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PART III
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TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

PRIOR TO THE OCCUPATION of the Southwest by the United States, the Navaho existed as bands of people, usually either clans or groups of clans. They were united only by language and by tribal culture; they had no political entity or sense of responsibility to these isolated groups. There were chiefs, or headmen, chosen by each band, but there seemed no need for any further government. Certainly the Spanish government of the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries did not realize the independence of these Navaho bands, 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, if then. 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 1800's, most of them destined to become prisoners of war—exiles to Fort Sumner. The names of twenty-eight Navaho leaders appear on the Treaty of 1868, signed by General Sherman for the United States, and the Navaho leaders for their respective bands, including such personages as Barboncito, Manuelito, Narbona, Ganado Muchos, and others.

After the return to the reservation in 1868 and the establishment of the Navaho Agency at Fort Defiance, the old order continued. The first civil 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, the federal government 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

Navaho women casting their votes at the poll.

until today the positions of officers are full-time responsibilities. 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 has been formed to take care of business when the Council is not in session, and enlargements and improvements in the structure of the Navaho government have been adopted 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 judgment 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 Council. Good may come from this, for the people as a whole have become aware that some tribal matters have come to a stand-still, bringing about the realization of the importance of each individual vote. These troubled times may well lead to a more truly democratic government, even, possibly, a two-party system. The situation at Window Rock today may be compared to a time when a President of the United States is elected by one party while the majority of the Congress belongs to the other. Doubtless the 1966 election will resolve many of these differences.

Aside from this monetary 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 chosen headmen, now are welding themselves into tribal unity showing great advancement in consideration for the people as a whole.

Recent Tribal Leaders

SAM AHKEAH

Sam Ahkeah, who became chairman of the Tribal Council in 1946 following the death of Chee Dodge, was born 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, Sam 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.

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 full terms, he had been elected for the office only once. But many of the people felt that he was running for a third term, and voted therefore 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, at the chairman's desk, so we went over to the Council building. While I was setting up my equipment, I said to him, "Sam, you have done a wonderful work for your people since you have been chairman." He was silent for a few minutes, then 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

Chairman Sam Ahkeah, 1946–1954.

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. 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. As a reaction to 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

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had aroused his people to their own potentials in this changing world.

I once heard such a nice story about Sam. During one of those years when he was making frequent trips to Washington on Tribal business, his son was in training at an Army base nearby. Meeting his father at the station, the soldier son urged that they take a sightseeing tour of the capital city. They went up the Washington Monument, traveled to Mount Vernon, saw the Smithsonian Institution, and visited the Library of Congress, spending a busy day. The next morning when they got into a taxi, Sam gave the driver a new destination. 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," little realizing that his father was a well-known personality at the Capitol, as Sam, of course, had been present for Senate hearings on Navaho tribal affairs during his years as chairman of the Tribal Council. Sam answered, "I know, son, but I can take you." So they went in to see the senator from 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.

PAUL JONES

Following Sam Ahkeah's two terms in office, eight years of steady growth, Paul Jones was elected chairman in 1954, serving for two terms. Continuing Sam's program, he also commenced many new projects, including the building of community centers, the development of the tribal park system with the establishment of the first tribal park at Monument Valley, while other parks are still pending.

Large sums of money were coming into the treasury from the uranium mines and the new oil fields. Much of this income has been soundly invested, the rest providing many new benefits for the Tribe, such as greater water development, new and better roads, new hospital facilities in collaboration with the Public Health Service, the establishment of the Education Scholarship Fund, the Tribal Enterprises, and the ten-day work program whereby every Navaho in need of work is guaranteed ten days of work a month—an impressive list of accomplishments.

Paul Jones, whose administration continued this great progress of the Navaho People, was born October 20, 1895, near Tohatchi, New Mexico. Following

Chairman Paul Jones, 1954–1962.

his elementary schooling he served for three years as an interpreter for a missionary doctor of the Christian Reformed Church. He entered high school in Englewood, New Jersey, and obtained his college education at Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan. During World War I he served one year overseas in France, Germany, and Italy. As he had been gassed during the war, he was physically unable to continue his education after his release from the Armed Services.

Following two years on the reservation, during which time he recovered his health, he entered a business college in Grand Rapids, but before completing his course he took a business position in Chicago. In July, 1933, he returned to the reservation with his family to commence work for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which he served in several capacities, including interpreter and liaison representative at Window Rock. Later he was district supervisor at Piñon, Arizona. He was elected chairman of the Tribal Council in 1955.

served as a delegate to the Fourth Inter-Indian Conference in Guatemala. He has been awarded the Silver Beaver Medal by the Boy Scouts of America, and the Practical Humanitarian Award by the Federation of Women's Clubs, Washington, D. C.

J. MAURICE MCCABE

J. Maurice McCabe, at present director of business administration, is a thoroughly dedicated person in the service of his people. He has a great sense of order, one of the basic qualities of Navaho life, now transformed into modern methods. At the beginning of Sam Ahkeah's second term, in 1951, Maurice was appointed treasurer of the Tribe, a position he held for many years. As the tribal government developed he became more and more absorbed in tribal work. Though he won a scholarship award, given by the John Hay Whitney Foundation for further study in business administration, he declined the scholarship due to the need for his work for the tribe.

Maurice McCabe was born at Tohatchi, New Mexico, on October 18, 1923. He is a direct descendant of Barboncito, one of the great early leaders of the Navaho People and one of the signers of the Treaty of 1868. Maurice received his elementary education at the Tohatchi School, at the Presbyterian Mission School in Ganado, Arizona, and at the Christian Reformed Mission School in Rehoboth, New Mexico. He graduated from the Methodist Mission High School at Farmington, New Mexico, in 1941. Shortly thereafter it was discovered that he had tuberculosis and he was sent to a hospital in Phoenix, Arizona. Though bedridden for about two years, he studied business and business law, and when he was able to be up and about he entered a business college, finding employment as a bookkeeper on the side. In 1946 he was promoted to the position of office manager for a chemical company where he was employed.

Following the election of Paul Jones as chairman of the Tribal Council, Maurice was asked to continue his services as treasurer, and to assist Mr. Jones in the complex affairs of the Tribe after the development of uranium and of oil and gas, as the need for expert business administration had become increasingly demanding. In 1957, by resolution of the Council, Maurice's position was changed to executive secretary, with

Maurice McCabe, treasurer of the Tribe in 1954.

Mr. Jones is a member of the New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs (appointed by the governor), the Arizona Commission on Indian Affairs (appointed by the governor), the Arizona Civil Rights Advisory Commission, the Governors' Interstate Indian Council (composed of members from seventeen states), the National Boy Scouts of America, and the President's Committee on Job Opportunities, and

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special designation of duties, and a specific directive to propose a reorganization of the tribal staff, which was needed to meet the increasing executive demands of tribal business. To accomplish this, he sought the advice of a Remington Rand expert to establish the most efficient record system for the ever growing files of the Tribe. When an emergency stock feeding program was needed at a time of extreme drought, the United States government sent large quantities of surplus grain to aid small Navaho stockmen who were threatened with high losses. To keep exact account of this transaction, Maurice procured IBM machines to complete these records in accordance with the government regulations. The reorganization of the tribal offices has now been accomplished and, under Maurice's direction, continues in a most efficient manner.

Maurice has been active in other fields concerning the Navaho People. He was a leader in the establishment of the Education Scholarship Fund, the development of Boy and Girl Scout organizations on the reservation, and most recently the establishment of the Navaho Youth Camp, now under construction, which will benefit not only Navaho boys and girls, but also children from other camp organizations.

While I was at Window Rock in 1954 I wanted to include Maurice's portrait in my tribal government series. Finding that one of his great prides was the Council Room with its fine murals by Gerald Nailor, I suggested the Council Room for a background. A year later, when I was there again, I found that Maurice had been to New York and had visited the United Nations. As a result of what he observed there, each Council member now has a nice desk with a name plate.

Like his famous ancestor, Maurice is indeed a leader with vision and the ability to bring that vision into reality as he continues his service to the Navaho People.

ANNIE WAUNKA

Large in stature, vigorous and strong in both mind and body, Annie Wauneka is a dynamic personality. Daughter of Chee Dodge, the first chairman of the Tribal Council, Annie was born April 10, 1910, and received her early education in the reservation schools. In 1951 Annie was elected to the Tribal Council, the first woman to serve in this capacity, and

she was shortly named chairman of the Committee on Health and Welfare, a position she still holds.

On July 1, 1955, the United States Public Health Service assumed the work of the Department of Health of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and soon thereafter expanded both its facilities and services. Annie Wauneka's role became, almost immediately, one of interpretation and communication. Her achievement has been tremendous in helping to carry out this increased program for Navaho health, as she has fulfilled her part with great determination. One of the first problems to be undertaken was in the field of tuberculosis, for there were many Navaho afflicted with this disease. Contagion and germs were two totally unknown concepts, and had no meaning to most of the Navaho People; therefore, Annie undertook an educational program, instructing her people in antisepsis, and attempting to win not only their cooperation in combating the further spread of the disease, but also their faith in the white doctors. ✓

The Public Health Service arranged with a number of sanatoriums in several of the Western states to include Navaho patients. Annie persuaded many ill Navaho to accept this offer, and during those early years of this program she visited every hospital, and talked to all the Navaho patients, urging them to learn how to prevent contagion, to accept the rest cure, and to listen to the instructions of the doctors. A number of these patients, finding themselves in totally strange surroundings and among people they did not know nor to whom they could talk, became homesick and ran away. Annie brought them back, teaching them to understand the necessity for their convalescence. She helped produce a motion picture illustrating the cure and prevention of tuberculosis, and acted as interpreter for the doctors and as a liaison personage whenever one was needed. All this was an heroic task which Annie pursued vigorously, using her own knowledge and persuasive powers to win these many Navaho into acceptance of their condition and the necessity for its cure.

Annie Wauneka has received numerous awards for her achievement: From the Arizona Public Health Association, an award as "outstanding worker in public health"; the Josephine B. Hughes Memorial Award, given by the Arizona Press Women's Association; the Indian Achievement Award, and others. To

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crown them all, she was one of three women named by President John F. Kennedy on July 4, 1963, to receive the Medal of Freedom. This was presented to her by President Johnson in the White House ceremony on December 6 of that year.

As Annie herself has said, "Now I must work harder than ever," and indeed that is what she is doing. With tuberculosis now well under control and diminishing, other problems are occupying her attention, such as dysentery among Navaho children, and Alcoholics Anonymous groups. She has her own radio program, broadcasting regularly in the Navaho language from a station in Gallup, reaching the many Navaho who today have radios.

One of those rare personalities having complete singleness of purpose and the determination and strength to carry it through, Annie Wauneka has won the respect and admiration not only of her own people, but also of the many doctors, officials, and all with whom she has come in contact during her years of service on the Tribal Council.

Health and Education

Shortly after the return of the Navaho to their own country following the exile to Fort Sumner, the first effort to offer an educational program resulted in complete failure. A small day school was opened at Fort Defiance in 1870 with a very few children attending. They stayed to satisfy their curiosity and to receive some clothes which were donated, then they vanished, and all efforts to bring them back proved fruitless. In 1883 the first boarding school was started at Fort Defiance, fraught with problems of insufficient funds and staff. This school also lasted but a short time. Then the government turned to the missionaries, who were appearing on the scene wanting to be of some benefit to the Indians, and suggested that they establish both missions and schools. There were four early missions, each adding a school as soon as possible. The first was a Methodist school at Hogback, near Farmington, which soon was moved into that town. The second was the mission at Saint Michael's, established by the Franciscan Order in 1898, with a school opened in 1902 by the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. The Presbyterian Mission at Ganado, Arizona, was the third, established in 1901, with a school opening the following year and a hospital ten years later; and the fourth was a mission founded by

Wearing the Freedom Medal, 1964.

the Christian Reformed Church at Rehoboth, near Gallup, also in 1898, with a school opening shortly thereafter. Other denominations followed in several areas of the reservation, some with special emphasis on medical aid.

These early endeavors were beset by many trials and tribulations caused by the natural suspicion of both Navaho children and their parents, many of whom did not wish their children away from home where they were needed to tend the sheep. The policy of forcing the children to go to school was an unfortunate one. It is a matter of record that there were even instances of physical brutality due, doubtless, to lack of understanding of Navaho ways, and to the sheer frustration on the part of some staff members finding themselves so isolated, so helpless in performing their tasks under conditions of hardship and remoteness.

Slowly the Indian Service progressed with many varied endeavors; new schools were built, and some children did attend. But the policy of forcing education on the Navaho provided many stumbling blocks. For a long time children were forbidden to speak Navaho, or to wear Navaho clothes, and everything

possible was done to try to superimpose our culture onto that of the Navaho. Some children from twelve to sixteen were sent away to schools in California and to a number of schools in the East, with the intent of merging them into our society, but this was too much to expect in a few short years. More than 95 percent of these children came home where they found themselves to be misfits, for they were unaccustomed to reservation life.

With the coming of the New Deal a different policy was adopted, due in part to the road improvement program, to develop new day schools, bringing children to school by bus, just as in any county in the country. One other practical development of the new policy was the establishment of a number of trailer schools located in areas where small children could reach them from their homes, giving these youngsters the advantage of early education. These were big steps in the progress of education and soon many well-trained teachers with modern methods in teaching and with better understanding of the Navaho undertook the new teaching jobs. Some teachers created a desire on the part of the children to learn; some teachers even conducted adult education classes in the evenings, with people coming from miles away to attend. Navaho teachers were also coming into the picture, bringing, of course, the best possible relationship between children and teacher. But there were still many more children of school age than there were facilities for them. The Indian Service Educational System continued to grow and improve, until there came a day when many children were clamoring to go to school. Yet there were also those who were, and some who still are, shy and diffident, and there are backward areas, as in every state in the Union, but there are many hundreds who are absorbing their school work like little dry sponges, and who go on into fields of more advanced learning.

The slow process in education is paralleled in medicine. For many years it was unthinkable for a Navaho to turn to a white medicine man. But slowly progress has been made in such fields as the eye disease trachoma and other special lines. Since World War II young non-Indian doctors have come to work at some of the hospitals and health centers, finding themselves filled with enthusiasm for the people and the work to be done, and for the first time bringing a new

psychological approach to their endeavor. And though there have been superstitions to overcome, as well as the difficulties of winning trust, the doctors have forged ahead with progress in many ways. It has been here that Annie Wauneka has done so much in the field of interpretation, one of the doctor's major problems. They did not know it was forbidden for a younger person (who was acting as interpreter) to ask his elders many personal questions. The doctors were puzzled by the vagueness of many answers. But Annie had a solution: there must be a glossary prepared of medical terms in English and Navaho, with a simplified explanation as well. Annie was insistent that this be done. A young Navaho woman was selected to go to the premedical school at Cornell University, where she spent two years preparing this glossary. It has been highly successful and of great benefit to the many doctors working on the reservation.

Through help from the Education Scholarship Fund, the first Navaho doctor is now practicing at the Kayenta hospital, and there are many Navaho nurses (both registered and practical), dentists, and technicians, with many more in training. As this number grows, there will come a day when the Navaho will care for their own.

Since the Public Health Service took over the Indian Bureau medical program, there have been many developments, such as new hospitals, new health centers, and new health stations with accompanying services. Also there have been several privately sponsored clinics, such as that conducted by Cornell University at Many Farms, where I found a Navaho technician at work with the Cornell doctors. While there is yet much to be accomplished, as everywhere else, the acceleration of medical care for the Navaho during the past ten or fifteen years has accomplished a great deal for their benefit.

EDUCATION SCHOLARSHIP FUND

One of the most worthwhile acts of the Tribal Council has been the establishment of the Education Scholarship Fund for higher learning. In 1953 a sum of five million dollars (later increased to ten million), accrued from oil, gas, and uranium earnings, was set aside 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 of 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 absentees. I went 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 entered the hogan where Herbert began 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 what her schooling could mean to her in later life. When they joined me outside, the child was smiling happily, seemingly 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 teachers in the Gallup schools who were new to New Mexico and unfamiliar with Indian children. In the course of our conversation it emerged that Herbert had organized an evening class for these teachers to help them understand the Navaho children. This he did on his own initiative, showing unusual judgment in finding a practical method to solve some of the problems of these children. Realizing that he 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 as manager of the Gallup Indian Community Center. There had long been a great need in Gallup for a place where visiting Indians could get a night's lodging for a nominal cost, a place where they could meet and have some form of recreation, a place with 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 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 the New Mexico Commission on Alcoholism and Alcoholics Anonymous groups in the big effort to overcome the drinking problem in this area. He gave me encouraging figures—that more than 50 percent of those treated are remaining in good health. It is to be hoped that this progress will continue, for alcoholism has been a serious problem ever since the Indian prohibition law was repealed.

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

Another honor student to be educated through the Scholarship Fund is Nancy Rose Benally Evans. Nancy Rose was born in Shiprock in 1938. She went 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. As Nancy Rose thought it silly to waste whole summers while getting her education, she enrolled in the summer schools at the University of New Mexico and also the University of Colorado. The result, of course, was that she graduated in three years instead of four. She went right on to get her master's degree, which she received in 1961 at the age of twenty-three. Continuing her studies, she completed two years toward her doctorate, acting also as a research assistant to the head of the Department of Physiology at the University, as well as doing part-time research 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 returned to her parents' 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

Nancy Rose Benally when a student at the University of New Mexico.

not permitted to join their husbands. Until the young man's release from the army, Nancy Rose worked with the New Mexico State Welfare Department at Shiprock. Following Alexander Evans' return to his family, he and Nancy Rose moved to Window Rock to assume work for a new tribal project, positions they both still hold. With Nancy Rose's knowledge, ability, and experience, the future should hold promise for a position where her talents can 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 the Navaho ability to learn new ways and a new kind of life, yet retain the best of traditional ways.

A third honor student receiving an Education Scholarship Fund Grant is Shirley Sells. Shirley, now twenty-four, was born in Shiprock and received her elementary schooling through the tenth grade in

Anthropologist Shirley Sells as a ranger at Canyon de Chelly.

Gallup. Then she spent a year in California with a teacher whom she knew, 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 summer months of 1963 and 1964 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 the Canyon, Shirley accepted a position with a survey sponsored jointly by the Navaho Tribe and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. She is working also at the Arizona State University on a two-year award from the Department of Anthropology as a graduate assistant, and in addition is studying genetics and animal ecology. It is altogether fitting that

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Men leaving Gallup for work on the railroad.

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 the Scholarship Fund. There are many others, following a variety of occupations, such as doctors, dentists, nurses, and lawyers, all of them bringing back to their own people the benefits of their learning, for a stipulation with each grant is that the student must devote a minimum of two years' service to the Tribe following the completion of his work.

This Education Scholarship Fund is probably the most valuable of all the Navaho projects, giving many young people of ability the opportunity to receive the highest education. From this group will doubtless

come the leaders of tomorrow. That the Tribal Council had the wisdom to establish such a fund shows again the ability of these people to make practical decisions for the benefit of the Tribe. Many of these councilmen were older men who had not had such opportunities themselves and who were willing to plan far ahead for the future of their people.

During the past thirty years, it has become more and more necessary for young Navaho men and women to seek employment off the reservation. Those who had learned to speak English were the first to do so. For many years now, both the Santa Fe and the Union Pacific railroads have employed Navaho men for maintenance work along their lines, and occasionally one may see them boarding a train for work at some distant point. Many other Navaho go into off-reservation parts of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado for seasonal crop harvesting. A

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good many young women find employment of various kinds in restaurants or motels in the nearby towns. Many also have studied typing and have taken the place of former Indian Service typists at Window Rock, where they have proved to be efficient and skilled office workers.

The Indian Service has made some effort to relocate families, which has been partially successful, some Navaho moving to California, Colorado, the larger cities of New Mexico and Arizona, and even farther afield where they have found satisfactory work for their livelihood.

As many of the new projects on the reservation have developed, more opportunities for Navaho people have arisen at home, such as work in road building, in the oil fields, in the uranium mines, in the Sawmill project, and in other lines of endeavor replacing the sheep industry on the overused land. Mechanical ability seems to be natural to all young Navaho boys, and they find work in garages along the border towns of the reservation. It is interesting to see the skill with which these young men handle big machinery, so far removed from the old life of a generation ago.

Law and Order

The development of the Department of Law and Order has been slow, for traditionally every individual Navaho is a free agent and 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 headman of each clan. As disputes among the Navaho were relatively minor, they were settled by arbitration.

In 1880, acting Navaho Agent Bennet said in his report to Washington:

The crying evil that most besets this people is whisky. There are several traders at nearby points . . . where whisky of the vilest description is delt 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 Navahoes.²

Even today the high percentage of arrests are due to problem drinking; other misdemeanors are relatively few.

² *Navajo Yearbook*, p. 275.

Captain William Yellowhair, Navaho Police Force, Tuba City.

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. 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. For example, bootleggers from surrounding communities went to the area with quantities of cheap liquor, selling it to the Indians and demanding the immediate return of bottles so that no evidence was left behind. The state agreed to help police this area if its force were augmented, so six Navaho policemen were trained and equipped for the work. These men were the beginning of the Navaho Police Force. It has grown steadily since, and today there are approximately two hundred enforcement officers with sufficient administrative personnel.

Judge Hadley's court at Tuba City.

Now there are seven courts, one in each subagency and two at Window Rock, conducted entirely by Navaho judges and officers. I had the very interesting experience in being present at a court session at Tuba City. 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 of course I could not understand. But I could understand the quality of his voice and the meaning of his words by the inflection of his voice and the manner in which he spoke. His voice was persuasive rather than dictatorial, kind rather

than harsh or critical, and I felt that the boy was being 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 heard this session.

The Tribe has just completed a wonderful new Law and Order Building, situated within the Window Rock grounds. This is a handsome building of modern design containing the last word 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.

Whenever new projects are commenced by the

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Navaho woman and children gather scant fodder for their sheep in the Checkerboard Area.

Tribe, the Council sends for top-ranking experts to give advice on the best possible ways to proceed. They call in expert architects, engineers, lawyers, geologists, and men of other professions, their judgment being always to seek the very best. Following the creation of the Indian Land Claims Commission by the Congress of the United States in 1946, the Tribal Council, under the chairmanship of Sam Ahkeah, passed a resolution to employ an attorney to function both as claims attorney and as general counsel. Sam went to Washington to secure the services of Mr. Norman M. Littell, a prominent corporation lawyer, and a ten-year contract with him was approved by the Council in July of 1947. As the new mining activities developed, the need arose for continued legal counsel at Window Rock; consequently, in 1951 the Tribal Council acted to employ a resident attorney to function under Mr. Littell's direction. In

order to obtain the maximum benefits for the Navaho People, highly competent advice was necessary to execute not only mining, oil, and gas leases, but also many agreements in connection with the Glen Canyon Dam, the 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, to render service to individuals whose interests need protection.

During the period of work on the land claims, I joined archaeologist Richard Van Valkenburgh at a meeting held in the eastern part of the Checkerboard Area, where he was seeking help from older Navaho men in his effort to locate Old Navaholand hogan sites where the Navaho lived nearly four centuries ago. It was a bitterly cold day and, as the heating plant was not in operation in the building where the meeting was to have taken place, everyone

In the dry Checkerboard Area, where the going is rough.

crowded into a hogan to listen to a talk by Mr. Counselor, formerly a trader in the area. Men, women, and children were present, all listening attentively to the problem at hand. Luckily I had permission to record this scene. Two elderly Navaho men finally agreed to help Mr. Van Valkenburgh the following summer, at which time I again joined the group to watch the work in progress. Some old sites were found near our camp, and from the logs valuable tree-ring data were obtained. One of the men who helped was Georgie Garcia (p. 37), who at

seventy-eight was still surprisingly active. Much archaeological evidence was gained that summer to establish proof of Navaho habitation in areas no longer within the present reservation boundary.

The land claims work is finished now and awaits the decision of the United States Supreme Court.

The Checkerboard Area

East of the present boundary of the Navaho Reservation is the land known as the Checkerboard Area, where disputes over land ownership have prevailed

The old lumber plant at Sawmill was out in the open.

has purchased several large ranches. It is certainly to be hoped that the Indian Service will be able eventually to restore land areas to which the Navaho have an inherited claim.

Tribal Resources

When the Tribal Council voted in 1940 to establish a Department of Resources, the first two resources on the list were the Sawmill Project (which had been in limited operation previously) and the Arts and Crafts Guild. There are many thousand acres of fine

timber on the reservation in the Chuska Mountains, and in smaller amounts elsewhere. With the supervision of the Forest Division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Sawmill Project was commenced at a site some forty miles northwest of Window Rock. Selected trees were cut and brought to the mill, where some two hundred Navaho men were trained in the best methods of handling lumber and in the concept of sustained yield forestry. Over eighteen million board feet of lumber were produced per annum at this original site. With expanded industry in sight, a

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

Sorting uranium ore at the Shiprock processing plant.

✓ new location was selected and an up-to-date mill with modern equipment was built some fifteen miles northeast of Fort Defiance. This new mill has more than doubled the capacity of the former plant, and today there are more than four hundred Navaho men employed at the mill and some forty-odd non-Navaho. A small housing area called Navajo has been built for these people near the mill. This industry is netting the Tribe an income of several hundred thousand dollars a year.

The discovery of uranium ore on the reservation in 1950 sent a wave of excitement throughout the South-

west. Much prospecting was done, and more sources of ore both large and small were located with an eager rush reminiscent of the old gold mining days. Roads were both improved and newly built in order to haul ore by truck to the processing plant at Shiprock. When more ore was discovered in the Monument Valley area and farther west, two additional plants were built, one at Mexican Hat and another at Tuba City. The vast barren desert east of the Monuments provided unsuspected riches for the Navaho Tribe as well as work for many men, for here a large open-pit mine was operated. On the top of the northern

Much Navaho wealth comes from oil.

end of the Lukachukai Mountains several shaft mines yielded many thousand tons of uranium ores. I visited one of these and was taken down into the mine, where it seemed strange indeed to find Navaho boys deep underground hard at work as miners. The peak year of the uranium mining was reached in 1962 when some 379,000 tons of ore were produced, adding immense revenue to the tribal treasury.

Though the first oil was struck on the reservation as long ago as 1921 when the Rattlesnake dome was discovered near Shiprock, new fields were found in 1957, also in this northern district of the San Juan River basin, particularly in the Four Corners area. More than one thousand new oil and gas wells are now operating, bringing in high revenue. The first years of production from these new fields brought in many millions of dollars in leases and bonuses, while the annual royalty of some twelve million dollars is of prime importance to the Tribe.

Another recent development has been a strip coal mining site, south of the San Juan River between Shiprock and Farmington. This coal is being converted into power at the site, and a new power line now extends over the Chuska Mountains to the Window Rock area and beyond, bringing electricity for many purposes.

The Glen Canyon area is offering other new developments. Generated by the giant turbines at the new dam, great pylons carry the pulsing rhythm of electric power for 150 miles across the desert. This source of power will be tapped in the future when the need for it arises.

On the whole, the recent rich earnings from the Department of Resources are being wisely used. On some Indian reservations where sudden large sums of money were received, the money was distributed to the individuals. This resulted in quick expenditure. The Navaho not only have made good investments,

✓ but also have used funds to develop programs of many sorts created for the benefit of all the Navaho people. Having known for nearly twenty years some of the individuals who now hold responsible positions, I find it most heartening to see how they have

risen to the challenge of their respective departments, and to see the ability they are showing in executive posts. Certainly they seem to have the good of the Tribe as a whole at heart.

THE FAIRS

FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, a group of citizens in Gallup, New Mexico, conceived the idea of having an annual fair for the benefit of the several Indian tribes who lived in the general area. This developed into the Inter-tribal Ceremonial, which during the course of the past twenty-five years has become a renowned affair. The original idea of an arts and crafts exhibit where the Indians could sell their work now has grown into an outstanding exhibition with Indians from many tribes competing for a variety of prizes. In the last decade Indians have come from all over the United States, parts of British Columbia, and Mexico to take part in the Ceremonial in one way or another, bringing added color, interest, and variety.

In addition to the crafts exhibits, there are many other forms of competition and entertainment. The members of the Gallup Ceremonial Committee, find-

ing that some dances by Southwestern Indians were on the verge of disappearing, offered special prizes for their revival. While all dances are part of religious ceremonials, the presentation of some as isolated units seems to be permissible. These dramatic events take place at the fairgrounds before a capacity-filled grandstand for all performances, while additional spectators seek every possible vantage point to witness both afternoon and evening events. During the daytime there are athletic competitions of many sorts; with these and the evening entertainments, the four days of the Ceremonial are filled with a variety of interesting things to watch. The Navaho play an important part in the Ceremonial, for they lead the opening parade, carrying the flags and partaking in all the equestrian events.

Another aspect of this Ceremonial is the social

The Navaho gather on the hill for the Gallup Ceremonial.

gathering of the many tribes. Here they exchange knowledge and thoughts with one another, discussing all manner of work and events, for the Gallup Ceremonial has done much to weld the Indian peoples of all tribes together. These four days in mid-August are filled with color, with action, with gaiety and social pleasures. To the non-Indian spectators this is doubtless one of the most colorful affairs in the country; and it can be a field day for photographers, with action of many sorts, as well as moments of dramatic performances and of human interest.

As early as 1909, agricultural agent William T. Shelton instigated a fair, like any county fair, at Ship-

rock for the benefit of the northern Navaho area. He did much to encourage superior weaving through this fair, promoting displays of rugs. For a while the fair was discontinued, to be resumed in 1937 with increased emphasis on weaving, as well as agricultural and livestock exhibits, for Mr. Shelton did much to improve the quality of Navaho sheep, and consequently wool, in this part of the reservation. The Shiprock Fair, of course, is an all-Navaho event, held usually in early October. While the original purpose of this fair was the display of agricultural produce with prizes for the top-ranking exhibits as well as livestock, this is also an educational fair, for here the

Behind the scenes at the Gallup Ceremonial.

many farmers learn how to improve their produce and livestock.

Other exhibits will also be found at this fair, such as home economic exhibits with canned fruits and vegetables and other exhibits from the woman's world. In the small arena a variety of equestrian activities take place, for Navaho youths have become eager participants in all rodeo events. Though the Navaho are natural sheep men, they are also fine horsemen, and during the past twenty years have become excellent rodeo performers. I recall watching a calf-roping contest in the early 1950's when the best time

for the event was over sixty seconds; but at a recent fair I saw a boy win this contest with a time of eleven seconds.

A few years ago, a small traveling carnival made its appearance at the Shiprock Fair. Here were the usual lot of booths with throwing contests, a Ferris wheel, and other rides, all of which were eagerly enjoyed by all ages. Somehow the Shiprock Fair, though much smaller than the others, is more fun, perhaps because it is less sophisticated and pretentious, though recently the drinking problem has been much too evident.

In 1938, not long after the establishment of the

Navaho seat of government at Window Rock, the Tribal Council voted to mount a tribal fair. Grounds were laid out not far from the government buildings, and for four years the fair was conducted in September. During World War II, this fair was suspended, to be reactivated in 1951. Since then it has grown in scope and activity, and is now the big event on the reservation. Modeled somewhat after the Gallup Ceremonial, the fair always has a fine craft exhibit, and large displays of agricultural exhibits in the new Gorman Hall. There are excellent quarters for the livestock displays and facilities for judging the specimens which come in from all parts of the reservation. There is a race track surrounding the rodeo arena

(they even have a mechanical race starter), a loud speaker system, and all modern equipment. The spacious grandstand holds many spectators. The opening event in this arena is one of many galloping horses, as the Navaho young men ride in with the band playing and flags flying. This is also a four-day fair, with new daily events and competitions in the arena. One interesting contest is for women to see who can chop wood and light a fire in the shortest time. There are also evening events, small bits from ceremonials, dances by visiting Pueblo dancers, and other events to interest the spectators.

The beautiful new Community Building is opened at fair time for educational and commercial exhibits,

showing the latest farming machinery, new trucks, and all sorts of house and farm utensils. There are short educational movies, such as a film on tuberculosis, and one on Alcoholics Anonymous, which it is interesting to see crowds of young men watching. School exhibits are displayed here, and subscriptions to *The Navajo Times*, a weekly publication in English, are sold at a booth.

The Community Center Building has many unique features: it can be partitioned off into classrooms, it can be made into a sports area for boxing and wrestling, it can be made into two basketball courts (a game well loved and well played by the Navaho boys), and it can also be turned into an auditorium or concert hall with tiered removable seats. At the dedication ceremonies, a famous troupe of Spanish dancers performed here, to the delight of the Navaho audience. José Iturbi played here, and there have been other concerts of equally high quality. Some of the great jazz bands have given concerts here, as

each year brings a growing list of important cultural presentations.

Recently, since the erection of the new Arts and Crafts Guild Building, the old one at the fairgrounds has been made into a small museum containing many exhibits of year-round interest. A small children's zoo has been added to the south of the building, containing wild animals and birds found on the reservation.

The Gallup Ceremonial, the Fourth of July celebration at Flagstaff, the Shiprock Fair, and the Window Rock Tribal Fair are all widely attended by hundreds, probably thousands, of Navaho people, as well as Indians of other tribes and countless non-Indian visitors. These gatherings give the Navaho people the opportunity to discuss the affairs of the day and work that is being done. Many Navaho who live far from the reservation come home for one or more of these events, where they may see their families and friends and renew their Navaho traditions.

PART IV
THE
ENDURING
WAY

HERITAGE

WHEN THE DINÉH, 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, how to perform the myriad activities of their lives, and, above all, how to adapt to their environment for good or evil through the harmonious use of ceremonials. Springing from the Creation Story, in which the development of man is established, the legends contain the origins of the ceremonies, the answers to fundamental questions, and the reasons for the many taboos. There seems to be 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 to assist with supernatural powers. It is the Yei who regulate whether good or evil comes

to the Dinéh; but not all the Yei are good, thus there is constant supplication to win favor of the good Yei, and to override the influences of the evil.

Misfortune, accident, and illness are caused by disharmony, 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 the influence, these ceremonials are the embodiment of natural consequences and abstract symbolism, expressed through song, through the dry paintings (sand paintings), and through the correct use of ceremonial objects and substances.

When a patient is uncertain in determining which ceremony is necessary to produce the required heal-