

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

Prior to the occupation of the Southwest by the United States, the Navaho existed as groups of people, usually either clans or groups of clans. They were united only by language and by tribal culture, but they had no political entity or sense of responsibility to unrelated groups. There were chiefs, or head men, chosen by each group, but there seemed no need for any further government. Certainly the Spanish Government of the 17th to the early 19th centuries did not realize the independence of these Navaho groups, nor did the Mexican Government during its twenty five year duration. Nor was it fully comprehended by our Government until the time of the exile to Fort Sumner. It was during these years that General Carlton tried to establish a simple form of self-government, but the old order of family and clans seemed unchangeable and any other form was incomprehensible to the Navaho. There were many notable characters among the chiefs of the early 1800s, most of them destined to become prisoners of war--exiles to Fort Sumner. Their names appear on the treaty of 1868, signed by General Sherman for the United States, and by twenty eight Navaho leaders, including Barboncito, Manuelito, Narbona, Ganado Muchos, and others.

After the return to the reservation in 1868 and the establishment of the Agency at Fort Defiance, the old order continued. The first ^{VFL} ~~chief~~ agent to the Navaho, Captain Henry L. Dodge, utilized the Navaho leaders to assist him in maintaining law and order. As time went on and more agents appeared on the scene, they found it necessary to be more autocratic.

By 1901, the Bureau of Indian Affairs divided the Navaho country into six districts (including the Hopi) with an agency in each. This system of smaller areas of jurisdiction greatly facilitated the work of

each agency, but it did nothing to bring the tribe together as a whole. Communication was still difficult, and in many areas, travel was possible only by foot or on horseback. Each political change in Washington brought a new Commissioner of Indian Affairs and usually each had new ideas and adopted changes in policy that must have been bewildering to the Navaho.

It was the discovery of oil on the reservation in 1921, that brought to focus the need for Tribal Government for all the people. This discovery, located in the San Juan District near Shiprock, immediately brought about discussion as to whether oil leases were to be executed by this District Agency, or by the Tribe as a whole. The treaty of 1868 required the consent of at least three fourths of all adult male Navaho from all parts of the reservation, to determine the cession of any region. Therefore the Secretary of the Interior ruled that these oil leases should be for the benefit of the whole tribe, and authorized the Indian Commissioner to sign oil and gas leases in their behalf. At the same time the establishment of the first Council was designated, to be selected from this large percentage of the male population. The next year a "Business Council" was formed to act for the Council. Those chosen were Chee Dodge, long a powerful leader in the tribe, Charlie Mitchell, and Dugal Chee Bekiss.

In 1923 the first Navaho Tribal Council was elected, holding its first meeting on July 7th of that year. The Chairman was chosen outside the Council membership with one of the delegates being selected as Vice-Chairman. This Chee Dodge became the first Chairman of the Navaho Council, serving from 1923 to 1928. Meetings of the Council were called by the Navaho Agent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, rather than by the Commissioner, and could be held only in his presence, the meetings to be held for a period of two days annually. This first Council, bringing

together one delegate and one alternate from each of the six districts, was soon found to be inadequate and was followed with revisions; a second in the same year, and again in 1927 and 1928, when voting rights for women were added. Only the outline of Navaho Government as it has progressed since its inception is given here, interesting as it is, for a full account would entail many pages.*

In 1927, Superintendent John Hunter of the Leupp Agency in the Southwestern part of the reservation, developed a local community organization called a Chapter. Meetings of this group made it possible to bring together the people of this region where representatives from the Bureau of Indian Affairs could discuss the Bureau's efforts for the betterment of agricultural conditions, the improvement of livestock, and the necessity for schools. This Chapter plan proved most beneficial as the people gathered to discuss their problems among themselves as well as with the officials. The idea spread quickly to the other districts, bringing better understanding between the Navaho people and the Bureau.

In 1931, the council was increased to its present number of seventy four delegates, these to be elected by the people of the districts in accordance with the population of each district. Those first ballots were pieces of ribbon of different colors, each candidate having a selected color. Leadership beyond the local level was still difficult for the people to comprehend, and by 1936 there were criticisms that the Council Membership was not representative of the Tribe. It was the issuance of grazing controls that brought home to each locality that the Council rather than the local head men were making the decisions.

Voting registration was adopted in 1938, and ballots with pictures of the candidates were used, as there were still many who could not read or write. There have been attempts to draw up a Constitution for the Navaho Tribe, but as yet no satisfactory document has been achieved.

* For a full account see the Navaho Year Book, 1951-1961.

Many changes have come about from this time to the present, as the Navaho People as a whole have been learning the ways of Government. During these formative years from 1923 to 1938, there were four Chairmen of the Tribal Council: Chee Dodge, Desha Chischillige, Thomas Dodge, (Chee's son) and Henry Taliman. The growth of the Tribal Government continued and the time for the Council meetings was increased from four days a year to one hundred, being divided into four sessions. Compensation for both Council and Officers has likewise increased as the demands on the individuals' time have increased UNTIL TODAY to positions of officers are full time requirements. With the election of Jacob Morgan in 1938, progress was accelerated, and though there have been controversies, the work of the Council has held a steady forward movement. Chee Dodge was again elected Chairman in 1942, (with Sam Ahkeah as Vice-Chairman), holding this office until his death near the end of his term. An Advisory Committee was formed to ^{take care} ~~time~~ of business when the Council was not in session, and enlargements and improvements in the structure of the Navaho Government was adapted as their need became apparent.

The administration of Sam Ahkeah, 1946-1955, marked a point of great change and development for the Navaho People, for his sound and wise judgement brought many beneficial acts of legislation. He continued the organization of the Tribal Government, bringing capable Navaho into positions previously held by non-Indian personnel wherever they met the approval of the Navaho Agency and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for it has been the policy of the Bureau to help the Navaho develop their own government as individuals came forward with the ability to serve.

Sam Ahkeah commenced a survey of the mineral resources of the reservation which eventually led to the discovery of uranium ore and new oil fields. It was Sam, who with his staff and attorney, located Tribal funds accumulated from oil revenue between the years 1922 and 1946, deposited

in the National Treasury to the credit of the Tribe. Realizing that the interest from this money was not coming into the Tribal Treasury, Sam went to Washington where he discovered the sum of \$200,000. in accumulated interest held in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. With these funds available, Sam planned other new developments for the benefit of his people.

To the outsider it seems that on the whole the wealth that has come to the Tribe has been wisely used, yet in the 1963 election campaign, unproved accusations of misappropriation of funds were made. After sixteen years of comparatively smooth progress, controversy has arisen in the Council following the election of Raymond Nakai, the present Chairman. In his eagerness to bring quick reforms with his administration, differences of opinion have emerged between the older councilmen, and the newly elected younger members, resulting in a division in the Council. Good may come from this, for the people as a whole have become aware that some Tribal matters have come to a standstill, bringing about the realization of the importance of each individual vote. These troubled times may well lead to a more truly democratic government, even to a two party system. The situation at Window Rock today, may be compared to a President of the United States elected by one party while the majority of the Congress belongs to the other. Doubtless the 1967 election will resolve many of these differences.

Aside from this momentary situation, the record of progress and development of the Tribal Government since its beginning in 1923, is most remarkable, for the People, who formerly had no governing body other than the leadership of shosen head men, now are welding themselves into Tribal unity showing great advancement in consideration for the people as a whole.

Sam Ahkeah was born on March 8, 1896. He grew up in the Shiprock area, going to school at Fort Lewis, near Durango, Colorado. As a young man he worked at Mesa Verde National Park; later moving to Santa Fe for a position at the Laboratory of Anthropology. During his years away from the reservation he was quietly learning the ways of the white man, methods of business, the way government was conducted, and in many ways preparing himself for his role as leader of the tribe.

I have heard such a nice story about Sam. ^{one of} During those years when he was making frequent trips to Washington, his son was in training at an army base nearby. Meeting his father at the station, he urged a sightseeing ~~trip~~ of the Capitol City. They went up the Washington Monument, went to Mount Vernon, saw the Smithsonian Institute, the Library of Congress, spending a busy day. The next morning when they got into a taxi, Sam gave the drive ^{and a ~~dis~~location} ~~and a dis~~ location. As they drove up to the steps of the Nation's Capitol, Sam's son said "Gee, Dad, I can't take you ~~in~~ here". Sam answered "I know son, but I can take you". So they went in to see Senator ^{from} ~~Chavez~~ New Mexico Dennis Chavez. It was Senator Chavez who later obtained tickets for Sam to hear President Roosevelt's last address to the Congress of the United States.

In 1954 I went to Window Rock at the time of the Tribal election when Sam was defeated by Paul Jones. While Sam had served nearly two terms, only one had been and elected office for he became Chairman at the death of Chee Dodge, ^{taking} ~~saking~~ office as the Vice Chairman. But many of the people felt that he was running for a third term, and voted against him. The day after the returns were all in I asked Sam if I might make his portrait. I wanted to do this in the Council room, so we went over to the building. While I was setting up my equipment I said to him "Sam, you have done a wonderful work for your people ~~and~~ since you have been chairman." He was silent for a few minutes, then

The trading post became a place of meeting, the place to obtain water,
far all posts had to be built where there were natural springs or good
wells. The trader has been the connecting link between the United
States Government and the Navaho people. The

he said, "Well, I think I have waked them up to what they can do for themselves." This eloquent remark summed up his eight years of hard work in the fewest possible words, for indeed he aroused his people to their own potentials in this changing world.

Paul Jones, whose administration brought such great progress to the Navaho, was born October 20, 1895, near Tohatchi, New Mexico. Following his elementary schooling he served for three years as an interpreter for a Missionary doctor of the Christian Reformed Church. He entered highschool in Englewood, New Jersey, and received his college education at Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan. In World War I he served one year overseas in France, Germany and Italy. He was gassed during the war and was physically unable to continue his education after his return from the Armed Services.

Following two years on the reservation during which he recovered his health, he entered a business college in Grand Rapids, but before completing his course, he took a position as a Freight Clerk for the National Tea Company in Chicago. In July 1933 Mr. Jones returned to the reservation with his family to commence work for the Bureau of Indian Affairs where he served in several capacities including interpreter and liaison representative at Window Rock. Later he as District Supervisor at Piñon, Arizona. He was elected Chairman of the Tribal Council in 1955.

Mr. Jones is a member of the following organizations.

New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs (appointed by the Governor)
Arizona Commission on Indian Affairs (appointed by the Governor)
Arizona Civil Rights Advisory Commission
Governors Interstate Indian Council (composed of members from
seventeen states.)

National Boy Scouts of America.
President's Committee on Job Opportunities
Delegate to the Fourth Inter-Indian Conference, Guatemala

Awards.

Silver Beaver Medal, Boy Scouts of America.
Practical Humanitarian Award, Federation of Women's Clubs.
Washington, D.C.

The development of the Department of Law and Order has been slow, for Navaho tradition dictates that every individual is a free agent, and that no one should try to impose his will upon another. For many years there were few serious offences, and those that did occur were usually handled by the head man of each clan. As disputes among the Navaho were relatively minor, they were settled by arbitration.

In 1880 acting Navaho Agent Bennett said in his report-"The crying evil that most besets this people is whiskey. There are several traders at nearby points--- where whiskey of the vilest description is dealt out to these people in open violation of the law, being an incentive to crime and greatly impoverishing many of them---." "Outside of this aspect of the question no community of like population will exhibit so small a record of criminal acts of a flagrant character as the Navajoes." Even today the high percentage of arrests are due to problem drinking; other misdemeanors are relatively few.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs was responsible for the maintenance of law and order on the reservation until 1953 when the need for a tribal police force became acute in the checkerboard area, off the reservation. This region was not under the jurisdiction of the Bureau, though there were some 15,000 Navaho people living there. The State of New Mexico could not handle these Indian problems and asked for help from the Tribe. This area has long been a veritable no-man's land as far as policing was concerned. Bootleggers from the surrounding ^{communities} ~~areas~~ went out with quantities of cheap liquor selling it to these Indians and demanding the immediate return of bottles so that no evidence was left behind. The State agreed to help police this area and six Navaho Policemen were equipped and trained for the work. This was the beginning of the Navaho Police Force. It has grown steadily since the early 1950s and today there are approximately 200 enforcement officers with sufficient administrative personnel.

There are five courts, one in each sub-agency conducted entirely by Navaho Judges and Officers. I had the very interesting experience of being present at a session at Tuba City several years ago. I do not know what offence the young man had committed, but I was impressed with the conduct of the court, and with Judge Hadley's handling of the prisoner. The judge gave the boy a long talk, which ofcourse, I could not understand. But I could understand the quality of his voice and the meaning of words by the inflection and manner in which they were spoken. His voice was persuasive rather than dictatorial, kind rather than harsh or critical, and I felt that the boy was taught rather than admonished. The whole procedure was quiet, reserved, sincere and dignified. I wished that George Washington looking down from the wall, might have head this procedure.

Now the Tribe is completing a wonderful new Law and Order building, situated within the Window Rock grounds to be ready for occupancy in the late summer. This is a handsome building of modern design containing the last work in police and prison facilities. On the second floor are two courtrooms with adequate chambers for the judges, a law library, and the finest of modern equipment.

With every new project commenced by the Tribe, the Council sends for a top ranking expert to give advice on the best possible way to proceed. They have called in expert architects, engineers, lawyers, geologists, and men of other professions, and their judgement always is to have only the very best.

Following the creation of the Indian Land Claims Commission by the Congress of the United States in 1946, the Navaho Tribal Council, under the Chairmanship of Sam Ahkeah passed a resolution to employ an attorney to function both as a claims attorney and as general counsel. Sam went to Washington to secure the services of Norman M. Littell, a prominent corporation lawyer, and a ten year contract with him was approved by the Council in July of 1957. As the new mining activities developed, the need

arose for continual legal counsel at Window Rock, and in 1951 the Council acted to employ a resident attorney functioning under Mr. Littell's direction. In order to obtain the maximum benefits for the Navaho People, highly skilled advice was necessary to obtain not only mining, ~~and~~ oil and gas ~~leases~~, but in many agreements in connection with the Glen Canyon Dam, rights of way for power lines, and much other business that has ^{recently} come to the Tribe. In addition to the General Counsel, a department of Tribal Legal Aid has been added, acting in behalf of individuals to protect their interests.

During the period of work on the Land Claims ~~{ now completed }~~ ^{held}, I joined archaeologist Richard Van Volkenberg at a meeting in the eastern part of the Checkerboard area, where he was seeking help of older Navaho men in his effort to locate Old Navaholand hogan sites where the Navaho lived nearly four centuries ago. It was a bitter cold day and as the heating plant was not in operation in the building where the meeting was to have taken place, everyone crowded into a hogan to listen to the talk. Men, women and children were present, all listening attentively to the problem at hand. Luckily I got permission to record this scene. Two elderly Navaho men finally agreed to help Mr. Van Volkenburg the following summer, and again I joined the party to watch the work. One of these men was

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Georgie Garcia, who at 78 was still surprisingly active. Much information was gained through this archaeological work that summer. The Land Claims work is ~~now~~ finished and now awaits the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court.

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One of the most worthwhile acts of the Tribal Council has been the establishment of an Educational Scholarship Fund for higher learning. In 1953 a ^{sizable} sum was set aside, accrued from oil and uranium earnings, for the special purpose of giving aid to honor students who were selected for these grants. One of these students is Herbert Blatchford who graduated from the University of New Mexico in 1956, where he majored in education. His first work was for the McKinley County Public Schools as an Attendance Counselor, working out from Gallup, New Mexico. In these schools Navaho children were being accepted with the regular school body, and it was Herbert's duty to check on any absentee. I went out with Herbert into the area surrounding Gallup, to see just what his field work was in this capacity. At one hogan there was an eleven year old girl who had been ^{absent} from school for several weeks. Herbert went directly to the child, not to the parents. We went into the hogan where Herbert commenced talking to the child. Seeing that she was very shy, I thought my presence there might be disturbing to her, so I went outside to wait. Soon I heard voices in conversation as Herbert was getting answers to his questions. Then there was a long quiet talk from Herbert as he told the child how important it was for her to continue her studies, and all that it could mean to her in later life. When they joined me outside the child was smiling happily, seeming pleased indeed with all she had learned from her counselor.

As we drove off, I asked Herbert what had been the difficulty. His answer, "Oh, teacher trouble." Then I learned that there were a number of new teachers in the Gallup Schools who were new to New Mexico and to Indian children. And in the course of our conversation it emerged that Herbert had organized an evening class with these teachers to help them to understand the Navaho children. This he did on his own initiative, showing unusual judgement in finding a practical method to solve some of the problems of these children.

Finding that he ^{had} ~~needed~~ some knowledge of law, Herbert returned to the University for a year's work in this field.

In 1963, the members of the Tribal Council together with representatives of McKinley County and the city of Gallup, appointed Herbert ~~to the~~ as manager of the Gallup Indian Community Center. There had long been a great need in Gallup for some place where visiting Indians could get a night's lodging for a nominal cost, have a place where they could meet, have some form of recreation, a cafeteria, and other facilities. This building, erected in 1952 through the Navaho-Hopi Rehabilitation Act, was operated for a number of years by the Unitarian Service Committee. Now the Board of Directors of the Community Center has taken it over, and is operating it with the united help of the ^{Navaho Tribe} ~~Navaho Tribe~~ and the city of Gallup.

In addition to all the work as manager of the Center, Herbert is acting also as a counselor to any young Navaho who are seeking employment off the reservation, or are having difficulties in their present jobs. He sponsors good educational programs and supervises various recreational activities for all ages as they come to use the facilities of the Center. At present he is also working with Alcoholic Anonymous groups in the big effort to overcome alcoholism in this area. He gave me encouraging figures, that more than fifty percent of those treated are remaining in good health. It is to be hoped that this will continue, for this has been a serious problem ever since the Indian prohibition law was repealed.

In whatever future work Herbert undertakes, his clear thinking, scholarly mind will stand him in good stead. He has an extraordinary use of the English language, and may someday prove to be an able writer.

Another honor student to be educated through this Endowment Fund is Nancy Rose Benally (^{Evans} ~~Evans~~). Nancy Rose was born in Shiprock in 1938, going first to the grade school in Shiprock, then to the Indian School in Albuquerque, and then to the University of New Mexico where she majored in biology. Nancy Rose thought it silly to wast two whole summers while getting her education, so she enrolled in the summer schools at the University of New Mexico and also the University of Colorado; The result, ofcourse was that she graduated in three years instead of four. She went right on to get her Masters Degree, which she recieved in 1961 at the age of twenty three. She went right on working completing two years towards her Doctorate, acting also as a research assistant to the Physiologist at the University as well as doing part time reasearch at an Albuquerque hospital.

In 1963 she married a young Navaho, Alexander Evans, who was on ~~his~~ tour of duty with the army. When her husband was sent to Panama, Nancy Rose returned to her parent's home at Beclabito until after the birth of her daughter. By that time the situation in Panama was such that families of service men were not permitted to join their husbands, so Nancy Rose has been working temporarily with the New Mexico State Welfare Department in Shiprock. When this interim is over, and with her knowledge, ability and experience, I hope she will find a position where her talents cane be used to the full.

Nancy Rose's parents are fine old type Navaho who, though they speak but little English, passed on their capacities to an able daughter. This young woman is a superlative example of Navaho ability to learn new ways and a new kind of life, yet retaining the finest of traditional ways.

A third honor student receiving an Endowment Fund Grant is Shirley sells. Shirley, now twenty four, was born in Shiprock and received her elementary schooling through the tenth grade in Gallup. Then she spent a ~~year~~ ^{year} in California with a teacher whom she knew, and going to school there. Returning to the reservation, she graduated from the Window Rock High School and went on to the University of New Mexico, where she majored in anthropology and speech, receiving her diploma in June 1964.

During the summers of 1963 and 64, Shirley held a position as a ranger in the National Park Service stationed at Canyon de Chelly National Monument. In all spare moments she has been working on a thesis in archaeology. Following the summer season of 1964 at Canyon de Chelly, Shirley accepted a position with a survey project sponsored jointly by the Navaho Tribe and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. She will be working at the Arizona State University on an award from the Department of Anthropology as a Graduate Assistant for two years and will be studying Genetics and Animal Ecology in addition. It is altogether fitting that there should be a Navaho Anthropologist, and I am sure that Shirley will perform a major service for her people in recording and preserving the traditions and folklore of the Navaho.

These are but three of the honor students who either have been or are being helped through this Endowment Fund. There are many others following a variety of occupations, such as doctors, dentists, nurses, lawyers and other professions. This is one of the most valuable of all the Navaho projects, giving many young people of ability the opportunity to receive the highest education, and who may well become Navaho leaders of to-morrow.

all of them bringing back to their own people the understanding and benefits of their learning.

TRIBAL RESOURCES

When the Tribal Council voted in 1940 to establish a department of Resources, the first two on the list were the Saw Mill project and the Arts and Crafts Guild. There are many thousand acres of fine timber on the reservation, and with the United States Forest Service, the Saw Mill project was commenced at a site some forty miles northwest of Window Rock. Selected trees were cut and brought to the mill. Some two to three hundred Navaho men were trained in best methods of handling lumber and how to preserve the natural forest for future use. Some eighteen million board feet of lumber were produced per annum at this original site. With an expanded industry in sight, a new location was selected and a new up-to-date mill with the finest of modern equipment was built at a site called NAVAHO, some fifteen miles northeast of Fort Defiance. This new mill has more than doubled the former plant. Today there are more than four hundred Navaho employed at the mill and some forty odd non-Navaho. This fine industry is netting the Tribe an income of more than four hundred thousand dollars a year.

In 1960 uranium ore was discovered on the reservation in the north central part. There is a large open pit mine in the Monument Valley region, and other mines in the northern part of the Lukachukai Mountains. A processing plant was built at Shiprock by the Kerr-Magee Oil Company, with ore being hauled in by truck from the mines. While uranium production has decreased since its peak year in 1962, there is still ore being produced and still employment for many Navaho men, and over the years since the first discovery of the ore, a very sizable income has been received into the Tribal Treasury.

The first oil discovered on the reservation was in 1921 when the Continental Oil Co struck oil on the Rattlesnake dome near Shiprock. Thne in 1957 new discoveries were made, also in this northern district

of the San Juan River basin. More than one thousand oil and gas wells are now operating bringing in revenue, though the peak period is past, still the annual royalty of some twelve million dollars, is of course of prime importance to the Navaho economy.

On the whole these recent rich earnings from the Department of Resources is being wisely used. On some Indian reservation where sudden large sums of money were received, it was distributed to the individuals. This resulted in quick expenditure. The Navaho have made not only good investments, but have used funds to develop programs such as the ten day work program, the development of the Tribal Park system, various projects to increase water supply, the building of the community centers, and many other projects created for the benefit of the people. Having known some of the individuals who now hold such responsible positions for nearly twenty years, it is most heartening to see how they have risen to the challenge of their respective departments and the ability they are showing in ~~the~~ executive posts. Certainly they seem to have the good of the Tribe as a whole at heart, and individual gain seems to be held at a minimum.

When the Dineh, the Earth People, emerged into this world, they were taught by the Holy People the right way to conduct the many acts of their everyday living, how to gain a livelihood, how to build a hogan, and the myriad activities of their lives; and above all, how to ^{adapt to} ~~control~~ their environment for good or evil through the ^{harmonious} ~~magical~~ use of ceremonialism.. Springing from the ~~Creation~~ ^{Story} Myth in which the evolution of man is established, the ~~Myth~~ and the legends contain the origins of the ceremonies, the ~~Answers~~ ^{Answers} to fundamental questions, and the reasons for the many taboos. There is no clearly defined Supreme Being in Navaho thought, however there is the knowledge that through ceremonial rituals certain of the Yei (the Holy Ones) can be ^{encouraged} ~~invoked~~ to assist with supernatural powers. It is the Yei who ^{regulate} ~~control~~ whether good or evil comes to the Dineh, but not all the yei are good, so there is constant supplication to win favor of the good Yei, and to ^{concede} ~~guard against~~ the influences of the evil.

Misfortune, accident, illness are caused by the ^{dis harmony} ~~evil influences~~, either direct or through ^{social controls known as} ~~witchcraft~~, and every effort is made to overcome these, and to propitiate and create perfect harmony with the good. This is accomplished through the complex and intricate patterns of ceremonialism.. Performed by the esoteric medicine men who have the knowledge and ^{influence} ~~the power~~, these ceremonials are the embodiment of ^{natural consequences} ~~mysticism~~ and abstract symbolism, expressed through ^{song, through} the dry paintings (sand paintings), and through the correct use of ceremonial objects and substances.

There are diagnosticians who determine which ceremony is necessary to ~~xxxx~~ ^{produce} the required healing for the patient. These diagnosticians are the hand tremblers, the star gazers, the listeners who consult the patient and through their ability determine the course to follow.

When it has been decided which ceremony is to be given, the medicine man who knows that particular ceremony is summoned and preparations are set in motion. There are more than fifty ceremonies, or chants, of varying range and complexity, all stemming from the Creation Story, and all leading to the restoration of harmony. Everything must be done in the prescribed way as told in the legends. ^{So it} ~~It~~ is the spiritual, emotional, psychological and physical needs that are treated to attain this desired harmony and consequently healing.

The most revered ceremony, a relatively simple one, is the Blessing Way, the Hozhoji, the center of Navaho religion, in which Changing Woman plays a predominant part. This does not require the elaborate ritual of most of the others, and may be performed by any one who knows it. As its name implies, it is an act of balance, a blessing for a person, a place, or an act, such as the commencing of a new blanket, and it comes from Changing Woman, regenerator of life, the everlasting one.

There is a long list of smaller rites, such as the puberty ceremony, the initiation ceremony, the marriage ceremony, and numerous others. The great ceremonials, the Mountain Chant or the Night Chant, with their variations, are less frequently given. These are very costly affairs and require much preparation as these ceremonies last for nine days and nights, while others are three or five day ceremonies. While the first days of these chants usually concern only the patient and family, it is on the last day that great numbers of Navaho come from far and near to watch the final night and partake of its benefits. During these large ceremonials, sand paintings are executed within the specially built hogan for the rituals. Directed by the medicine men, his helpers create the proper design by sprinkling sand of different colors through the fingers onto a base of neutral colored sand spread over the hogan floor. Commenced in the morning, it is ~~sanpabedd~~ ^{sanpabedd} in mid-afternoon when the patient is brought in and placed upon it, while the medicine man takes sand from

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certain of the symbolic sections of the design to rub onto the patient to ~~extract~~ and remove the causes of the illness. When these rites are completed, the entire sand painting is wiped out, but during that brief time when it lies complete on the hogan floor, it is an extraordinarily beautiful example of abstract art, every part of which is replete with significance. There are hundreds of these designs, some completely abstract, some partially pictorial, all with different purposes, and all are stored in the memories of the medicine men who direct their execution. Many contain the stylized symbolic figures of some of the Yei, the sun and the moon, or some of the helpers of both gods and men such as Big Fly. Coyote, or other animals and birds. Many are encircled by the Rainbow Goddess for protection, the opening, for there is never a complete enclosure, is always to the east; some are encircled with entwined serpents, some with a simple border. At the great ceremonials there will be as many as five different paintings on ensuing days, each with its special ritual at the end, all part of the healing ceremony which moves steadily forward in its prescribed order to the climax of the final night.

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In the late fall of 1932, Betsy ^{sent} ~~wrote~~ me word that there was to be a Fire Dance at Lukachukai, and she hoped that I would be able to join her, as she expected to go with a number of Navaho People from her area. The Fire Dance, she wrote, was the final night of the Mountain Chant. She suggested that I arrive early in November as she was not certain of the date, After my arrival we set forth in our respective cars, Betsy taking five Navaho with her, I taking four with me. We drove up over the Lukachukai Mountains from Red Rock, arriving at the location in the afternoon of the eighth day of the ceremony. And what a sight greeted us! We found ourselves near the base of the great red sandstone cliffs which jutt out into the broad expanse known as the Chinle Wash. Rich green pinon and cedar trees were scattered along the base of the cliffs, and where the slope dropped

soft grey-green sagebrush took their places. We put up our tent on the outskirts of the activity, Timothy helping us eagerly. He was full of excitement for he had never seen a fire dance. We spent the afternoon watching all the preparations for the day and night to follow. Near us was a huge shelter, newly constructed, where busy cooks were already preparing food for the entire assembly. Here we learned that the patient giving the ceremony, furnishes food for all who come. It is customary, however, for visitors to help by bringing flour, sugar, or coffee, and we were most courteously thanked for our donations. We watched the butchering of sheep and goats, saw huge kettles being prepared for cooking mutton and goat meat, saw specially constructed stone and mud ovens where women were baking great quantities of bread, others making fry bread in enormous frying pans over open fires. We saw men hauling water, men hauling wood, not only for the cooking fires, but for the ceremonial fires during the night to follow. We watched the making of a great wood pile near the ceremonial hogan. It seemed enough to last a whole community for an entire winter, yet it was completely consumed the following night. As we came near the Hogan we heard ^{the} voices of singers as they performed the eight-day rituals. We were afraid we might displease our host if we approached so we listened from afar. It never occurred to us that we might have asked to see the ceremony.

As evening came, a crowd gathered, standing in a circle to watch rehearsals of part of the dance for the following night. This lasted for some time, then there was a silence as a man stepped out into the center near the firelight. In his high pitched voice, which carried easily for considerable distance, he spoke long and earnestly in a flood of Navaho, then suddenly we heard two familiar words, "Washington" and "Roosevelt". We had forgotten that it was election day- it was

strangely wonderful to hear the election returns in a strange language so far removed in thought and feeling from twentieth century America. Then the singing resumed and finally we crept into our sleeping bags, falling asleep before the singing ended.

There was a bustle of excitement the next morning, and after our breakfast, we watched a crew of men bringing in freshly cut cedar and pinon boughs and constructing a huge circle, or corral, near the ceremonial hogan. They stacked the boughs more than six feet high, inter-twining the branches and completing the circle except for the entrance to the east. The corral must have been more than two hundred feet in diameter, the boughs so closely interwoven that little wind came through. One crew brought long dry logs, stacking them on end in the center of the corral for the bonfire to be lighted later in the night. So absorbed were we in watching this that we had not looked about us, but suddenly we were aware of fresh activity, and looking up we saw Navaho People coming from all directions, down through the trees, in from the valley, in covered wagons, on horseback, in open wagons, in a few cars. Most came in family groups, some singly on horseback or on foot, all dressed in their very best, the women with freshly washed long full cotton skirts, beautiful blouses of reds, blues, purples, yellows and greens, filling the landscape like a kaleidoscope. Never before or since have I seen anything to equal the color of that day, with the great red cliffs for a background and this medley of color moving through the changing greens of the foreground about us as this gathering of the Diné assembled. All day long they came, tethering their horses, greeting one another by the quiet, gentle hand clasp so distinctly Navaho, partaking of the food prepared and constantly renewed within the cook shelter.

As the sun fell behind the distant mesas, the medicine man emerged

from the hogan, followed by his assistants. Taking his medicine pouch from his belt, he commenced sprinkling corn pollen as he entered the corral, moving slowly clockwise around the circle, singing the blessing song in which the others joined. As he returned to the hogan, the people began to move into the corral, finding places for themselves, some close to the green wall of branches, some in front of them. We entered too, Timothy finding a place for us where we would be able to watch the night's proceedings. We had brought blankets with us for the evening was cold, and we settled down to watch. Soon there were little fires all about, lighted for warmth, and with a coffee pot always close by.

Just at dark, when the ritual was finished in the hogan, the medicine man, his helpers and the patient came out, entering the corral to take their places at the westernmost side of the circle where they turned to face the east. Aspathway was kept clear between them and the great bonfire, soon to be lighted. A group of singers came in, each with a rattle in his hand, dancing around the bonfire as it was ignited which quickly illuminated the scene. When these dancers had completed their prescribed group of songs, others entered to take their places, so that the singing never ceased. To this ebb and flow of dance and song, the special events of the night were added from time to time; the tricksters who made yucca grow before your eyes, performing also other magic tricks. A girl danced before a basket containing a single feather which rose on end in the basket moving slightly with the rhythm of the song.

Years later at the Gallup Ceremonial, we saw again one of the special events from the Fire Dance. The dimly lit singers knelt before the fire, while dancers carried great frames decorated with eagle feathers, and symbolic eagles riding high above symbolic moons. This recalled vividly the night we had spent at Lukachukai, so long ago.

As the night wore on, a group of four fire dancers came in to the corral, each carrying a long strand of cedar bark which in turn they ignited at

at the bonfire, then as they dashed madly around the fire, they flayed both themselves and each other with the burning bark. They were clad

only in breech cloths, their bodies painted with a light colored clay which must have been very head resistant. Another special event of the night was performed by two of these dancers. One lifted a piece of burning pitchy wood from the fire, holding it over the cupped hands of the other dancer who washed his hands in the burning pitch. Doubtless there were other events of that night which have now faded from my memory, but what impressed me the most throughout that colorful night, was those wonderful firelit faces of the people as they sat wrapped in their blankets watching the sequence of events as they took place. It was a cold night with quite a wind which blew smoke in our eyes, stinging them greatly. One family, patients of Betsy's, saw us sitting there, and thinking we had nothing to eat, brought us boiled mutton and coffee. They all gave us welcome and our comfort was certainly considered.

There must have been several hundred children there that night, but not once did we hear a child or a baby cry. All were absorbed as long as they could stay awake, then they slept quietly until they were rested. Just before the dawn came, a great lot of logs were thrown on the ebbing fire, and as the first signs of breaking day appeared over the cliffs, the fire dancers came rushing in for the last time. Snatching burning strips of bark from the fire, they first circled it four times, then running to throw the burning strips over the corral wall in each of the four directions, finally breaking open the wall to the south, the west and the north, so that all could leave the corral in the direction in which they lived.

As the sun came up, lighting the crests of the red cliffs and soon sending rays of sunlight across the scene, we watched the people preparing to return to their homes. Finally I timidly got out a camera to make a few pictures of groups near us as they loaded their wagons and

harnessed their horses. We treasure the memory of that night, the vision of those wonderful faces, the spirit that emanated from them, and the friendliness of these people so filled with the benediction of their experience, that it gave us a deep insight into Navaho character. there were more than eighteen hundred people that night and only five or six white visitors including ourselves. Never had we been in such a large gathering where all the people were so well behaved, for at this time, 1932, there were no problems of alchholism such as too often appear at ceremonials today. Only recently I found a trader who had been present that night and he told me that of all the many ceremoniãs he had seen during a period of fory years on the reservation, that night was the finest he had ever seen.

The summer after we saw the great Fire Dance, Betsy wrote me that she was going to spend several weeks camped up on the mountain above Red Rock, as there were many of her people up there with their sheep for summer pasture, and there seemed to be need for the treatment of minor ailments. She came down to Red Rock to meet me, and after stocking up with supplies at the trading post, we drove up to a lovely meadow where she had previously put up her tent.

We took a walk across the meadow where we found some fine edible mushrooms which we eagerly gathered to improve a steak we had brought for supper. As we were returning to the campsite, we suddenly saw a tall silent figure standing at the edge of the woods watching us. He proved to be a medicine man of Betsy's acquaintance who greeted us with quiet reserve and walked back with us to our camp. A sudden summer thunderstorm broke loose, and with Timothy joining us we took shelter under the tent fly to await the passing of the storm.

Moved by a spirit of friendliness, the medicine man asked Betsy if she would like to see his medicine pouch. We watched with interest as he untied the buckskin thongs, greatly worn from long use, and laid out the contents before us. There was a turtle shell for a medicine bowl in which he mixed the herb remedies he carried in a number of small leather bags. This shell had been given him by a very old medicine man who had used it all his life. It was cracked and leaked, and our friend asked Betsy if she could get him another. (This I was able to send her after my return home.) Then there were two, strange objects which turned out to be the skulls ^{of wild cranes,} and ~~whills~~ ^{and} ~~refes.~~ ^{of wild cranes.} We had seen ~~Whills, stha~~ the bills of these bird heads protruding from the pouch. The neck ends were bound with colored worsted, and decorated with feathers and small bits of shell. These we were to learn later,