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Ednishodi Yazhe: The Little Priest and the Understanding of Navajo Culture

WILLIAM H. LYON

By 1930, Navajo studies were ready to enter a new era. The first generation of scholars, beginning in 1880 with Washington Matthews, had laid the foundation to the Navajo world. That generation had conducted field work, recorded myths and vocabulary and published some of its findings. Building on that foundation, the second generation, which included four university scholars (Sapir, Reichard, Kluckhohn and Wyman), a trader's wife (Newcomb), a philanthropist (Wheelwright), a novelist-anthropologist (La Farge), and finally, a priest (Haile), discovered the edifice of Navajo culture as we know it today.

Much of the work of these scholars has not been placed in perspective, and awaits the assessment of historians. Although these Navajo students communicated with each other, they did so with an uncommon myopic vision, not only in their views of their colleagues, but also in their appreciation of their own place in the history of things. The time has come to assess their significance and the contributions they have made to Navajo scholarship.

The most remarkable of these discoverers was Father Berard Haile, whose long career actually spanned the first and second generations, and whose contact with the Navajo world grew so intimate and profound that he became for all the others a great fount of knowledge and wisdom. We need to know the extent of his writings, the fields in which he specialized, the limitations

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of his scholarship, his academic alliances, his academic controversies, the degree of acceptance of his publications—in short, the significance of Father Berard to Navajo scholarly studies.

No white scholar has ever achieved such intimate knowledge of Navajo culture as did Father Berard Haile. His career spanned two, perhaps three, generations (at least five decades), and he maintained a longer Navajo residence than any of the other major scholars—Reichard, Kluckhohn, Wyman, Newcomb, Wheelwright. Father Berard's collection of Ur-texts far exceeds those of all other ethnologists. Of those other scholars, only Gladys Reichard recorded mythological texts. Haile's linguistic accomplishments surpassed all of them as well; it was commonly asserted that Father Berard spoke Navajo like a Navajo. His textual and linguistic contributions have not been equaled since his death.

I

Born Jacob Christopher Heile in 1874 in Canton, Ohio, of Austrian parents, he was ordained as a Franciscan priest in 1898. Haile (somehow his last name got changed from Heile to Haile) took the name of Berard at his ordination, after the protomartyr of the Franciscan order, Saint Berard, one of a group of five missionaries Saint Francis of Assisi had sent to Morocco, where they were put to the sword for preaching the faith of Christ to the Muslims. Perhaps Haile had a premonition of his Navajo service when he adopted the name of this missionary who spoke the native tongue, Arabic, and who miraculously produced a spring in the desert for thirsty men.¹

Haile (rhymes with "wryly") was first assigned to a Lithuanian parish in Peoria, Illinois, where he demonstrated such facility in learning the language that his superiors transferred him to the Navajo mission at St. Michaels, Arizona, in 1900.²

At the new mission, founded in 1898, Father Berard soon plunged into the study of the Navajo tongue. Not only native informants, but also the three sons of trader Sam Day, who were raised Navajo, provided the information which led finally to the publication in 1910 of the *Ethnologic Dictionary*, authored by Haile, Fathers Anselm Weber and Juvenal Schnorbus (these two had

founded the mission), Leopold Osterman (who had accompanied Haile to the mission in 1900), and Brothers Marcus Kreke and Hugo Staud. A monumental collection of data, the *Ethnologic Dictionary* combined two of the scholarly social sciences, ethnology and linguistics. It became the most impressive study of Navajo culture until about 1950.

Haile was not an ethnologist in the usual sense; he did not do field work or visit ceremonies. Haile always came to his ethnology through linguistics, though he was not trained in that field. (American linguistics began to develop only in the second decade of the twentieth century with the work of Edward Sapir and Leonard Bloomfield.) In 1912, he published a dictionary and in 1926 a *Manual of Navajo Grammar*, but he was yet self-taught. He used the English and Greek alphabets as a basis, adopted and even invented a few of his own diacritical marks, and relied upon a Smithsonian Bulletin of 1916 entitled *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages*, which he had found very instructive.³

In the late 1920's, Haile was ready to take a giant step in his scholarship. In 1915, he had founded the mission at Lukachukai, and spent years perfecting his Navajo in this remote and unacculturated spot. At the conclusion of that assignment in 1924, he decided to retire from the mission field and devote himself entirely to the study of the Navajo language and the larger field of ethnology.⁴

He went to the Catholic University in Washington, D.C. in 1928. There he learned formal field work methods, although there was little about primitive or Navajo culture that the faculty could teach him. He studied under Father John N. Cooper, a prominent anthropologist of that time. His Master's thesis, based on research he did before 1910, was entitled *Property Concepts of the Navajo Indians*, and was published, after a long and frustrating delay, in 1954, when he was eighty years of age. After the M.A., he planned to work on a doctorate at the University of Vienna, in the very heartland of the linguistic science movement, where Peter Schmidt headed a linguistic school (later repudiated), but fate diverted Haile from that educational experience, and perhaps from entering academia itself.⁵

Haile instead joined the Southwest Laboratory and Field School in Anthropology, spending four weeks (plus additional time for seminars and conferences) at Crystal in the summer of

wanted Haile to attend the University of Chicago. But the priest never matriculated at Chicago. Instead, Sapir arranged an appointment as Research Associate at the University, a position he held until his death, when he was memorialized, along with other University faculty, in Rockefeller Chapel. The professor also garnered small amounts of money for transcription and publication of Haile myths until 1938.⁹

If Haile's position had not already been anomalous, it was so now. He was neither Franciscan Father nor university professor. Father Berard's superiors tended to believe he had forsaken religious duties while the Church financed his existence and even his scholarly activities. At the same time, the Church did not own title (such as copyright) to his textual materials. Some clergymen were critical because he would not translate the Bible, although he did produce catechisms. On the other hand, the University community received the credit for his scholarship. Sapir was never able to bring Haile to Chicago or to Yale, however, and found only a mere pittance for transcription expenses. He was able to publish only one of Haile's chants, the *Origin Legend of the Navajo Enemy Way* in 1938. For Haile, there was a sense of estrangement from both the religious and the scholarly community.¹⁰

II

One of the primary tasks of this early generation of scholars was to adopt a standard Navajo writing system. Much of the correspondence between Haile and Sapir concerned their developing orthography, which they proposed to make the standard system. They exchanged information about word translations and alphabetic symbols. The two kept tinkering with the alphabet and achieved something of a consensus by 1935. Haile admitted he sometimes strayed from the Sapirian system, and, indeed, in 1952, Harry Hoiyer, Sapir's chief disciple, criticized Haile for not adhering strictly to the phonemic system. Haile was plagued by native variations and changes in pronunciation, a problem which was never squarely faced by the linguists, and which probably caused the bitter controversy with Gladys Reichard. One of the changes he observed was the decline of the rubbiness of y and x over the course of time.¹¹

A New Deal language institute at Fort Wingate in 1935, taught by Haile and his chief Navajo interpreter, Chick Sandoval, resulted in a flurry of activity by the two scholars, as they discussed the high tone mark (´) and the low tone mark (˘), the differences between the sounds of x and h, γ^w and w, γ^e and ye, he and xa, and the use of s-sibilants, esh-sibilants, and laterals. The syllabic n, both low (n or ñ) and high (ń) rather than ni or ní, made a world of trouble for Haile. Teaching vowels to the Navajos and white workers was even worse. The language institute in a sense was to be a laboratory for testing the alphabet, to see what worked and what did not. Haile later cited the article Sapir and his Yale colleagues wrote for the *American Anthropologist* as the basis for the grammars and dictionaries he published in later years. However, he made his own revisions in the system, as for instance the use of the apostrophe instead of the clipped question mark (or question mark without a period) for the glottal stop.¹²

Their alphabet was not, strictly speaking, an English alphabet. It tolerated no digraphs or trigraphs (such as kw or qwa), and demanded a unit symbol for each phoneme, a rule that Haile adopted, but Gladys Reichard, Robert Young and William Morgan did not. But then the Yale scholars affixed both pre- and post-superscripts to the consonants (thus p^w , p^y , and ${}^m p$), and thus came perilously close to digraphs after all. Haile later kept post-superscript w, x, y, and a, but did not use pre-superscripts. Standard Navajo today does not use superscripts. The Yale professors employed the Greek letters gamma, lambda (which Haile preferred), zeta, and eta. They and the Franciscan Father used the Polish barred or slashed l (l), and other Slavic, Finno-Ugrian, and Turkish symbols for sibilant affricates (the t and sh sounds). And finally, the glottal stop and post-vocalic aspiration were considered separate alphabetic sounds, the first signified by the professors with } or ʻ and the second by a reverse apostrophe (˘). Haile used the latter, but it failed to gain acceptance, and despite the professor's objections to the apostrophe for the glottal stop, Haile was also forced to use it for practical reasons.¹³ That the alphabet was too complicated for ordinary use was illustrated by Sapir's lament about adding new symbols to a twenty-six letter alphabet. "Putting an apostrophe over a k . . . is like trying to persuade the sun to rise in the west," he wrote to Haile in exasperation in 1938.¹⁴

1929, where he perfected his command of linguistic studies. The Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, founded in 1927, sponsored this and various summer field schools. Edward Sapir of the University of Chicago conducted the field study. Sapir had helped to found the American linguistic movement with the publication of his book, *Language*, in 1921. Sapir benefited greatly from the Franciscan's tactical support, since Haile knew the Navajos better than Sapir himself did. The chief advantage for Haile was that Sapir had discovered tone, and rejected accent, in recording the Navajo tongue. Sapir also taught strictly phonemic transcription. Haile began to review his orthography, and although he later claimed he had settled on his alphabet by 1935, he continued to revise his orthography for many years, and discussed changes of alphabet and symbols with Sapir until his mentor's death in 1939.⁶

Haile maintained his relationship with the Catholic University of America, even though his major scholarly activities were sponsored by Chicago, Yale, and to some extent, Harvard. He was an active member of the University's Catholic Anthropological Conference, rising to its presidency in 1943, and he carried on a correspondence with its prime mover (his mentor), John M. Cooper, until the Monsignor's death in 1949. Cooper encouraged Haile to go to the University of Vienna, and urged him to publish the thesis on "Property Concepts," although he understood Haile intended to make it into a larger ethnological study. He warned him against the plagiarizing of his thesis by Father Martin Gusinde. Cooper was delighted to publish Haile's "Navajo Games of Chance and Taboo" in the CAC's *Primitive Man*.⁷

Cooper also encouraged Haile's relationship with another university and another scholar—the University of Chicago and Edward Sapir. The Franciscan had corresponded with many scholars, including Frederick Webb Hodge, Pliny Earl Goddard, George Herzog, Harry Hoijer, Gladys Reichard, and later with Clyde Kluckhohn and Leland Wyman, furnishing them all with technical information vital to their careers. The priest and the professor, however, forged a mutual link. One was the repository of Navajo knowledge, and the other provided the orthographical framework and the financial support which brought Father Berard's Navajo scholarship to a limited fruition.⁸

Sapir advised Haile against a doctorate at the Catholic University, and congratulated him on not going to Vienna. He in fact

Haile worked arduously to determine finally the Navajo alphabet for the interpreter's institute he taught in 1935. The way would have been much easier had Sapir gotten his handbook out. "The Navajo manual *will be written* before the year's out, never fear," Sapir assured Haile in 1931. But it never was. John Collier, the new head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, gave a new impetus to preparing a guidebook and to teaching Navajos their native tongue. In the summer of 1934, the BIA contracted with Sapir to produce a simplified handbook for traders, teachers and Indian Service employees. Sapir expected the BIA to pay Haile \$500 for his collaboration on the work. Sapir still hoped to write an additional technical manual, but there was some doubt whether he could bend his principles enough to prepare a grammar for the non-professional or the BIA. The Bureau agreed to send Chick Sandoval to New Haven for several months of interaction with Sapir in the winter of 1934-1935—Chick instructing Sapir in Navajo language basics and Sapir instructing Chick on his orthography. (Sandoval was supposed to return to the reservation in time for the interpreter's institute.)¹⁵

Still, Sapir labored in vain to produce his handbook. He suffered misfortune and delay. Soon after Chick arrived, he was stricken with kidney stones. Acceptance of his system was delayed by its complexity. It is probably fair to say that neither Sapir nor Haile taught Sandoval to write the Navajo language adequately or to instruct his fellow Navajos in the tongue. This was due not only to its complexity, but also to some degree to the fact that the professor and priest kept changing the alphabet. At one point, Collier considered making Sandoval a superintendent of language. And yet Collier and the new head of education, Willard W. Beatty, began to draw away from Sapir and Haile in 1935, seeing the Sapir-Haile orthography as too complex, and realizing that Sapir had not delivered the simplified handbook under the contract.¹⁶

Although Sapir and Haile thought—or hoped—that they were still winning battles with the BIA in 1936, they were in fact losing. Still, they both worked hard on the handbook, with Haile subtly beginning to take over by drafting complete lessons. Then Sapir suffered a massive heart attack in late 1937. Jean Sapir wrote a very pessimistic letter about his health to Haile, but the linguist did work quietly with his documentary sources, although he could not teach. The two renewed their activity on the hand-

book, but finally in July, 1938, Sapir told Haile that his illness was chronic and Haile would have to take over. Sapir could only cheer from the sidelines. Haile worked assiduously on the handbook, sending him lessons, drafting the introduction, and discussing changes in orthography. Sapir decided to return to teaching at Yale in the fall semester of 1938, committing an act which, in effect, signed his own death warrant. He died on February 4, 1939. Just before his death, Sapir wrote Haile that Sapir was sorry that he had not finished what he started out to do for Haile, and then later “. . . the battle is lost—irrevocably.”

The handbook materials were returned to Haile (the Athabascan linguistic materials were sent to Harry Hoijer), and Haile did indeed publish a handbook in four volumes from 1941 to 1948. Haile later published *A Stem Vocabulary* based on a list Sapir sent him in 1932. His arrangement of the stems, which form the basis for Navajo words, did not, however, contain all the prefix entries. Nor was it strictly phonemic, and Hoijer, while noting Haile's profound knowledge, pointed out that the *Stem Vocabulary* did not bring clusters of related words together under one entry as it should have done. Thus, it was not Sapirian.¹⁷

It was not simply that Sapir failed to publish his handbook; the BIA also came to oppose his alphabet. Haile attended a conference in Washington, D.C. in the summer of 1936, in which he learned that Dr. John P. Harrington had been hired to Anglicize their alphabet. Haile protested to Collier in the presence of Beatty and Harrington. To Sapir he wrote, “The attitude of these men is that of conceited ignoramus.” “. . . I sincerely hope our presentiment may soon come true, that Collier and perhaps Ickes may lose their positions at an early date. We could then return to our own system. . . .” Sapir also wrote a letter of protest to Collier. Both scholars seemed to think their system was already simplified, but the Bureau continued to use the newer one, and even co-opted Haile and Sandoval to teach a spoken Navajo class. Haile and Sapir thought they had won a victory when a group of prominent Navajos—Tom Dodge, Judge Curly, Jim Shirley, Yellow Singer, Black Mustache and Chester Dodge—told Beatty in Haile's presence that they preferred the priest's system. But it was no victory after all. Sapir, after he became so ill, in retaliation pressured the Rockefeller Foundation to withhold money from the Beatty project, but to no avail.¹⁸

Haile remained adamantly opposed to the La Farge-Harrington

alphabet, as he called it. Perhaps he remembered that in 1911, the young Harrington had brashly criticized not only the *Ethnologic Dictionary*, but also Pliny Earle Goddard's favorable review of it in the *American Anthropologist*. Mainly, Harrington objected to the lack of phonetic identification and to the unfamiliarity of the Franciscan Fathers with the great German linguistic tradition.¹⁹ Haile thus could have had a prejudice against Harrington even before his alphabet became an issue.

The so-called LaFarge-Harrington alphabet (Oliver La Farge, the novelist-anthropologist, had nothing to do with it, according to Robert Young) flowered into the *Navajo Dictionary* by Robert Young and William Morgan, published in 1943, which has become the standard Navajo language reference book.

Meanwhile, as we have seen, Haile doggedly went on writing books in his own orthography. Hoijer, who inherited the manuscript materials of Sapir, also continued to publish them as late as 1974. Hoijer also authored several articles for the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in the 1961 and 1970 editions, "American Aboriginal Languages," and "Central and North American Languages," all in the Sapirian orthography, and with long quotes from Sapir himself. Finally, the 1974 edition of the *Britannica* dropped the Sapirian orthography, and also his language classification. Stanley Newman, another of Sapir's students, characterized the master's work as impressionistic, and many scholars seemed to have forgotten that even Sapir admitted that his hypotheses were subject to further proof. Yet the loyal Hoijer objected to Newman's assessment, and Newman's statement should not be seen as a criticism.²⁰ Hoijer's continued publication of Sapir's notes some thirty-five years after his death ran the risk of obsolescence, and incidentally, of repetition, as successive books tended to reiterate the information he had already provided.²¹ No one can deny, however, that Sapir's Navajo linguistics established the state of the art.

III

If Sapir vainly sought to collaborate with Haile in writing a handbook of Navajo language, and to create a phonemic alphabet and vocabulary, he also generously devoted an inordinate amount of time to seeking financial support for Haile's field work and the

publication of his Navajo myths. (Sapir himself proposed to publish textual materials he had collected at Crystal, with much additional help from Sandoval and Haile, a project which was brought forth a few years after his death by Harry Hoijer.²²) Immediately after the Crystal Conference, and after Haile had decided not to attend the University of Vienna, Sapir arranged for Haile's appointment as a Research Associate at the University of Chicago, to collect ceremonial chants from various singers. The priest's appointment carried no salary. For expenses, the University pledged at least \$500 a year to pay informants, interpreters, typists, transportation and per diem costs. In 1929-1930, for instance, Haile received \$1250, \$750 from the University and \$500 sent directly to him by Elsie Clews Parsons, the anthropologist-philanthropist.²³

Parsons had put up some of the money for the Crystal Field School, and Sapir was able to tap her wealth until 1933 for Haile's myth recording. She was responsible for one diversion from Haile's Navajo studies, an investigation of the Jicarilla Apache, which data the priest turned over to Harry Hoijer. Parsons later hesitated to contribute to Father Berard's ceremonial work because he had not published anything, because her funds were limited, and because she developed a greater affection for anthropology in Mexico. Sometimes she promised money without ever actually sending it. Sapir was loath to ask her for more, but sometimes against his better judgment he did so anyway.²⁴

Parsons was an anthropologist and a devotee of scientific accuracy; Mary Cabot Wheelwright was neither. Sapir also garnered money from her, not only for Haile, but also for Professor George W. Trager's salary at Yale University. Sapir hoped she would fund a position at Yale for Haile, an especially important prospect for Haile in 1932, since he feared the loss of support from Chicago and from his clerical superiors, which might require him to return to missionary work. But to realize Wheelwright's financial support, the professor and the priest needed to humor her. They had to sanction her amateur anthropological work, which they considered sloppy and immature. Haile did much work for her on sand paintings, name lists, songs, and texts. At first he made a supreme effort with a very brave face, but Wheelwright could be obstinate. ". . . she is our Navajo patroness all around," Sapir counseled Haile, "and I think that we can get on very well with her, in spite of her obviously un-

scientific attitude towards many problems of interest to us." Haile perhaps was a little more realistic. "She is a Cabot and a Wheelwright and maybe harder to manage than I can imagine at present." She thought that their work was too technical and that it would never be adopted by the Navajos. Haile lamented: "She has . . . a frenzy for obtaining first-hand material at any cost. In her estimate, she alone is competent to do this. I find myself compelled to agree with her on every point just as you and I would humor any child along." She had once promised Haile an annual salary but had never delivered. She continued to dole out mere pittance for chant recordings. Sapir regretted the impasse with her: ". . . one gets tired of humoring her." He added: ". . . I suppose that sooner or later I will have to tell her that if it comes to a show-down, we cannot sacrifice good scientific method to her personal whims." Finally, after the onset of his fatal illness, he remarked to Haile that "the poor gal is obviously cracked and it would be a waste of time to reason with her."²⁵

As support from Chicago, Parsons, and Wheelwright waned, Sapir and Haile turned to the Rockefeller Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, and the American Philosophical Society. The Rockefeller group evidently supported Yale's Institute of Human Relations, and if ever the Institute should get an increase in its funding, Sapir said, he would transfer Haile to Yale, even to live part-time in New Haven and get a salary. He thought it would be nice if Hoijer (who was not yet permanently located), Haile, and Sapir could be linked at Yale in the study of the Navajo language.²⁶ In 1934, Sapir contacted Rockefeller's General Education Board and asked for \$1500, which Haile believed was a minimum for him to carry on his work. As always in matters of this kind, there were delays, rumor, and suspense, but finally in October, Rockefeller made the grant directly to Haile, not through Yale as he preferred. A year later, Sapir and Haile had to plead for a grant renewal (unsuccessfully, probably).²⁷ The pleas to the Social Science Research Council and the American Philosophical Society fell on barren ground. Haile cultivated the friendship of Mrs. Harold Ickes, wife of the Secretary of the Interior, who had taken up residence at Coolidge, New Mexico, but her commitment to funding field work and publication funds ended abruptly when she was killed in an automobile accident.²⁸

Finally, Haile did go on the BIA payroll in 1934 (he cynically believed the bureaucracy would never come forth, and he was almost right), first as a special consultant on education to help Sapir prepare the handbook, and then as a language instructor at Fort Wingate and at the Central Agency (Window Rock). Haile actually earned a salary, which as a priest he could not accept for personal support, and he arranged to have the money set aside as a research fund and deposited with the Definitorium in Cincinnati. After taking out certain expenses for the Father's Navajo work, the Definitorium returned a sum of \$3500 to Haile in 1946, which he converted into war bonds for later preparation of manuscripts.²⁹

IV

In the 1940's, Haile had enough support from the university and philanthropic community to get several of his manuscripts published. After Sapir managed to publish *Enemyway* at Yale in interlinear, literal translation, Haile would never be satisfied with any other format. By 1938, the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago had four of his manuscripts available for publication. But the Department did not believe it could afford the publication costs, and as Sapir sarcastically explained to Haile, these were anthropologists, not linguists. Hoijer, who was then on the faculty at Chicago, wrote Haile that the Department had decided to publish his manuscripts as ethnology, not linguistics, without a Navajo text. Haile objected to this; he compared this practice to the Reichard-Newcomb book on the Shooting Chant, which he labeled a picture book. Fay-Cooper Cole, the chair of the Department, thereupon hesitated in this decision, and wrote Sapir for suggestions.³⁰

Two years later, in 1940, the manuscript on Flintway arrived from Haile and in 1942, Haile sent \$500, and the University contributed \$363.35 to cover the cost of verityping Flintway. Chicago did not publish it in interlinear translation, but in matching Navajo-English columns on the page, an arrangement unsatisfactory to Haile.³¹

Haile then decided to publish a version of Shootingway, with the unusual title *Prayer Stick Cutting in a Five Night Navajo Ceremonial of the Male Branch of Shootingway*. He had taken down

Blue Eyes' version of this chant in 1921 for Pliny Earle Goddard, paid for by Elsie Clews Parson. Franc Johnson Newcomb and Gladys Reichard had published a book based on this manuscript, which Haile did not like. He now proposed a new interlinear translation, for which the University of Chicago got money from the Viking Fund, and which he published on the St. Michaels monotype under his direct supervision. Haile always liked to tinker with his manuscripts, so again there was delay. Although the book came out in 1947 under the imprimatur of the University of Chicago Press, it was in fact printed at St. Michaels.³²

In 1947, Haile unexpectedly presented yet another book to the Chicago Press, *Navajo Sacrificial Figurines*. The memo of agreement between Haile and Robert Redfield, acting for the Department and the University Press, stipulated no royalties and no reprints. After the press run of 500 copies sold out, that would be the end of it.³³

The University of Chicago partly subsidized one other Haile book, *Legend of the Ghostway Ritual in the Male Branch of Shootingway* (1950). This was printed by St. Michael's Press and financed by private subsidies as well as the Chicago subvention. Included in this work was also *Suckingway, Its Legend and Practice*. Shootingway was the most published of the Navajo chants, and this second Haile version, recorded in 1933, was in interlinear translation, with free-flowing English paragraphs also succeeding each interlinear Navajo-English paragraph.³⁴

In the 1940's, Haile achieved an impressive publication record, but his repertory of unpublished manuscripts was large. In 1933, Haile counted seventeen projects which he had begun since 1929 in various stages of preparation.³⁵ Chicago eventually published only three out of five manuscripts, and two of those Haile actually put in press himself.

By 1947, when Haile was growing old, and perhaps more curmudgeonly, the question of what to do with the vast number of his yet-unpublished manuscripts had to be faced. Haile had deposited many of these manuscripts with the Department of Anthropology for safe-keeping.³⁶ Yet, because of the tremendous expense of interlinear and free translation, Chicago perforce was reluctant to see them through. Should the Franciscan Definitorium, which had financed much of the priest's work, assume the responsibilities? If it financed the remaining publications, there would be the problem of the Chicago copyright. On the

other hand, if Chicago should release the copyright, which in fact it was quite willing to do, Haile, as a priest, could not possess it, since he could hold no personal property. It would devolve upon the Definitorium. The Definitorium in 1946 had appropriated \$10,000 to publish the remaining materials, but did not at that time consider the issue of the Chicago copyright. The problem had achieved an urgency, since the aging Haile was thought to be the only person who could prepare the highly technical manuscripts for publication.³⁷

Finally, in 1949, the University of Chicago relinquished all rights to the publication of the field materials in favor of the Franciscan Fathers. At the same time, in a final flourish, it contributed \$720 to publish *Ghostway Ritual of Shootingway*. And yet the Definitorium did not fund any of Haile's publications. When Wyman was serving as curator of manuscripts at the Museum of Northern Arizona, he requested Fred Eggan to transfer the Chicago manuscripts to Flagstaff, on permanent loan, which he gladly did. Wyman and Karl Luckert have guided them to publication.³⁸

Haile found one other source of publication support. After Mary Wheelwright established the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art in Santa Fe in 1937, Haile was able to publish a few items under the imprimatur of the Museum. In 1947 *Starlore Among the Navajo* appeared, based on his field notes of 1908. In 1949, he and Wheelwright co-authored *Emergence Myth According to the Hanelthnayhe or Upward-reaching Rite*. Haile had recorded this myth and had allowed her to type it around 1930. She later rewrote this typed version and it was now printed with his approval. Haile also furnished her with translations of the prayers in *The Myth and Prayers of the Great Star Chant and The Myth of the Coyote Chant*, edited by David McAllester, in 1956. Haile and Wheelwright had recorded separate versions of Great Star in the early 1930's. He considered his recording a freak version, unpublishable, but at the same time, doubted the authenticity of her prayers. So it must have been a relief to him to replace her prayers in this production. Haile probably felt great discomfort in associating with Wheelwright's work, since her translations were often inaccurate and her orthography idiosyncratic. He would have spelled "Hanelthnayhe" above as "xa'ne-Inéhé," for instance.³⁹

V

Many of Haile's manuscripts have ultimately found their way to publication, even after his death. Leland Wyman mined this vast resource with five books. First, in 1959, came *Beautyway*, from a Chicago manuscript, the only one of this series which Haile proofed before publication. It included a Navajo text in a back pocket of the book, manifestly for him an unsatisfactory arrangement of text and translation.⁴⁰ Haile suffered a stroke in 1954, and had nothing to do with Wyman's later renditions. Next from the Chicago manuscripts came *The Windways of the Navajo*, in 1962, which included a Navajo Windway and two versions of Chiricahua Windway, all translated by Haile. It was published only in English, without any Navajo. Wyman also reproduced sixty sand paintings from the myth.⁴¹

The third Chicago manuscript of Haile's which Wyman brought to light was *Red Antway*, in 1965. Wheelwright had commissioned this study in the early 1930's. After four days of transcribing, however, she reneged on her agreement. Haile continued taking the text from his informant, and Wheelwright transcribed a version from another source. It was somewhat ironic, then, for the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art to publish his *Red Antway*, the first volume in their Navajo Religion Series, after Wheelwright's death. Interestingly, Haile's name is hardly mentioned in this book. Wyman did compose an extensive discussion of the significance of *Red Antway*, its songs, sand-paintings, and symbols. There is no Navajo text.⁴²

Two other chants, *Blessingway* and *Mountainway*, Wyman published from the University of Arizona collection of Berard Haile Papers, which Bernard Fontana had retrieved from the St. Michael's Mission. The second of these two, *Mountainway* (1975), consisted of two versions, recorded and translated by Haile.⁴³ The first, *Blessingway* (1970), was considered the most important of the Navajo ceremonials and Haile's greatest contribution to Navajo Chantways, and it went through a long and tortuous history before it was finally published by the University of Arizona Press.

Since Haile insisted that *Blessingway* stood above all other chants, the "fons et origo," as Clyde Kluckhohn put it, of the ceremonial system, it rightly should have been published before

all the others. Kluckhohn and Wyman remonstrated with him for publishing *Shootingway*, the third book on that subject, ahead of *Blessingway*.⁴⁴ By about 1950, Haile did indeed seem ready to concentrate on *Blessingway*, but the time was growing late. Haile was nearing eighty years of age.

To spur on *Blessingway's* publication, Kluckhohn inaugurated the Father Berard Haile Publication Fund in 1952, leading off with some fairly major contributions solicited by David Aberle, and a major one from Kluckhohn. The Fund committee (also including Hoijer, Oliver La Farge, and Glenn Emmons; W. W. Hill was added later) hoped to raise \$10,000 so that Haile could publish the myth in the way he liked—interlinear translation with additional free English paragraphs. The fundraisers hoped to acquire about half the amount from the Viking Fund (shortly to be renamed the Wenner-Gren Foundation).⁴⁵

Haile also bestirred himself to raise money for the project. He negotiated the sale of the monotype to a printer in Albuquerque who would presumably prepare the chant for publication, expecting reimbursement from book sales. He also had \$4000 in war bonds, which he pledged to the project. He approached the tribe, and got a \$1000 pledge from Norman Littell, the tribal attorney in Washington, D.C. Later, in 1954, the Tribal Council voted him \$30,000. He unsuccessfully asked the University of Chicago for \$2400 in return for stamping its imprimatur on the title page, and he also entered into negotiations with the University of New Mexico.⁴⁶

But none of this worked out. Initially, the fundraisers garnered only about \$2,000, a disappointing record. Chicago refused Haile's offer; the Albuquerque printer ran off Haile's introduction and twenty chapters, about one-sixth of the text, before costs and editorial chores overwhelmed him; and the University of New Mexico found monetary problems and Haile's intransigence on textual issues more than it could bear. The Tribal Council, in a moving interview with the Little Priest, voted him a large subvention, only to rescind it within a few weeks. Four weeks later, Haile suffered a massive stroke which paralyzed both body and mind.⁴⁷

Haile did recover somewhat from his stroke, and devoted his waning strength to preparing *Blessingway* for publication. He continued to edit the manuscript and the galleys copiously, to everyone's consternation; looked for more money; and placed his faith

in the ability of the University of New Mexico to see it through.⁴⁸ As his determination increased, his ability to publish his cherished manuscript decreased. The doctor finally gave orders that no one should mention any of the Haile transcriptions in his presence for fear that the emotional tension would end his life. Wyman, who had consulted him when *Beautyway* was in preparation, with all the difficulties which that entailed, never mentioned to the ailing priest that he had published *Windways*. Haile did not even know that Wyman initiated an effort to publish *Blessingway*, or that all his papers were moved from St. Michaels to Tucson while he was still alive.⁴⁹

Dr. Bernard Fontana, field historian at the University of Arizona, acquired the Berard Haile papers, a rich and rewarding collection of documents upon which much of this account is based, from the Franciscan Mission at St. Michaels in 1961. Even before Fontana had boxed the collection for transport, Wyman made inquiries about its textual materials, particularly *Blessingway*. Until it was organized, a monumental task undertaken by archivist Phyllis Ball, Fontana could not tell Wyman much about the contents. Other delays occurred: the Franciscans stipulated that nothing could be published until after Haile's death, which finally occurred on September 30, 1961; the University needed to develop policies for lending manuscripts according to the conditions laid down by the Franciscans; Wyman was currently occupied, working on *Red Antway* (a Chicago manuscript) and taking world tours; and Fontana switched jobs within the University, all of which caused a two-year hiatus in the beginning of the *Blessingway* project. Wyman was very irritated at Fontana's failure to respond to his letters, but finally an agreement was reached in 1964, and *Blessingway* was launched.⁵⁰

After some initial hesitation, Fontana decided to do all that he could do to see that *Blessingway* was published. He cleared all the necessary decisions with the Franciscan Fathers, fought the University bureaucracy, negotiated with Wyman, searched diligently for a missing English translation segment (which Haile had never prepared, he finally learned), opened up his home to Wyman and his wife, acted as an intermediary between Wyman and the Press, and actually prepared the index for the book.⁵¹ One of Fontana's greatest problems was tracking The Father Berard Haile Publication Fund. Not even the major promoters knew the whole story (Kluckhohn had recently died), or even where

the money was located. After much sleuthing, he found the fund in the Gallup State Bank, along with a list of donors. (Those who gave more than ten dollars were entitled to a free book.) The fund amounted to \$10,186.75, but the Franciscan Fathers believed that only \$4800 properly could be transferred to the University of Arizona. Wyman raised the question of whether some of that could be used for *Red Antway*, which he was currently in the throes of publishing, but the Fund was to be used strictly for *Blessingway*, and the amount of \$4800 was only about one-fourth the cost of publication in any case.⁵²

Wyman faced the problem of editing what he thought was a turgid, verbose manuscript. He reduced Haile's footnotes to 396, one-third the original number. (One wonders, however, whether Haile's original introduction should have been retained.) He polished the prose in the introduction and the translation, persuaded David McAllester and Charlotte Johnson (with the help of Chic Sandoval and William Morgan) to translate the missing part, and added some sections of his own. His most serious departure from the Haile version was scrapping the interlinear Navajo-English text. Thus, there was no Navajo text at all, as in all Wyman's Haile publications except *Beautyway*. This would reduce the cost tremendously. He figured that only eight or ten white scholars would be able to use the Navajo text, which they could acquire on microfilm or photocopy from the depository. (He overlooked native Navajo readers, younger linguistic scholars he did not know, and students trained in the Mormon missionary school and in the Arizona and New Mexico Universities.) He believed that the Navajo text was only for learning the language, not for Navajo literary or mythological purposes, and that the language could be learned in Haile's (and Reichard's) earlier chant works. He published all three of Haile's versions of the chant by different medicine men. But even if he printed only one of the versions with Navajo text, the cost would still have been enormous. And yet Haile would have been bitterly disappointed at the lack of an interlinear text.⁵³

In all his extensive editing, Wyman was dependent on Fontana and Phyllis Ball to look up references in the manuscripts, find photographs, deal with the Franciscan Fathers, pay stipends and expenses, and run interference with the press. He wanted to spell "Navajo" with an "h", but lost that battle. He lost, also,

in the Press' reconstruction of the Introduction, so that it incorrectly appeared that Haile had written little or nothing of it. Plagiarizing bothered Wyman, but he acquiesced. He insisted on giving his name a prominent place on the title page, ". . . to give me what I think is due me for the job I did," thus further relegating Haile to a minor position. Wyman added a section on dry-painting, a subject on which he has written voluminously, but in this as in all of his writings since *Windway* (1962), there was much recycling of old information. He admitted that the *Blessingway* description of sandpaintings was similar to the accounts in *Windway* and *Red Antway*.⁵⁴

Gary Witherspoon, in his review in the *American Anthropologist*, criticized Wyman for not printing the Navajo text. Wyman responded by pointing out the prohibitive costs and termed the criticism "gratuitously harsh." Witherspoon believed that Navajos who were learning to read their language were ignored. He suggested that perhaps Wyman should have produced only one version with text rather than three English versions. Witherspoon also faulted Wyman for being descriptive, not analytical. Privately, Wyman was furious over Witherspoon's review, even casting aspersions on him personally. When given a copy of Witherspoon's book, *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe* (1977), Wyman spoke more than he knew when he said he would not know how to review it, for Witherspoon represented a new breed of Navajo scholars (along with Pinxten, McNeley, Farella, Gill and Zolbrod) who were intensely analytical and not descriptive.⁵⁵

The University of Arizona Press formally launched *Blessingway* at St. Michaels on March 12, 1970, but Wyman refused to attend. His relationship with the mission had somehow been severed. Cryptically, he had advised Fontana earlier never to mention sandpaintings, one of Wyman's major publishing subjects, to the Franciscans. When Marshall Townsend, Director of the Press, had suggested that the *Blessingway* manuscript be sent to St. Michaels and possibly to Cincinnati for review, Wyman had emphatically, almost frantically, opposed any of the priests seeing his work. The Press would have liked for the star to attend the ceremony, but he would not go.⁵⁶

Shortly after Wyman had published his last Haile ceremonial, *Mountainway*, in 1975, Karl Luckert produced five of the Haile

manuscripts, which were found in the Chicago or the Museum of Northern Arizona collection and from the University of Arizona collection. These five volumes are part of an American Tribal Religion Series published by the Museum of Northern Arizona and the University of Nebraska Press. Luckert's first Haile manuscript was *Love-Magic and Butterfly People, The Slim Curly Version of the Ajilee and Mothway Myths* (MNA, 1978). Ajilee is the Navajo term which Haile translated as *Prostitutionway*, the English title he would have preferred. He had gotten into bitter controversy with Gladys Reichard over the terminology. She objected that the use of "Prostitutionway" carried too much opprobrium, for the chant could be used when a husband had inordinate sex with his wife, for instance, or to achieve success in gambling or trading, and might not have anything at all to do with sex, much less illicit sex. She suggested the terms "excess," "recklessness," or "rashness" chant as more accurate. Luckert avoided taking sides in this controversy, preferring terms "love-magic" or ajilee," although he does reprint the two separate introductions Haile wrote, which are cast in the Prostitutionway tradition. Wyman did adopt a Reichard term, excess way, in later publications, signaling acceptance of the Reichard terminology over Haile's.⁵⁷

Luckert next edited *Waterway* (MNA, 1979), followed by *Upward Moving and Emergence Way*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), based on the same Gishin Biye' version of 1908 which Mary Wheelwright had rewritten and published in 1949. While Wheelwright is often criticized by scholars for her bizarre and inconsistent orthography, the more authentic Haile version nevertheless had many defects, so many that one wonders if Luckert should have published it. Haile recorded this in his very early years when he perhaps was less expert, and before he had become adept with the Navajo alphabet (before Sapir). Luckert does not include a Navajo text in this volume, the only one of the five which is wholly in English. (Navajo terminology is used in the text.) But the most serious flaw in the manuscript is Haile's informant, Gishin Bijé, who divided the underworlds into twelve instead of four, and who became so hopelessly confused at the eighth underworld that the story lost all credibility. Haile is reported to have said that this was not a good manuscript, and that perhaps it should have been left in manuscript form. Reichard vigorously objected to the term "Upward Movingway,"

choosing instead "Chant of Waning Endurance," a controversy which was aired in the *American Anthropologist*.⁵⁸ Whether Haile's faulty version of xa'ne·Inéhé· should cause us to reevaluate the controversy in Reichard's favor is not clear to me.

Finally, Luckert and Irvy Goossen edited *Women Versus Men, Conflict of Navajo Emergence* (Nebraska, 1981), and *Navajo Coyote Tales* (Nebraska, 1984). Unlike the Wyman renditions, Luckert placed Haile's name on the title pages of all these books as author, and he also included the Navajo text in each volume, except the one mentioned above. (Irvy Goossen was his linguist for these translations.) The translations were not interlinear, but placed in the second half of the book. The fussy Haile would not have been pleased either to know that the Navajo linguist, Irvy Goossen, transcribed the Navajo text from the Sapir-Haile orthography to the standard Young-Morgan orthography.⁵⁹

VI

Beginning with the publication of *Enemyway* in 1938, Haile began to have an impressive linguistic and ethnological publication record, although, of course, his voluminous manuscripts far outran the ability of the presses to print them in his lifetime, or even twenty-five years after his lifetime. But much of this record was due to Haile's own direct efforts at publication, through small sums of money he was able to raise or earn for costs, through large amounts of labor and time which only a priest could contribute to the cause, but above all, through the operation of a monotype and press at St. Michaels over which he exercised supervisory control.

The Franciscan Fathers had a press at St. Michaels in 1910, which had been used to publish the *Ethnologic Dictionary*. Haile, as the young editor, undoubtedly developed editing and printing skills which he could use at a later time. Haile had to plead long and hard with the Provincial, his superior in Cincinnati, to finance the *Dictionary*, and in 1911, that official decreed that only a dictionary and grammar could be published as secular works. All other works of the St. Michaels Press would have to be religious.

By the late 1930's, the issue of publishing Father Berard's ethnological and linguistic—and secular—materials had become

moot. When Joseph Donovan of Austin, Texas, visited St. Michaels, he saw the need for printing equipment under the direct supervision of Haile. He and Archbishop Richard Cushing of Boston provided the funds for a monotype to be installed at the mission.⁶⁰

Haile then began the laborious and time-consuming task of publishing his own works, even when occasionally they appeared under another copyright and imprimatur. He printed a *Catechism* in 1937, his language materials beginning in 1941, his textual materials in 1943, and even shorter synopses of much larger works, *The Navajo War Dance*, in 1945 (a gloss on *Mountainway* which Wyman later published in 1975). In 1947, he printed *Head and Face Masks in Navajo Ceremonialism*, made possible by pre-publication subscribers—Frederick Webb Hodge, Hoijer, Kluckhohn, and Wheelwright—which relied on data and masks he had acquired around 1907. His analysis of masks in *Nightway*, *Big Godway* and *Upward Reaching Way* thus was based on information he had learned in his very early years at St. Michaels, and was now more than forty years old.

Haile believed in moving slowly on Bible or hymn translations, a matter of disagreement with some of his religious confreres, who thought his work was not sacred enough.⁶¹

In 1944, the monotype was almost moved to the Navajo mission at Smith Lake, where Haile and Father Burcard Fisher could publish the books. That ultimately was not done, and instead Fisher was finally transferred to St. Michaels, where the two immediately began to prepare *Shootingway* for publication.⁶²

It should be remembered that only those Haile works published directly under his auspices, and also *Enemyway*, published by Yale under Sapir's auspices, satisfied his exacting standards for orthography and interlinear translation.

VII

Still another of Haile's accomplishments was his reaching out to other scholars, both for the unsurpassed special knowledge he could contribute to their academic lives, and for the professional techniques he could learn from them to enhance his own scholarship.

In 1910, in the wake of the publication of the *Ethnologic Dictionary*, he was in contact with Frederick Webb Hodge of the Bureau of American Ethnology in the Smithsonian Institution and with Pliny Earle Goddard of the American Museum of Natural History in New York. He had sent Hodge a copy of the *Dictionary*, and in 1929, asked Hodge for advice on reprinting the book. He gave Hodge some assistance, evidently, in the translation of the Benavides *Memorial*, which Hodge and several other scholars published in 1945. Even after Haile's stroke, he wrote Hodge in 1955 seeking information about Athapascan migration in preparation for his work on *Blessingway*.⁶³

With Goddard, he had a more intimate contact, beginning with Goddard's complimentary review of the *Ethnologic Dictionary* in the *American Anthropologist*. It was with Goddard in those early years that Haile discussed the alphabet—whether, for instance, “q” was a sonant or a surd. Haile recorded the Blue Eyes version of *Shootingway*, which he proofed as Goddard had it typed. When Haile thought of turning to the study of the Jicarilla Apaches or the Penitentes, Goddard counseled him to stay with the Navajos, where his knowledge was unexcelled. When Goddard led a group consisting of Ruth Benedict, Gladys Reichard, and Ruth Bunzell to study Pueblo and Navajo Indians in 1925, he called on Haile for help in finding native informants. Goddard even invited Haile to come to New York and ride with him out to his farm near Danbury, Connecticut, in his Cadillac roadster. When Goddard died unexpectedly in 1928, Haile sought to purchase his anthropological books.⁶⁴

He sought to acquire Goddard's library through Gladys Reichard, who was in charge of disposing of Goddard's books. (Elsie Clews Parsons bought the volumes Reichard wanted for her library.) Gladys (and Goddard's son) were greatly embarrassed and deeply apologetic when Goddard's widow held up the shipment (temporarily) even after Haile had sent a check for the lot. Haile also requested reading lists from Gladys, which she sent to him, and information about how to subscribe to professional journals. As late as 1932, she was impatiently explaining to him that if he wanted to read the *Journal of American Folklore*, he would have to join the American Ethnological Society, of which she was secretary. She also sent reprints by Washington Matthews to him. In February of 1929, she expressed the hope

that he would be accepted in Sapir's summer school. Little did Gladys know that the Father was about to exchange her for a new mentor who would be devastatingly critical of Reichard and her scholarship.⁶⁵

In 1928, she sent Haile a manuscript which he reviewed critically. She thanked him for his criticism, and admitted that she had not gotten under the skin of Navajo life sufficiently to see the seamy side. Her manuscript was too idealistic, and hence she would not publish it until she got more first-hand knowledge. She urged him to read Alexander Stephen's manuscript, which she had fallen heir to, and appealed to him to find the original copy of his Blue Eyes manuscript, which Goddard had sent to Haile (and which Gladys then brought to publication with less than enthusiastic responses from her compeers). She asked him for advice on orthography, particularly for her hogan school (to teach Navajos how to write Navajo) in 1934, and promised to get up-to-date with his help, although she confessed in 1930 that Sapir said so many confusing things she was not sure how to use his difficult method. In 1936, she told Haile she did not think she could keep up with Sapir's changes. She did not have time to revise again and again. She was going to use her old system until her courage got the better of her.⁶⁶

By the middle 1930's Haile's attitude toward Reichard had become largely negative and their correspondence began to taper off, with her last letter written in 1939. There had been a chance of a collaboration on publishing the Blue Eyes manuscript on *Shootingway*. Haile had kept the original text, but Gladys had the interlinear Navajo-English copy and three English translations. Columbia University had agreed to publish Franc Johnson Newcomb's sandpaintings of this chant, and a decision had to be made whether to add a commentary by Reichard and also the text by Haile. The Franciscan raised the question with Fay-Cooper Cole whether he should collaborate with Reichard. He knew that Wheelwright, in a pique because she was not consulted, favored including the text but Reichard and Ruth Benedict, who was a Columbia University anthropologist, could not be persuaded to include the complex text. It may be also that Haile had qualms about delivering it up to them. (He set aside work on *Shootingway* and kept it for later publication.) He now concentrated on *Flintway*, which was his next mythological publication. The Newcomb-Reichard book appeared without text, therefore, and

it, like works by Oliver La Farge, Dane and Mary Coolidge, and Wheelwright and other books by Reichard, were considered by him unauthoritative and a failure.⁶⁷

Neither Sapir nor Haile seemed to like Gladys personally, but they also may have instinctively realized that she was the only scholar who would or could challenge their dominance of Navajo studies. Haile wrote Cole in 1936 that Gladys "breezed in" and mentioned plans to "get down to Navajo for good. . . ." ⁶⁸ To Sapir, he wrote that Reichard dropped in for a chat on nothing and everything. "I do not think we can do anything to cure her of her mild insanity," counseled Sapir. The best thing to do was be courteous without taking her questions seriously.⁶⁹ He had coached her on his orthography and he had sent her a detailed description of Navajo phonetics. But, his attitude was that they would not interfere with their work, and they ought to help her in a practical way.⁷⁰ When Haile was preparing his review of Reichard's *Social Life of the Navajo Indians*, Sapir advised Father Berard to be charitable but honest: ". . . a little honesty will not do our friend very much harm."⁷¹ The professor reported to Haile that his student, W. W. Hill, had met Gladys, "and finds her quite amusing."⁷² She would never be a first-rate scholar, in Sapir's opinion. But, he said in effect, let us help her whenever she wants. Let's keep the peace, he admonished—something Haile was not able to do after Sapir's death.⁷³

They seemed most alarmed at her hogan school, which she taught near Klagetoh for the BIA in the summer of 1934. Sapir persuaded Collier to appoint himself, Haile, and Sandoval as a committee to supervise her project, but the committee never functioned, probably because Gladys never heard of its existence. The two waited impatiently for a report from her when it was over. Sapir could only speculate. "She is, as you know, rather self-willed about things, and it may be that she has developed some inordinate ambitions of her own about the whole business." When finally her report did appear, Sapir doubted its optimism. In private conferences with Collier and Ryan, and in formal reports to them, Sapir and Haile successfully discredited Reichard's hogan school, declaring that her knowledge of Navajo was trifling at best, and that she had been unfair and ungrateful to Father Berard (Sapir did not say how) and to himself. Sapir met with Collier, Ryan, and others in Washington, D.C., where it was agreed that the Navajo language program should continue,

“including Gladys Reichard’s participation in it without in the least allowing her to run away with things.” It was also agreed that Sapir and Haile should get together and settle—Sapir even used the word “legislate”—the question of Navajo orthography. The result of all this was that Reichard’s hogan school for the next summer (1935) was not renewed and Haile and Sandoval contracted to teach the language over the next two years.⁷⁴

Indeed, the open break between Reichard and Haile came after 1940. They aired their controversies in book reviews and in journal articles. After Sapir’s death, Clyde Kluckhohn and Harry Hoiyer joined Haile in their strictures upon her ethnological and linguistic scholarship. Reichard reviewed several of Haile’s books. While she saw the value of his texts as primary sources, she came to disapprove his poor organization and writing style, his avoidance of the BIA (or Young–Morgan) alphabet and of her own work on Navajo grammar.⁷⁵

Kluckhohn promised the priest that he and Wyman and others would follow his lead in the controversy over the translation of the chant name, *xa’ne-Inéhé*. Reichard translated it “Chant of Waning Endurance” and Haile rendered it “Upward Reaching Way.” Kluckhohn declared, “. . . I think that damned ‘Waning Endurance’ should be publicly debunked so that no serious professional will pay any attention to it.” He urged Haile to reply to Reichard in the *American Anthropologist*. “I do hope you will write to the *Anthropologist* showing the error of Reichard’s ways.” And so Haile did, insisting on “upward reaching way” as the translation. Little did Gladys know of the efforts behind the scenes to oppose her, or that Kluckhohn had arranged to plant an article against her.⁷⁶

Unlike Reichard, Haile had never been sung over as a patient. He thought Reichard claimed too much authenticity—no linguistic problem too difficult for her to solve—just because a medicine man performed a ceremony for her. He had a tendency to denigrate all of her work, therefore, such as the inaccurate translations in her Hailway chant. But Kluckhohn believed her *Compulsive Word* was much less objectionable than her other recent publications and he, in fact, counseled Haile to take a less prejudiced look at her religious works.⁷⁷

Haile’s university friends asked him for help not only for themselves but for their students, as well. Sapir sent him three of his

students, Morris Opler, a University of Chicago student working on the Apache; Walter Dyk, working on Navajo oral biography; and W.W. "Nibbs" Hill, working on warfare and agricultural and hunting methods. Haile would find places as remote as Kayenta and Navajo Mountain for Dyk, or interpreters such as Chick for Nibbs Hill. Haile rather liked the derring-do attitude of Dyk, who wanted to go Navajo, although Haile doubted whether his stomach was strong enough for it. Sapir also sought advice from Haile about these men, and, for instance, wanted the priest's frank opinion of Dyk, whom a hesitant Sapir would have to recommend for renewal of a National Research Council Scholarship.⁷⁸

Haile also extended help to more established scholars: to Ruth Benedict, who later wrote the famous *Patterns of Culture* (1934), and who, in the late 1920's and early 1930's, was working on the Zunis;⁷⁹ to professor George Herzog of Yale, who was part of the Sapir group and whose special task was to analyze the many native American songs which Haile and Harry Hoijer, and others in the field, sent to him,⁸⁰ and to other scholars in the fields of physiological psychology, Native American oratory, and Indian political organization.⁸¹

With Harry Hoijer, Haile's relationship was less pedantic. Hoijer recorded many songs of the Navajo medicine man, Klah, and of the Jicarilla, which he often sent to Sapir. Much of his work was financed by Mary Wheelwright, and he worked some at her ranch near Santa Fe. In 1930, he sent Haile "Herzog's Machine," from San Gabriel Ranch, with instructions on how to record songs with it. Haile also sent Hoijer some Jicarilla material which he had collected. Hoijer personally typed the *Flintway* manuscript for publication, a task demanding the skills of an accomplished linguist. Later, when Hoijer had replaced Sapir on the University of Chicago faculty, it fell to him to mollify Haile over the publication of *Flintway* and to reassure him that Chicago was still interested in his ethnographical work. When Hoijer left Chicago, Sapir at first found him a job in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and then Hoijer joined the new department of anthropology and sociology at the University of California at Los Angeles in 1940, where he remained a loyal Sapirian disciple until his retirement in 1970 and death in 1976.⁸²

VIII

After Sapir's death, Haile's second most significant relationship developed with Clyde Kluckhohn. It did not start off well. In 1932, Kluckhohn wrote from the University of New Mexico that he used Haile's *Manual of Navajo Grammar* and other works of the Franciscan Fathers in his classes and would like to talk with him. Could he come by the campus for a visit?⁸³

That meeting never occurred, evidently, because in 1937, Sapir introduced Kluckhohn (now at Harvard) to Haile by letter. Kluckhohn, Wyman and Reichard were preparing a classification of the Navajo Chant system. Following Sapir's introduction, Kluckhohn wrote Father Berard asking for help on this and other technical matters.⁸⁴ Haile agreed to read a draft of the chant classification manuscript, and sent back nine pages of critical comments. Kluckhohn realized there was a wide divergence in their approach, but still he suggested that Haile write an abstract for their publication in the *American Anthropologist*. But finally, Kluckhohn realized that collaboration was impossible.⁸⁵

Sapir cautioned Haile about Kluckhohn, "He is intelligent and interested, but not as able as some people think he is. Moreover, his ambition strikes me as somewhat pathological in character. And, as to character, I feel he bears watching a bit. Sapienti sat."⁸⁶

Kluckhohn kept sending Haile revised copies of the classification manuscript, and Haile responded with suggestions—in one case, sixteen pages of them. In one draft letter which he did not send Kluckhohn, he pointed out that Kluckhohn and Wyman (Reichard had been dropped from the authorship) had incorporated so much of the Franciscan's thought in the manuscript that their authorship was questionable. He was hinting at plagiarism, but did not confront Kluckhohn with the charge. At the same time, Haile submitted an article to the *American Anthropologist* to controvert the information in the Kluckhohn-Wyman manuscript. Haile evidently expected his article to appear in conjunction with the Wyman and Kluckhohn monograph, but when it did not, he suspected Kluckhohn of duplicity. "I'm not in the least surprised," remarked Sapir, "that Kluckhohn did what you said he did. He's quite capable of doing far worse, judging from certain facts I happen to know. Some of these smooth Johnnies bear watching."⁸⁷

Throughout this discussion and debate over chant classification, Haile kept Sapir thoroughly informed. Concerning the Wyman-Kluckhohn manuscript, which Haile had sent him, Sapir waxed satirical: "but, my dear boy, I don't think it's any worse in the violence it does native concepts and terminology than 90% of the supposedly authoritative stuff published by anthropologists who have not a proper control of linguistic analysis." Sapir disliked people such as Wyman and Kluckhohn skimming off the cream of their work, and he strongly urged Haile to publish an article on ceremonials in the *American Anthropologist* as a reply. He advised the priest to publish his tentative findings at once and make his claim to knowledge of fundamental native ceremonial and ritualistic features. This would deprive other scholars, such as Wyman and Kluckhohn, of credit for Haile's work. Then he could perfect the details later.

Haile did send Sapir his manuscript on classification and got back a ten-page letter. Besides the long technical stuff, Sapir urged him to simplify: The manuscript was written too much for the likes of Gladys Reichard and Clyde Kluckhohn.⁸⁸

Where did Haile differ from Wyman and Kluckhohn in the classification of the chants? Haile put his finger on a fundamental difference between the two approaches when he noted, after seeing the Kluckhohn-Wyman manuscript, that they classified on the basis of informants, which amounted to cumulative external evidence, and ignored internal evidence. He indicated that he would like to see more mythic material. Kluckhohn admitted to the priest that he and Wyman were interested in "how do adult Navajos in given regions classify and categorize the ceremonials which they have heard of?"⁸⁹

Besides a preference for internal analysis, Haile favored simpler categories. Instead of the more complex "Groups and Sub-Groups," Haile divided the ceremonials into (1) chants and (2) rites. The first used a rattle; the second did not and should not be classified as chants, such as *Enemyway* and *Blessingway*.

Haile resembled Wyman and Kluckhohn in his identification of ritual patterns. Those rituals were: (1) Holyway, subdivided into (a) weapon or injury or angry way, (b) peaceful way, and (c) angry way; (2) Ugly or ghostway; and (3) Life way. In his AA article, Haile raised *Blessingway* above all chantways and rituals, which governed the entire chantway system; it was not one of the ritual systems, as Wyman and Kluckhohn would have it. In

Enemyway, which he published the same year, he made *Blessingway* (or Holyway) one of four rituals, however, and also made Injury or Angry way one of the four instead of a subdivision of *Blessingway* (or Holyway). Kluckhohn and Wyman might be pardoned for being a little confused by Haile's shifting interpretation.⁹⁰

Haile's message to the two classifiers, a strange message indeed for a man who was such a stickler for details, was: Simplify. The professors duplicated and triplicated chant names, as they identified male, female, and other ritual versions. By contrast, Haile confessed that he still liked the list of the Franciscan Fathers in the *Ethnologic Dictionary*. It is difficult to see how this grand dichotomy of 1910 accorded with his proposals of 1938, since it divided chants into (1) those which dealt with legends before the emergence from the underworld and which did not deal directly with the yei or gods, and (2) those concerned with legends after the emergence and which dealt with the yei or gods. This seemed to be a different classification from that of the 1930's, which suggests Haile's own uncertainty about the matter.⁹¹

In Haile's *Prayer Stick Cutting* of 1947, he further simplified Kluckhohn and Wyman's classification by identifying Flintway exclusively as Lifeway, and transferring it to the Holyway group. He thus eliminated one whole ritual group of the Wyman-Kluckhohn categories. He also moved *Blessingway* from a separate group to Holyway ritual, making that an even larger listing, and thus he narrowed the field down to only two ritual groups: Holyway, with its several subdivisions, and Evil or Ghostway.⁹²

Wyman and Kluckhohn gave in reluctantly and uncertainly on *Blessingway*. In Kluckhohn's review of *Flintway*, which appeared in the *American Anthropologist* in 1943, he refused to surrender Lifeway as a separate ritual, equal to Holyway and Evilway. Perhaps, he admitted, Haile was right about *Blessingway*, which he had repeatedly designated as the "fons et origo" of Navajo ceremonialism. If he would only publish that text so they would know, lamented Kluckhohn; it was indeed curious that he had not done so.⁹³

It was Wyman who grappled the longest with the Haile criticism of their work. In 1943, he described Upward Reaching Way (xa'ne·Inéhé·) as the exclusive Evil Way (or Ghost Way) ritual, and all other chants he had classified in 1938 in this category—Red Ant Evilway, Big Star Evilway, even Enemyway—had

merely borrowed from Upward Reaching Way. Even the 1938 translation and spelling of the chant term, Moving Up Way (which he then spelled haneInéhe), he now changed to Upward Reaching Way (Haile's term) in 1943.⁹⁴

When Wyman reviewed Reichard's *Hail Chant*, he confessed confusion about the classification system. He still justified classifying *Hail Chant* with Water Chant in the Holyway category, and yet he admitted Hail Chant was closely related to Flintway, in Lifeway ritual, and also to Shootingway, which was placed under both Holyway ritual and Ghostway (or Evilway) ritual.⁹⁵

That confusion was compounded when he and Flora Bailey presented a short account of Navaho Striped Windway. Wyman and Kluckhohn had only identified Navajo Windway in 1938 as a Holyway ritual, but in 1946, he and Bailey designated Striped Windway in an Injuryway sub-ritual (as Haile had said in one place in 1938, but not in another). Nor had Wyman and Kluckhohn identified an Angryway-Injuryway sub-ritual in the Holyway category in 1938. Indeed, Wyman's interpretation of the classification system of 1938 became a kind of melange of his and Haile's concepts as time wore on.⁹⁶

Despite this rather rude beginning, the professional relationship between Haile and Kluckhohn improved in the 1940's, as we have seen in the case of *Blessingway*. After the articles on classification had been published, and as Sapir's health deteriorated, Kluckhohn turned to Haile for advice, sending him his manuscript on witchcraft. Haile registered so many reservations on this esoteric subject that Kluckhohn deferred publication until 1944 (unlike the work on classification), when he sent the galley to St. Michaels for proofing.⁹⁷

In spite of this friendship, Haile remained critical of the Kluckhohn scholarship. He wrote an appraisal of two works which Kluckhohn co-authored, *The Navajo* (1946) and *The Children of the People* (1947), with Dorothea Leighton (to a large degree Kluckhohn wrote the first and Leighton the second). In his review in *The Americas*, Haile came again to the issue of plagiarism; too much of the material in these books was based on his article, "Soul Concepts of the Navajo."⁹⁸ In a separate, unpublished manuscript, he charged that Kluckhohn and Leighton were too emotional, romantic and unrealistic. They give the impression, he complained, "that the Navajos are still the Redmen of Kit Carson's days." These authors ignored the process of acculturation,

and unlike them, he doubted whether the tribal council and the BIA should survive.⁹⁹

If Father Berard was at times critical, both publicly and privately, of the Harvard professor, Kluckhohn continued to support the priest and his work. He complimented *Learning Navajo* as a beautiful piece of work and a godsend to the academic community, and shared with him a fifteen-page memorandum on the Navajo boundary controversy of 1952. He asked Haile to assist two of his students, Harry Tschopik, who was working on Navajo pottery, and an Episcopalian student who was working on Navajo religion. Kluckhohn orchestrated a Viking Fund grant for publishing *Navajo Sacrificial Figurines*, a matter of considerable importance in Haile's career. Haile also discussed with Kluckhohn the many problems of operating his monotype press.¹⁰⁰

In addition to their professional interests, the two men also developed a close, personal relationship. Haile's eyes began to fail in the 1940's, a disease for which the Mayo Clinic in Rochester could find no cure, to Kluckhohn's great regret. When the professor's book on witchcraft came out, Haile had much trouble reading it. In 1954, when Haile had a massive stroke, Kluckhohn penned a handwritten note of condolence to him. The ailing priest called upon Kluckhohn from his sickbed, writing of his need for a secretary and for money to publish *Blessingway*. Kluckhohn replied that he planned to spend the summer of 1958 in New Mexico for the first time in many years, and he hoped to see the priest then. But in fact the younger man's health was more precarious than that of the older man. Kluckhohn had suffered a heart attack in 1944, which occasioned a visit from Haile, who met the professor's wife for the first time after many years of correspondence and conferences. Kluckhohn had another heart attack and died in 1960, about one year before Haile.¹⁰¹

IX

Throughout his career, Haile faced the tension created by the diverse roles of priest and ethnologist, of missionary and student of Navajo culture. Perhaps his priestly colleagues never overcame a certain ambivalence toward his ethnological work. Some considered him eccentric, self-centered, someone who did not relate anthropology in such a way as "to help the mission work along." They did not believe, as did others, that he was always

“crapped on” by his superiors. One Franciscan phrased the question this way: “What kind of a man was Fr. Berard? Was he a ‘saintly’ man . . . or was he the type of man who asks for a cigarette [instead of the last rites?] on his deathbed?”¹⁰²

In 1958, Haile celebrated his diamond jubilee—60 years—among the Navajo. He had not spent all those years at St. Michaels, or even on the Reservation. He resided at several Catholic outposts on the Reservation, and from 1915 to 1924, he labored at remote Lukachukai, where he achieved an intimacy with the Navajo culture and language. He was away in Washington, D.C. in 1928–29 during his graduate year at Catholic University, and in 1930, he was elected Definitor of the Province of St. John the Baptist, residing part of the time at Duns Scotus College in Detroit from 1930 to 1933. After his stroke in 1954, he lay bedfast in hospitals in Gallup and Santa Fe.¹⁰³

The monk believed in going slow in the conversion of Navajos to Christianity. He did not favor the translation of the Bible or hymns. He did produce at least two catechisms. He realized that Navajo religion was curative, which made conversion difficult. With some amusement, he noted that when a Navajo is told he should come to a regular Christian church service, he replies, “Why? I’m not sick.”

Haile gained the confidence of the Navajo people. He seemed completely devoted to Navajo culture. He believed Navajo should be taught in the schools. Many prominent Navajos reciprocated the trust by cooperating with him in recording Navajo myth and song. They affectionately called him “The Little Man Who Knows All.” Not only did he attempt to teach the Navajos to write their language, but he was chosen to help select the Constitutional committee and to help write the document in 1936. (Unfortunately the Navajos, out of hostility to John Collier’s policies, rejected the Constitution at the polls.¹⁰⁴) When Chee Dodge, the Navajo chief and tribal chairman for sixty years, died, Father Berard preached his Catholic funeral in Navajo to a large audience which still held the death taboo.¹⁰⁵

The People expressed their trust of him in their Tribal Council. In 1953, the Council passed a resolution of appreciation. The next year, in his abortive effort to get his long Blessingway manuscript subsidized by the Council, the little white-haired priest spoke to the members for an hour and a half in his booming voice, telling them how he alone, of the Americans over many years, had learned the sacred, secret ceremony. When the

Council granted permission to publish it, "Yazzie" beamed. "I am one of you," he exclaimed. But the Councilors put it another way. "You came to make Christians of the Navahos, but the Navahos have made a Navaho of you."¹⁰⁶

To many Navajos, he was "ednishodi yazhe," "Little Shorty," or more elegantly, "Little Priest." In 1932, Haile transported a group of medicine men to discover the lost sisnadjini mountain (Blanca Peak near Alamosa) and dibentsaa (Hesperus Peak near Durango), bringing back to Navajo land sacred earth from two of the sacred mountains. This great coup immeasurably strengthened his reputation among the Navajo, and incidentally, prevented his transfer to priestly duties and saved his research position with the University of Chicago.¹⁰⁷ No other deed could have established such rapport with the Navajo.

To the scholarly community, Father Berard was a great repository of Navajo culture. To Navajos, he was a Navajo. In the contest between priest and ethnologist, the ethnologist won out.

NOTES

Abbreviations used in these Footnotes:

- AA: American Anthropologist
BHP: Berard Haile Papers, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson
IJAL: International Journal of American Linguistics
WCRB: Leland C. Wyman Correspondence Regarding Blessingway, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson

1. Marion A. Habig, O.F.M., *The Franciscan Book of Saints* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1979), 35-37.
2. BHP, Box 1, Folder 1.
3. *Ibid.*; Haile, *Manual of Navajo Grammar* (St. Michaels, Arizona; Franciscan Fathers, 1926).
4. BHP, Box 1, Folder 1.
5. *Ibid.*, also Box 3a, Folder 13; "Father Berard's Manuscripts and Publications," Box 3a, Folder 12. There are two versions of the manuscript. It is not clear to me which version was sent, who the author is, or where it was sent.
6. *Ibid.*, Box 1, Folder 1. See also Sapir to Haile, January 23, May 17, April 17, May 6, June 1, September 4, 1929; May 20, 1930 in Box 3a, Folder 6.
7. *Ibid.*, Box 3a, Folder 13.
8. See the appropriately marked folders in Box 3a of BHP.
9. BHP, April 17, September 4, 1929, in Box 3a, Folder 6; see also Box 3a, Folder 12.

10. *Ibid.*; "Criticism of Article on Fr. Berard," in Box 3a, Folder 1. Sapir to Haile, June 19, July 12, 1930, in 3a, Folder 6. "Father Berard's Manuscripts and Publications," two versions, Box 3a, Folder 12.

11. *Ibid.*, January 25, March 30, [1931?], in Box 3a, Folder 6. Hoijer's Review of *A Stem Vocabulary of the Navajo Language*, in *IJAL*, XVIII (April, 1952), 106-108.

12. Sapir to Haile, March 6-11, 1935, and Haile to Sapir, January 25, February 24, March 18, 23, 1935; October 4, 1936, in Box 3a, Folder 7. George Herzog, Stanley S. Newman, Edward Sapir, Mary Haas Swadesh, Morris Swadesh, Charles F. Vogelin, "Some Orthographical Recommendations," in *AA*, XXXVI, (October-December, 1934), 629-631. Their recommendations were for all Indian languages, not just Navajo.

13. *Ibid.* Oswald Werner, "Navajo Alphabets," in Sirarpi Ohannession et al., "Conference on Navajo Orthography," Albuquerque, May 2-3, 1969 (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics). Haile, *Learning Navajo*, 4 volumes (St. Michael's Press, 1941-1948), Volume I. Haile, *A Stem Vocabulary of the Navajo Language*, 2 volumes (St. Michael's Press, 1950-1951).

14. Sapir to Haile, January 20, 1938, BHP, Box 3a, Folder 8.

15. Sapir to Haile, June 29, 1931; June 6, July 18, September 21, December 15, 1934; Haile to Sapir, September 5, December 5, 1934; January 10, 1935, in *ibid.*, in the appropriate folders. Albert George Sandoval's Navajo name was Shigii, which Father Berard and Sapir wrote Chique (Sapir even using the Greek letter eta for the last letter), but by the middle 1930's, Sapir and Haile were using "Chick" or "Chickie." Sandoval (1892-1968) first became Berard's interpreter in 1911. See "Albert George Chick Sandoval," in Virginia Hoffman and Broderick H. Johnson, *Navajo Biographies* (Rough Rock: Demonstration School, 1970), 240-255.

16. See correspondence in BHP from November 2, 1934 to April 20, [1936], in Box 3a, Folder 7. See also Sapir to Haile, January 20, 1938.

17. See footnote 13. See Sapir to Haile correspondence on *Learning Navajo* for year 1936 in Box 3a, Folder 7, of BHP, and for 1938-1939 in Folder 8. The *Stem Vocabulary* is discussed from December 23, 1931 to February 4, 1932 in Folder 6. Hoijer's Review is cited in footnote 11.

18. BHP, June 27 to October 17, 1936 in Box 3a, Folder 7, and May 20, 1938 to September 18-20, 1938 in Folder 8.

19. John P. Harrington. "A Key to the Navajo Orthography Employed by the Franciscan Fathers," in *AA*, XIII (January-March, 1911), 164-166; Goddard review in *AA*, XII (April-June, 1910), 311-315. Harrington has been described as a phonetician who overalphabetized; he wrote down everything he heard in a word. Eggan to Lyon, August 30, 1987. The history of the development of the Young-Morgan Dictionary should be written, and both Dr. Young and William Morgan are able to write it.

20. Sapir with Hoijer, *Navajo Texts* (Iowa City: Linguistic Society of America, 1945; New York: AMS Press, 1975). Hoijer, *Navajo Phonology* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945). Sapir and Hoijer, *the Phonology and Morphology of the Navajo Language* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967). Hoijer, *A Navajo Lexicon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974). Stanley Newman, "American Indian Linguistics in the Southwest," *AA*, LVI (August, 1954), 626-635. Hoijer's comment is 637-639.

21. Michael E. Krauss, Review of Sapir and Hoijer, *The Phonology and Morphology of the Navajo Language*, in *IJAL*, XXXVI (July, 1970), 220–228. James M. Kari in *Navajo Verb Prefix and Phonology* (New York: Garland, 1976), indicates that written Navajo is still not completely understood or systematized.

22. See footnote 20.

23. BHP, October 8, November 5, 12, December 6, 1929; January 29, 1930, in Box 3a, Folder 6.

24. BHP, in Box 3a, Folders 6 and 7: Undated letter fragment, 1930?, March 17, May 6, September 4, November 12, 1929; February 18, 24, April 14, May 8, June 2, 19, October 8, 1930; February 6, March 13, 14, 18, 26, April 6, July 24, November 5, 1931; January 26, 28, February 4, April 7, July 18, November 15, 1932; June 8 [1933], July 4, 1934. Sapir informed Haile (August 12, 1936) that he had gotten \$750 from Parsons to publish *Enemyway*; he would have to find another \$750 to complete the project, which he evidently did.

25. The quotes are from letters in the Sapir folder dated November 7, 1932, September 18, [1933], December 12, 1933; and May 7, 1938 in BHP, Box 3a. See also October 21, November 5, 1929; January 6, 29, October 8, 28, 1930; February 6, March 18, 26, 30, April 6, 17, 30, May 21, 28, October 11, December 23, 1931, January 26, 28, February 4, October 27, November 7, 15, 1932; June 8, September 23, October 20, November 16 (this one letter in Folder 12), 18, 28, 1933; July 4, October 3, 1934.

26. Sapir to Haile, February 4, 1932, BHP, Box 3a, Folder 6.

27. BHP, letters dated June 6, July 18, September 14, 21, October 3, 15, November 2, 1934; January 10, September 17, 1935 in Box 3a, Folder 7; Father John M. Cooper to Haile, October 23, 1934, in Folder 13, and David H. Stevens of Rockefeller Foundation to Haile, October 1, 1935 in Folder 12.

28. On SSRC: May 4, April 30, 1938 in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 8; on APS: April 30, September 19, 1938, "Copy of Request sent to the American Philosophical Society by Dr. [Fay-Cooper] Cole" [of the University of Chicago], [1948 should be 1938] in Folder 12.

29. BHP, June 6, July 4, 1934; September 17, 1935 in Box 3a, Folder 7. Father John M. Cooper to Haile, November 16, 1937, in Folder 13. "Father Berard's Manuscripts and Publications," in Folder 12.

30. BHP, Sapir to Haile, February 16, 1938, also January 28, 1932. Hoijer to Haile, March 19, 28, 1938; Haile to Hoijer, April 1, 1938; Cole to Haile, April 18, 1938; Haile to Cole, May 1, 1938, in Box 3a, Folder 12.

31. Haile, *Origin Legend of the Navajo Flintway* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943). W. W. Hill, Review of *Flintway* (and other works) in *New Mexico Quarterly Review*, XIII (Winter, 1943), 495–496, also found in BHP, Box 1, Folder 7. Hoijer to Haile, June 5, 11, 1940; Cole to Haile, May 18, 25, 1940; in Box 3a, Folder 12.

32. Haile, *Prayer Stick Cutting in a Five Night Navajo Ceremonial of the Male Branch of Shootingway* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947). Haile to Cole, January 2, 3, 1945; Cole to Haile, February 1, 1946, in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 12.

33. Memo is in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 12.

34. The facts of publication for this book are given in the text above.

35. Haile to Sapir, December 12, 1933, BHP, Box 3a, Folder 6.

36. BHP, February 4, April 7, 1932, in Box 3a, Folder 6.

37. "Father Berard's Manuscripts and Publications," two versions, in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 12.

38. Fred Eggan to Haile, June 24, 1949, and Robert Redfield to Haile, March 16, 1950, in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 12. Eggan to Lyon, August 30, 1987.

39. Wyman, Review of Wheelwright, *Hail Chant and Water Chant*, in AA, XLIX (October-December, 1947), 633-637. Wyman, Review of Wheelwright and McAllester, *Great Star and Coyote Chant*, in AA, LIX (August, 1957), 755-756. Haile to Sapir, December 12, 1933, in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 6.

40. Haile and Wyman correspondence in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 11. Wyman to Bernard Fontana, August 5, 1961 in WCRB. Wyman, editor, *Beautyway: A Navajo Ceremonial* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1957).

41. Wyman to Fontana, see footnote 40. Wyman, *The Windways of the Navajo*, (Colorado Springs: The Taylor Museum, 1962).

42. Wyman, *The Red Antway of the Navajo*, (Santa Fe: MNCA, 1965, reprint 1973). Haile to Sapir, December 12, 1933, in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 6. Wyman to Fontana, see footnote 40.

43. Wyman, *Mountainway*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975).

44. Kluckhohn to Haile, January 14, 1945, and Wyman to Haile, January 19, 1945, BHP, Box 3a, Folders 4 and 11, Kluckhohn; Review of Haile, *Origin Legend of the Navajo Flintway*, in AA, XL (October-December, 1943), 611-612.

45. Kluckhohn to Haile, October 29, 1951, March 8, 1952, February 25, 1954, BHP, Box 3a, Folder 4. Also see footnote 47.

46. Haile to Kluckhohn, June 13, 1952; Telegram Kluckhohn to Haile, March 5, 1954; Kluckhohn to Hoijer, March 9, 1954; Haile to Kluckhohn, December 19, 1957; Kluckhohn to Haile, January 8, 1958, in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 4; Haile to Eggan, September 26, [1949, should be 1952], in *ibid.*, Folder 12.

47. I have benefited much from a letter by Fontana to me, May 12, 1986. Eggan to Haile, November 13, 1952, BHP, Box 3a, Folder 12; Fontana to Wyman, August 15, 1961; March 20, 1964, WCRB, Folder 1, Wyman to Fontana, December 26, 1961, *ibid.*; see correspondence to and from Fontana in WCRB, Folders 2, 3, and 4; Emmanuel Trockur "Background for Blessingway," in *Padres' Trail*, XXXII (April, 1970); "Yazzie and the Navajo's," in *Time*, 63 (March 15, 1954), 75-76; Martinez, secretary to Fr. Berard, to Kluckhohn, April 17, 1954, BHP, Box 3a, Folder 4; Ralph Looney, "'Father Shorty' and the Navajo's," in *Ave Maria, National Catholic Weekly*, May 5, 1962, 21-23 (copy in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 1). Some Catholics thought Protestants had gotten the Secretary of the Interior to refer the action on the subvention back to the Tribal Council. Fontana to Wyman, June 3, 1965, WCRB, Folder 2. Eggan thought that Emmons, who was now the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, had caused the rescission. Eggan to Fontana, December 8, 1961, *ibid.*, Folder 3. It might be noted that Navajos had their own reasons for not publishing *Blessingway* or any other ceremonial. To the traditional Navajo, chant lore is restricted to medicine men who perform only in the oral tradition, and the knowledge and paraphernalia lose their power when broadcast.

48. Haile to Kluckhohn, December 19, 1957, BHP, Box 3a, Folder 4; W. W. Hill to Fontana, December 8, 1961, WCRB, Folder 3; Fontana to Wyman, June 3, 1965, *ibid.*, Folder 2; Msgr. O. A. Coggiola-Mower to Msgr. Manuel J. Rodriguez, March 16, 1962, *ibid.*, Folder 3; David Weber to Fontana, March 26, 1962, *ibid.*

49. Fontana to Wyman, August 3, 1961, WCRB, Folder 1; Wyman to Fontana, August 5, 1961, *ibid.*; Fontana to Fr. Mark Sanford, August 3, 1961, and to Patricia Paylore, June 19, 1961, in *ibid.*, Folder 4.

50. See correspondence in WCRB, Folder 1.

51. See correspondence in WCRB, Folder 4 (Fontana and Franciscan Fathers), Folder 5 (University of Arizona Press), and Folder 6 (Wyman and Phyllis Ball), and see especially Fontana-Wyman letters dated December 26, 1961, March 24, 31, April 5, 28, May 4, September 24, 1964, in WCRB, Folder 1. On the missing part, see Fontana to Right Reverend Manuel Rodriguez, May 12, 1962, and to Eggan, March 12, 1962, in *ibid.*, Folder 3. Dolores Burke (née Martinez), Haile's former secretary, finally remembered there was no missing part (it had never been translated) in her letter March 9, 1964 in *ibid.* Other letters on this subject are found in Folder 3. On the index see Fontana-Wyman letters dated July 1, 12, and September 15, 1966 in Folder 2.

52. See correspondence in WCRB, Folder 3, which is devoted to Fontana's search for the Fund, and also Fontana-Wyman letters dated May 18, June 3, 5, 1965; February 27, 1970 in Folder 2; "List of Contributors for the Father Bernard Haile Publication Fund," *ibid.*; Fr. Mark Sanford to Fontana, January 31, 1962, *ibid.*, Folder 4. On *Red Antway* see December 26, 1961; January 16, February 16, March 12, 1962 in *ibid.*, Folder 1.

53. See Wyman-Fontana correspondence dated December 26, 1961, March 24, April 5, 23, 28, September 4, October 15, 27, December 29, 1964, in WCRB, Folder 1; January 18, 1965, in Folder 2. Aberle, who, according to Wyman, was not adept in Navajo, held out for a text until Wyman converted him. See Wyman to Fontana, April 28, 1964, in WCRB, Folder 1, and Aberle to Fontana, February 1, May 23, 1962, in *ibid.*, Folder 3.

54. See Wyman-Fontana correspondence dated April 18, May 4, August 26, October 9, 1964 in WCRB, Folder 1, and August 6, 1965 and July 1, 1966 in Folder 2; Fontana to Marvin Johnson, October 15, 1964, in *ibid.*, Folder 1.

55. Witherspoon's review is in AA, LXXIII (December, 1971), 1360-1361; Wyman's rejoinder and Witherspoon's reply in *ibid.*, LXXIV (August, 1972), 1037. See also Wyman to Marshall Townsend, April 6, 1978, in WCRB, Folder 5.

56. Wyman to Fontana, August 5, 1961, WCRB, Folder 1; Wyman to Townsend, June 30, 1967, in *ibid.*, Folder 5; *ibid.*, March 6, 31, 1970.

57. See Luckert's introduction to this volume; also Reichard, *Navajo Religion* (New York: Bollingen Series XVIII, 1950), 139 ff., 322-323; Wyman, *Southwest Indian Drypainting* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 23.

58. See Haile, "Navajo Upward-Reaching Way and Emergence Place," in AA, XLIV (July-September, 1942), 407-420; Reichard, "The Translation of Two Navajo Chant Words," *ibid.*, 421-424; Haile, "Reichard's Chant of Waning Endurance," *ibid.*, XLV (April-June, 1943), 306-311.

59. Luckert has also used Haile text material in his impressive *The Navajo Hunter Tradition . . . with . . . Translations from Manuscripts by Father Bernard Haile* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975).

60. Ralph Looney, "'Father Shorty' and the Navajos," in *Ave Maria, National Catholic Weekly*, (5 May 1962), 21-23, my copy in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 1; see also a manuscript in Haile's handwriting regarding his Navajo language work in *ibid.* This is the same Joe Donovan who provided woodcuts of Navajo words to the Catholic University Press for its publication in 1954 of *Property Concepts*.

A casual reader of these pages can easily identify those woodcuts. See Haile to Regina Flannery Herzfeld, February 20, 1954, and Herzfeld to Haile, May 28, 1954 in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 13.

61. "Monk Tells of Work Among Navajos after Living 52 Years with Tribe," and [A Biographical Sketch of Haile] in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 12; also Emmanuel Trockur, "Father Berard Haile's Navajo Catechism and Guide," in *The Provincial Chronicle*, X (1938), 50-54, my copy in *ibid.*, Folder 7.

62. Haile to Cole, January 2, 3, July 27, 1945 in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 12.

63. The Haile-Hodge correspondence is in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 3.

64. See correspondence in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 1.

65. See correspondene in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 5.

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*; see also Haile to Cole, September 16, 1936, May 1, 1938, in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 12; see also Sapir-Haile correspondence dated October 20, November 28, 1933, November 15, [1935], September 22, October 4, 17, 1936.

68. *Ibid.*, September 16, 1936.

69. *Ibid.*, February 6, 1930.

70. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1930.

71. *Ibid.*, April 7, 1932.

72. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1934.

73. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1936.

74. See correspondence in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 7, dated June 6, July 4, September 5, October 6, November 2, 16, 19, 26, 1934, January 10, [1935].

75. For the articles, see footnote 58. See her reviews of Haile's works in AA, XLI (January-March, 1939), 141-143; in *Word*, VIII (December, 1952), 291-293. Her most critical review was of his *Flintway* in *The Review of Religion*, VIII (1944), 384-386. Hoijer's two very critical reviews of Reichard are in IJAL, IX (1945), 123-125, for her *The Story of the Navajo Hail Chant*, (her rejoinder is in *ibid.*, XIII (1947), 193-196), and in *ibid.*, XIX (January, 1953) 78-83, for her *Navajo Grammar*. His review of her *Prayer, The Compulsive Word*, appeared in *Journal of American Folklore*, LX (January-March, 1947), 96-97, an even-handed but somewhat critical review.

76. See BHP, Box 3a, Folder 4, September 17, October 3, 1942.

77. *Ibid.*, January 3, 14, 1945.

78. See Haile-Sapir correspondence in BHP, Box 3a, Folders 6, 7, and 8, dated October 28, 1930, June 8, 17, September 23, October 20, December 12, 1933; July 4, 18, 1934; January 23, 1936; January 31, February 12, 1938. Morris E. Opler became the leading Apache scholar. Walter Dyk's two works are: *A Navajo Autobiography* (Old Mexican) (New York: Viking Fund, 1947; Johnson Reprint, 1980), and *Son of Old Man Hat, A Navajo Autobiography*, (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1938); (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967). Hill's major works at this time were *Navajo Warfare* (New Haven: Yale University Publications in Anthropology, 1936), and *The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navajo Indians* (*ibid.*, 1938).

79. See BHP, Box 3a, Folder 6, February 18, 1930.

80. See BHP, Box 3a, Folder 2.

81. See BHP, Box 3a, Folder 6, November 15, 1929; January 29, February 18, 1930; and also *ibid.*, Folder 7, March 31, 1936.

82. See the Hoijer-Haile correspondence in BHP, Box 3a, Folder 12, and

Sapir-Haile correspondence in Folder 6, dated March 17, October 21, December 26, 1929; January 29, February 6, 18, April 14, May 8, June 2, 1930; and in Folder 8 correspondence Cole to Sapir, April 18, 1938. For a description of Hoijer's career, see also Joseph H. Greenberg and others, *On Linguistic Anthropology: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoijer*, 1979 (Los Angeles: University of California, Department of Anthropology by Undena Publications, 1980). Professor Fred Eggan told me in an interview on April 2, 1987 that Hoijer typed *Flintway*.

83. See BHP, Box 3a, Folder 4, October 28, 1932.

84. See *ibid.*, November 14, 1937.

85. See *ibid.*, correspondence for late 1937 and early 1938.

86. BHP, Box 3a, Folder 8, February 4, 1938.

87. BHP, Box 3a, Folder 4, see documents of early 1938, and Sapir to Haile, March 19, 28, 1938 in *ibid.*, Folder 8. The publication by Wyman and Kluckhohn is: *Navajo Classification of Their Song Ceremonials*, (Menasha, Wisconsin: American Anthropological Association, Memoir 50, 1938). This was issued separately, but also bound with volume 50 of AA. The second publication by Haile is "Navajo Chantways and Ceremonials," AA, XL (October-December, 1938), 639-652.

88. BHP, Box 3a, Folder 8, February 16, March 19, April 5, 12, 1938.

89. BHP, Box 3a, Folder 4, January 9, 14, 1938.

90. *Ibid.*, January 18, 29, 1938. See also March 2, 12, 1938.

91. *Ibid.*, March 14, 16, 22, 1938; Franciscan Fathers, *Ethnologic Dictionary*, 361-365.

92. See footnote 32, 4-9. Haile discusses classification in all his textual publications, but I am referring here only to those in which he offers new opinions.

93. Kluckhohn, Review of *Flintway*, AA, XL (October-December, 1943), 611-612; Wyman, Review of *Flintway*, *American Antiquity*, IX (January, 1944), 363-365. Wyman generally agrees with Kluckhohn.

94. Wyman and Bailey, *Navajo Upward Reaching Way: Objective Behavior, Rationale and Sanction* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Bulletin, 1943), 5.

95. Wyman, Review of Reichard's *Hail Chant* in *The Review of Religions*, IX (May, 1945), 380-384.

96. Wyman and Bailey, "Navajo Striped Windway, An Injury-Way Chant," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, II (Summer, 1946), 213-238.

97. BHP, Box 3a, Folder 4, January 4, 11, 16, 27, 1939; December 234 [sic], 1943; February 1, 1944; January 3, 1945.

98. *Città del Vaticano*, VII, 1943.

99. Haile, "Aspects of Navajo Life: An Appraisal of Two Recent Studies," *The America's*, VII (July, 1950), 63-72. I used a reprint, and also an untitled manuscript in BHP, Box 1, Folder 4.

100. BHP, Box 3a, Folder 4, December 17, 1939; August 16, 1941; December 9 [1942?], December 2, 1943, September 4, 1944, January 3, 1945, June 5, 13, 1952; "Memorandum of Suggestions in Regard to the Former Report on Boundaries of Navajo Homeland."

101. BHP, Box 3a, Folder 4, January 14, February 1, 16, June 17, September 4, 1944, February 25, April 17, 26, 1954, December 19, 1957; January 8, 1958.

102. BHP, Box 3a, Folder 6, Sapir-Haile correspondence, May 28, April 7, July 18, August 3, October 27, November 15, 1932; December 12, 1933. "Criticism of Article on Fr. Bernard," by Fr. Simon [?] in *ibid.*; Looney, "Father Shorty," *Ave Maria*, (5 May 1962), 21-23 (reprint in Box 1, Folder 7).

103. In this and the next two paragraphs, except where noted, I have relied on biographical material in BHP, Box 1, Folder 1.

104. Parman, *The Navajos and the New Deal*, p. 160-166.

105. Rev. Francis Borgman, O.F.M., "Henry Chee Dodge: The Last Chief of the Navajo Indians," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XXIII (April, 1948), 81-93.

106. Resolution of the Navajo Tribal Council, 1953, BHP, Box 1, Folder 2; "Yazzie & the Navahos," *Time*, 63 (15 March 1954), 75-76.

107. The information on the sacred mountains was presented in the University of Chicago publication of *Flintway*. Wyman, Review of *Flintway* in *American Antiquity*, IX (January, 1944), 363-365 (reprint in BHP, Box 1, Folder 7).

There are three bibliographies of Haile's works, the first two incomplete: Harry Hoijer, "Papers and Monographs on Navajo Language and Culture, by Father Berard Haile . . . A General Review," *IJAL*, XVII (1951), 124-126; Donald Powell, "A Preliminary Bibliography of the Published Writings of Berard Haile," *Kiva*, XXVI (April, 1961), 44-47. The best and most complete bibliography is: Father Byron Witzemann, O.F.M., "The Writings of Father Berard Haile, O.F.M.," *The Provincial Chronicle*, XXXIV (Number 3), 343-360 (ms. copy in WCRB, Folder 4). This last lists a few Haile items not discussed in this bibliographical essay, but I do discuss items not referred to in the *Chronicle*. The *Provincial Chronicle* is not generally available to lay, non-Catholic audiences.