at Zuni. As long as the religion met the needs of the people, those people had a way of ignoring lapses here ~~the~~ and there. This is quite different from the process of disintegration which seems to take place when the need is absent. Parsons points out that since transportation has come to Hopi and the other pueblos the practice of long distance running has slackened; also of how, with the introduction of cotton cloth, gathering of wild cotton and prayers to

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[15] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 1144.

Cotton Woman are no longer uttered.[16] The old adage "where there is a will there is a way" might be rephrased "where there is a need there is a way" and thus apply to Zuni culture change, or culture change elsewhere for that matter.

Prayers not only were said by the men in the service for their own protection, but prayers were said by the priests in the village for those out of the pueblo.[17] One of the young priests who did not go away to war, a member of one of the minor Rain Priesthoods, or "night people," told me:

"The priests of the societies, even though they didn't go off to war, spent a good deal of their time praying for the successful return of the men. This

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[16] Ibid., p. 143.

[17] There is comparative material from San Ildefonso and Santa Clara. In these pueblos, and probably in other Tanoan and Keresan Pueblos, the families paid the priests to say mass for for their sons and candles were lighted on Saturday nights and put out on nearby hills. A Santa Clara elder told me: "Candles were lighted in the old days when there was active warring in this region and a member of the Pueblo was left behind in enemy country." Boys from these pueblos carried rosaries with them when they were away in the service, and also prayer meal. I am not aware of mass being said at the Franciscan Mission on the request of any of the Zuni.

was in addition to the praying for rain, and it went on for the whole time the fellows were away. I think that is the reason that so few Zuni were killed."

The importance of this statement cannot be overestimated. Parsons pointed out that for the pueblo peoples success in war "depended upon the prayers of the old men who stayed home."[18]

While the men were away from the village their ritual activities were beyond the control of the native religious leaders. Religion was an individual matter during these years, but as soon as they returned (in fact before they had even set foot on the reservation), they were forced to conform with traditional ritual practices enforced by the public opinion of the pueblo. The initial requirement was a ceremony conducted for the men as they returned home from the war service. This ceremony was called Hanasema isu?waha (bad luck get rid of). One informant described it to me as it was performed for him:

"I arrived in Gallup one afternoon . . . . On the next day, there was my daddy and uncle. I had Ella with me, I just met her that day and I asked her to

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[18] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 1153.

go to the show with me, and then she was with me when I saw my folks. My uncle told me that I would have to get rid of that girl because they were going to have a ceremony for me before they took me back home. I didn't know that there was going to be anything like that. They told me that _____ was out a couple of miles from town selecting a spot where they could hold that ceremony. So I told Ella that I would be back in an hour or so, and off we went. The spot that _____ found was in a wash, where no one could see us. He had a bandana around his head. He told all of us to strip some cedar bark off from the trees. We all lined up facing east. In our right hand we had some corn meal that had been prepared by _____'s society, Newekwe, and in our other hand we held that cedar bark. Then he prayed. This prayer lasted for about fifteen minutes. At the end of that one we sprinkled meal to the east, and then we waved over our head four times that bark [counterclockwise]. Then my father and uncle stepped to one side and he said another prayer. Then he walked out of the wash and I followed him. He walked to the east and each tree he came to he sprinkled with corn meal. We must have walked about a quarter of a mile and all of the time he was praying. The last tree that we sprinkled was a small pinon.

Then we went back to the car. _____ told my uncle and my father that he had prayed for me and that I would never face bad luck again. He told them that he would initiate me into the same society that he belonged to. I wasn't expecting all of this. When he said that I was kind of disappointed. It was kind of a shock. Ding! just like that on top of your head. Just like being hit with something. Right then I thought how I could get out of it--out of the initiation--I planned right then to leave the reservation after I got my discharge. At this time I was still in uniform on thirty-day furlough. Then we went back to town and I saw Ella again, picked up my suit case and came down to Zuni."

One of the important underlying sanctions of Zuni religion--secrecy--is brought out twice in this account. The girl that the informant was with was a Navajo and it was deemed improper that she should see this ritual, and it would be improper for any passerby to see it, so the arroyo was chosen. To the Pueblo mind, religious knowledge shared is power lost. Power dissipates in proportion to the number who know the secrets. This psychology

spreads through all ritual activity.[19]

The use of cedar bark is made clear in the writings of Dr. Parsons:

> "There are several other rites to this end, [i.e., rites of exorcism], waving ashes or cedar bark around the head and casting away, spitting, emesis, fumagating, or whipping. All appear to be expressive of the concept of cleansing from the supernatural which has encroached upon the body . . . causing sickness or other misfortune."[20]

Dr. Bunzel writes:

> "There is a special form of purification called 'wiping off' (cuwaha) used in connection with war and healing. This consists of expectorating into cedar bark or corn husk . . . waving the packet four times over the head in counterclockwise circuits and throwing it down."[21]

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[19] "Various factors enter into the secretiveness of the Pueblos in regard to their ceremonial life, but one which is certainly strong with them is the belief that their ceremonies . . . will lose their potency if told, a common Indian attitude." Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, pp. 82-3.

[20] Ibid., p. 107.

[21] Bunzel, Zuñi Ceremonialism, p. 506.

The same informant told of an abbreviated form of this ceremony:

"When you were on furlough, before you went overseas they just asked you to pick up the cedar bark, spit on it and twirl it over your head four times; that was all."

On such an occasion his uncle met him in Gallup and on approaching the reservation line (marked by the cattle guard on the Gallup-Zuni road), this man reminded his nephew that he should perform that rite. My informant went on to say:

"I knew about that from before [in contrast to the full ceremony which was a new experience for him], even if you have been away to Albuquerque or some other place for a short length of time you do that. It prevents bringing back bad luck and sickness to the reservation."

Another informant told of his return home:

"So I thought I would walk up the street [of Gallup], and there was _____ [his present father-in-law]. Right away he wanted to take me

along.[22] He told me that my brother and mother were in town. When I met my brother he didn't care about that old superstition, he just came up and greeted me. But when I saw my mother she said, 'Son, I am glad to see you after all this time away from home, but according to Zuni superstition I am not supposed to touch you until you have had that ceremony for the returned warriors. You didn't have that one when you went away, but you better have this one now. Lots of veterans have returned home and had that.' I thought that was sort of funny, I never knew about that one before. So we came to Zuni and _____ a member of Ant Society came out to the bridge, near Black Rock, and said those prayers. After that she was able to greet me. Just one of those damned Zuni superstitions, I thought that time."

In one instance a veteran refused to go through the ceremony of purification, if this was going to lead to

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[22] This informant had been corresponding with this man's stepdaughter, and had known her well before he went into the service, but she had married another man subsequent to his leaving, and later they were divorced. At this time she was not married and had a child to support. It would seem that her stepfather was now making a play for this man. He married the girl only a short time after he returned.

membership in a curing society. He had been brought up in the Christian Reformed School, had been captured at Bataan and was in a Japanese prison for many months, and ultimately escaped. One of the villagers told of his homecoming:[23]

"He was one of the first boys to return to the village . . . . He telegraphed the mission that he was on his way and for them to meet him in Gallup. They went over and told his mother and she went up in the mission car. When they got back there was a fellow from Newekwe to meet him . . . (they had a lot to do with cleansing the returned warriors). This veteran told his mother right then, 'I won't get out and go through this if they are planning to initiate me into that society. I will return right now to Gallup if that is what they are planning.' They didn't know what to do for a while. The teachers didn't see any harm in his getting out, so he did. There was a lot of gossip about that."[24]

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[23] This informant is a Laguna woman who is married to a white trader. She has lived in the village for over ten years.

[24] It seems rather extraordinary that the member of Newekwe would perform the ceremony in front of one of the missionaries, or any white. Possibly they retired from out of sight to go through this rite, as in the previous description of this ceremony. It should be added here that this man was not initiated into Newekwe.

Information was obtained about the ceremonies that eight men underwent upon return to the village. In each case the men were met by a member of one of the curing societies, and I learned that was the general practice for the other returnees as well. I asked one veteran who would be the proper one to meet a man returning from service and he said:

> "It had to be a member of a curing society, and he should be a relative as well. Or he could be a member of Coyote Society."[25]

Why do we find that even in such a limited sample there is a preponderance of the Newekwe and Ant members among those who met the veterans? A lead is provided by the following statement of one veteran:

> "A lot of fellows have been boasting about what they have been through in combat, and you just know that they are making up a lot of that just so they

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[25] The degree of relationship was not learned, presumably either one of the father's or the mother's clans. Coyote Society is a hunting society without curing functions. "At Zuni, society censuses have shown that relatives or connections are likely to join the same society." Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 160.

Kroeber analysed the membership of Newekwe. He said: "This makes twenty-seven persons, or two-thirds the membership of the society, in eight family groups; and my tracing of kinship is very incomplete." (Kroeber, Zuñi Kin and Clan, p. 158.)

will be taken into Newekwe. They are supposed to be taken into that if they have seen blood."

Newekwe, or Galaxy Fraternity, as Matilda Cox Stevenson called it, is one of the curing societies, and the only one which is important in clowning activities. The Newekwe appear in many of the winter Katchina dances, and play a similar role to that of the koyemshi, the sacred clowns of the summer season. They are noted for their scatological and sexual practices, the eating of faeces, drinking of urine, and mock copulation--practices that were formerly carried on in public, but which are seldom seen today by white visitors. As my informant described it, "They are not ashamed to do anything." Dr. Parsons writes: "They eat anything to prove that they have medicine to cure anything." She quotes from Cushing who saw the Newekwe eat sticks, pebbles, ashes and "live puppies--or dead."[26] They are popular with the Zuni for the parodies

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[26] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 439 n.

Captain John G. Bourke was especially fascinated by these practices and wrote several papers in which he described the antics of these clowns. See Compilation of Notes and Memoranda Bearing Upon the Use of Human Odure and Human Manure in Rites of a Semi-religious Character among Various Nations, p. 8. Also see Stevenson, The Zuñi Indians, pp. 429-38, for a description of an initiation into this society. Omer Stewart described sexual clowning carried on at a public ritual which he witnessed in 1941 (Omer Stewart, field notes, 1941).

they do when they appear in large groups at the public ceremonies. Often they take off the school teachers and the government employees, or the missionaries. For this purpose they have a large collection of costumes of all sorts in their society house alongside the bridge on the south side of the river bank.[27] One of the specialties of the Newekwe as curers is treating rattlesnake bite, and diseases of the stomach. As in other societies it is only a few of the top leaders of the society who have sufficient knowledge to cure.[28]

In addition to clowning and curing the Newekwe have war functions. In the origin myth recorded by Bunzel two

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[27] One of their little "plays" was conducted in the plaza some years ago, as reported by one of my informants. The Newekwe brought a large box, about six feet long and five feet in height, into the plaza. It had various "gadgets" on one side, obviously a gigantic radio. One of the clowns tuned in on a radio "drama." There followed an hilarious conversation at a sheep camp between the two shepherds. Another time a Newekwe, dressed in costume of a Gallup policeman, would not let anyone cross the bridge until he received a gift. This exacting of gifts is the right of the koyemshi as well; before certain ceremonies both groups make the rounds of the village "begging" at each house. To refuse one a present is to invite disaster, especially from fire.

[28] Parsons and others call the curers "shaman." It is to be remembered that these men are not shamans in the Asiatic or Eskimo sense--they are never possessed by the supernatural--the rattle never shakes the Zuni curer, he is the shaker of the rattle, and in a precise learned way, as is the rest of his treatment, learned through a long apprenticeship period (as is the Navajo singer).

Newekwe scalped two girls, and a scalp dance followed.[29] I asked one informant, an older man, about the war duties of the Newekwe. He said:

> "They used to go to fight the Navajos with the bow priests. They were able to tell where the enemy were. The Newekwe can't sing those war songs anymore."

The reason for this was not ascertained. It might be because there is no longer a bow priest in the membership of that society. Formerly an annual ceremony called the Owinahaiye was given at Zuni. It was affiliated ritually with the rain chieftancies and the kivas, but not with the curing societies or clowns, except for Ant, which had an important role in the ceremony, and Newekwe, which performed the final exorcism.

Eight veterans have been initiated into Newekwe: more than in any other society. It has held on to its membership in recent years. Kroeber lists a membership of 42 for the years he was in the pueblo (1915-16). Interestingly enough Li Anche, studying the pueblo 20 years later (1935) listed the same number of members. The leader of the group today is the same man as in Kroeber's day.[30]

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[29] As paraphrased by Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 227.

[30] Kroeber, Zuñi Kin and Clan, p. 155. Li Anche, Zuni: Observations and Queries, p. 67.

That all of the men who were initiated into this society did not join it willingly might be inferred from what one of the initiates told me of his initiation, which was one of those that took place after he returned from the service:

> "I was initiated a year after I returned . . . . I was so drunk I didn't even know what they did. All I know is that I woke up the next morning and I was on the other side, I belonged. I told my mother the next morning that I wasn't going over to that society again, that I was going my own way, that some day I would come back and show them at Zuni."[31]

Four men were met by curers from Ant Society. This society also has war aspects. Ants, to the Zuni mind, "are helpful creatures of war, covering tracks."[32] And the Ant Society assists the War Society in putting on the scalp dance, and the ceremony known as Owinahaiye. In fact the Ant Society may be referred to as the understudy of the War Society.[33]

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[31] Subsequently this Zuni did leave the reservation. He now works in Gallup where he was contacted as an informant.

[32] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 192.

[33] Ibid., p. 880.

While four of the home-coming men were met by members of this society, there are only two members from among the veteran group at the present time. It is probable that, as with the Newekwe, men cannot be properly inducted into the society because there is no longer a bow priest to perform the proper ritual. That was the old pattern, but with the decline of the membership in the bow priesthood there are not enough bow priests to serve in this capacity.

There were only four bow priests in 1921, and this was a decline from fifteen in 1896. But none the less, societies have inducted many members since the day when each had a bow priest. The necessity of having a bow priest in each society in order to initiate new members is a rationalization after the fact. Pueblo ritual, even in the process of disintegration that has been in progress in the last 50 years, finds a way of accommodating itself to deprivations that would have been thought insurpassable only a short time ago. The elder bow priest died in 1945,[34]

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[34] This was Joe Crazy Horse, or Loco Joe, as he was also called. He was not initiated into the society himself until 1921, when he was an old man; according to Dr. Parsons. (Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 1128.) Sexually he was aberrant: he never married, and according to rumor he fathered many children in the village, by adolescent girls. Each summer he took part in the Gallup Ceremonial where he amused the audience with his clowning.

and no Newekwe have been initiated since his death. It will be of interest to see if accommodation to this vacancy in the bow priesthood takes place and more members are initiated.

The society that, at the present time, has next to the largest veteran membership is Coyote Society, which is a hunting society and does not have a curing order. It was noted above in the statement of an informant that the proper person to conduct the cleansing rite was either a member of a curing society, or a member of this hunting group. "Among all Pueblos," wrote Parsons, "there is a close conceptual relationship between killing men and killing prey animals, between hunting and warring organizations."[35]

A census of veteran membership in curing societies revealed that out of the total number of 211 veterans there was a membership of 23 men whose affiliation could be positively determined, with a probable affiliation of four others. A listing of this membership follows:

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[35] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 134.

SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP OF VETERANS[36]

| SOCIETY | NUMBER OF VETERAN MEMBERS |
|---|---|
| ne'wekwe (Galaxy) | 8 |
| shi'wannakwe (Mystery medicine, Jugglery, and Fire) | 1 |
| hä'lo'kwe (Ant) | 2 (?) |
| ma'$^{t}$ke$^{t}$san'nakwe (Little Fire) | 2 & 1 (?) |
| ma'$^{t}$ke$^{t}$hlan'nakwe (Great Fire) | 0 |
| pe'shä$^{t}$silo'kwe (Bed-bug) | 2 |
| $^{t}$sän'iakiakwe (Coyote) | 6 |
| $^{t}$hle'wekwe (Wood) | 1 |
| chi'kialikwe (Rattlesnake) | 2 & 1 (?) |
| $^{t}$ko'shi'kwe (Cactus) | 0 |
| shu'maakwe (Spiral Shell) | 2 |
| u'huhukwe (Eagle-down) | 0 |

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[36] The orthography is that of Matilda Cox Stevenson. This and other census material of religious affiliations was obtained from one older informant, a man who is an active society member, and who takes a frequent part in the masked dances. I trust his information, but think it important to state that it comes from one informant and needs checking.

When Li Anche took a census of the societies in 1935 there were 376 members (men and women), or 18% of the population (2,036) of that day. (Li An-che, Zuñi: Observations and Queries, p. 67.)

The selected age range of the veteran population (many join curing societies in middle age) and data on only the one sex does not, unfortunately, give comparable statistical material. However, it is interesting to note that approximately 11% of the veterans belong to curing societies.

Information as to the time of initiation was obtained on twenty of these twenty-three men. Thirteen were initiated prior to the war, and seven were initiated after their return from the service. Of these Coyote had inducted two and Newekwe three. More men would have probably been initiated if there were more bow priests. The same informant who gave the census material said:

"All the boys that have been lined up for Newekwe can't be initiated. They can't initiate those boys unless they get another bow priest."

We have seen how the curing societies have been able to recruit new members from among the veterans upon their return home. Looked upon in one way, these were the traditional techniques for keeping the group together and perpetuating its social and religious groupings. This was well expressed by the grandfather of one of the veterans who said:

"If the old people die then the old religious societies will die with them and the younger people will follow the white man's ways. This period now is just the beginning of the death of the religion. For the last years things have been much worse. In the future if these old ways aren't carried on and die out it won't be long before the end of the world will come about."

The cleansing ceremony at the reservation boundary was their way of ridding the individual of evil that might have followed him from contact with the enemy. But in many cases, from the Zuni point of view, evil followed the men back into the village, and was not successfully exorcised by that ceremony alone. Many men were restless, would not settle down to the routine of village life. They would not stay for more than a few days with the sheep, or work in the fields, as they used to do before going away to war. Some cried out in their sleep, acted in ways that seemed peculiar. The traditional pueblo method for dealing with this type of conduct was to call in a curer. The point of view of the grandfather of one of the men who behaved in this way is expressed in the following:

> "They [the veterans] were changed when they came back. Their arms were shaky [here the interpreter, the veteran-grandson, interposed and said, 'He is talking about me.'] . In order to cure them of their scaredness they had to be initiated into curing societies. After they received treatments they seemed to be cured--behaved all right."

"Scaredness" here is to be interpreted from the point of view of the old man who was talking. In all probability this "scaredness" is due to contact with the ghosts of

the dead, which, as we have seen from the quotation from the Origin Legend, is firmly rooted in Zuni rationale.

There is not sufficient data to make any positive statement. But it would seem likely that what we have here is the traditional Zuni method of protecting the village from the taint of war evil. Probably in the old days it was incumbent upon certain societies (probably Newekwe, Ant, Wood, Big Shell, and Cactus, all of which Parsons points out have ritual connections with warfare)[37] to meet the returning warriors and exorcise this evil, upon their return from battle; but if this failed the "scared" warrior had to be cured, through ceremony, and eventually be initiated into that society. But it was the war cult led by the bow priest that ritually cleansed warriors, at least any of those who had taken an enemy scalp. It would be logical to think that the war cult would be the one religious grouping which would flourish as a result of these hundreds of men being away in the war service. But this has not been the case, and a closer look at recent Zuni history leads one to believe that the war cult has become so badly disintegrated that it is no longer possible for it to be revived as a fully functioning unit. There was too long a period

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[37] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 168.

between the days when the Zuni were actively engaged in warfare (even though a greater part of that was defensive warfare) and the present period of its history. As Dr. Parsons has pointed out,

> "The surcease of intertribal war or raiding of course contributed of itself to the passing of the war society or to its transformation. How this would happen appears very directly at Zuni. Only to save himself after taking a scalp would a man wish or consent to be initiated into the bow priesthood or war society. When scalping ceased, initiations ceased."[38]

It is even stronger than that. There is evidence that there was such a dread of joining this society that killing was avoided.[39]

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[38] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 1128.

[39] An interesting account of a "war" with some of the Ramah Mormon settlers was told by one old man. During the '80's or possibly '90's of the last century some Mormon ranchers "rustled" some Zuni horses. There followed a "war" expedition led by the elder brother bow priest and after assembling a party of men there was a pitched fight in which several Zuni were killed. Finally, with the aid of some Navajos, the Mormons were cornered in a cabin (on the site of the present Dent ranch at the head of the Ramah reservoir), and the Zuni called for the troops at Fort Wingate. Finally, the Mormons gave themselves up. According to the narrator, the Captain of the troops told the Zuni that they could do as they wished with these men (in good frontier tradition). "He asked them four times and said, 'Don't you want to kill the Mormons?' and the Zuni said, 'No,' and explained to the Commander their reason, because any Zuni that is going to kill any alive human being will have to become a war chief. So none of them wanted to become a war chief, that is the reason they didn't want to kill the Mormons."

The scalp ceremonial, a long and complicated ceremony lasting for twelve days, is given upon the initiation of each new member of the bow priesthood. In 1921 Parsons saw such a ceremony performed to install Joe Crazy Horse in office. The next ceremony was in 1937 and the last one was in 1945. Shortly after the initiation of the third man Crazy Joe died, and then within the year this younger and newly installed member committed suicide.[40] This left only one bow priest in office. The one who was the most sought after for this position was the veteran who had been at Bataan and in a Japanese prison camp from which he escaped. It will be remembered that he refused to join the Newekwe upon homecoming. Nor was the bow priesthood able to get him; after being in the village for

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[40] This is the only Zuni suicide I know of that has been confirmed. Bunzel wrote: "No single fact gives a better index to Zuñi temperament than that suicide is absolutely unknown among them, and the very idea is so remote from their habits of thought that it arouses only laughter." Bunzel, Zuñi Ceremonialism, p. 480.

The father of one of my veteran informants had this to say about this bow priest's suicide, "[he killed himself] because he said that he was tired of living . . . he didn't like the idea of being a war chief so he resigned. He dreamed that someone told him that he was going to die in the near future. According to what he said before he took his life he heard the songs they sing in their society coming from the gas lamp, and he didn't want to suffer any more so he took his life." (The selection of words was that of the son, a well educated Zuni.)

about a year he went off again to the army. There was also a rumor to the effect that the bow priest was "working on" a fellow who had murdered a Mexican some years ago when out at his sheep camp, but to date nothing has come of this. When an informant was asked why the bow priesthood had not recruited any new members he answered,

> "There is too much to do in that one. No one wants to join it. Besides the war chief gets blamed for anything that goes wrong in the village."

To summarize, the veterans upon their return from war service were given cleansing ceremonies.[41] Relatives who were members of curing societies were the ones who met them. Later several veterans (from our small sample) joined the society of that relative. There was a very definite "bid" for the men on the part of these curing societies, but it is not known whether this whole process is a carryover from the old war practices of the past, or a new development based on a conscious desire of the leaders of the various curing societies to recruit new members. Also, the curers were able to do a flourishing "trade" as a result of the witch beliefs of these men--

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[41] The agent reported that to his knowledge all but two of the men coming back to the pueblo were given this ritual.

beliefs that may have been stronger during this period as a result of the intense unrest in the pueblo. The bow priesthood is almost extinct and has been unable to recruit any of the younger men in the village, or anyone else for that matter, to take up the duties of the much needed bow priests.

Turning now to other aspects of Zuni religion: What of the katchina cult? To what degree have the veterans participated in the katchina dances and the other public group ceremonies?

Information was obtained regarding the participation of 188 veterans in the katchina dances, and other masked rituals, such as Shalako. The informant was asked this question: "Which of the men on this list have taken part in masked dances since they have been back from the service, and which have not? In each case, did the man dance before he went away to the war?" Eight out of this number had never danced at all. Of the remaining 180, fifty-four veterans danced only before the war, and not after they came home. There was a total of 126 veterans who continued to dance after they had returned to the village. In other words, 30% of the veterans who danced before going into the service

have not danced since they have come back.[42]

It would be easy to fall into a simple fallacy and infer that these men, as a result of being away from the village and in contact with whites, have lost their religion. But it is not as simple as that. I think that it is highly probable that there is as high a percentage (30%) of those men who did not go to war

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[42] The way in which the informant gave this data is of interest, and somewhat revealing of pueblo values. A list of the names of all the veterans was before him, and across the top of the page were sections, ruled off and headed: Kiva, Curing Society, Dance (before and/or after War). In giving me the information he always first said, "Yes, he always dances," or possibly, "no, he never dances," or it might have been, "he used to dance as a boy." It was this fact that loomed largest in his mind, it would seem, and of less importance was the ceremonial affiliation. He knew in every case if the man had danced: there was not any hesitancy, it was certain knowledge. No doubt he could have done the same thing for the whole male population. It was an impressive feat of memory, but probably any participating elder of the katchina cult could have done the same thing. This, it would seem, reflects the importance of the dances in the minds of the older men, and I infer that there is a good deal of discussion and gossip in the kivas and societies (but not in the homes before the children) as to who danced and who did not, as well as criticism of the way the dance was performed.

who do not take an active part in the masked dances.[43] In other words a slackening of activity in the katchina cult on the part of the young men probably represents a general trend, rather than a function of acculturation among veterans. This fact was indicated in the remark of a rain priest, who, when asked if the katchina dances were not much smaller during the years that so many men were away from the village, replied,

"No, because most of the dancers are older men." The informant who gave the census material said that none of the young men spent much time in the kiva, and that all of these younger people took less interest in their religion since they had been away at school.

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43 Here there is unfortunately a large gap in my data. I realized, at the time, that it was necessary to work with a control group, and had started to collect this information when pressures were exerted on both me and my informant. I was unable to bring him to grips with the matter again, and I was even turned down when I wrote him to join me in Albuquerque. It is hoped that this material will be obtained in the near future, for it is the only way of determining with any accuracy if a differential exists between the veterans and those other men of the same age group. It will also be of value to determine the affiliation by kiva, and society of all the males in the village (as well as the female roll of the societies). This will show interesting comparative data to that of Kroeber obtained thirty years earlier. What societies have grown, which have fallen off, and why? Is this a function of the type of cure each specializes in? What of the leadership factor? In the realm of participation in the masked dances--at what age do most men begin to dance, how many men of old age dance? How many times a year do the various men dance? All of these questions will help to qualify the literature which in so many cases presents the ideals rather than the actualities.

I asked some of the veterans if they believed that the katchina dancers bring rain. One man answered:

"No I don't. I think that it is just a dance, that there is no power there to bring rain. I believe that it is impossible for something little like that to bring rain. Weather is weather and isn't man made."

Then I asked him when he began to feel like that towards the katchinas?

"When I was in day school. But this other religion, about the afterworld, that you dance over there and all that, I believe in that. I just don't believe that dancing brings rain."

By "over there" the informant means in "katchina village" to the west of Zuni, where the Spirits of the dead dwell. Another veteran put it this way:

"No, I don't believe that they bring rain. I noticed that when they dance they might dance for four or five days and it wouldn't rain, in fact it might bring a dust storm, and another time it might rain. It was just luck. If it rained it rained, if there was a dust storm, well, there was a dust storm, that's all there was to it."

Then he was asked what the older people thought if the dancers did not bring rain.

"They think that well maybe someone in that family went to the store, they are not supposed to do that when the cacique is in retreat. But I think that if there is rain it is just luck. I think that if they abolished the katchina society and the cacique societies they would still have rain."

At this point I asked him: "What if they were to do away with the curers?" "I am still in favor of them having curing societies," he answered.

Another veteran, in his early twenties, said,

"Well the trouble is in the summer time the people spend all their time out dancing instead of tending to their crops . . . . It is true that the older people feel that . . . they are bringing rain. It's their religion, but they carry it too far, when the crops need tending. But the younger people don't feel that way. Dancing is more pleasure to the younger people, more pleasure than religion. They just don't have that religious feeling inside of them any more. Even so they feel pretty strongly about it, won't talk about the religion. I think that eight or ten years from now the Zuni won't have one half what they have now. The old folks are dying off slowly but surely. Even eight years ago more of the old folks were alive and there was more fasting then, more planting of

feathers. Eight years from now Shalako will be put on more for show than anything else."

Of course one of the elders would say that he is tending the crops as much by dancing as by hoeing. There is no distinction between the two as far as caring for the crops go. But to the Zuni who has lost his belief in weather control by this compulsive magic, the one has already become "more pleasure than religion" and competes with time spent in the fields. A hint as to one type of motivation of some of the men who do take part in the dances was given:

"The main things here at Zuni are gossip and hurting the older peoples' feelings. No one wants to do that. Many of the fellows are asked [to dance], and they may refuse once or twice, but they don't like to refuse all the time because of the way the old people will feel about it.

Planting feathers and teshque are the same way."[44]

Lack of faith in the katchina cult and in the ritual procedure of the rain priests is in striking contrast to the firm belief of these men in the efficacy of treatment offered the sick by the curers. All five of the men that I questioned about the matter doubted or flatly denied the value of dancing as a means of bringing rain, but only one man, a young veteran,[45] denied the

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[44] "Nor does the psychological attitude of the youths back from the boarding schools trouble the elders, as long as the youths are initiated and dance. Zuñi elders are ritualists, not philosophers, pretty much as were our own elders fifty years ago; as long as they young people 'go to church' they are not questioned on what they think about." (Parsons, Spring Days in Zuñi, p. 52.)

"Planting feathers" is a reference to the practice of planting prayer sticks, one of the most important procedures in Pueblo ritual. They are planted monthly by the members of curing societies, and by members participating in almost all ceremonies, as well as by the whole adult population during certain specified seasons. Teshque is the annual ceremonial retreat for the whole village, during which time no one trades at the village stores, smokes out-of-doors, or empties ashes or other refuse out of the houses. The term is used for this particular retreat, and more generally in reference to anyone who is observing exact religious restrictions, such as fasting or sexual continence. A rough translation of the word is simply "sacred."

[45] This informant is from the family most sophisticated in white ways of any in the pueblo. He is the third generation to speak English, and has spent a good deal of time out of the village.

efficacy of the curing practices. If a greater range of religious attitudes was at hand his would probably be at one extreme of any statistical series, but it is worth noting here in that it is extreme rather than typical. He said in reply to the direct questions: "How do you feel about the Zuni medicine men? What would you think if you saw one of those curers pull a thorn out of the side of someone, for example?"

> "I know the way I believe. It is just one example of the hand being quicker than the eye. I have seen them do that in the houses hundreds of times. But if you believe in something hard enough you just think that it is so. It's all up in the head. It is just like the Navajo, if they think that they are going to be well the next day after a sing, and they believe it well enough they will be well. That will make them well."

The fact that this man's thoughts on the subject were not in accord with others is brought out by what he said immediately following the above:

> "Of course I don't go around the village telling the Zuni the way I feel. But I have talked to a lot of fellows to find out what they think about witches and the religion. Of course you can tell pretty well how they feel in their homes. My mother is always

getting after me, she says that I should believe in these things. My sister is the same way. She believes in more than I do. Mother was brought up as more of a Zuni than I was, I guess."

The more typical attitude of even the young men of the village was expressed by one of the veterans who had a sore foot. He called in a curer from Little Fire Society, who "sucked" a thorn out of the heel. The heel was better at the time of the interview, and this informant concluded his account by saying, "Gee, that medicine man is a smart man." One of the veterans quoted above who denied the value of dancing for rain was asked if he wanted to join a medicine society. "Yes," he said, "I would like to, but there is no way. The different societies have different ways of initiating you and some have to save your life."[46]

Why has the post hoc ergo propter hoc reasoning, the causal connection between dancing and weather, been not only questioned, but denied, whereas it has remained unquestioned in regard to curing practices? That is,

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[46] Sickness is the most common mode of joining a society at Zuni. Trespass is more rare. In a census of Newekwe taken by Kroeber, 35 out of the 42 members had joined by the former. (Kroeber, Zuñi Kin and Clan, p. 155.)

why do these men no longer believe that the dancing, the repeated songs calling for the rain clouds, the washing of hair in billowy yucca suds, and the rest of the compulsive magic of the katchina cult control the weather, and yet believe, using the same after the fact reasoning, that the cure was performed because they saw the curer take ants out of the body, "shot" there by a witch? In each case, in traditional Zuni belief, there is a causal relationship. The clouds come because of the ritual hair bathing; the body gets better because the ants have been removed. But in the one case the causality is doubted or denied, whereas in the other case it is not. The answer is not to be found in a difference in thought processes or in logic, for they are the same.

Rather, lack of belief in the weather control has been undermined by the changing economy.[47] In the early

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[47] "Any irrigation system independent of rainfall will be fatal to the prestige of the katchina." (Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 1143.) The irrigation system in the Zuni valley depends on the water impounded at the Black Rock dam, built in 1906. But what type of irrigation could be ultimately independent of rainfall? Nor do I think this is carping. The Zuni dance for rain for their crops; it does not matter if it falls on the Zuni mountains or elsewhere, if it is used and needed to irrigate their fields. There are after all dry seasons when there is an insufficient supply of water in the reservoir. I do not think that the Black Rock dam has been nearly the threat to the katchina cult that the growth of silversmithing attended by reduced agriculture has been.

days there was only one way of obtaining a sufficient amount of food, and that was by growing it (supplemented by hunting which was equally surrounded by ritual behavior). No alternate way of obtaining food was available, but today there is: working for wages. Many of the silversmiths in the village are completely divorced from either caring for sheep (the range, of course, must have rain), or farming. The others in the family tend to those matters, while the young men, by their work at the silversmith's bench, provide store credit. Why, we may ask, if there is this alternate way of earning food, should a young man dance if it is just a matter of obtaining rain for the crops?[48] Does not this account for the fact that "it is not in their hearts any more" as one informant put it? Many young men dance but it is for ulterior motives, for fun possibly in some cases, and the satisfaction that comes with group activity, or due to the pressures exerted by the dance leaders of the kiva, whom they are ashamed to turn down too many times, or to avoid the gossip that might result from not doing so. "Hurting the older peoples' feelings" should be avoided.

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[48] More information is needed here. When the census of ritual activity is completed, it is planned to determine the correlation between participation in the katchina cult and amount of crops planted.

The motivation has shifted from one of necessity (i.e., it is the only way to get food) to one of social conformance. The question is, will social conformance die out when that conformance is not re-enforced by religious sanctions?

Medical treatment offered by the government has not become an alternate method of curing in the sense that wage earning has become an alternate means of obtaining food. The necessity of dealing with the witches remains deep-seated in Zuni psychology, and it would seem that as long as anxieties are expressed in witch belief there will be curers to reduce that anxiety.[49] The Government Hospital at Black Rock may be resorted to by the Zuni who is ill, as well as the services of the curer,

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[49] Parsons puts it this way: "Any check on the witchcraft nexus would undermine the curing societies." (Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 1139.)

More speculation: Do not we have here that belief which is the most deep-seated persisting the longest in the face of rapid culture change? That aspect of Zuni religion carried on by the curing societies is a variant of North American shamanism, whereas priestcraft has a much more limited distribution, diffused to the Southwest from Mexico and greatly modified, in all probability, a religion which may have been of a more typical North American shamanistic type. Shamanism became modified to the point that it is now learned shamanism, as much learned as the rituals of the rain priests. The fact that it is the most deep-seated aspect of Zuni religion is also borne out by the secrecy that surrounds it. All that the students of Zuni know of the curing practices is to be found in Stevenson. By the time Parsons studied Zuni the curing practices had become completely closed to the outsider.

and the hospital is used more with the passing of years, especially for childbirth and for accidental injuries, bruises, cuts and burns. But lingering illness and internal disorders of various types continue to be treated in the village. Even those who do use the hospital frequently go to the curer either before going up to Black Rock, or after they return to the village. The American doctor may treat the sore, but not make the patient feel better because of his deep-seated anxieties, expressed in the form of witch-belief.

## CHAPTER IV

## OTHER TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL

Positive and negative aspects of religion have been discussed as techniques of controlling the behavior of the veterans. Religious enactment, whether it is of a positive nature, or the negative aspect of religion which I have labelled "witchcraft," is firmly rooted in tradition, and these traditions are constantly enforced at the present time by what we, in our sociology, might term "public opinion." Public opinion molds the form of many aspects of culture, at Zuni as elsewhere,--the shape of a piece of pottery, the length of the manta worn by the Zuni woman, and the size of her husband's hat, or the way he ties his head band. It expresses itself when the sun priest goes off to live in Gallup (so that as a consequence of criticism the sun priest returned to live in the village). It enforces the traditions of the past by shaping the behavior of the present day and thereby establishes tradition for the future, in that it says, "this shall be done," and "that shall not be done." Pueblo religion in its adherence to exact ritual may be better understood when we examine the methods whereby opinion is enforced--and these very methods themselves are just as traditional as the forms of religious expression which they enforce.

The conservatism of pueblo life, its exact adherence to ritual, the way in which its social organization perpetuates itself, and even the continued use of the Zuni language among the young people of the village, some 65 years after the founding of the first school in the pueblo, all demonstrate the force of these techniques of control.[1]

The techniques of enforcing public opinion which will be discussed are gossip, rumor, ridicule, and formal action taken by the pueblo council.

Gossip per se has never been treated in the literature on Zuni (nor in the literature on the other pueblos, to the best of my knowledge). Gossip permeates the whole atmosphere in the pueblo. It surrounds the ethnographer; it is levelled at his informants; and it is on their tongues when they talk of others in the village; it is bandied back and forth by the men standing in the trading post; by the women grinding corn and white-washing the walls. Possibly the fact that it is such an obvious pueblo trait explains, paradoxically enough, why it has

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[1] It was a lack of understanding of this force of public opinion which led me to think that the veterans of this war would be able to introduce many foreign elements of culture into the pueblo. These forces are strong today as they were in the past, when the early ethnographers thought that Zuni religion was going to disappear in a very short time.

been slighted by the ethnographer. Gossip may very well be a cultural universal. People living in all types of societies gossip, and it may be this universal quality which accounts for the ethnographers' lack of interest in the subject.

While gossip may be a universal trait, what is gossiped about is culturally prescribed, and differs from one culture to the next. Possibly the subjects of gossip are just as important in understanding a culture as is what the people laugh about, in that they reveal underlying cultural values. Humor, too, is one of the most effective methods of control known, especially when it is directed against some one person, when it holds one member of society up before his fellow members for derision. This type of humor--ridicule--is also probably a cultural universal. People everywhere make fun of their fellow men, but in some cultures ridicule seems to be more effective than in others, and of course what is singled out for derision varies from one culture to the next. One reason that ridicule is so effective at Zuni is the fact that the people have such a strong sense of shame. It is one of the most deeply rooted characteristics and comes out continually in conversation, even in English. "I'd be ashamed" is the phrase they use, and it reoccurs constantly. Irving Goldman writes,

"The Zuni child . . . grows up under little restraint; he faces no stern disciplinarian in the house. Rather, his parents are all kindness to him and humor his wants. He is rarely scolded or spanked. But there the Zuni minimize physical force as a sanction they strongly emphasize shame. The married man who is promiscous in his sex relations is shamed in public by his wife, who chooses some public ceremonial to make her gesture of disapproval."[2]

Because of this sense of shame, ridicule and gossip are especially effective devices. Zuni hate gossip if it makes them look like the fool, and frequently it spreads in the form of rumor all over the village and is thereby tremendously effective as a medium of expressing public sentiment.

Ridicule, gossip, and rumor altogether form a kind of superstructure which rests on this underlying sense of shame, and they are as important as witchcraft in determining

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[2] Goldman, Zuni Indians of New Mexico, p. 339. A comparative note on Navajo behavior is of interest: "Navaho sensitivity to 'shame' likewise largely takes the place that remorse and self-punishment have in preventing anti-social conduct in white society . . . 'shame' (I would feel very uncomfortable if anyone saw me deviating from accepted norms.') . . . plays the psychological role which 'conscience' or 'guilt' . . . has in the Christian tradition . . . ." Kluckhohn, Children of the People, p. 106.

what Parsons has called "social timidities," and in shaping what Benedict has called the Apollonian.[3]

In an earlier chapter it was pointed out that the Newekwe parody the whites who live in the pueblo. This institutionalized ridicule extends equally to fellow Zuni who are on occasion made fun of in the antics of both the Newekwe and the koyemshi.

Witchcraft is the greatest crime; Bunzel has said that it is the only crime the Zuni know.[4] It is the ultimate accusation which can be made against a person. Likewise, the most vicious gossip is to say that a certain person may be a witch. Without doubt it was the mounting tension and indignation which accompanied such rumors as they were elaborated, circulated, and what Allport in his study of rumor[5] has called "sharpened," which

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[3] It will be recalled that Parsons said that if more were known about the orgiastic practices of the curing societies that our conception of pueblo life would be quite different. I pointed out earlier that the Newekwe indulge in activities which certainly fit more in Benedict's Dionysian category than in the Apollonian: behavior is very individual and excessive. It is significant that the Zuni say of the members of this society, "they are without shame; they will do anything."

[4] Bunzel, Zuñi Ceremonialism, p. 479.

[5] A comprehensive account of the social psychology of rumor in our culture is in Gordon Allport's The Psychology of Rumor.

led to witch hunts and trials, followed by hangings, at Zuni in the old days.

But certainly before any Zuni is gossiped about as being a witch, and before that rumor spreads through the village and is accepted by the people, there is a long period of gossip about such a person's conduct. It might be only after years of gossip, which might have been quite "idle" to start with, and become more pointed with the passing of time, that the public opinion snowballs into accepting the fact that such and such a person <u>is</u> a witch. By then public indignation has reached such proportions that everything told of that person is readily believed. Put in other terms, if the person does not heed the gossip and the rumors which are spread about him in the village, if he persists in his ways, he may ultimately be called a witch. But gossip and rumor play in such an effective way upon one's sense of shame that the conduct of the individual usually changes long before public opinion has mounted that high.

It has been pointed out that personal anxieties are displaced by individuals in Zuni in the form of witch beliefs. The person who feels ill thinks someone is working on him, is witching him. While this is the expression that witchcraft takes on the personal level, and is immediately tied into the native medical beliefs, witchcraft also has

this other expression on the level of the group. Without doubt if an investigator were to question a series of informants asking each who they thought practiced witchcraft, he would get a good deal of variation from one informant to the next. These were the people with whom there had been unpleasant relations in the past, rivalry for women, and the like. But there would also be certain reoccurring names which would be universally labelled as witches. As mentioned above, these would be the ones against whom a strong public opinion already had crystallized. It is unknown just what the relationship is between these two orders of opinion, private and public, in respect to witchery. Possibly if a man falls ill and thinks that a certain person is witching him, and is then subsequently cured, he may spread a rumor around the village that his illness was caused by a certain person. If that person is unpopular, one about whom there has been a good deal of gossip in the past, then the rumor takes hold and public recognition changes the rumor into fact, for the Zuni. In the past there were individuals who were accused of bringing drought on the village by witchery. It must have been only the universally unpopular person against whom such accusations were levelled. It was the Zuni method of scapegoating.

Gossip is likely to be especially virulent in

community life where people are living at close quarters. At Zuni, if a man quarrels with his wife the news is all over the village in a very short time. Exchange of chatter takes place not only in the houses but in the kivas and if an especially "toothsome" bit of scandal is repeated, it is no time at all before each man carries this news to his wife's home and his own home.[6]

Another factor in the spread of gossip is the fact that the Zuni have relatively little to do during the winter season. Most of those who have homes out at the farming villages come in for Shalako and stay in the big village until it is time for planting. Ceremonial life and long hours of story telling, and in recent years, silversmithing, consume much time, but what is left of the long winter evenings largely is spent in talking about the neighbors. The Zuni are late to retire any season of the year, but when there are no crops to be tended early in the morning it is not at all uncommon for lights to be on in houses at one and even two in the morning.

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[6] The Zuni make the distinction in speaking English between "his house," which always refers to the house of the mother and sisters where the man was brought up, and the house of his wife where he is now living. It is confusing at first to be told by a man's wife that "he is over at his house."

In so far as gossip and rumor, as well as ridicule, play on this sense of shame it is best to discuss them as different aspects of the same process--that is as expressions of public opinion which act as social controls. To distinguish the one from the other by rigid definitions would only set up formal categories which would obscure the nature of the data.

Ridicule often takes place in public places such as in the trading post, when one Zuni gibes another. Frequently news of this travels through the village to the embarrassment of the subject. For example, one of the veterans who prided himself on his American clothes (he was seen at Shalako this year wearing a complete "business" suit with all the correct appointments), used to go to the shower room carrying a leather shaving kit, in which he carried a change of under-clothes and his soap, etc. The other Zuni boys "kidded" him, saying, in effect: "You are quite a big-shot, aren't you, with that leather case, these paper bags are good enough for us." Insignificant though this deviation from custom was, word of it spread through the village.

But it should be emphasized that all gossip does not have the element of making fun of someone. The pointed humor may be absent. For example, one of the wealthy sheep owners in the village often was seen on the road to Gallup

late at night. Word went around the village that he used to go out to different sheep camps at night and steal sheep from others. Gossip without the element of derision is effective, once it spreads through the village and is on everyone's tongue, for as a result of his sense of shame a Zuni feels uncomfortable whenever he is made to feel conspicuous.[7]

Public opinion constantly enforces the mores of the people at Zuni (as it does everywhere, for that matter). Wealth in the form of material goods should not be hoarded, or kept for the use of the individual's immediate family group, but should be spread around among members of the

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[7] This sense of shame and its accompanying desire to be inconspicuous probably develops in the individual at a very young age. Mrs. Gonzales (the Principal of the Day-school) reports that children will not come to school if their clothes do not conform with those worn by the other children. A pair of shoes slightly different in cut, a torn or unpressed dress, is sufficient difference to make the child uncomfortable. In the class room it takes years to get the children to speak out, to overcome their shyness. In order to get any results it is often necessary to have the children work in groups of two or more, and even recite lessons in teams. Otherwise the gibe of "big shot" is used by the others in the class to "shame" the child. For this reason it is also more effective, the teachers have found, to ask the children to write their lessons rather than recite them. This deep-lying trait may be slightly modified by the American school training, but it certainly is not erased. The force of tradition is much too strong in the home, and when at home the children conform to the ways of the elders.

extended family,[8] and in the old days, probably to the whole clan. "He is mean, doesn't even take care of his own brother who has to live like a pig," is the gossip about the wealthy stock owner previously referred to. While one of the younger married men, and the son of one of the ex-governors (also a large stock owner), is talked about by his own family, and gossiped about by the village at large as being a "no-good," a lazy person who will not take his turn at the family sheep camp. In fact the gossip is much stronger than that.

> "He is always stealing something from his father and selling it. Once he sold a lot of his father's sheep. He told people to lend him money and then he comes and gets sheep to pay it back."[9]

Greediness on the part of a member of Coyote Society was dealt with as follows:

> "A good friend of mine was initiated into Coyote

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[8] This ideal is evidenced when the koyemshi are paid for their year-long service by the clan members, on the last day of Shalako. Food is brought into the plaza by the truck load and deposited at certain designated stations around the edge of the dance area. Each koyemshi stands next to the goods given to him. Wealth display certainly, it would seem, is underlying to the whole performance.

[9] Stewart, Field Notes, 1941.

Society, and after all the meals were over and everyone had left food on the center of the table, he would gather up the remainder and take it home to his family. To make fun of him the society started the rumor that the coyotes were getting so bad that they came right into the corrals and gorged on the sheep, because this man over at Coyote Society was acting that way."[10]

All aspects of behavior which deviate from the norm become the subject of village gossip. Sexual conduct, lack of cleanliness in the houses, the number of trips to town a month, the way the sheep are herded, selection of food bought in the trading post, all receive a share of the public's attention and note. For the purposes of this dissertation only two "subjects" of gossip will be presented--the first, and most important as a technique in making the veterans conform to group opinion and village traditions, is the feeling of the Zuni towards those of their fellows who aspire to

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[10] This anecdote also gives a good example of the Zuni belief, basic to so much of their thinking, i.e., like causes like.

The informant in this case was the son of the founder of the Christian Reformed Mission at Zuni. He was born in the pueblo (some time in the 1890's), speaks perfect Zuni, and is on close terms with many of the priests.

"act like whites."[11] The other is gossip levelled against those who deviate from the religious patterns.

Those men who have been away from the village for several years realized for the first time that life could be relatively free of gossip, that others could be disinterested in one's comings and goings, that, within much greater bounds, one could do as one pleased and never be gossiped about. This was a new type of freedom which they had never known. Speaking of his life in the army one veteran expressed it this way:

> "I could just go around and have a good time and there wasn't anyone to bother me, no one to gossip."

But the conditioning of the early years in the pueblo was much too strong to be rooted out in this short time. Let us examine the behavior of some of the veterans as it is related to gossip, and the way they feel about it. One veteran told of his return to Gallup for the first time in several years. He had just come back from overseas and had stepped off the buss in Gallup.

> "Gallup seemed to me like a little village, all those Navajos and Indians around, it seemed sort of strange. I forget how I felt. I was hiding from

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[11] In the Zuni language there is a term for those who like the white man's ways--memashey.

those Zunis, I just hid in the shops. [I asked him why.] Because of the gossip. [I asked what sort of gossip it could be.] I don't know, I didn't want them to know I just got back."

It would be of interest to know why he did not want the Zuni to know that he had arrived back home, but the importance of this anecdote is that immediately upon return to the home environment he began to think in terms of what people might say about him and he guided his actions accordingly.

Information from another veteran indicates that the veterans are just as sensitive to gossip as the others but that they have a certain feeling against it, and possibly try to control their tongues:

" . . . [Gossip] runs through everyone. A fellow might hear one word that you say in the trading post and make up a whole story . . . . The veterans I think don't gossip as much as they did before they were in the war, they want to get away from it. At least that's my experience. Fellows I knew before the service don't tell me the things they did before the war. They are different in that way from those that didn't go."

After this Zuni was home for a few months he went up to Winslow where his brother was living; there he obtained

a job and worked for some months. When he came back to Zuni he said, on being asked how he liked it:

"I was able to earn money in Winslow, and I was able to meet a lot of people. I didn't need to be afraid that someone would come up and say, 'It's teshque and you have to observe these rules.' I wasn't afraid of any gossip."

This informant, as well as others, is very well aware of what happens when a rumor starts around the village. One had this to say:

"These people [the Zuni] know how to put just every little thing into words so it sounds like gossip. One person hears something but he doesn't hear it all, and then the next person gets it wrong again, and that's the way it goes."

And another informant said:

"I would just like to find out who said that about me. At Zuni someone might say, 'Maybe it is that person who did it,' but then the next person would say, 'it is that person who did it.'"

And a third veteran said:

"Right now someone is gossiping. I don't know who [it is]. Someone told my wife about me, just made it up. That's the way the Zunis are. They just talk, the one woman tells the wife of someone else,

and then she makes the story worse."

The relevance of a discussion of gossip and rumor as a technique of control is apparent when we examine the gossip about those who "act like white men." It is quite possible that gossip of this sort proved to be a greater block to these men, as carriers of new traits and ideas brought back from the outside, than any other cultural technique. It forced many of these men to change their ways shortly after their return: if they persisted in their ways they were made to feel uncomfortable. There is little doubt that this attitude against white ways has a long history and has, in all probability, been intensified as a result of the steady encroachment of the white world which has taken place in the last 30 years. One veteran spoke of trouble which he had had with the lieutenant governor prior to the war:

> "He said that we are willing to talk to just anyone that comes around [i.e., visitors and tourists in the village] and that we are just trying to act like white men."

Another informant said:

> "When you speak English the fellows say, "What are you trying to do--act like a white man?'"

At another time the same man remarked:

> "They [the Zuni] don't like to talk English in

front of others. They are mostly ashamed because someone standing next to them might start giggling, teasing them about some mistake they might make. Make fun of them."

So we find that the young Zuni is criticised by his elder for "trying to act like a white man" and ridiculed by those of his own generation if he makes a mistake when he does use English. Veterans were rarely heard conversing in English with each other, even if they spoke it fluently.

It was mentioned in the first chapter that one of the few noticeable changes in the village which could be attributed directly to a veteran was the establishment of a garage. The Zuni who opened this is the son of the most progressive older man in the village. They are known to favor white ways, including the Protestant religion. The father and uncle are almost the only converts to the Christian Reformed Church, and as a result this family has been suspect for many years, and continually the subject of gossip. The veteran concerned was interested in starting a veterans' club in the village after he returned. It had a short life.

"I started that club about two years ago. The agent [at Black Rock] encouraged me; he sure wanted it to be a success. We started off pretty good.

There were about 90 at the first meeting, then it got fewer and fewer. There were about 45 at the next meeting and then about 10 at the next couple of meetings. So we dropped it after that. The people began to say that I was trying to get that self-employment compensation for the Zuni vets so they would have to go into the next war. I could never find out who started that gossip. You never can. If you ask one person that you suspect he will just say someone else told him; if you go to that one, he will say the same thing. They said that I was opening this garage with the money that I was collecting from the veterans."

There is no doubt that such a club, which was patterned after organizations of the white men, and had no traditional precedent in Zuni society, met with staunch disapproval on the part of the elders, and especially since it was led by a Zuni whose family was known to be "against the Zuni religion."

The elders are suspicious of any "entangling alliances" which might be established between the veterans and the white world. Another veteran told of the story which went around the village concerning terminal leave pay:

"The older folks in the village told the fellows

that the next time there is a war you will be the first ones to get in it if you accept that money. They told the boys that the government was just getting them into debt so that they could get them next time."

Gossip about those who take to white ways, whether it is such minor infractions as carrying clothes to the shower room in a leather case, or talking English, or affiliation with government agencies, is so powerful that the veterans have not been effective as culture carriers.

One informant was asked why the Zuni gossip so much. His answer is interesting in so far as it involves the same rationale we found in the case of witchcraft. Those who indulge in a good deal of gossip are "jealous people."[12] The informant's own words were:

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[12] "Beneath the surface of a cultural norm of benignity and of affability there appears to lie some restless irritability. It is difficult to account for it. There does appear, however, to be some relationship between these attitudes of resentment, personal dislikes, the continual malicious scandalmongering, and the fact that the chief social sanction is shame. If individuals are to be responsive to that sanction they must be made sensitive to public criticism. On the other hand, the exercise of such a sanction almost necessitates continual criticism of the actions of others." Goldman, The Zuni Indians of New Mexico, pp. 345-6.

"They [those who spread rumors] get jealousy feelings on them--if a fellow is getting ahead in the village--that's what they do."

He told of his visit to the pueblo after an absence of several months of studying in Albuquerque:

"I feel that two thirds of the people at Zuni are against me. When I was in the village at the time of Shalako I felt even my own relatives were jealous of me. I saw them at the house of the Council of the Gods and I said, 'Hello,' and they didn't seem to want to talk with me. I said, 'Hello' to _____ [a veteran], and he said, 'When are you going to be President?' I said, 'Pretty soon now; is there anything I can do [for you] when I get that job?' He said, 'No, I wouldn't want your help.' They are just jealous because I am getting more education than they have."

Gossip, rumor and ridicule all serve to enforce the sanctions of Zuni religion. Even though a veteran does not have "faith" in the katchina cult, or in the ability of the Ashiwanni to bring rain, he does not talk openly against the religion if he wants to live in the village. There must be outward respect and conformance or abuse will be heaped on the head of the offender. I asked one informant if he had observed the restrictions of teshque.

He said:

"I just had to, unless I wanted to be gossiped about. If I wanted to avoid gossip I just had to do those things. But I did eat greasy food and meat." [That was in his own house where none but his own family would know.]

It has been pointed out that one of the fundamental tenets of pueblo religion is secrecy. This is so deeply ingrained in the thinking of the people that at the present day a Zuni cannot be seen in the company of any outsider who is thought to be making any sort of study of the village. One informant was accused of having supplied the information for an article that appeared in the Gallup paper, and it was said that I wrote that piece under another name. When it was pointed out that this piece was all taken from Stevenson's report the people still were not convinced and the matter was taken to the council. Another informant said that he had left the village to stay at the family sheep camp in order to get away from the gossip which resulted from his working with me.

I asked why the young Zuni men were so unfriendly when I spoke to them in the trading post and yet they were so very friendly when I saw them in Gallup or on the edge of the village:

"The fellows are afraid of criticism, they might

think that others are saying that they might be selling you something, some religious secrets."[13]

One day the brother of an informant came into the house where I was living. I had not met him before, and thought that his behavior was quite unusual. Then he said, with great emotion in his voice:

"What's this gossip I hear about you and my brother? I was ashamed when I heard that he had sold you that doll [image of the war god, Ahaiuta]. I just didn't know what to do so I decided to come over here to ask you if it is true. I heard that gossip from my wife and I told my brother and he accused me of putting out that rumor. My wife heard it from the people next door, and they heard from their neighbors. I was just ashamed when I heard that about my own

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[13] It was my experience that whenever I got away from the village the behavior of my informants was very different: they became lighthearted, joked more readily, and were not nearly as reserved as otherwise.

brother . . . everyone knows that gossip."[14]

The governor and his council act as a civil court and "hear" certain types of cases. Public misdemeanor, such as drunkenness on the streets of the pueblo, divorce when either one of the separating couple cannot agree to the property settlement demanded by the other, and decisions which involve the welfare of the community at

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[14] The background of this incident is worth telling. When I returned to the pueblo after a week's absence in Albuquerque, I heard, not more than a few hours after settling once more in the village, that the bow priest had taken the newly carved image of the Ahaiuta up to the shrine on the edge of Corn Mountain, and he missed the image that had been placed there the year before. (Some of his enemies in the village later told me that he had not been clear to the top of the mesa in several years, but had deposited the image at the bottom of the mesa.) He returned to the pueblo and made an announcement from the roof top. (His critics also said that this was not his duty, "only the village crier or one of the Governor's Council is allowed to call out from the roof tops. He should have walked around the village four times and cried out.") He accused the people of stealing that image, saying, I was told, that there was some witch among the people who did that thing. Later that night, as I heard the story, _____, one of the head men of Newckwe, in whose house I had lived at the beginning of the summer, had said that I was making a study of Zuni religion and that I had stolen the image. The matter was referred to the Governor, but he would not believe the gossip and it was never taken up with the council. (I later learned that the image was found at the shrine.) But from that time on it was very difficult to engage an informant. It was interesting to hear stories that were circulating. It was said by someone that I had been seen carrying the image down from the mesa. I knew how a Zuni felt when he was the subject of widespread gossip.

large, become matters for their concern. All of these are the subject of public gossip before the village council takes action. In so far as pressures are exerted on this council by the village, it is the group which enforces public opinion, and as such it is a conservative body. The governor and his council, up to the time of this study, had acted to keep out white influences in the village on four occasions. They would not permit a movie company to work on location on the reservation, the reasons being that sacred shrines might be photographed; they would not permit the Veterans' Administration to open an on-the-farm training program; they would not let the Civil Aeronautics Authority establish an emergency landing field on the reservation, even though all of these measures would have greatly augmented tribal funds. Finally, they called a hearing regarding the Indian franchise. Two of the veterans with the encouragement of the agent had asked for ballots at the court house in Gallup during the previous year, and had been denied them. The case was on its way to the State Supreme Court when the Zuni council met, and severely reprimanded these two men, saying that they, as Zuni, had no right to act as they did without clearing the matter with the council and the people in the first place. Public opinion was clearly against them, and

they were forced to write a letter withdrawing their suit.

All of this conservatism and antagonism towards whites certainly has flared up in recent years to an amazing degree. Probably the attitudes have spread from the Rio Grande Pueblos, Santo Domingo in particular.[15]

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[15] Santo Domingo is looked to as being the most conservative of the villages to the east, and the one that has the most of its religion intact. But several Zuni have been heard to say, "We have more of our old religious ways than they do; besides they say that their katchinas come from our sacred lake."

## CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSION

The 213 Zuni men who served in the armed forces of World War II learned new habits, ideas, and techniques, and acquired new attitudes and values while they were away from their pueblo. I had thought at the outset of the research that these men would be effective forces for culture change when they introduced foreign traits to Zuni. But this has not been the case.

In this dissertation I have analyzed the way in which native belief in witchcraft and religious activities have acted as controlling forces and have drawn the men back into their native way of life. Public opinion in the pueblo as it is expressed in the form of gossip, rumor, and ridicule has been a most effective technique in the enforcing of the traditional way of life and has acted as a deterrent to these men. As a result of these barriers no non-Pueblo traits of significance had been introduced by these men into the pueblo at the time of the research.

The techniques of control analyzed in this paper are largely unconscious and non-deliberate methods of responding to given situations. By this I mean: when a man's behavior is such to cause comment the fellow Zuni does not think to himself, "That man is acting in a manner

which is not approved," because the customs of the Zuni are deeply ingrained in each individual by a long process of conditioning from birth. Continually situations arise which call for a traditional response. When the warriors returned after this World War they were given cleansing rites because that is the way the Zuni have always responded to this particular situation: They act in the way they have been taught to behave by their parents before them.

Gossip and ridicule and the accusation of witchcraft are also methods of response of a traditional nature when actions on the part of the Zuni deviate from accepted behavior, and they are as characteristic of Pueblo culture as their house types, their dress, or their pottery.

For many hundreds of years Pueblo culture has been able to survive in the face of great odds although they depend on an agricultural economy that is precarious. There is a narrow margin between the years of plenty and the years of want, and this margin was overcome, in Zuni thought, only by close cooperation in ritual which brought the rain and forced the crops to yield. The controls discussed in this dissertation are unconscious techniques of making the people conform, which have been as strong in the past, I think, as they are at the present day.

Other factors must be mentioned in any discussion

of Pueblo resistance to culture change. Matrilineal clans and matrilocal residence are still basic to the social organization of the pueblo, and have been instrumental in the perpetuation of Zuni culture. It has been pointed out that women still retain their rights to a great share of the wealth, that is wealth in the form of stored agricultural produce. ~~Women~~ men out-number the ~~men~~ women at Zuni; if a woman does not get along with her husband there is always another male to take his place. There is an indication that the women have a stronger economic position in the pueblo than they had 20 or 30 years ago, because of the store credit they are able to maintain as a result of their silver jewelry and bead-working crafts. This store credit was formerly monopolized by the men, who financed the family purchases with the sale of their wool, lambs and cattle. Today the woman who is a craft-worker can make her own purchases and be just as independent of the men as she used to be in the days when the animal husbandry economy was unimportant.

All of this points to a continued strong position of the women in Zuni society, and is emphasized here because of the fact that it is not the women who are the agents of contact with the outside world: it is the men. It is the men who go off on occasion and seek jobs in the neighboring towns; it is the men who served in the

war; and it is the men who have taken on more of the attitudes, ideas, and habits from Western culture, primarily because they are the ones who have been exposed to them. But the Zuni man must consider his mother and his wife, who have had more limited contacts with the outside and are much less prone to accept many of the white ways than the men. Their conservatism is buttressed by their economic position and superior number. The traits introduced by the men in a male-weighted Indian society might very well be accepted by the native population much sooner than at Zuni where the women have such a solid position.

An equally significant point, but one that has not been stressed, is the "drifting-out" process that is a most important dynamic in modern Pueblo culture, and has been of great importance in the retention of the old ways. By this I mean: there is a steady drift from the pueblo of those who are not willing to conform to the traditional ways of the Zuni. The result of this is that those who might be cultural innovators are lost from the stream of Zuni life. These are the men who refuse to conform but who are made so uncomfortable by ridicule and gossip that they prefer to leave the village.

This is strikingly evident in the present situation at Zuni. Thirty-three of the veterans have left the

village. It would require considerably more research in the town to which these veterans (and other Zuni) have moved to establish with any certainty why these particular natives left their homes. I believe that those who have left Zuni do not constitute a random sample of the population; a selective process is at play: it is the non-conformist who leaves the village.

We find that Zuni is a much less friendly pueblo, in so far as its relations with whites are concerned, than it was 30 years ago. During this last year several whites were asked to leave one of the houses in which the masked Shalako figures were dancing, because, it was rumored that they were there to record with hidden recording devices the prayers of the priests; and it was said that some of the Zuni do not want the Navajo to attend Shalako because "they eat so much." For decades the Navajo and whites have been welcomed to the village on this occasion.

It is probable that this attitude towards whites has diffused from the Rio Grande pueblos (particularly) Santo Domingo) which have been hostile to whites for a long time. There is constant contact with these villages especially through trading relations and the Zuni on occasion even call in curers from these pueblos.

Formerly there was a physical isolation from the

surrounding area and the railroad towns. This has broken down as a result of improved roads and rapid transportation. Growing hostility towards whites is certainly in part a result of the encroachment of the white world on what was until quite recently an isolated pueblo.

The Zuni are acutely aware of the fact that certain aspects of their ritual is being lost. It has been impossible to recruit men into the cult of the bow priest, and increasingly difficult to obtain men to understudy the rain priests. In former days making prayer plumes was common knowledge of all men, but now many of the younger generation are lacking in this art. It is basic to Zuni belief, as I have mentioned before, that to share a religious secret is to destroy its efficacy. By the same token, becoming more secretive may increase the power which has gotten out of hand. The Governor himself made a most significant remark to me apropos of the occasion when the white people were driven from the Shalako houses. He said: "The Zuni priests aren't soft the way they used to be, they won't tell outsiders what they want to know." Is it not quite possible that the Zuni at the present time are looking to the Keresan and Tanoan pueblos for a successful technique of handling the same situation--secrecy and hostility toward whites?

It is implicit in this dissertation, but not

explicitly stated, that this recent antagonism toward whites is another reason the white ways carried back to the pueblo by the veterans have not taken root. The very things that the veterans would like to do are of the white man's world, and anathema to the elders. If these men want to live like whites it is best for them to live in the white man's towns.

Accompanying this hostility toward whites there is a certain "nativism" that may be seen in the revival of ceremonies, at least three of which have been given for the first time in many years. The full extent of this increase in ceremonial activity needs more research, but it looks as if, in the face of certain aspects of disintegration of the total religious structure, other parts are flourishing, at least for the moment.

Time will tell. Traditionally Zuni warriors are not looked to for leadership and are lacking in status compared to the elders, especially the priests. Their youth is against them, but with the passing of years when these men attain maturity and prestige, which comes only with age in Zuni society, they may be effective agents for change.

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# APPENDIX I

## APPENDIX I

### CLAN CENSUS OF ZUNI

In the second column the clan affiliation of 207 Zuni Veterans of World War II is given. In the third column the clan census made by A. L. Kroeber in 1916 is given. His census is not by individuals but by "the number of 'houses,' that is families belonging to each clan." Orthography follows Kroeber. (See Kroeber, Zuñi Kin and Clan, Table 2, p. 94.)

| Clan | Veteran Affiliation (1947) | Family Affiliation (1916) |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Pikchikwe (Dogwood) | 42 | 59 |
| 2. Kyakkyalikwe (Eagle) | 28 | 28 |
| 3. Tonnashikwe (Badger) | 21 | 21 |
| 4. Yattokyakwe (Sun) | 15 | 20 |
| 5. Tonnakwe (Turkey) | 23 | 20 |
| 6. Towwakwe (Corn) | 12 | 15 |
| 7. K'oloktakwe (Sandhill Crane) | 21 | 13 |
| 8. Takkyakwe (Frog-Toad) | 17 | 11 |
| 9. Suskikwe (Coyote) | 6 | 10 |
| 10. Ayyahokwe (Tansy-Mustard) | 10 | 7 |
| 11. Annakwe (Tobacco) | 8 | 6 |
| 12. Anshekwe (Bear) | 2 | 5 |
| 13. Shohwitakwe (Deer) | 2 | 3 |
| 14. Poyyikwe (Chaparral Cock) | 0 | 1 |
| 15. Tattluptsikwe (Yellow-wood) | 0 | 1 |

# APPENDIX II

## APPENDIX II

### ADDITIONAL MATERIAL ON WITCHCRAFT

1. In January, 1947, a veteran, married to a Ute school girl, threatened to kill some of his family with a knife. Two of his brothers tried to restrain him, and managed to tie him up with a rope. The Zuni policeman was called in, and brought the veteran up to Black Rock as a prisoner. He was brought in to the agent, who reported, "He was crying very hard; it was quite pitiful. He said over and over again, 'I can't help it; it is a witch: it's not my fault; it's a witch.' He begged not to be put in jail." He was given a trial in the village and sentenced to thirty days.

2. Mrs. Gonzales, for many years the Principal of the Zuni Day School, told of a veteran who used to be a very good artist in school, who drew pictures of Japanese planes attacking Zuni, and over in the corner of the picture, dressed like a Japanese, was Kawaide [a well-known witch in the village]. Mrs. Gonzales also reported that when Kawaide died, in 1947, the wind stopped blowing for the first time in weeks, and the children in school said, "That's because Kawaide died."

3. A Laguna woman, wife of a white trader in Zuni,

told the following anecdotes: "Another woman I know was having a terrible time having a baby and she had been in labor for about three days when they called in a curer. He pulled thorns out of her sides, and said that is why the baby couldn't come out; these were holding him in. And then she had the baby."

"One day when I was washing my hair a woman asked me what I did with the hair, and I said that I threw it away. She said I shouldn't do that, and then told me that she had had several children and they had all died at birth. A medicine man was called in and he went under her house and brought out a doll with her hair on it. Someone had witched her."

4. A Zuni trader, born and brought up in Zuni, said: "I always notice that witchcraft is stronger in the springtime, that the people talk about it more at that time. Right now (winter) you know they are telling stories in the houses. They tell these young people about all the witches, and the myths about them, and that just sets them to thinking about them all over again."

5. A veteran told me: "You can't always tell about women with whom you sleep--after you fall asleep they might take some of your hair or something else, a bit of your clothes and work against you." Healso said, "You could just

never tell about people, even your close friends, you couldn't tell if they were witches."

6. A veteran told me that if a witch is caught and confesses, that finishes his work with those people. That bad luck goes against him. Every time a witch kills someone it lengthens his life, and if he is caught it shortens his life.

7. The stories which follow were all told to me by one informant, not a veteran:

"My grandfather used to tell me that they can initiate somebody that wants to be a witch, they don't ask you, but you must go to them and tell them that you want to join. Because no one will say 'I am a witch,' so you must go to them. Some of them get caught when they are going around at night time. They have to ask you four times if you really want to join. They say that if you want to be a pretty good witch that they will put you in a pot of boiling water, or they use bull snakes to initiate you with. After you get initiated you won't pay anything like these dancers have to. In that witch initiation you don't have to pay anything, but you have to try it out on your own family, father, or mother, or sister, or brother, the one that is very useful. One time a man got initiated, and he tried it out with his own sister, and he felt kind of bad about it,

but he had to go and the man asked him what he was going to do, he told him that he was to go to his own sister and get her heart, so he don't want to kill his sister or take her heart, so he ran to the corral and got a chicken's heart and took it over there. This man said, 'This is not your own sister's heart, where did you get it?' It is from a chicken, he said.

"Some witches got different ways of initiation. Sometimes after they initiate them they roll the rim [hoop] and they go through the rim and turn into a cat, or a mouse, or an owl, or whatever they want to be. They say that if somebody watches them then they won't turn into the animal, or they might turn into only a half cat or owl. They know that somebody's watching them. A long time ago when we used to have a lot of war chiefs, some witches used to get caught hanging around the village, they used to catch them, take them out to the big plaza, and ask why they wanted to kill such and such a man, and the witch would say, 'I asked him for something and he wouldn't give it to me,' or, 'I went to his house and asked him for food and he wouldn't give it to me,' or, 'I ask for help and he never helps me,' or, 'they say that this man is rich or better off, he's got everything I don't have, that's why I want to kill him,' or, 'he is a hard working man and raises lots of crops, that is why I want to kill him.' My grandfather told me all this.

They have to ask them all sorts of questions--who initiated them, and pretty soon they tell, and then pretty soon three or four will be there who are their partners, or the ones that initiated them. If they won't talk they just hit them with their clubs, anywhere they want, like in the head.

"They wear the clothes of the dead people, and their jewelry, and in their medicine they have their meat [flesh of the dead] ground up. They say that they go out at night in dead people's blankets, so that way when anyone sees them they get scared. Even if they want to go out of Zuni they turn into dogs, or owls, or they even turn into coyotes. They wear crow feathers in their head, or owl feathers; so when anyone comes those feathers tell them that the person is coming. They say that they send out ahead of them a dog or a cat or maybe an owl (to see if the way is clear). Sometimes, after they initiate each other, they have a meat stew, but those that just got initiated won't eat it, but feed it to the dogs, and then they can go among the dogs at night and they won't wake up and bark, because they have been fed by the witch. My grandfather told me that one time he caught a witch and chased him and this witch came to where the horses were, and he went in between the horses and then just disappeared, didn't come out on the other side. Said those horses didn't even get scared or anything. One time he saw a donkey, not a real

one, made out of old hides, he said that probably there was a witch inside. One time he caught him; he had come out from the house, that donkey was standing still, just a dumb donkey, he thought someone was just playing with him, so he went inside and peeked out of the window, and that donkey just ran off fast.

"He told me that one time he had a corn patch under Corn Mountain and this man had a very good watermelon patch just a little way from him. But he never knew that this man was a witch. One early morning he went to his cornfield, but he intended to steal a watermelon, so he could eat it for dinner. So he went to this witchman's watermelon patch, one was covered with brush to keep anyone from seeing it and stealing it, he was saving it you know, but my grandfather stole it. He jumped on the brush, or on grass where his tracks couldn't be seen, and went a long ways without stepping on the clear sand. But about noon the witch came to his patch and noticed that one was missing, so he tracked my grandfather to his corn patch, and found him already there hoeing his corn, this man asked him if he stole his watermelon. My grandfather said, 'Yes.' And this man said, 'Well you can give me some corn for the melon,' so my grandfather turned around to get the corn for him. He just wondered how this man tracked him because he had been careful about his tracks, he just wondered how

he had followed him. About a year later this man was caught as a witch; then my grandfather said that is how he caught me easy.

"One time a witch was jealous of my grandfather's brother having a lot of cattle and sheep, so this witch man decided to kill his little girl. And this girl got sick. My grandfather used to visit his brother every night. One night he saw someone passing the window, and he came outdoors and didn't see nobody, so the next night he was guarding the house on top of the roof when a dog came on top of the house. He didn't see grandfather, but went to the window on top of the house [skylight]. My grandfather had a bow and arrow, so he aimed at him and shoot that dog in the stomach. Of course he said that he recognized who that dog belonged to; the dog didn't die but ran off. The next morning my grandfather visited this witch man just to find out if he had shot his dog. When he was visiting there one of the little boys said, 'What's the matter with our dog, did somebody shoot him last night?' This witch man said, 'I don't know.' This witch man got real mad because his dog got caught, and the next night grandfather was guarding the house again and about two o'clock this man came around. They had a candle light burning near the little girl's bed. Grandfather saw this man coming towards his house, and he came to the window and

peeped in and my grandfather grabbed him by the back, and instead of questioning him on the outside they took him on the inside and questioned him why he wanted to kill the baby. He didn't talk. They told him that if he didn't talk they would turn him over to the war chief the next morning. So he said that he was jealous because my grandfather's brother had a lot of sheep, and one time when he asked him to give him a sheep he wouldn't give him one, so he decided to kill his daughter. So my grandfather told him that if he stopped witching that little girl that they would pay him. He agreed, so they gave him a big rug and buckskin, and one head of sheep. They told him to take the witch medicine out of that little girl, so he did. And he said that she will be all right in a few days. In a few days this little girl got well. But this witch didn't stop, he just did this to make them forget. About a year later this little girl got sick again--from this same man. But they caught him again. They asked him why he wanted to kill her after all they paid him. He said because if I don't kill her I will be the one to die. If a witch decides to kill someone he has to, or he will be the one to die. This is the second time you have caught me and this time I will be the one to die. So a few months later he died. He died by falling from a roof. When a witch is about to die they always

make some excuse like 'a horse kicked me.'

"My grandmother told me that she had a neighbor that she didn't know was a witch, until one time she went into her house which was old and had one of those storage rooms, and under the corn were four mantas, taken off of dead people. While she was there she noticed that there was a place under a rug, and she lifted the rug up and there was a hole large enough for a person to go through. She took one of those mantas home, put it under her arm, and when she got home she aired it and washed it. The woman that lived in that house was an albino. The house was on the south side of the plaza."

This informant also gave the following information:

If someone is sick and gets well, is bewitched again, and then cured once more, the witch gets sort of ashamed and gives up his witching of that person.

Hard working people are safer from witchery than others. This also applies to good hunters. A good hunter will obtain the help of the deer to dispel the power of a witch.

If a person knows he is being bewitched and catches the witch and the witch confesses his deeds and then the person lets the witch go, then he should not tell anyone about having caught a witch. If he does the word will get back to the witch or his relatives and they will kill that

person.

Witches usually have small families because they have killed off the other members of the family. If a witch vows to kill someone, but is unable to get at that person and doesn't succeed in killing him then he must kill someone of his own family instead.

It is hard to tell these days just which the witches are. The fellows go around today with flashlights, and it is hard to tell just which are the witches. In the old days witches painted their faces and wore their hair mussed up over their faces. Nowadays many of them go around just at supper time.

8. A young Zuni veteran wrote for me the following "theme" entitled, Witch Belief at Zuni.

All my life I have been living here in Zuni and have learn that there are some Zunis here that are witch.

I understand that if by any reason you should hurt any of these people's feelings you can consider yourself a very sick person the following day or any of the times you have hurt their feelings.

I have seen and find out all about these by snooping around the places where I thought would be their meeting places. Nobody suppose to know any of these places unless belonging to that society. But being wanted to find out,

I being watching pretty close what was going on around here. I have found out that all they do is put on their masks, some turn into dogs and some turn into cats, and they sing and pray that certain men or women that hurt their feelings should suffer and die.

And they also against rain and good crops, these is what Zunis believe. But I don't believe it. Any witch that say will witch me has to proove it to me.

If by any reason that any of the witches should witch me, and if I get sick I will give him a reward, that's how much I believe in witches.

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The same man told me the following, in conversation: "The Zunis believe that the bull snake will make you swell up, it will witch you. The older Zuni people believe that anyone that was witching while he was alive will turn into a bull snake. They claim that if a rattlesnake bites you, you will get cured, but if this kind touches you, it will be a hard thing to get well. They think that if it gets mad it explodes. The coyote, just like the bull snake, is connected with witches. Just like if someone has something against you he goes and tells the coyotes about you, to get after you."

"There is only one witch society. They meet near

the graveyard. _____ and I went over there to snoop around in 1938. There was about twenty witches in that house where the tunnel is. They were praying. They had masks on, yellow like a coyote or a fox--made out of hide. We were in the top window, looking in. They were all kneeling down, there were four ears of yellow corn all tied with yucca."

9. One of my principal informants recounted the following:

"A long time ago there was witchery just on account of hard feelings, or when some man ran off with another man's wife. Now there is more to work on, more people have a lot of things, like _____ with all of his sheep and that house and those cars. More kids are being trained in witchcraft than ever before."

"The witches meet in houses underground. Up in the old village many of those houses have room down beneath. I am not sure if there is more than one society."

"One time two girls were helping cook mutton in a Shalako house and _____ and I went over there to see them. We were outside and had those black blankets on like those Zuni boys wear. We were just wondering how we could get those girls outdoors. Their father was strict with them. You know the way _____ laughs, just like a

hen cackling, well he said to me, 'Tickle me so I laugh, that will get them out.' Then he said, 'People might think that we are witches standing around here like this, we will walk 100 steps, count them to ourselves, then turn around and walk back again.' So we did that, and pretty soon those girls came out."

"The witches work on the livestock too. My brother-in-law has a medicine man come out and look over his sheep about once a month. If there is one that is sick he sings over it. Like this last summer when I was out with sheep, he came out there and one of the sheep was sick and he found wrapped up in some sort of sinew (sometimes they use a thong or yucca string) the blossoms and parts of all these different plants, like sunflowers and gramma grass, all the kinds of food that those sheep eat out there. That made those plants poison that sheep. He got it out of his inside. He used his lightning stone [arrowhead]. One other time, it was when there wasn't any water at any of those other camps and they were bringing their sheep over to our place to water them. That medicine man was out there looking over the place, and he dug down right at the foot of that windmill, and he caught hold of something that someone planted there. When he got hold of it he just got rigid, and his hands just clamped tight over that thing, you couldn't even open his hand. It was just

like electricity. But if an ordinary person like me took hold of that thing it wouldn't do anything. The people sometimes smoke the medicine man's arm when that happens."

"Another time my brother-in-law was out in the corral one day and his horse kicked him. That horse had been witched to do that. He didn't get well. They even took him over there to the doctors in that First National Bank Building in Albuquerque, but when he came back he was still sick. Then he had a sing. It was the society of Bed Bug they got the medicine man from. They had four different medicine men, all from this same society, and he got well. He is all right now, someday he will be initiated into that society, that is the way it is, if someone saves your life then you join his society."

"A long time ago they used to hang witches here, but they don't do that any more, and those medicine societies aren't able to fight against the witches as well as they used to because a lot of those methods have been lost when the medicine men have died. The people feel that there is more witchcraft going on now than there used to be."

"There was a fellow caught outside of _____'s house. There was a sick woman in there and they caught him looking through the window, even though the blind was pulled down. They ran out of the house and he tried to

pass himself off as a Navajo and he said, 'Yateheh,' now all of the people in the village call him that."

"The people have the belief that lots of praying makes it hard for a witch to get at you. Also they believe that if you stay up late at night it makes you stronger against the witches. I am not afraid to walk out at the edge of the village at night, if a person walks by you just say 'keshe' (greeting), if he doesn't answer you then is the time to be suspicious. If a witch can't get at a person in that person's house, or when he is out around the village, then they try to get at them in a crowd, that is the time you have to watch out."

"The witches use those spiders [trap door?] for medicine. If you play with a spider like that you will turn ugly just like it is, and the girl's won't like you, that's what the Zunis believe. Witches use that to make a man or woman ugly so that the person they are married to won't love them any more. They use that when they have jealous feelings about someone."

"It was one time the year before I went into the army that mother was sick. My brother was posted out in the oven to see if any witch was fooling around that house, looking in the window. That night _____'s brother came and looked through the window. We beat the

living _____ out of him. He died a couple of months later, maybe it was from those blows, something went wrong inside of him his folks said."

"One time my brother told his father-in-law to go out to his family's farm at Pescado and get in his pumpkins. So that man did, and he didn't know that my brother's patch was alongside his mother's patch, and he took all of the pumpkins in. When mother saw that she sure was mad, but she didn't say anything to him because he is a witch--everyone knew that. His nickname is klap-klapf--that is the way the crows do when the beat their wings. One time a man was out looking for his horses and he saw a crow flying up and down from an arroyo, it kept disappearing there. So he wondered what was up and he went over there and looked and there was this man, practicing some of his magic. I think they say he was naked. Alongside of him was a crow skin. He had been changing himself into a crow and back again. He confessed to that man, told him what he had been doing. My brother married that girl (this man's daughter) in spite of what the family said. They tried to argue him out of it, they knew that was a witch family, but he wouldn't listen to them."

"Another time my other brother bought a fine roping horse, maybe the best one in this part of the

country. He had to pay $250 for it, and he borrowed it from _____ [the brother with the wife from the witch family]. _____'s wife told her father and the old man was sure mad. He said, 'That horse doesn't look like it is worth any $250. It looks like only $10 to me. I am going to tell the Governor about it. It is not right.' Then one night that horse jumped over the corral fence, about eight feet high. It ran down that alley way, and the gate was open, but it ran into the barbed wire, cut its knee and chest badly. My brother called in a medicine man from Ant society and he found out in the corral a figure of a horse made out of blood and clay. It was just in the shape of that horse and it had an eagle feather stuck into its head. When it blew in the wind it made that horse get wild. He said that if they hadn't found that it would have all crumbled up and the horse would have gotten worse."

10. The following story was told to me by an old man:

"There was a man who lived when my father was about my age. He wanted to bring drought to the Zuni land. It was about June. He never was in the pueblo, always over in the mountains, that is why he was thought to bring the drought. So he was doing some praying over

in these mountains. He was praying to the sun. And also praying to get aid from the fire god who comes at Shalako time. He wanted to get his aid because this dancer always carried a lighted cedar torch. His idea was to get both heat from the sun, and heat from the god. So when he done this no one could find any reason why there were forest fires in the four directions. There was smoke all over, just like a cloud. That man was never home, always out some place. It was on account of him that there are still some burned wood in the forests. On account of him there are some places that have become desert, where there used to be thick forests. During the time of that smoke it was just very strange that hot ashes travelled up in the air, they would fall upon some dead wood or dead brush and the fires would just form up any place without anyone there to cause the fire. Nothing but smoke and sun were seen in the air. No speck of cloud was to be seen. The crops that the Zunis raised were all burned up due to the hot sun. That man was married, but it seemed that he was making a mistake by being out of the pueblo every day. Before he would go out he would tell his wife lies, he would say that he was going after yucca fruit. In the evening he would bring back the yucca fruit, but it wasn't very much. When he comes home in the evening his wife would ask him why he brought so

little. He would say, 'Well I did find some. I come to the place where there is a lot of it, the reason why I didn't get enough was because it was late in the afternoon when I came there where there was a lot of fruit. I just didn't have time enough to pick much to bring home. I had to start coming home.' That's the sort of excuse he made to his wife. Well one morning he was going out to the north and there was one man that went in the same direction. Well this man started about the same time in the morning and he knew the one that was going in the same direction and he said to himself, 'I don't know where you are going, you seem to be in a hurry, because this man was gaining speed and left him further behind. This man was going to herd sheep. His sheep camp was behind the mountain to the north. But he kept following this witch man. He was able to follow by his tracks even if he was left far behind. When he came to the mountain this man was just following the tracks, but all of a sudden when he was going along he couldn't see any more tracks. The tracks had disappeared. He got kind of puzzled so he came back to where the end of the tracks were. Well those tracks led off towards the west, but far apart, and he came to another track with the footprints together, and he saw three sets of these, but no more. He guessed that this man flew, so he wondered

what happened. He looked in a circle for more tracks but couldn't find any more. He was going to herd sheep so he had his lunch with him, so he left it there, and came back to the pueblo. He reported this to the war chiefs, so the four war priests went to where he had seen these strange tracks. They looked around again but couldn't find any tracks. So they believed he flew. They just gave up and came home. When he came back to the pueblo in the evening the people were just waiting for him. He came home without anyone asking him any questions at all, and he was arrested. They took him to the place where they were hanging witch people, where the old mission is now, where they could find a log for hanging. They tied his hands behind and they hung him up by his arms, and then they started to ask him questions, trying to get him to confess. The war priests hit him with their clubs. They told him, 'We came to the spot where you actually flew, it showed by your tracks, why did you do that? what was your reason for doing that? where did you flew to?' Those were the questions they were asking. He received a lot of pain and he confessed. About four hours later he confessed when he couldn't stand it any longer. He got tied and he said if you unhang me I will talk. He was unhung but his hands still tied, and they let him sit down. After a short rest he

began talking. 'I am sort of unlucky that was the reason I had to be caught today, while I was doing my daily witchery. I guess I wasn't careful enough. I guess by now you people realize what's going on in this world, that is caused by me. The reason why was because I have a sort of jealousy feeling because all the people were raising plenty of crops year after year, so I didn't want the people to raise enough crops at all. So I was jealous.' The war chiefs asked him, 'Have these forest fires been caused by you?' and he said, 'Yes.' They asked him how he did it. He said, 'I went through a ceremony, first I made some prayer plumes, then I went over to the place called Dancer's village and planted them, and prayed to have the fire god give me his help, also the sun. I used the paint that the cacique society used (the witch himself belonged to one of them--the rainmakers). Year after year I have seen you people raise a lot of crops and I have seen your sheep getting enough grass, everyone in this village is well enough off, except me. I am poor. Even though I plant something it won't grow as much as the others raise. I don't have any sheep at all. I wanted to have some stuff like the rest of the people have. But I never get around to get it. That's the reason why I was jealous. This heat wave could have lasted for many years, but now that I am captured

this heat will stop. Since I have confessed you can do anything you want with me, kill me or whatever you want, I am ready to face such punishment.' So they all said, 'What are we going to do with him?' Then they asked him if it was just because he was poor and all of the other people well off that he had to bring this heat wave, and he said, 'Yes, because the heat would ruin the crops and the sheep and then we would be equally poor. This is all that I have to say, you can do whatever you want to do with me.' He told them that he had two sons and one real brother, so there were four of them that were doing the practice of witchcraft. So they got ahold of his brother and two sons and brought them to the place where he had hanged, and he said, 'These are my three helpers, they have the same experience as I have in witchcraft.' And he told them it was their turn to confess, and they said, 'We have nothing more to say, he was our father and leader, since he confessed we have nothing to say any more.' The war priests decided that they would kill all of them, because if they would leave these people alive, there would be more trouble in the future. If they brought this heat wave, they would just have to die. So they hit them with clubs in the weak places so they can die, and after they died they dragged them outside of the pueblo instead of burying them in the graveyard.

They just threw them out there where the dogs could eat them. Those were the punishments for the witchcrafts. Anyone caught witching would have to go through the same punishment. Usually they would get killed. Only very few got by without a death sentence. That was the way it was with the punishment until the whites came. That's about all. A long time ago there were a lot of witches that did things impossible to do. Now I don't think that there are any as good as they used to be about 200 years ago. Now the people get along together, the weather is all right."

11. A veteran informant told me the following:

"When I was in combat I wasn't afraid of witches because it is only the Indians that do witch things. I was only afraid of being captured. I haven't had any witch fears or I haven't been afraid of the dark since I was about fourteen years old. Since I returned from the service I don't feel that way any more. But I still believe in witches. I just have to act cautiously when I am in the village, for fear that some boy's parents might belong to some witch society. I just don't act smart to him. If he asks me for help I just give it to him. Even when I am over in Albuquerque I have to be careful when I am with Indian boys.

"The witch is a man, if he was going to do some

witching (let's see, how did my grandfather say?) he would have his body all painted red, he will have a crisscross of yucca leaves across his chest. He will have on his head (this is just my guess) just like you see on an owl's head. He will wear a cloth around his waist. He will go to the house of someone where he wants to kill someone. He will put some sort of poison in the body of that person. Then he will come back home. This will be at night. The witch person just follows around after you, wherever you go, there he is right after you. They go and try and get hair off of your comb, or if you are at a ceremony and fall asleep they might try and pull the hair out of your head. They also get bits of the bowel movement and where you urinate. Usually when one is poisoned by a witch he gets a stomach-ache. Most all of the curing societies can be called in to help this person. These witches meet in underground places, and in caves out from the village. A person gets initiated into a witch society by going and telling one of the witches that he wants to belong. A husband will not talk about witchcraft with his wife, at least not for the first four or five years, because if he talks about someone that way that person might be related to the wife's family. So you have to know who all of the clan relatives are before you talk about those things. Just like

when I came home from overseas, and I was going with _____, and she proposed to me. But I told her that I would just think it over, then my folks later said that was the reason I got that gall bladder attack, because her family was a witch family.