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Master of Arts

HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE

Title

GALLUP INTER-TRIBAL INDIAN CEREMONIAL ASSOCIATION

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HISTORICAL ASPECTS
OF THE
GALLUP INTER-TRIBAL INDIAN CEREMONIAL ASSOCIATION

BY
TERRY LEE CARROLL
B.A., University of New Mexico, 1964

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in History
in the Graduate School of
The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico
May 29, 1968

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HISTORICAL ASPECTS
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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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This thesis presents a brief history, organizational concept, and operating structure of the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association.

The Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association was founded by citizens of the then isolated frontier coal mining city of Gallup, New Mexico in 1922 for the purpose of staging an annual demonstration of Indian ceremonialism and a display of Indian arts and crafts twelve years before a paved highway joined the city to the outside world.

The Ceremonial Association has continued in its ambitions to present the Indian in his true nature. Every August Ceremonial points out heritage of the Indian race and stresses various evidences of its distinct cultures. The Association also praises these assembled Indian cultures as a unique and irreplaceable part of the American scene. Accordingly, the Association urges the general public to share in the appreciation of the Indian and help promote and perpetuate the continuance of the Indians.

Throughout its forty-six years, the Ceremonial has never deviated from the great objective established by its founders. Indeed, today the organization sees its task in a larger scope. The Association more clearly sees its mission now as a planned national tribute to the American Indian. The structure and organization of the Ceremonial are adopting to continue this tribute.

To achieve great tribute to the American Indian, the Association has expanded beyond the presentation of an annual August exposition. Its other related activities are legion.

Most of the knowledge concerning the Gallup Ceremonial Association is only incidental and based on the limited observations of inconsistent

visitors to Gallup. These casual visitors to Gallup generally do not know how well or how poorly the Ceremonial succeeds in its envisioned goals.

It is the purpose of this study (1) to present the history and organization of the Ceremonial Association as well as its value; (2) to analyze selected Ceremonial expositions for the purpose of showing specific nature of all Ceremonial operations; (3) to show how the Ceremonial Association relates to similar such organizations, to the Indians, to the city of Gallup, the county, state, and nation; and (4) to determine the future of the Association.

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CHAPTER I

HISTORY and VALUE

The Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association was founded in August, 1922 as a civic organization to stage an annual Indian exposition for the purpose of preserving and perpetuating the native American Indian culture.¹ This event took place in the western New Mexico city of Gallup near the Arizona line.

The non-profit corporation was converted into a state agency by the 1939 State Legislature and thus became eligible for a state appropriation. This appropriation was not to exceed five thousand dollars originally, but has subsequently been increased.² Since 1952, the amount has remained relatively unchanged. From the year 1939 to 1966, the Ceremonial has received a total of \$501,900 from the New Mexico general fund.³

Until 1954, the Ceremonial shared the services of a secretary and office assistant with the Gallup Chamber of Commerce. In that year, the

¹Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, "Articles of Incorporation," p. 2, Aug. 2, 1922, (filed Aug. 5, 1922), (in the files of the Association)

²Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, "General Information - 1966 Ceremonial," Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

³"General Information - 1966 Ceremonial"

Ceremonial also came under strict state regulation because of its status as a state agency.⁴ Since 1954, the Ceremonial Association has employed its own full-time secretary-manager and office assistant who have labored to comply with the increasing number of state regulations established by a state government tending to greater contralization.⁵ The result has had the effect of permitting the Ceremonial to better achieve a more permanent organization that includes year-long awareness of its Indian and general public orientated program and to develop various lesser but subordinate activities in line with its overall purpose--that of presenting the cultural achievements of the American Indian to the American public.

The subordination to state control of the Ceremonial Association has unfortunately resulted in necessary obedience to the numerous technicalities established for state agencies. In the 1960's, this situation has drawn the Ceremonial Association against its wishes into the field of politics in seeking a proper state appropriation.⁶

The famous Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial has a history that dates back to 1922. From that date, the importance of the Ceremonial Association to the city of Gallup, to the state, and to the nation has steadily grown. From its inauspicious beginning, the Ceremonial Association has over a period of more than forty-five years developed into an institution that has put that small railroad city on the map. Whereas, in the past, the only significance to Gallup was the surrounding scenic grandeur and once productive coal mines. Gallup now can boast hosting one of America's

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

most unusual and unique events--the annual August Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonials that attracts many tourists from throughout the United States. The proceedings even attract many world wide because of their uniqueness and unequaled entertainment value. The Ceremonials, a series of four days, bring together the Indian in his genuine cultural attire and stoic demeanor and the white man with his passion for the unusual features of the American scene.

But, what exactly is the Ceremonial Association? What are the Association's successes and failures; its worth to the city of Gallup, to America, and to the Indian cultures which it represents? These are many and varied questions. For in truth, the Association is many things. Its annual preparations and operations are so numerous, that even the people of Gallup generally fail to appreciate its scope. The Ceremonial is important to Gallup, the Indian country and the individual Indian of the Southwest and America.⁷

The primary importance of the Association is in it being a major cultural and educational institution. The Ceremonial and the few all-Indian events like it, provide a meeting place where the average American citizen can learn about the American Indian, his culture, dances, religion, civilization, human nature, and his crafts. For more than forty-five years, the Association has greatly enlarged the knowledge and appreciation of the indigenous Indian populations and has for three generations of Americans presented an awesome display of the beauty of Indian handicraft. This handicraft plays an important part in the Indian economy.

⁷ Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, "General Information - 1966 Ceremonial," Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

The Ceremonial Association is the nation's foremost agency constituting a tribute to the American Indian. Yearly, one sees an emphasis on the Indian's contributions to American life at this exposition. The show is, then, an assurance that one of the major patterns in the American social fabric will be allowed to make a dignified accounting for itself.

The Ceremonial is New Mexico's number one tourist event.⁸ Considering the numerous events and shows presented in New Mexico, it is certain that many out-of-state citizens could name none other than the "Indian show at Gallup." This gives Gallup a reputation disproportionate to its size. While many out-of-state persons have heard of Albuquerque or Santa Fe, most would find it extremely difficult to name any event that takes place in either of these two cities. The Gallup "Indian show," however, comes readily to mind.

The names "Gallup" and "Ceremonials" brings literally thousands of visitors annually to that city and contribute many thousands of dollars in income and publicity to the state of New Mexico because of its great prestige and accomplishments in the field of the unusual.

As an additional fact, it must be noted that the Ceremonial Association is a vital factor in the economy and status of Gallup itself. The Association annually spends approximately \$70,000 of its yearly expenditures in Gallup with local businesses and through the employment of local people. Furthermore, expenditures by tourists (admirably supplied with money) is reckoned in the hundreds of thousands of dollars.⁹ The Ceremonial Association is basically responsible for the nation-wide craze for Indian

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

handicrafts, which throughout the year funnels millions of dollars into Gallup's trade channels. In this regard, not the least of the Ceremonials' worth is in the fact that it has made Gallup the best known small town in New Mexico; a city known in advance to thousands of visitors who are curious enough to stop regardless of whether or not the Ceremonial show is in progress.

Other contributions of the Ceremonial Association also merit mention. The Ceremonial gives the city of Gallup a civic activity that citizens can take pride in performing. It gives them a common interest in recognized civic good that outweighs all social and civic differences. It is an unusual and long deserved gesture to the Southwestern Indians whose trade is important to Gallup. The Ceremonial Association has constructed a physical plant valued at a quarter of a million dollars and has made it available to the city and county. The annual magazine, whose twenty-two thousand copies are sent nation-wide, is on a par with any issued by any city in the United States. Its annual advertising budget is in excess of \$7,000 and publicizes Gallup through every commercial media of communication.¹⁰

The cost of five thousand dollars to the city of Gallup is slight in comparison to the benefits it brings to the city.¹¹ There are few other cities in the United States where the citizenry can invest so little yet derive so much.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATION and ACTIVITIES of the ASSOCIATION

As of 1966, membership in the Ceremonial Association is open to any person on payment of ten dollars annual dues. Each member has the privilege of voting for and being nominated for election to the twelve man board of directors. The twelve man board of directors is responsible for affairs of the Ceremonial Association.¹ A person so elected to the board serves a term of four years. Three new members are elected each year to replace those whose terms have expired. It is the general policy that the board of directors and not the president of the Ceremonial Association constitute the governing and directing influence over the Ceremonial Association.² A retiring board member may run again for board membership but is required to wait a minimum of one year after the end of his previous term. At an annual meeting, specially designated for the purpose, the board of directors chooses a president, vice president, treasurer, and secretary-manager to serve for one year. The custom has been established through forty years of precedence to name

¹Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, "General Information - 1966 Ceremonial," Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

²Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, "Articles of Incorporation," p.2, Aug. 2, 1922, Gallup, N. Mex., (filed Aug. 5), (in the files of the Association)

the vice president, after three years of service, to the office of president for the following year.³

The person chosen as president is responsible for administration of Ceremonial Association matters during his one-year term of office. M.E. Kirk was elected as the first president on August 2, 1922.⁴

Customary practice has involved the policy of the president cooperating closely with the vice president. Together they perform the duties of establishing a functional organization as well as coordinating activities of the various committees. The vice president is assigned the task of supervision of the primary program committees as preparation for his term as president.

Every board member is assigned the chairmanship of one or more of the standing committees. Each board member is free to choose his committee members from non-board members. The committee chairman is directly responsible to the board of directors for the success and progress of his committee's operations.⁵

The secretary-manager is a paid employee of the board of directors. The person occupying this office is responsible for assisting in formulating Ceremonial Association policy and in executing decisions of the board. He has the duty of carrying out day-to-day activities of the Ceremonial Association and ultimately, handling all major correspondence. The secretary-manager also keeps and organizes all Ceremonial-related records and serves

³"General Information," op. cit.

⁴"Articles," op. cit.

⁵Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, "General Information - 1966 Ceremonial," Gallup, N. Mex.

as secretary to all committees.⁶

An office secretary handles all routine correspondence, bookkeeping clerical duties, acts as receptionist, and works under the supervision of the secretary-manager.

A Ceremonial treasurer is responsible for collecting, distributing, and recording all aspects of the financial circumstances of the Ceremonial Association.

A grounds superintendent is responsible for the maintenance and preparation of the grounds of the Ceremonial Association in anticipation of the annual exposition. These duties obligate him to work in close association with the grounds chairman and the secretary-manager in carrying out his duties.⁷

Directors, as a board, meet monthly on the second Thursday night of every month, at which time each chairman (or director) reports the progress of activities of his committee or committees. In this manner, each committee chairman can be brought up to date on all aspects of preparations by the Ceremonial Association for its August show. In addition, each committee chairman may attend any committee meetings of his choice so as to be more specifically informed on all the many details of Ceremonial Association activities.⁸

One of the most influential of the many sub-bodies composing the institutional structure of the Ceremonial Association is the Budget

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

committee. In its basic capacity of deciding the over-all budget, its power is considerable. This budget is presented to the board of directors for consideration after which (if it is accepted) various and appropriate sums of money are allocated, on the basis of need, to each Ceremonial-related operation. Every committee is then obligated to confine its expenditures to within its stipulated appropriation.

Committee chairmen are expected to keep the board of directors aware of approximate expenditures. This precaution enables the board of directors to be cognizant of anticipated expenses. At each month's regular meeting, the board of directors votes on payment or non-payment of bills incurred the previous month. The nature of these bills are carefully and previously examined in detail by a special audit committee named by the president. Before each monthly meeting, each committee chairman receives his notice, which will also contain the minutes of the previous meeting, an agenda, a listing of all outstanding bills, and a summary financial report for the previous month. Every Ceremonial Association official has easy and ready access to more specific information concerning any aspect of Ceremonial Association preparation. This detailed information is always available to Association officials at the office, which the Association occupies in downtown Gallup.⁹

While the basic and most generally known operation of the Gallup Inter Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association is to plan, organize, and stage the world famous mid-August Indian dances and games, it has, through the forty or so years of its history, acquired a great number of other subsidiary activities and operations that occupy it,

⁹Ibid.

and in some instances, produce subordinate income.¹⁰

The lesser activities are many and varied. Some of these subordinate activities include: Preparation and sale of publications concerning the Indian and his role and activities within his environment. Among these publications was the former Indian Life magazine. Another magazine very much in demand in the 1960's is the present Indian Land magazine. The Ceremonial Association also produces an informative booklet on Indian rugs and their manufacture. Booklets on pottery and Indian silver-craft are also within the Association's sphere of interest.

The magazine published by the Ceremonial Association have met with nation-wide interest. Records of the Association attest to the fact that magazine copies have been sent to practically every state in the United States and many foreign countries. In 1957, Californians made 238 requests for the Association published magazines, while Arizonians requested 156 of them. Farther east, residents of New York requested 200 of the Association's magazines.¹¹

The Gallup Ceremonial Association maintains a noteworthy Indian Book Service. The main purposes of the Indian Book Service are to prepare and distribute an annual directory of current books on the Indian and the Indian's way of life. Accruing from these labors are sales made by mail order throughout not only the United States but also throughout the entire world.

The Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial Association has further activities

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Minutes files, Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonials, Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

that enable it to capture America's imagination when Americans are thinking of Indians. The Ceremonial Association is concerned with preparation and sale of Ceremonial and Indian slides, postcards, and other similar items. In addition, the Ceremonial Association stimulates the interest that American youth has always shown in his past foe--the vanquished American Indian. The Association sees to it that teachers are sent packages of information filled with details of Indian life and Indian lore, as well as suggestions as to the great benefit of first hand, up-close observation of Indians such as at Gallup's unequalled exposition. The Association fills more than three thousand such teacher requests from most states each year--and the number is growing.

The Association also maintains a small Indian film library. The Association distributes these films on a free loan basis.

Answering many specific and technical questions (and some silly ones also) is a made-to-order activity, especially for the Ceremonial Association. From students, from researchers, from publishers, and from the average camera-toting tourist, there are endless questions that the Association takes great interest in satisfying. There are inquiries about purchasing Indian craft and gaining access to the land of the Indian. The Association provides ready answers as well as materials, both text and pictures for writers and publishers.

The Ceremonial Association is concerned with preparation of news releases generally, specific articles on request, and developing promotional literature and mailings.

It is further concerned with providing office services to the United States Traders Association (U.S.T.A.) under which the secretary-manager acts as secretary to that organization, for which the Ceremonial

Association receives a monthly fee of one hundred seventy-five dollars.

The Ceremonial Association is interested in the rental of its grounds and equipment for various worthwhile civic and entertainment activities at fees previously approved by the board of directors.¹²

In summary, it is readily observed that organization of the Ceremonial Association is a workable one. It is one, furthermore, that has in the past produced results. The unpaid activities of the rank and file attest to the enthusiasm of at least some elements of the citizenry in and around Gallup. The organization functions smoothly. Research through the Gallup Ceremonial records show only very rare instances of friction on the part of the officials. Nor, have the many discussions with Ceremonial officials suggested anything but the general situation of an organization working hard for a common cause--the cause being the presentation of yet another of the shows that tourists, taking either an eastern or a western route through Gallup, have become accustomed to viewing.

The Ceremonial Association is not a business; not a money making concern. Association records are replete with evidences of this fact. But, the evidence is seen in the many sub-activities carried on by the Association with none or only a nominal cost to the public. Insofar as this is true, it is because men still exist who can view a concern without thoughts of monetary gain.

¹²Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Association, "General Information - 1966 Ceremonial," Gallup, N. Mex.

CHAPTER III

LEADERSHIP and MEMBERSHIP in the 1955 CEREMONIALS

Gallup's Ceremonial Association has yearly put on a show for the people of Gallup and for visiting spectators. Nearly every show has been unique in that the extraordinary has occurred. The 1955 Ceremonial is one such show and is described here to illustrate to the reader the main aspects that constitute all Ceremonial preparations and operations.

As customary, the 1955 Ceremonial was in preparation and organization during the preceding year. In the declining days of that year, Harry A. Dunbar, veteran of participation in the Ceremonial Association for twenty years was chosen president. Most of Dunbar's work had been accomplished through membership on the Association's board of directors.¹ Now it would be Dunbar's responsibility to lead and to guide the Ceremonial Association towards a successful conclusion of the following year's exposition. The board of directors had confidence in his ability and expressed as much at this November meeting presided over by the retiring president, M.L. Woodard, who had directed the Association through the crisis with the

¹ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., Nov. 18, 1954

Pueblos which will be dealt with in chapter eight.²

Dunbar, manager of the Sprouse Reitz store on 66 Avenue in Gallup, had been associated with the Ceremonial Association since his first year in Gallup in the early 1930's. During most of his Ceremonial tenure, he had been chairman of the grounds committee and was responsible for many of the improvements on the Ceremonial grounds.³

With leadership assured, the next pressing difficulty was securing a financial base through which to start necessary preparations for the future year's show. Money was needed as the Ceremonial was not accustomed to rely on memberships sold to citizens in and around Gallup. Preparations for this membership selling program were well underway by the end of 1954. These initial preparations constituted the formation of the membership committee under chairman Harold Milam, with Allen Rollie, Merle Tucker, and Bill Hagberg.⁴ This group would carry the burden of acquiring the necessary funds to give the Ceremonial some means to begin preparations for its next show.

The annual campaign to secure the ten dollar memberships in the Ceremonial Association was begun. Membership was especially sought from businessmen of Gallup who benefited greatly from the yearly influx of tourists into their town. Accordingly, Chairman Milam planned a membership drive carefully calculated to reach every prospective member in the

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Newspaper clipping, (no date or place cited), (in the files of the Association)

city and the adjacent area. Chairman Milam intended to achieve this by means of monthly bulletins and personal calls.⁵

President Dunbar pointed out to the citizens of Gallup that despite heavy contributions to the Association, the welfare of the city of Gallup and of the Indian peoples, as well as the welfare of the Ceremonial Association was at stake. He also pointed out to the seemingly not too respondent Gallup citizenry that the Ceremonial Association is a low budget operation with a top operating gross in any one year of sixty-one thousand dollars.⁶ Hence, the urgent need for memberships and funds.

The 1955 membership goal was put at a total of four hundred members. The membership committee envisioned that of this total, three hundred and fifty would be from Gallup itself and the remainder from the surrounding area and perhaps a few elsewhere in the United States. In 1954 memberships had numbered only two hundred and seventy-five so the anticipated four hundred was an ambitious goal. But, it still might be achieved as the 1954 membership total was up considerably from the previous year.⁷

The ambitious goal of four hundred memberships was slow to be achieved. By April the number of paid memberships showed a lag behind the 1954 number for the corresponding month. Association directors revealed that membership was only one hundred and thirty by April which was about twenty behind for the same date of the previous year.⁸ This

⁵Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., Jan. 22, 1955

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., April 14, 1955

circumstance existed despite monthly mailings of invitations sent to local businessmen. Chairman Harold Milam decided to resort to direct and personal solicitation methods to accelerate the membership payments.⁹

The total membership, however, continued to lag behind expectations and by the end of April, secretary-manager Edward Merry was obliged to publicly condemn the local businessmen whom he labeled with the term of "free rider." He defined this expression as meaning anyone who accepts the financial benefits of tourist promotion, yet does absolutely nothing to help the city's primary promotional agent--the Ceremonial Association. Secretary-manager Merry made this statement before Gallup Rotarians. He said that he was sure that there were no "free riders" in the audience.¹⁰

The situation became no better as the passing months brought the Ceremonial Association closer to its August pageant. Howard Wilson, a long time prominent Gallup citizen and supporter of the Ceremonial Association, stated in early August that citizens should take out memberships as part of the Association's "Booster Week" activities. "Booster Week" is a week-long preparation period immediately preceding the Ceremonial show itself. Director Howard Wilson pointed out that only 40 per cent of Gallup's businessmen usually carried the burden of the Association's support by buying membership. Wilson urged greater support from Gallup businessmen.¹¹

By early August, Ceremonial membership was equal to that of the

⁹Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., April 14, 1955

¹⁰Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., April 28, 1955

¹¹Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 3, 1955

previous year but considerably below the projected total of four hundred. Memberships by August also included most of Gallup's more imminent businessmen.¹² Thus, Gallup's more successful citizenry recognized the value of the Association.

The Ceremonial Association conceived the promotion gimmick of sending "member badges" to all members of past years and whose names appeared on Ceremonial records. The Association also planned to make a listing of all 1955 memberships. This list was to appear as a supplement in the Ceremonial magazines and was intended for distribution on the Ceremonial grounds during the duration of the show.¹³

The Association never achieved its projected total of four hundred memberships. In September, the month after the Ceremonials, the Association had acquired two hundred and ninety-eight members and felt a need to gain two more so as to have an even three hundred. This sum was well below the hoped for total memberships but still the highest membership the Association had achieved in any recent year.¹⁴

The Association thus launched itself into a campaign to acquire the desired additional two members. Besides the psychological advantage of boasting a membership of a grand total of three hundred members, the Association also wanted these members on its rolls before their nominating ballots were sent out. These ballots were to choose several new directors for the board of directors who would establish important policy regarding

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., Sept., 1955

the next Ceremonial.¹⁵

Thus, the Ceremonial Association had put forth a great effort. While the memberships total was well below the established goal, the Membership committée had achieved sufficient public support to enable them to operate with financial security.

¹⁵Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL ASPECTS of the 1955 AUGUST EXPOSITION

All the preparations had been made and on August 11, the 1955 show began. Time had run out for the twelve directors to have any appreciable effect on the success or failure of the long-planned show. There was nothing further to prepare. Nothing remained but to observe how well or how poorly they had planned their thirty-fourth show.

Indians, the primary aspect of the show, began to gather in early August. Numerous hogans were built on the Ceremonial grounds housing the better dancers of thirty-five tribes from throughout the United States. With activities conditioned by centuries of practice, and a few time-outs to visit the Front Street taverns, the hogans soon began to resemble those first seen by the white man centuries ago. The Indians numbering in thousands arrived by many modes of transportation. By streamlined trains they came, by automobile and pickup truck, and even by buckboard wagon and horse. Spectator and performer alike arrived in anticipation of the colorful affair.

The parades initiated the Ceremonials, taking place Friday through Sunday. The afternoon shows includes rites, chants, dances, and fetes. Some of these had special ceremonial significance, others just demonstrated

the skill and talent of the Indians.

Some of the dances lasted the excruciating time of two and one-half hours and were presented each evening at Lyon Memorial Park. In the afternoons, the Indians indulged their adventurous spirit by participating in daily rodeos. Twenty-five thousand whites and Indians mingled together on any one day.¹ The tourists came and went and so by the end of the Ceremonials, perhaps some fifty thousand spectators had attended the exposition.²

Indian handicrafts in silver, turquoise, baskets, pottery, rugs, leathercraft, beadwork, and original paintings were on display in the exhibit hall on the Ceremonial grounds.³ Indian artisans demonstrated their skills at the exhibit hall each day.⁴ Indian displays could also be seen at the Gallup Museum of Indian History.⁵

The effect of this overall demonstration was immediate and thrilling to the viewers. At the Ceremonials, the visitors discovered that they were participating in what was similar to a visit to a foreign country without leaving the shores of the United States. These white observers enjoyed the thrilling insight into a culture centuries old.

During these four Ceremonial days, the bustling New Mexico city of Gallup, where costumed Indians are a common sight anyway, became steeped

¹Hobbs, New Mexico News, Hobbs, N. Mex., Aug. 7, 1955

²Victoria, Texas Advocate, Victoria, Texas, Aug. 13, 1955

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

in a civilization that antedated it by hundreds of years. The awed spectators who flowed into the exhibit hall were delighted in viewing the finest Indian craftsmanship and art produced since the last Ceremonial. These artistic pieces represented every conceivable kind of genuine Indian handwork. Many of these items had been conceived and prepared especially to compete for the long list of prizes that were offered.

The white spectators attending milled about the quaint streets and shops of Gallup. Those who had an interest in the more serious aspects of Indian life attended the Indian seminar that the Ceremonial Association customarily held for presentation and discussion of Indian problems. At these seminar sessions the spectator heard the discussion of modern Indian problems. These problems were discussed and argued with the crisp academic accents of the learned often being drowned out by the slurring speech of individual Indians.

The crowds swarmed to the Ceremonial grounds. Under a newly constructed roof, which replaced the one that had been subjected to a freak easterly wind in mid-July, the visitors whiled away their time watching the performers.⁶ They congregated in the manner that had been the custom with Americans attending county fairs at the turn of the century.

The viewers saw many sights that were new to their realm of experience. Many of those visitors who had attended past Ceremonials were displeased at the absence of an old colorful medicine man, named

⁶ Artesia Press, Artesia, N. Mex., July 19, 1955

Left Hand Many Goats. For many years, the people in Gallup were accustomed to seeing this old Indian patriarch parade down their streets easily keeping pace with the younger dancers that he lead. Unfortunately, he was dead and though the Ceremonial Association had gained in many other aspects, it had definitely lost in terms of this man's death.⁷

The Ceremonial board of directors realized that many potential visitors to Gallup might hesitate due to lack of transportation. Hoping to stimulate many civic and social organizations into attending, the Association developed a plan to have the Santa Fe Railway Company run a special excursion train from Albuquerque to Gallup on August 14, the last day of their 1955 exposition.

It was early in June that the Association directors voted for an excursion train as part of their regular program. The train was to leave Albuquerque early on the morning of August 14 in order to reach Gallup before the Sunday parade. The special train was scheduled to return to Albuquerque immediately following the final evening performance.⁸

Accordingly, the Ceremonial directors authorized employment of Lloyd Bloodworth of Albuquerque, a public relations counselor, to promote travel on the special train on a "package deal" arrangement whereby Albuquerque citizens could make one purchase of their transportation and Ceremonial tickets.⁹

It was hoped that the well advertized presence of the Secretary of the Interior, Douglas McKay and Indian Commissioner Glen Emmons would

⁷Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., June 12, 1955

⁸Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., June 9, 1955

⁹Ibid.

encourage many Albuquerque citizens to attend at least the Sunday performances. The directors entertained this hope primarily because McKay was scheduled to address the Sunday evening spectators.¹⁰

But this method of increasing that year's attendance did not meet with success. The Santa Fe Railway Company cancelled their plans for the special excursion train.¹¹ The reason given by the railway was that certain necessary equipment was not available.¹²

The Association was thus thwarted with regard to one medium of transportation. But, they substituted the use of Greyhound buses to take the place of the cancelled train.¹³ A limited number of buses were to make the August Sunday run with the first leaving Albuquerque at 6:00 a.m. in order to make the 9:30 a.m. parade. Other buses were scheduled to leave at 8:00 a.m.¹⁴

The practice of providing special transportation to enable visitors to attend the exposition had been an innovation to their regular policy. It had been tried before without any marked success. Regardless of the fact that buses brought substantial numbers of visitors to the show in 1955, the practice received less emphasis in the ensuing years.

A new feature was added to the exhibit hall maintained by the Ceremonial Association. This was a new room that was to contain heirlooms

¹⁰ Albuquerque Journal, Albuquerque, N. Mex., June 12, 1955

¹¹ Artesia Press, Artesia, N. Mex., July 18, 1955

¹² Albuquerque Journal, Albuquerque, N. Mex., July 17, 1955

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

and similar items that the Association had been able to borrow in Gallup and adjacent areas. It was to be called the Collectors' Room.

By July, the quest for genuine and outstanding collector's items was well underway.¹⁵ The Association hoped to obtain these pieces from dealers, traders, Indians, and private individuals. The project was under the direction of Reese Vaughn who was a long time dealer in Southwestern Indian craft.¹⁶ When these various heirlooms were assembled, they were housed in special cases and placed under appropriate guards. They were then placed in the armory building for storage until they could be shown to the public in the Collectors' Room.¹⁷

Traffic problems have been a perennial problem with the Ceremonial Association. With passing years, traffic snarls had grown until by 1955, the situation was acute. Thus, solution of traffic problems occupied much of the attention of the directors in Gallup.

The Association began their consideration of facilitating the flow of traffic to their Ceremonial grounds as well as through the city. The first necessary action was organization of a traffic and parking committee. Frank Harshman headed the committee. R. L. Scroggins and John Py were also on the committee.¹⁸

On July 21, the Gallup Lions Club voted to assist the New Mexico State

¹⁵Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., July 7, 1955

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., July 14, 1955

¹⁸Newspaper clipping, (no place or name), (in the files of the Association)

Police and Gallup's local officers in directing traffic during the busy periods of the Ceremonial.¹⁹ The Gallup Town Board also acted to facilitate movement of the immense volume of motor traffic moving through their city. One very important step was to synchronize the traffic lights on east-bound Coal Avenue so that tourists would have no need to stop from Third Street all the way past the post office.²⁰

The problem of increased traffic volume during Ceremonial periods was the subject of a letter from the New Mexico State Highway Department. This agency had previously studied the situation.²¹ The Highway Department recommended that no light be placed at Fourth Street and Coal because the volume of traffic through that intersection did not warrant that type of control.²² A four-way stop at Aztec and Second Streets was suggested. It was also suggested that Aztec Street be designated a through-street from Third to Ninth Street.²³

Further recommendations included the timing of traffic lights to permit more traffic to move north and south across Coal and Highway 66 than east and west along the routes at First, Second, and Third Streets at certain hours. This would permit north-south streets to be clear for long periods of time during peak hours of traffic.²⁴ In addition to these

¹⁹Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., July 22, 1955

²⁰Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., July 21, 1955

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

improvements in traffic control, there were flashing signal lights placed on Avenue 66 in Gallup.²⁵

The parking problem also received consideration. The city police placed "No Parking" signs on Gallup's downtown meters on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. The police department did this one hour before each parade in order to clear traffic.²⁶

As a result of these traffic improvements, the situation was greatly improved. They did, however, constitute necessary improvements because of the ever-growing increase in Gallup's flow of traffic.

Another aspect of the Ceremonial is the selection of persons to act as exhibit judges. The Indians participating in the long list of events at each Ceremonial are awarded prizes. The winners are determined by the decisions of judges appointed by the Association.

Many persons had served in the capacity as Ceremonial judge. But, one of the experienced judges of past years was Dr. Gadys A. Reichard, noted anthropologist of Barnard College of Columbia University. The Association learned that she had died in Flagstaff, Arizona in July.²⁷

Despite this loss, the Association had by July 21, named Dr. Bertha Dutton as chairman of the exhibit hall judges. Dr. Dutton was curator of the Museum of New Mexico at Santa Fe.²⁸ The entire judging committee consisted of eight experienced and recognized authorities on Indian arts

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 14, 1955

²⁷Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., July 21, 1955

²⁸Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., July 21, 1955

and crafts.²⁹

A regular feature of the annual Ceremonial exposition is the seminar. The 1955 Ceremonial program also included one. This seminar was held on Friday, the 12th, in the basement of the Elks Building. The 1955 seminar was entitled "Tribal Self-Help Program."³⁰

Tribal leaders, representing groups from as widely seperated places as Maine and Washington, were invited to make participation in this program a part of their activities while in Gallup.³¹

Chairman of the seminar was Helen Peterson, president of the National Congress of the American Indian, Washington, D.C.³²

In early August, it was announced that all plans for the seminar had been completed. A deviation from earlier plans involved making the seminar into a two day affair. This would include meetings on both the 12th and 13th at 1:30 p.m. Each meeting lasted about three hours.³³

The more seriously interested performers and spectators attended these sessions. Many white visitors for the first time heard Indian viewpoints on important matters.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., July 21, 1955

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 4, 1955

CHAPTER V

INCIDENTAL HISTORICAL ASPECTS of the 1955 CEREMONIALS

Gallup's Ceremonial is the oldest and best known of the All-Indian shows held in the United States. It is not, however, the only one. Other All-Indian shows and pageants of note are the All-Indian Pow Wow at Flagstaff Arizona in early July, the Festival in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and the Mescalero Apache Ceremonial in June. A brief description of these shows follows: Preceding the Gallup Ceremonials and taking place usually in June is the Mescalero Apache Ceremonial. In 1955 the Mescalero Apaches put on one of their best Ceremonials. While it did not receive the publicity that the Gallup show enjoyed, it nevertheless contained noteworthy aspects.

The Mescaleros started their 1955 Ceremonial show on a Friday morning late in June with the "Presentation of the Apache Maiden" ceremony. Iva Lee Enjady was the young Indian girl selected to initiate the ceremonies. Inside her ceremonial tepee, she performed tribal dances and underwent traditional rites that lasted the four days of the festival. These rites and festivities signaled her entrance into womanhood and eligibility for marriage. This is not because she was the only eligible maiden, but the celebration was an expensive one and not every Mescalero

family could afford to have their daughter so honored.¹ After these initiating events, the ceremonies ran through four days of traditional dances, rodeos, baseball games, and exhibits of Mescalero work. Twelve tribes attended as guests from New Mexico, Colorado, and Oklahoma.²

According to Wendell Chino, president of the Mescalero Business Committee, the "braves" performed the Eagle Dance, Hoop Dance, War Dance, Crown Dance, and several others.³

Baseball games were scheduled at 2:00 p.m. on Friday and Saturday. Teams from Artesia, Tularosa, and Alamagordo played the Mescalero team.⁴ The annual Mescalero Rodeo was held Sunday through Monday. "Red" Brown of El Paso was the rodeo announcer.⁵ A new feature to this show was the free exhibits which constituted visual information about the reservation's activities and occupations.⁶

It was at this pre-Gallup Ceremonial of 1955 that the important place of Kilmer Wilson, chief medicine man, who had recently died was taken by his grandson, Willito Antonio Wilson. Wilson had recently arrived home from Indian School in Albuquerque. He carried on the singing and chanting for the ceremonials that his grandfather had

¹Albuquerque Journal, Albuquerque, N. Mex., July 1, 1955

²Ibid.

³Alamagordo News, Alamagordo, N. Mex., June 28, 1955

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

taught him.⁷

Another ceremonial similar in nature but smaller in scope to the Gallup show is the All-Indian Pow Wow at Flagstaff, Arizona. In 1955, early in the month that preceded the Gallup Ceremonials, the Pow Wow was staged in its usual place at the base of the San Francisco Mountain. Thus, it is near the largest stand of ponderosa pine in the United States.⁸

The All-Indian Pow Wow presented street parades, afternoon rodeos, and nightly ceremonial dances illuminated by campfires. More than ten thousand visitors attended and mingled with the Indians in the Pow Wow grounds.

As at Gallup, rituals dating back two thousand years provided the main events at this 1955 show. Many tribes of the United States, (though not as many as at Gallup the following month) took part in the Flagstaff ceremonials which also presented a seminar, as does Gallup, on Indian life.

After the Gallup Ceremonials, there was presented the two hundred and forty-third annual Fiesta at Santa Fe, New Mexico. This included social, cultural, and historic aspects of the re-entry of Don Diego de Vargas into New Mexico. It took place, and continues to take place, in the fall of the year. It began with services at St. Francis Cathedral and the symbolic burning of Zozobra, old man gloom.⁹

The directors of the Ceremonial Association saw yet another

⁷ Albuquerque Journal, Albuq., N. Mex., July 1, 1955

⁸ Boston Sunday Herald, Boston, Mass., May 8, 1955

⁹ Albuquerque Journal, op.cit.

opportunity to get some publicity in the third annual All-Indian show at Sheridan, Wyoming. This affair took place August 6 through August 7. The Association enabled itself to get some of the publicity from the Sheridan affair when it was made known that part of the show would include the naming of a young Indian maiden as Miss American Indian III.¹⁰ Navajo silversmiths agreed to make a special gift for this maiden.¹¹ The Sheridan officials were advised that this special gift would be an elaborate squash blossom necklace.¹² The organizer of the Wyoming celebrations was Kalif Management Corporation.¹³ The sponsors were the Sheridan Shriners. The proceeds were to go to the Shriners Crippled Children charities.¹⁴

The necklace was to be presented at the same time that the winner of the title was announced. Other trophies would also be on hand. The most important of these were those used in the Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City, New Jersey.¹⁵ Miss Indian America would have to compete with other American girls at the Miss America Pageant later in the year.¹⁶

The Jemez Pueblo groups was in Sheridan for the purpose of presenting Southwestern Indian ceremonials. These ceremonials included the Rainbow, Buffalo, and Eagle Dances. The Jemez Indians also performed the corn

¹⁰Tucson, Arizona Citizen, Tucson, Ariz., March 25, 1955

¹¹Idaho Evening Post, Idaho Falls, Idaho, March 25, 1955

¹²Tucson, Arizona Citizen, Tucson, Ariz., March 25, 1955

¹³Sheridan, Wyoming Press, Sheridan Wyoming, March 23, 1955

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., June 19, 1955

grinding ceremony and gave a practical demonstration of pottery making in the exhibit hall. The activities of the Jemez Indians constituted an innovation to the Sheridan affair and unavoidably advertised their more customary place of performing dances--Gallup.¹⁷

By June 19, the necklace had been completed and was on its way to Sheridan where it would serve as a good-will gesture from the old and renowned Gallup Ceremonial to the three-year-old one at Sheridan, the All-Indian Days of the northern tribes. The necklace was worth one thousand dollars, was made of silver set and contained three hundred turquoise stones.¹⁸

Rita Ann McLaughlin of Fort Yates, North Dakota was the fortunate young Indian maiden to win the title and necklace. She was chosen from seventy-four contestants. She also won an all expense paid trip as a guest at Altantic City in September. Al Momaday of Albuquerque, New Mexico made the presentation.¹⁹ On hand to photograph the occasion was Jerry Hilton of Porterville, California. He photographed representatives of most of the forty tribes gathered in Sheridan.²⁰

The Ceremonial Association took great interest in these films and invited him to Gallup in order to view his film collection. It was felt good to know what the competition was doing.

Many services are performed by the Ceremonial Association for the

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Casper, Wyoming Star, Casper, Wyoming, June 28, 1955

¹⁹Albuquerque Journal, Albuquerque, N. Mex., Aug. 21, 1955

²⁰Porterville, California Recorder, Porterville, Calif., Aug. 1, 1955

Indians. Of course, its most conspicuous service involves providing the various Indian groups with an opportunity for the paid performance of their dances and games and bringing them together for that purpose. Occassionally, however, the Association takes the opportunity to benefit the welfare of the Indians in other ways. In the year 1955, the Ceremonial had such an opportunity.

The issue was the arid condition of the Navajo reservation and a proposed dam to provide irrigation for part of the dry Indian lands. In 1955, the Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association went on record as supporting the Upper Colorado River Project for the benefit of the Indians. In continuing its thirty-four years of supporting such Indian-oriented operations, the Association felt that this dam and irrigation project would greatly improve the condition and circumstances of at least some of the Navajos.²¹

It was felt by the Association that the Upper Colorado River Project would be necessary to Indian welfare because the Navajo reservation had become increasingly incapable of supporting the growing numbers of the tribe. This reservation, which looks almost deserted to the average traveler, had in the 1950's a population density of three persons per square mile. Yet, due to the fact that it has but three inches of rainfall a year and is drastically lacking in other resources, it is already overcrowded. The term "vanishing American," definitely cannot be applied to the Navajo which constitutes the largest tribe in the United States. By 1955, the reservation's population was approaching

²¹News clipping, (no date or place), (in the files of the Association)

seventy thousand, despite the fact that their life span was twenty years²² less than that of the white man.

In a resolution sent to New Mexico's congressional delegation, the Ceremonial Association stated that "the lack of irrigated lands is working a hardship on the Navajo Indians."²³ The Association felt that this hardship is an abrogation of the guarantee of tribal identity and welfare²⁴ specifically mentioned in an 1868 treaty with the Navajo.

The Association felt that construction of the Navajo Dam would provide approximately one-fifth of the seventy-five thousand Navajos with a living standard equal to non-Indian agriculturists.²⁵

Association action went even further than this. The Association sent thirty-six thousand brochures throughout the nation. These brochures summarized the condition of the reservation and the benefits that would accrue to the Navajos by construction of the dam. The brochures were mailed to hundreds of Chamber of Commerce offices, travel bureaus, and motor clubs across the country and vividly presented the theme that the Navajo was waging a bitter struggle against a relentless desert and was in need of popular support.²⁶

²²C. L. White, E. J. Foscue, T. L. McKnight, Regional Geography of Anglo-America, (3rd ed.; New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood, Cliffs, N.J., 1964), p. 346

²³Newspaper clipping, (no date or place), (in the files of the Association)

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Newspaper clipping, (no date or place), (in the files of the Association)

As a commendable civic gesture and, perhaps to acquire more public acceptance and publicity in the city of Gallup, the Ceremonial directors voted to present the city with the Lloyd Moylan paintings. These paintings were to be turned over to the Gallup Town Board who would supervise their placement in various rooms of the new city hall.²⁷

The paintings, acquired by the Ceremonial Association from the defunct WPA Art Project, were turned over to the Town Board by Ceremonial president Harry Dunbar, and were accepted by Mayor D. J. Mollica.²⁸ Twelve of the paintings, in oil, tempera, and water colors, were by Lloyd Moylan, an artist who later achieved a substantial reputation. The balance were by Jose Ray Toledo, Brooks Willis, John Jellicoe, and Harold West.²⁹ All the paintings were Indian and Southwestern in theme and mood.

²⁷Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., June 8, 1955

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

PUBLICITY for the 1955 CEREMONIALS

Publicity has played a large part in making the Ceremonial exposition the nationally known affair that it is today. Of course, the best publicity is that achieved through satisfied spectators that carry their impressions home with them and relay them to their friends. Word-of-mouth advertising is not, however, the only means by which the Ceremonial Association publicizes itself. A look at the advertising efforts in the 1955 Ceremonial will better illustrate this point.

Publicity has since the founding of the Ceremonial always been an important aspect in planning of each Ceremonial exposition. For the 1955 show, president Harry Dunbar announced that the promotion committee would be headed by Chairman William Hagberg and assisted by Howard Wilson and Frank Harshman.¹

In a summary of activities for the 1954 Ceremonial exposition, secretary-manager Edward Merry expressed the view that the Ceremonial Association should concentrate its emphasis on promotional activities and planning related to a twelve month a year ceremonial instead of

¹Newspaper clipping, (no date or place), (in the files of the Association)

merely focusing its entire attention on the four day annual August exposition.² The formal publicity was soon in progress with the Ceremonial show as the basic theme. Thus, the Ceremonial was featured in an eighteen minute long, sixteen millimeter sound Kodachrome motion picture. This film was entitled "Indian Ceremonials" and was produced by the Santa Fe Railway Company.³ A great number of presentations of this film were shown throughout the United States. The film "Indian Ceremonials" begins with several scenes showing arrival of tribesmen from areas throughout the United States. The film goes on to feature street parades, rodeo shots, and of course, many dances which are the main Ceremonial aspects experienced by the spectator.⁴

"Indian Ceremonials" was produced by Ernest Kleinberg as a companion film to his 1953 award winning film, "Arts and Crafts of the Southwest Indians."⁵ The Ceremonial Association estimated that had they produced a similar high quality film, it would have cost them a minimum of fifty thousand dollars.⁶

Copies of the 1954 Ceremonial magazine were packed as enclosures in many Christmas packages that citizens mailed out of Gallup in December of 1954. This practice was designed to do the double duty of not only

² Newspaper clipping, (no date or place), (in the files of the Association)

³ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., Dec. 15, 1954

⁴ Newspaper clipping, (no date or place), (in the files of the Association)

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., Dec. 15, 1954

pleasing the receipient, but also advertising the Ceremonial exposition.⁷

The Ceremonial Association received a needed boost when the state legislature decided in late 1954 to restore its appropriation sum to twenty-five thousand dollars. This sum had been reduced by approximately one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five dollars, but appeals from the Association and State Senator Guido Zecca of Gallup, resulted in restoration of the larger sum.⁸

Businessmen in Gallup assembled in the Avalon Cafe to discuss means to advertise their city. These businessmen were associated with tourist-like items and services such as merchandising of Indian goods, selling of gasoline, food, rest accommodations, and conducting of motor tours.⁹

Cognizant of the fact that the tourist spent an average of \$7.23 per day in Gallup in the mid 1950's, these interested businessmen decided on various gimmicks to induce the tourists to tarry longer in their city.¹⁰ Some of the ideas which were entertained and put into practice were rather clever. It was considered a good idea to offer limited Indian dances two and three times a week at one or more of the local motels and hotels. Another idea was to indoctrinate the local citizenry, especially such people likely to encounter tourists, as gasoline stations attendants,

⁷Newspaper clipping, (no name or place), (in the files of the Association)

⁸Newspaper clipping, Nov. 24, (no place), (in the files of the Association)

⁹Newspaper clipping, (no place or date), (in the files of the Association)

¹⁰Albuquerque Journal, Albuq., N. Mex., Feb. 10, 1955

and instruct them specifically to laud the value of visiting the many interesting sights in and around Gallup.

This businessmen's cabal came up with the idea to organize more extensive motor tours to induce the tourist to get off the paved roads. Secretary-manager Merry advised that all of Gallup's businessmen should "talk-up" the city's local events (like the Ceremonial exposition) and that posters, circulars, billboards, radio and newspaper advertising were means that could all be utilized to the financial benefit of both the Ceremonial Association and to the city of Gallup. Art Civelolo also indicated that brief experiment with Indian dances by a small company of performers under leadership of Chief Dearfoot, on a one-night per week basis at the El Navajo Hotel, had been productive in creating tourist interest.¹¹

The Ceremonial Association decided to use the idea of a "Booster Week" to get the people of Gallup into the proper frame of mind regarding the Ceremonial. It was a week's program of daily social events such as western dances and dinners to "kick-off" the Ceremonial show. The "Booster Week" program was coordinated by Bill Alexander, Merle Tucker, and E. W. Zimmerman.¹²

An important publicity advantage was achieved when the Association adopted a trademark that has since 1955 appeared on all Ceremonial correspondence and materials for publication. It consists of a picture of an Indian in dance attire and in a dance stance. The cut also emphasizes

¹¹Newspaper clipping, (no place or place), (in the files of the Association)

¹²Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., Feb. 10, 1955

Indian crafts. It was designed by a Santa Fe artist, Webb Young, Jr.¹³

In April of 1955, Ceremonial president Harry Dunbar pointed out that those Gallup businessmen who maintained postage meter machines in their establishments had been asked to place the Ceremonial design on them. He also pointed out that the Association had ordered ten thousand silver envelopes that were distributed on request.¹⁴

The Ceremonial Association in 1955 sought the services of an advertising agency for the first time. Employed was the Duke Kerstein Advertising Agency of Albuquerque to promote the Ceremonial. The Association sent films of Ceremonial highlights to several television stations. These films were shown on sixteen major stations throughout the country. Station KOB-TV in Albuquerque prepared a five minute black and white film as a public service. It was presented on that television station and more than a dozen others nation-wide.¹⁵

Thus, the Association placed a portion of its advertising in the hands of an agency. The Association paid \$1,300 for this service.¹⁶ The advertising budget of the Association called for expenditures of five thousand dollars for thirty thousand brochures, two thousand posters, TV advertising, and "other gimmicks."¹⁷ The thirty thousand brochures

¹³ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., Feb. 23, 1955

¹⁴ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., April 22, 1955

¹⁵ Newspaper clipping, (no date or place), (in the files of the Association)

¹⁶ Albuquerque Journal, Albuq., N. Mex., April 5, 1955

¹⁷ Ibid.

were printed by the Ward Anderson Printing Company of Albuquerque and were black and white. An innovation in the construction over past brochures was in their fold design. The brochure proofs arrived in the office of the Association in April.¹⁸

The Association contracted for publication of a magazine that would advertise the 1955 Ceremonial exposition. W. A. Krueger Company was the company chosen to do the printing. It was this company that had printed the 1954 Ceremonial magazine as well as the very colorful Arizona Highways.¹⁹

The 1955 Ceremonial magazine contained twelve full color plates and more than one hundred black and white pictures concerning Ceremonial subjects. Secretary-manager Merry served as editor of the magazine and sold sponsorship to finance publication. The 1955 Ceremonial magazine outsold the previous year's publication. Sales for the previous year had numbered fifteen thousand copies. The 1955 Ceremonial magazine went on sale July 21, 1955.²⁰

Early in 1955, the Ceremonial Association conceived a plan to publicize their show at the Mardi Gras festivities in New Orleans. This plan called for two young Gallup women, Peggy Bentley and Rosemary Mossa, to attend that celebration and to wear Indian and western clothing. They were to travel to New Orleans in a conspicuous yellow convertible which would have information concerning the 1955 Ceremonial written on

¹⁸ Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., April 21, 1955

¹⁹ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., July 20, 1955

²⁰ Ibid.

the sides of the automobile. The pair were to mingle with the Louisiana celebrants and while conspicuously attired in western clothing and jewelry, they were to pass out literature promoting the Gallup exposition.²¹ The two young girls were surprised to learn that ninty per cent of the p~~er~~sons they talked to had heard of neither the city of Gallup nor the Ceremonial exposition.

The Gallup show received some free publicity in the August issue of the Southern Union Times which is the house organ of the Southern Union Gas Company.²² This issue showed an Indian silversmith at work on a belt buckle, a picture of one of the Ceremonial dances, a Navajo rug weaver, a picture of the building that had recently been constructed to house the Gallup Area Office, and a street scene during a typical Ceremonial parade. The front cover showed a picture of Window Rock, Arizona.²³

As publicity for their show, the Ceremonial Association sent out to the major cities some press kits of information. The Association sent two hundred and eighty of these kits to the travel editors of major American newspapers, to all regional daily newspapers, and all newspapers near Indian reservations, as well as to editors of travel, youth, photographic, and educational magazines.²⁴ Further advertising was bestowed upon Gallup and their exposition in the March issue of Better Homes and Gardens magazine. This article pointed out quite correctly that Gallup is on Highway 66 but

²¹Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., Feb. 17, 1955

²²Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., July 28, 1955

²³Ibid.

²⁴Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., March 24, 1955

omitted to show Gallup on the strip-map that the article contained. This happened because the strip-map included two opposing pages of the magazine and Gallup was unfortunate enough to be on a longitude represented by the break between the two pages. Also, while the author correctly stated that the annual show in Gallup is no mere tourist come-on, he incorrectly said that, "From Albuquerque to Gallup, you see the roadside stands of Navajos peddling the pottery and woven rugs made in the Pueblos."²⁵

In the summer of 1955 the summer issue of The Turquoise, the state magazine for the organization, Business and Professional Women, used the new Ceremonial design on their front cover. This magazine had a distribution of more than a thousand subscribers and was edited by Hattie McCray of Ft. Wingate, New Mexico.²⁶ This was another step in the intensive 1955 publicity campaign being developed by the Ceremonial Association to bring the Gallup exposition to the attention of more and more potential visitors to the "Indian Capital" that year.

The Santa Fe Railway Company, to increase its profits, did some advertising that also accrued to the benefit of the Ceremonial Association. In the advertising done by the Santa Fe Railway Company, they emphasized the fact that Gallup, Flagstaff, and Santa Fe were Indian centers and that attendance (by way of train of course) would be most entertaining to the public. They stated that despite the return to antiquity during ceremonial periods, all these places were served by modern rail facilities. They stated that while Santa Fe was not on their direct route, there was,

²⁵ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., March 28, 1955

²⁶ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., April 22, 1955

however, a cut-off at Lamy, New Mexico that carried visitors the eighteen miles to Santa Fe in a special Indian detour coach.²⁷

In order to enlist participation of other nearby cities, the Association developed the plan of encouraging them to publicize the Gallup event. The Association stated that such activities would benefit all nearby cities because more tourist traffic would pass through those cities on its way to the Ceremonial exposition. Accordingly, Gallup agreed to reciprocate by mentioning important events in nearby cities that might be of interest to the tourist. These participating cities were to encourage their citizens to include in their personal correspondence, information concerning the general nature of the Ceremonials, dates of the Ceremonial show, and comments about Indians of the Southwest.²⁸

Gallup cooperated with the city of Flagstaff, Arizona in expounding the cultural benefits of the All-Indian Pow Wow presented near that city and with the city of Prescott, Arizona by advertising the Smoki Dances. These shows were in July and June, respectively, and presented no conflict with the Gallup exposition.²⁹ In addition, such a cooperative enterprise would benefit the entire Southwest. The Ceremonial directors also considered the advertising of the Window Rock Fair.³⁰

Directors of the Ceremonial Association decided to enhance the appeal of their office building--the Ceremonial Hogan, located on

²⁷Boston Sunday Herald, Boston, Mass., May 8, 1955

²⁸Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., May 12, 1955

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

Highway 66 in Gallup. They painted this structure in "tourist colors" of red and silver on the log corners and silver on the roof.

Still obsessed with the need to attract as many visitors as possible, the Association distributed windshield stickers to all who wanted them or who could present them to passing tourists.³¹ The directors also thought it would be a fine idea to erect an eight by sixteen foot scotch-light sign in front of the airport building west of town.³² Soon this sign was effectively distracting passing tourists and calling attention to the city's Indian exposition.

The Ceremonial Association knew that one of the more admirable places to concentrate their publicity campaign would be at large gatherings of people. Accordingly, they sent three thousand of their thirty-six thousand brochures to the New Mexico booth at the Hotel Sherman in Chicago, Illinois. These brochures were dutifully distributed by that booth to all interested persons on hand to attend the International Rotarians meeting late in May.³³ Copies of the brochures were also sent to Tom Bolack, head of the "Agualantes," a group fighting for water to irrigate Navajo lands in Washington D.C.³⁴

In May and June, there appeared respectively in the Journal American of New York City and the Rocky Mount, North Carolina Telegram, an item that made an increasing number of potential visitors aware of

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., May 19, 1955

³⁴ Ibid.

the Ceremonial. This item was a "Fun Map of America." This was an outline map of the United States which indicated the most interesting events to attend in each of the states. For New Mexico was listed the Inter-Tribal Ceremonials at Gallup and a rodeo in Santa Fe.

In early June, Ceremonial president Harry Dunbar publicly sought to enlist general support of the local citizenry. He asked the citizens to "help us to fire the load of publicity ammunition that we have on hand for this year's Ceremonial."³⁵ By this statement, Dunbar meant that services of volunteers would be greatly appreciated in distribution of brochures, windshield stickers, and posters. He also was referring to the great benefits to be derived through the local citizenry distributing these promotional items in such places as restaurants, hotels, and curio shops. President Dunbar especially desired that these businessmen promptly renew their supply of these items just as soon as they had distributed their entire stock.³⁶ President Dunbar requested that Gallup citizens permit the Association to send brochures to their relatives and friends throughout the United States. Such action might induce these people to visit Gallup during the Ceremonial period.³⁷

When the month of July began to wane, the Ceremonial Association began to accelerate its activities in anticipation of the crowds that would begin to arrive in early August. The usual flurry of activity could be noted in Gallup. Banners and flags were erected up and down

³⁵ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., June 2, 1955

³⁶ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., June 2, 1955

³⁷ Ibid.

the streets and placed in such a manner as to leave the tourist in no doubt to where he would find the Ceremonial grounds. The Ceremonial staff was increased to respond to all the requests for tickets and information--a reflection of the success of the extensive publicity program that had been so vigorously waged since installation of Harry Dunbar as Ceremonial president.

While the publicity operation of the Association had been intensive and varied, another source of support came in the month just preceding the show. This was the appearance in the July issue of the New Mexico Magazine of three large color plates which brilliantly illustrated the Ceremonial exposition.³⁸

During the week preceding the Ceremonials' "Booster Week," which had been planned in February, was put in motion. The carefully staged dances, dinners, and other social functions were now to condition the Gallup hosts and to induce them to treat the visitors (hopefully already conditioned) in as friendly a manner as possible. "Each person was to be a committee of one," said secretary-manager Edward Merry. It was hoped that all businessmen would wear their "Ask Me" buttons. These buttons invited any visitor to ask questions about Gallup, whereupon the businessman would promptly respond with a spiel regarding the Ceremonial and the need for the curious tourist to "stay over" to witness the affair.

By promotional schemes as the ones cited above, the Ceremonial did induce numerous tourists to "stay over." Attendance at the 1955

³⁸ Albuquerque Tribune, Albuq., N. Mex., June 27, 1955

Ceremonial was twenty per cent greater than that of the previous year.³⁹

³⁹The New Mexican, Santa Fe, N. Mex., Aug. 14, 1955

CHAPTER VII

SPECIAL VISITORS at the 1955 CEREMONIALS

The Ceremonial exposition has not usually enjoyed the presence of well-known persons. Yearly, however, the Association sends out formal invitations to such men as senators and other high government officials. Usually, the Association just gets an equally formal refusal based on some conflict of plans.

In 1955, the situation was vastly different. Two important government officials were on hand for at least one day of the performances. These two famous personalities were Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay and Indian Commissioner Glen Emmons. In an announcement made by Glen Emmons in Washington D.C., the Gallup directors were advised that Secretary McKay would attend the last night's performance--that of Sunday, August 14.¹

Glen Emmons further informed the Ceremonial directors that both he and Secretary McKay would arrive by a circuitous route. McKay would first attend a speaking engagement in his home state of Oregon while

¹Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., June 2, 1955

Emmons would first go to Alaska late in April.²

On July 21, McKay and his wife arrived by plane at Gallup. Emmons, who owned the First State Bank in Gallup, had arrived earlier. It was Emmons who acted as official host to Secretary McKay during McKay's stay in the city. Among those meeting the plane was W. W. Head, the Gallup Area Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.³

On the last night of the performances, McKay spoke to all those assembled on the Ceremonial grounds. In the address, the Secretary stressed three primary points that were of considerable importance to the tribesmen.⁴ These problems were (and are) land, health, and education. Flanked by Indian Commissioner Glen Emmons, the first cabinet member ever to attend the Ceremonials, reviewed what the government had in mind for its tribal charges.⁵

Douglas McKay promised the assembled inter-tribal congregations of Navajos (who always constitute the majority of Indians at any Ceremonial), Cheyennes, Yakimas, Arapahoes, Comanches, Seminoles, Kiowas, Fox, Sac, Apaches, and representatives of the Pueblos in New Mexico and Arizona; that the American government had no intention of liquidating all tribal lands.⁶

McKay told the tribesman that they must cut federal ties. "Our

²Ibid.

³Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., July 21, 1955

⁴Butte, Montana Post, Butte, Mont., Aug. 15, 1955

⁵Havre, Montana News, Havre, Mont., Aug. 15, 1955

⁶Ibid.

long-range goal must be to work toward the elimination of this trust relationship and towards the day of full independence for all citizens of Indian descent," he said.⁷

Referring to Indian health he said, "The Public Health Services appropriation for Indian health this year is almost ten million dollars more than was available for this program last year."⁸

Regarding Indian education, McKay said, "The Navajo school enrollment has been increased about sixty per cent. It now totals twenty-three thousand students. And by Christmas, school facilities will be available for every youngster in the Navajo tribe."⁹

After these remarks, Secretary McKay left the grounds and eventually, Gallup. He took with him a beautiful Navajo woven blanket presented to him as a gift. He also received a silver box for his office desk. His wife received a necklace. These gifts were presented by Paul Jones.¹⁰

The Ceremonial was also privileged in having Governor John F. Simms. He spent only one day in attendance at the Ceremonials. It was unofficially reported that former governor Ed Mecham would also attend.¹¹ Another governor present was Alex Wesley, governor of the Yakima Indians of Washington.¹²

Foreign visitors are a regular occurrence at Gallup. Each year a

⁷ Phoenix, Arizona Republic, Phoenix, Ariz., Aug. 15, 1955

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 15, 1955

¹¹ Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 4, 1955

¹² Las Cruces Sunday News, Las Cruces, N. Mex., Aug. 11, 1955

few visitors of this type show up for the Ceremonials. In 1955, also, this held true.

The ambassador from South Africa to the United States stopped over at Gallup to enjoy the show. This visitor was Halloway. He was accompanied by his wife. They both reported they were greatly impressed with the variety and excellence of the Ceremonials.¹³

Present at that year's Ceremonial was an unusual group of "Indians." This was the group known as the Koshares--an Explorer Boy Scout group. This Boy Scout unit consisted of white youths who performed Indian dances throughout the nation. The organization was originated by J. F. (Buck) Burshears. T. T. Rowe accompanied the twenty boys to the Ceremonial.¹⁴

Another group of boys were present. This was a group of Boy's Ranch youths who were returning from Hollywood on the way to their home near Amarillo, Texas. But, the two hundred boys stopped in Gallup for only ten minutes. The Santa Fe Railway Company had provided a special train for their journey.¹⁵

Texas Tech. art, music, and education students climaxed their summer term by attending the Ceremonial.¹⁶

One visitor arrived at the Ceremonials by rather unusual means. The circumstances involved provided considerable publicity for the Ceremonial. This unusual episode concerned a senior art and biology

¹³Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 18, 1955

¹⁴Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 25, 1955

¹⁵Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., July 28, 1955

¹⁶La Mesa, Texas Reporter, La Mesa, Texas, Aug. 11, 1955

student who was bicycling from New York to the West Coast. His name was Emanuel Ledecy-Janecek. At the various cities he passed as he pumped his way westward, he told reporters that his primary goal was to reach Gallup in time for the Ceremonials.¹⁷

Many less distinguished and less heralded people arrived for the Ceremonials. For instance, Fred (Neckyoke) Sinclair brought the best wishes of the All-American-Indian Days exposition at Sheridan, Wyoming to Gallup.¹⁸

Of course, the average visitor considered his presence important also. He also must have felt a compulsion to express his impressions concerning the Ceremonial show. Accordingly, for months afterwards, comments from tourists flowed into the Ceremonial Hogan. These tourist remarks were tremendously laudatory.

All that was laudatory was also photographed. While there were thousands of cameras in operation during the Ceremonials, perhaps the most professional were the representatives of Walt Disney. Disney, always sensitive to any colorful pageant, had assigned E. K. Edwards to spend three days capturing visual reminders of the exposition.¹⁹

Thus, the essence of the 1955 Ceremonials was witnessed by many who had not bothered to attend them. For these shots of the Ceremonial parades, dancing shows, and general Ceremonial highlights were used by Disney Studios in three motion pictures and on a television program

¹⁷ Albuquerque Journal, Albuq., N. Mex., Aug. 11, 1955

¹⁸ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 15, 1955

¹⁹ Gallup Times, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 11, 1955

which originated in Hollywood, California.²⁰

²⁰Ibid.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CEREMONIAL-COUNCIL AFFAIR

Arrangements for the 1954 Ceremonial at Gallup, New Mexico were seriously threatened when the Pueblos of that state let it be known that they might refuse to allow their dancers to participate. This threatened boycott was the result of the All-Pueblo Council's unsuccessful attempt in obtaining an annual grant of two thousand dollars from the Ceremonial Association.¹

The boycott was averted. Pueblo discontent continued and even today the Pueblo Indian has less enthusiasm concerning this spectacle of Americana than most Indian groups.

A last minute agreement between the Ceremonial Association and the All-Pueblo Council was necessary. Negotiations were delicate as the Pueblos had already made news releases to the press and many exaggerated rumors were about. The final meeting at Santo Domingo Pueblo, on the Rio Grande, had as an additional goal the "ironing out" of a

¹Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonials, Summary of Operations - 1954 Ceremonial, Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

number of Pueblo grievances.² Problems the Pueblos voiced were better pay for Indians, protection of their civil rights in Gallup, insurance for Indian performers enroute to and from the Ceremonials.

The opening issue of what was to be an off-on engagement encompassing approximately a year, came when M. L. Woodard, President of the Gallup Ceremonial Board, received a letter in Gallup. The communique informed the Board that at a meeting held in Santo Domingo on March 13, 1954, a special committee had been formed and was composed of the following: John C. Rainer, Taos Pueblo; Joe S. Sando, Jemez Pueblo; and Roland Duran, San Lorenzo Pueblo.³

The message that the Board received gave only a slight indication of the threats to come; but, that a suggestion of retaliation for non-adherence to their not as yet known demands, could be seen between the lines. The Council stated, "The purpose of this committee is to discuss with you and the members of the Gallup Ceremonial Board, the various concerns as regarding the interests of the Pueblos, many of whom participate at the annual Inter-Tribal Ceremonials."⁴

The Council then went on to inform recipients of this letter that this committee was authorized to speak on behalf of the Pueblo Governors and that they wished a meeting to enable them to do so. Would the Board

²Letter from Charles E. Minton, Executive Secretary, New Mexico Association of Indian Affairs, Inc., Santa Fe, N. Mex., August 2, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

³Letter from Martin Vigil, Chairman, All-Pueblo Council, Santo Domingo Pueblo, Pena Blanca, N. Mex., April 3, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

⁴Ibid.

be kind enough to inform John Rainer, Chairman of the Committee, when such a meeting could take place?⁵

Edward S. Merry, secretary-manager of the Ceremonial Board, replied promptly to the April 3rd letter and on April 5th, had a letter off to John Rainer, which stated that they "would be happy to meet with the special committee to discuss problems of mutual interest at any time these problems arise."⁶ Not feeling that time was essential, the secretary-manager stated that a meeting could take place "at any time we have an agenda for discussion, we shall be happy to set a specific date."⁷

The Ceremonial Association thanked the Pueblos for their interest in Ceremonial affairs, not yet knowing that the Pueblos sought to obtain from the Gallup Ceremonial Association funds for their own financial interests.

John Rainer, writing from Towaoc, Colorado, replied that a meeting was desired, but gave no information as to the specifics to be discussed; nor gave any clue as to any Pueblo discontent or the nature of the unusual meeting. He only requested a meeting in the very near future to voice their complaints. The Pueblos hoped that the meeting would be held on a week-end.⁸

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Letter from Edward S. Merry, Secretary-Manager, Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial Association, Gallup, N. Mex., April 5, 1954 (in the files of the Association)

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Letter from John C. Rainer, Chairman, Special Committee of the All-Pueblo Council, April 10, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

Edward Merry so informed the Ceremonial Board of Directors at their regular meeting held on April 21. A week-end date was to be set at the earliest opportunity.⁹

Early the following month, on May 4, the Council was told that, on the coming Sunday, May 9, the Council could be their guests for lunch, after which the group could "discuss matters of mutual interest."¹⁰

Judge William C. Alexander was invited to the meeting on May 7, when it became known that the Pueblos had accepted. This was for the purpose of the Association having a full delegation for the meeting.¹¹

The proposed meeting came about on May 9, the day appointed. John Rainer, chairman of the Special committee, headed the Pueblo delegation. In his capacity, he proceeded to put forth demands buttressed by implied threats. Rainer explained that he headed a special committee whose sole purpose it was to negotiate with the Association. His presentation was as follows: The Pueblos, he said, were faced with numerous problems and difficulties to oppose various legislation adversely affecting them. They had little land and a poor economy to provide the funds to battle this legislation. The organized Pueblos were willing to fight to retain their cultures and tribal identities, which the new legislation apparently threatened. The nineteen Pueblos in New Mexico were determined to fight and the All-Pueblo Council was to be the warring agency. But sadly the

⁹Letter from Edward S. Merry, April 23, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

¹⁰Letter from Edward S. Merry, May 4, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

¹¹Letter from Edward S. Merry, May 7, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

lack of funds prevented the crossing of swords. A forty thousand dollar annual budget wasn't enough. Two thousand dollars more would mobilize their energies. Would the Council agree to grant that amount annually?¹² At this point, John Rainer let it be known that Pueblo participation in the dances was vital to the success of the Gallup Ceremonial Association. The Committee made the inference that the Ceremonial could hardly stand the loss of their participation. While the Gallup Ceremonials did not always make a profit, surely the businessmen of Gallup wouldn't risk the implied catastrophe that non-participation by the Pueblos would cause. Churches and the New Mexico Association of Indian Affairs, it seemed, did not provide enough money for an "annual operating budget for a well-rounded all-year program."¹³

There seemed to have been no indication of yielding in any way to Indian demands. Woodard told the group that any profit is turned back into improvement on their physical plant and grounds. Besides, their status as a state agency would preclude any such grant. Anyway, Congressional bills had varying effects on the different tribes and all the tribes did not have the same interest in legislation. At this point, Rainer had to admit his disinterest in the Navajo Tribal Council.¹⁴

Not giving the Pueblos much encouragement, Merry said that it would

¹² Minutes of special meeting, Ceremonial Hogan, May 9, 1954, 1:30 p.m., (in the files of the Association)

¹³ Minutes of Special Conference Meeting, May 9, 1954, Special Committee of the All-Pueblo Council meeting with the Ceremonial Association, Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

¹⁴ Ibid.

be difficult to establish a precedent and have to deny other requests by equally deserving tribes who also participated in Gallup's August Ceremonials. The Board would consider their proposal at the next meeting.

Rainer and his party then left the meeting. After their departure, discussion by the Ceremonial Association was brought up about the unpleasant awareness that, although Rainer did not absolutely state the alternative, the implication was clear in his words and in his presentation of his proposal that the Council would use its efforts to keep Pueblo dancers from attending their Ceremonials in case of refusal of their request for annual funds.

The next regular meeting was to operate under a threat of crippling importance. When the Board convened, they had a precarious situation to improve. Were they to yield to the implied threat and appease the Pueblo demands and postpone trouble with the other equally deserving Indians or were they to risk a boycott that might last for decades and destroy the famous spectacle in its wake? The May 12th meeting deferred the decision.¹⁵

In a confused message, which showed some distraction of thought, Merry told John Rainer that fuller discussion of the Board was necessary as half the membership at the past meeting had been absent.¹⁶ Rainer became impatient and by May 28, posted an inquiry (this time on stationary showing a Ute affiliation) as to the results of the late meeting with greater representation. "In any event," he said, "we should settle the

¹⁵ Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial, May 12, 1954, 7:00 p.m. (in the files of the Association)

¹⁶ Letter from Edward S. Merry, May 18, 1954, (copy), (in the files of the Association)

question by the end of next month."¹⁷ Next month was July, which as the Pueblos knew was precariously near the month of August, when their presence would be indispensable at the Gallup Ceremonials or so they presumed.

But the Board apparently weren't so intimidated as Rainer thought. Merry informed Rainer that he would let him know the results of the meeting scheduled for June 9. Apparently in a war of nerves, Merry succinctly penned that; "I expect a decision will be made on the proposal of your special committee."¹⁸

With the possible intent of yielding to Pueblo demands, but more likely to give the Ceremonial Association a firmer basis of argument, Merry requested from S. J. Arnold & Co., Certified Public Accountants of the Gallup office, their opinion as regards an annual contribution to the Pueblos in the amount of two thousand dollars. The decision of this accountant was that he could not comprehend the Ceremonial's request as such an annual grant to the Pueblos was completely beyond the scope of the Ceremonials. They did not see how it could be justified, either legally or morally.¹⁹ This accounting office elaborated further: The Ceremonial organization could not afford such an expenditure. In addition, the show would be placed in jeopardy, both from the standpoint of future appropriations from the state of New Mexico and because of the obvious illegality

¹⁷Letter from John C. Rainer, May 28, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

¹⁸Letter from Edward S. Merry, June 4, 1954, (copy), (in the files of the Association)

¹⁹Letter from S. J. Arnold, S. J. Arnold & Co., Certified Public Accountants, Gallup office, Gallup, N. Mex., June 8, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

of such an expenditure. Also, the local citizenry, who after all, are the ones who have to support the show, would not stand for such a violation of managerial duties.²⁰

With this endorsement, the Ceremonial Board of Directors was moved to inform John C. Rainer of their following decisions for these enumerated reasons:

1. Operations of the Ceremonial can never assure that this amount would be available. The Ceremonial considers itself fortunate if it breaks even each year and it has been faced in recent years with mounting expenses to maintain an exposition that will continue to bring invaluable financial and cultural benefits to the Indian people in the perpetuation of their historic customs and promotion of their native crafts.
2. The nature of the Ceremonial Association as a state agency because of its annual grant from the state of New Mexico forbids it to allocate Ceremonial money for non-ceremonial uses.
3. The wide participation by other tribes in the Ceremonials, i.e., Navajoes, Apaches, Hopis, Sioux, and Oklahoma tribes, would place the Ceremonial Association in an impossible position if other Indian groups should take advantage of any precedent so established by a grant to the Pueblo Group.²¹

The die was cast. Was this a bluff on the part of the Indians or would the Pueblos follow through with their threat to boycott the Ceremonials at Gallup? The Ceremonial Board of Directors would wait and see. Presently acknowledgement came of receipt by the All-Pueblo Council of the Board's decision.²² There followed a silence of several weeks on the part of the

²⁰ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., June 9, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

²¹ Letter from Edward S. Merry, June 18, 1954, (copy), (in the files of the Association)

²² Letter from John C. Rainer, June 25, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

Pueblos. The Board was not officially notified of the reaction of the Pueblos to the decision reached by the Ceremonial Association. There, was, however, a resolution passed by the All-Pueblo Council, which read as follows:

WHEREAS, the All-Pueblo Council represents and speaks on behalf of some 18,000 Pueblo Indians in New Mexico, and

WHEREAS, Mr. John C. Rainer, Chairman of a special committee of this organization has made a report relative to the contacts with the members of the Gallup Ceremonial Board, and

WHEREAS, the Gallup Ceremonial Board has not seen fit to assist the All-Pueblo Council in its urgent request for help, and

WHEREAS, there exists a serious need of assistance by the Pueblo Indians in their effort to fight and protect their interests, and

WHEREAS, there exists a serious Law and Order problem involving disregard of the Civil and other rights of the Indians in the Town of Gallup, and the Indians are insisting upon correction of these iniquities, and

WHEREAS, the Indians and other participants to the Annual Gallup Ceremonials are affected by these conditions,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the committee report is unanimously accepted and the delegates to this Council do hereby pledge full support and cooperation of the committee in its effort to work on behalf of the Council and its people,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that Governors present at this Council unanimously pledge to withhold the dancers from the Ceremonials until conditions are met in accordance with the presentations made to the Board by the committee,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the committee is hereby authorized to ask the cooperation of the other non-pueblo tribal participants in the effort of this Council, and that non-

participation will continue until such time when the Indians shall have attained the purpose for which this committee was created.

The foregoing resolution was duly adopted unanimously this 10th day of July, 1954.²³

The Ceremonial Association never received official notification regarding the resolutions reached by the All-Pueblo Council in its meeting of July 10, 1954. However, bits of information began to reach members of the Board of Directors of the Ceremonial Association. Essence of this information was that relations between the Pueblos and themselves had reached a stalemate. There was not, however, any mention of the desired annual grant of two thousand dollars, which the Association understood to be the cause of Pueblo disenchantment. What they did hear, from numerous sources, was that the impasse was caused by the failure of the Ceremonial Association to give more money to Pueblo dancers. It seemed to the members of the Ceremonial Association that the Special Committee of the All-Pueblo Council was misinforming the general Pueblo population as to the true causes of conflict. The Council appeared to be using the Pueblo dancers as a tool in forcing compliance to their demands. In any event, they were using the dancers to gain revenge for their lack of success in intimidating the Ceremonial Association.

The action next taken by the Association, now pressed for time, was to begin a campaign of informing the general Pueblo population regarding the betrayal of them on the part of their Council. They further sought

²³Meeting of Special Committee of the All-Pueblo Council, Santo Domingo Pueblo, N. Mex., July 10, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

to entice the Pueblos into participation by telling them of the fifteen thousand dollars that the Association had expended in construction of a new Indian performer eating hall.²⁴

It was early in July when the Board of Directors assembled in Gallup to discuss the situation that confronted them. The group had sent out dance contracts to the usual Pueblos participating in the annual events in Gallup.²⁵ One member, Woodard, reported that harm to this 1954 program seemed substantial, but hopefully, the Pueblos would respond to their contract. The Association was hopeful that the new information given the average Indian participant would dissuade him from adhering to the dictates of his Council. Merry reported that the program for 1954 was taking form and substance as regarded some Indian groups as some dance contracts had been received from the Apache, Cheyenne, Taos, and Jemez tribes. Contracts from the Zuni Band, which were to provide musical entertainment at the August Ceremonials were still pending.²⁶ Howard Wilson, who usually played a substantial part in making the Gallup Ceremonials a success, was of the opinion that the unreasonable attitudes of the All-Pueblo Council would not prevent a sufficient program from taking place and that their non-participation would not seriously impede

²⁴Statement by the Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, Gallup, N. Mex., relative to a request made by the All-Pueblo Council, (no date), (in the files of the Association)

²⁵Meeting of Board of Directors of Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonials in Gallup, July 7, 1954, 7:30 p.m., (in the files of the Association)

²⁶Contract files, Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonials, Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

presentation of a good show.²⁷

The Board reviewed the steps that had brought them to their present situation regarding their Pueblo relations. Woodard agreed that Pueblo non-participation would do substantial damage but that, if necessary, substitutions could be made by hiring other Indian groups. This action would limit the 1954 program as far as utilization of Pueblo skills were concerned and probably prove more costly as regards the lateness of the date.²⁸

The Ceremonial Association thought that perhaps the Council was not aware of their legal inability to comply with desires of the Council. It was therefore suggested to send the statement of the Gallup accountant, Sam Arnold, to the Council and to Rainer and the other Pueblo Governors.²⁹ In an effort to prove their inability to respond to the Pueblo demands a copy of Arnold's report was likewise sent to the chairman of the All-Pueblo Council, Martin Vigil.³⁰

By July 14, the Board had received nothing official from the All-Pueblo Council. The Council was maintaining silence in what appears to have been a childish reaction to their lack of success. It appears that the Council was sinking into a stoic defiance to what they undoubtedly considered an injustice.

²⁷The Gallup Independent, July 8, 1954, p.2

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Letter from Edward S. Merry, Secretary-Manager, Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonials, Gallup, N. Mex., July 12, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

³⁰The Gallup Independent, July 16, 1954

The Gallup Board was undecided as to what their next step should be. The mute official organ of the Pueblos, the Pueblo Council, gave no clues or indications as to what solution there could be for remedying their strained relationship. Should the Board remain inactive and undecided and hope for Pueblo acquiescence or should they proceed, acknowledging the necessity to substitute other Indian groups for the Pueblos that might now remain forever outside the Gallup show? To exclude the Pueblos once, in light of the present situation, might be to exclude them forever from the show. This would have the effect of denying both the Association and the public of their valued skills as performers. The members agreed to withhold their decisions on the matter until Howard Wilson could be consulted and until he could personally discuss the matter with the Indian participants themselves.³¹

Before the next Board of Directors meeting that was held on July 21, Woodard had an opportunity to talk to Charles Minton, Secretary of the New Mexico Association of Indian Affairs.³² It was through this source that it was learned for a certainty that the Council had officially adopted resolutions to boycott the Gallup Ceremonials.³³ Minton further informed Woodard that this action of the Pueblos was due to many grievances which seemed to not involve the question of the two thousand dollar annual grant. These resolutions had been passed two or three weeks before

³¹The Rio Grande Sun, Espanola, N. Mex., July 14, 1954

³²Meeting of Board of Directors, Gallup, N. Mex., July 21, 1954, 7:30 p.m., (in the files of the Association)

³³Tucson Sun, Tucson, Ariz., July 12, 1954

and that Rainer was to notify the Association to that effect.³⁴ This, of course, he never did. Minton felt that Rainer had been the wrong man to handle the request and suggested that the merchants of Gallup contribute five hundred dollars to the All-Pueblo Council.³⁵

Some Pueblo individuals were apparently taking the boycott decision of the All-Pueblo Council very seriously. María Martínez, famous potter of San Ildefonso, consulted a Santa Fe attorney concerning her contract. Attorney-at-law, Henry Hughes, advised María to sign the contract.³⁶

Howard Wilson made a trip through the land of the Pueblos to confront personally the Pueblos and to inform them of the true nature of difficulties existing between their Council and the Gallup Ceremonial Association. He wanted particularly to expose the individual Pueblo performer to the truth regarding the Council's request for the annual two thousand dollar grant. It did not seem to be general knowledge among the Pueblos that the actual reason the Council denied them participation in the Ceremonials was because the Council's demands for a yearly two thousand dollar grant had been denied.³⁷ Wilson was not attempting to apply any pressure, but simply to determine the feelings of the Pueblos. As he went to the various Pueblos, he simply left the usual contracts after informing the Indians

³⁴ Letter from Charles E. Minton, Executive Secretary, New Mexico Association of Indian Affairs, Santa Fe, N. Mex., July 20, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

³⁵ Letter from Edward S. Merry, Gallup, N. Mex., July 22, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

³⁶ Letter from Henry Hughes, attorney-at-law, Santa Fe, N. Mex., July 14, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

³⁷ Letter from Howard Wilson, Gallup, N. Mex., July 23, 1954 (in the files of the Association)

as to the true state of affairs. These contracts were left with a take it or leave it attitude.

Wilson experienced some difficulty at Santa Ana when he confronted Valentino Montoya who told him that his Governor would first have to sign the contract. Wilson's discussion with Montoya disclosed the general lack of knowledge in the Pueblos regarding the true nature of the rift between Council and Ceremonial Association. Montoya's opinion of the conflict was that it was due to the Association's refusal to give more money to the individual Pueblo dancer. A fact was also brought to light that the All-Pueblo Council owed a lawyer fourteen thousand dollars.³⁸

Contracts were left at Laguna without incident.³⁹ At Jemez, a certain Christine told Wilson of an argument between the Indians and their Governor concerning their desire to participate in the Ceremonials. The Jemez Governor had refused them because of the decisions of the All-Pueblo Council.⁴⁰ Dance leaders were also contacted at Santa Clara and Taos where contracts were left.⁴¹

Wilson's revelations to the Pueblos came as a shock to most of them. They had been completely misinformed by their Council who seemingly had used them as a tool in order to gain their own ends. Wilson visited

³⁸Santa Rosa News, Santa Rosa, N. Mex., Aug. 3, 1954

³⁹Letter from Howard Wilson, Show Director of the Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonials, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 5, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

⁴⁰Arizona Daily Star, Tucson, Ariz., July 30, 1954

⁴¹Letter from Howard Wilson, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 1, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

Maria Martinez of San Ildefonso as well as other performers of San Juan and left contracts. These contracts were returned with the signed signatures of the performers.⁴²

Woodard was not idle in raising support for the Ceremonials and its cause. He sent several letters to various persons interested in the situation and explained to them the position that the Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association had been forced to take.⁴³ At least one replied that he would check with Rainer and see if their problems could be resolved.⁴⁴

Many Board members felt that the Association was at last making some headway through the current policy of dealing directly with the concerned Pueblo participants. Wilson was of the opinion that this was the best approach to the problem, in-as-much as the Pueblo Governors do not have much authority unless they have the backing of tenientes. Leo Quetowtki, ex-Lt. Governor of Zuni, had promised to bring their child dancers and that he expected the major Zuni dancing group and olla maidens to be participants as well.⁴⁵

July 28th brought another Board meeting. Prior to this, Rainer had been releasing to the press what was considered by the Board to be

⁴² Aztec Independent Review, Aztec, N. Mex., July 28, 1954

⁴³ Letter from Glen Emmons, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., Aug. 3, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Letter from Leo Quetowtke, ex-Lt. Governor of Zuni, Zuni, N. Mex., Aug. 6, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

misleading publicity.⁴⁶ The Council was probably attempting to strengthen its position by developing favorable public sentiment. By this time, the Association already had seven Pueblo dance groups under contract and considered itself in pretty good shape for 1954 program. The Zunis proclaimed that they would dance because they were conscious of Ceremonial benefits.⁴⁷

The Association, however, did not want to let any hard feelings continue between them and the All-Pueblo Council. It was finally arranged for the two groups to meet at Santo Domingo before an all out press war developed. Information released, thus far, was not considered by the Board as truly representing the situation. The Pueblo Governors, not completely in sympathy with the actions of their Council, were glad that the Association had restrained themselves from replying in kind to attacks of the Council.⁴⁸

The Council had even less support from the average Pueblo Indian. In a letter from Jemez Pueblo, dated July 26, an Indian acknowledged the worth of the Ceremonials to all participating Indians and confirmed that the Jemez Indians would be on hand next month as usual to take part in the show.⁴⁹

In order to bring about a reconciliation with the Council, the Board members felt obliged to treat the Indian delegates very delicately.

⁴⁶ Meeting of the Board of Directors, Gallup, N. Mex., July 28, 1954, 7:30 p.m., (in the files of the Association)

⁴⁷ Letter from Edward S. Merry, Gallup, N. Mex., July 29, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

⁴⁸ Letter from Woodard, President of the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial Association, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 8, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

⁴⁹ Letter from Bristine Panama, Jemez Pueblo, July 26, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

It was clear by this time to the Council members that they were not going to be successful in gaining their more ambitious objectives. The passing months had no doubt given them the realization that it would be more prudent to abandon their desires for monetary gain and to limit themselves to objectives that would benefit the average Pueblo participant. The Council was willing to concur with the Association in establishing the following as desirable objectives towards which both groups would work:

1. Increased salary for the dancers participating in the Inter-Tribal Ceremonials;
2. Increased food allowances for the dancers to and from Gallup;
3. That liability insurance to compensate participants and the dancers in case of accident, damage and loss to persons and property be provided;
4. That every possible effort be made to provide adequate police protection and to insure law and order and the protection of civil rights for the Indian people;
5. That all contracts in connection with participants in the Ceremonials be mailed to the Governors of each Pueblo and that negotiations be made through the Governors.

A further meeting between the two groups was projected to take place not later than December, 1954.⁵⁰

The fight seemed virtually over. The Pueblos had officially relinquished their claims to an annual grant. But, the Pueblos still harbored some feelings of bitterness. Nor was the New Mexico Association of Indian Affairs overly joyous at the outcome of proceedings. In a letter written by Charles E. Minton of this organization, he stated that "victory was not

⁵⁰ Statement by the All-Pueblo Council, July 31, 1954, (no place given), (in the files of the Association)

a total one." In this letter, which was not for publicity, he criticized the Ceremonial Association for "crowing" about the understanding that had been reached at Santo Domingo. Minton reminded the Association that the Pueblos had real and serious grievances and that he hoped the Ceremonial Association would make honest attempts to remedy them.⁵¹ Minton went on to say that conditions in Gallup should be improved. Only the fact that the Ceremonial was opening twelve days away caused the Indians to come to an agreement. It was necessary, he said, to tide over the matter to a later date so that it would not work a hardship on the dance teams that had already signed contracts by putting them in the position of having to choose between defying Pueblo authority or repudiating the contracts.⁵²

Nevertheless, the Association seemed to have been the victor in the struggle. The Gallup Independent quoted the secretary-manager of the Association, Edward S. Merry, as saying that "the Santo Domingo meeting with the All-Pueblo Council resulted in complete vindication of the Ceremonial." It stated further that the resolution or joint statement signed by Martin Vigil, "conceded that Gallup's show had made a major contribution to all Indians over the years with great benefits to participating Pueblo Indians."⁵³

Woodard reported back to the Board on August 4. He reviewed achievements of the conference at Santo Domingo. The result, he said,

⁵¹ Letter from Charles E. Minton, Executive Secretary of the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, Inc., Santa Fe, N. Mex., Aug. 2, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

⁵² Farmington Times, Farmington, N. Mex., Aug. 8, 1954

⁵³ Ibid.

had proven the Ceremonial strategy correct.⁵⁴

The Pueblos participated in the Ceremonials. The result of the uncertainty compelled Show Director Howard Wilson to secure additional groups as insurance for his program which resulted in extra costs. However, program costs were only \$439 higher than those of the 1953 program.⁵⁵

Plans for the meeting scheduled for December of 1954 were changed to February of the following year.⁵⁶ Subsequent to this, at a special meeting of the Board in Gallup on May 3, it reviewed its strategy for an approaching meeting with the Pueblos.⁵⁷ It was hoped that the Association could come to an agreement with the Pueblos regarding the joint objectives that both parties had agreed upon late in 1954. It was the general consensus that concessions were already great. Twenty dollars above the current seventeen dollars per dancer was to be offered with a sixty cent meal allowance enroute to and from Gallup.⁵⁸

Prevailing sentiment dictated also that the Association should retain its policy of controlling its dance contracts, while as a courtesy, informing the Pueblo Governor involved. The Association would reserve

⁵⁴ Meeting of Ceremonial Board of Directors (Special Meeting), Ceremonial Hogan, May 3, 1954, 4:00 p.m., (in the files of the Association)

⁵⁵ Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonials - Summary of Operations - 1954 Ceremonial, Gallup, N. Mex., (no date)

⁵⁶ Albuquerque Journal, Albuquerque, N. Mex., Aug. 20, 1954

⁵⁷ Meeting of the Board of Directors (Special Meeting), Ceremonial Hogan, May 3, 1955, (in the files of the Association)

⁵⁸ Arizona Silver Belt, Miami, Arizona, Sept. 1, 1954

the right to deal with dance leaders of their own choosing.⁵⁹ The Pueblos accepted all of the offers made by the Association. Only point of contention was that involving food allowances. The Association yielded on this point and allowed a dollar a meal per person.⁶⁰

Thus, by mid-1955, the Ceremonial program had returned to a workable understanding with the Pueblos, even though some bitterness on the part of the Pueblos was to continue, and still continues to the present time. The Pueblo Council had made a rather strange request to the Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Association and had insisted on using a boycott of the yearly Gallup Indian Ceremonials when they were thwarted in their designs. Increasing awareness of the average Pueblo Indian, who looked forward to his yearly contributions in the Gallup show, had made untenable the position of the All-Pueblo Council. Nor had the conflict gone unnoticed by the average New Mexico citizen. State-wide publicity over the matter had resulted in many adjustments that the Pueblos claimed were necessary.

For over a year, both sides had insisted that the other was wrong. At the end of this period, both sides had insisted that results showed that they were vindicated in their positions. The Pueblos had achieved some enhancement as participating members of the Gallup show. The Ceremonial Association had avoided any necessity to make an annual grant of two thousand dollars and still retain the Pueblos as

⁵⁹ Letter from Edward S. Merry, Aug. 19, 1954, (in the files of the Association)

⁶⁰ Meeting of the Ceremonial Board of Directors, Ceremonial Hogan, May 18, 1954, 7:30 p.m., (in the files of the Association)

participants in their show. The general public apparently did not figure that the benefits achieved by these two groups would mean any increased entertainment increments for them, for the 1954 program saw a drop in attendance of two thousand persons less than the previous year.⁶¹ Perhaps, the loss of attendance was due just to the threatening rains!⁶²

⁶¹ Ceremonial Inter-Tribal Indian Association, Summary of Operations - 1954 Ceremonials, Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

⁶² Belen News Bulletin, Belen, N. Mex., Aug. 11, 1954

CHAPTER IX

THE LIQUOR PROBLEM IN GALLUP

The problem of Indians drinking is an acute one. It involves, on one hand, the expediency of permitting its use (and the general abuse) by the Indians and on the other, the glaring fact that liquor consumption should be included in their civil rights. It is a conflict between rights that should belong to all and the degenerative effects caused by exercise of these rights. At Ceremonial expositions, the drinking problem becomes very apparent.

In a letter to the editor of the Gallup Independent, a certain Ione Davis stated that while in Durango, Colorado, she heard numerous expressions of disapproval concerning the habit of Indians to be seen in a state of drunken disheaval in the streets of Gallup. Many visitors, she said, immediately cut short their stay in Gallup after viewing this disorder.¹ Ione Davis went on to say that Indian drunks in the city jail made such a disturbance on one occasion that it was difficult to hear what was being said in the Masonic Hall where Rainbow Girls were

¹Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., May 13, 1955

conducting a meeting.²

Though State Liquor Director Hilton A. Dickson said Gallup's liquor problem "was no worse or difficult than any other town in New Mexico," the actual situation seemed to be radically different. This is seen in the trip that one reporter of the Gallup Independent took in Gallup. He accompanied a city policeman on a routine patrol. The newspaper representative reported that this officer broke up seventeen fights in one block in one hour. There were seventeen arrests made.³

The police officer conceded that the situation was not as bad as a few months prior because many who contributed to the problem had gone to Colorado to work in the beet fields.⁴

Mayor D. F. Mollica explained that Gallup's new jail, built to hold forty prisoners, was not large enough to take the average number of drunks arrested during a regular week-end. Mollica felt that the jail would suffice for cities of similar size if they didn't experience continuous influx of Indians. He even stated that Gallup police refrained from arresting the Indian drunk that merely staggered.⁵

The consensus of newspapers in the state was that the Indian's drinking habits in Gallup was not merely a problem for that city's administration, nor a matter for the Navajo tribe alone. It was also a problem which would never be solved by recriminations about past

² Ibid.

³ Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., July 14, 1955

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

broken promises or past programs which had failed. The drinking problem is one which will only be solved by whole-hearted cooperation among the city, the county, the state, the tribe, and the federal government.⁶

Only a few days before the opening of the thirty-fourth Ceremonial, Mayor Mollica was informed by a letter from Hilton A. Dickson, that two representatives of the Liquor Commission were to investigate liquor abuses in his city and especially during the Ceremonial.⁷

This was enough incentive for Mayor Mollica to make sure that there would be additional law enforcement to keep the streets unoccupied by Indian drunks. Thus, he procured the services of the Law and Order division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the New Mexico State Police, the Gallup Lions Club, and the McKinley County Sheriffs Office.⁸

While the Ceremonial exposition was in progress, the law enforcement agencies labored diligently to keep the city free of drunks. The Navajo Police and the Indian Bureau locked up a total of eight hundred and fifty drunks during the four day affair. In addition, ninety drunks were jailed in the new city jail and a large, undetermined number were held on the Ceremonial grounds.⁹

Most persons viewing the deplorable Gallup situation felt compassion, not for the hundreds of drunken adults, but for young Indian boys and girls

⁶Ibid.

⁷Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 3, 1955

⁸Ibid.

⁹Gallup Independent, Gallup, N. Mex., Aug. 15, 1955

who imitate their parents.¹⁰

The "battle of the bottle" seems as commonplace a Ceremonial event as the dances performed by the Indian. In general, the one hundred officers who had been assigned to regulate this unfortunate fact, fought a losing battle with the wine and gin bottle. On just one Ceremonial day, more than two hundred ~~braves~~ and a smaller number of ~~squaws~~ became intoxicated in the bars along Front Street. Many of these arrested Indians demonstrated a marked tendency to fight.¹¹ Though many Indians were held in the numerous detention centers, the total was less than in the previous year of 1954. During the 1954 Ceremonial, more than nine hundred Indians were arrested.¹²

The problem of arresting drunken Indians, getting them out of trouble, and rushing them to a place to sleep was the task of the one hundred officers. Specifically, the law enforcement units included twenty-eight members of the Gallup Lions Club who acted as special traffic officers, sixteen regular Navajo policemen, two special officers, fifteen special deputies, and six women who worked for the Law and Order division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.¹³

Despite this impressive array of civil authority, there was little these units could do to persuade the Indian celebrant to abstain completely from alcoholic beverages during the Ceremonials. These Indians, in fact, formed a steady stream into and out of the city's detention facilities.

¹⁰ Eddy County News, Carlsbad, N. Mex., Aug. 18, 1955

¹¹ Albuquerque Journal, Albuquerque, N. Mex., Aug. 15, 1955

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

A substantial number of Indians were out while they were intoxicating themselves and in when they had achieved this condition.

The detention centers were soon overcrowded. In 1955, the Indians could occupy the conveniences of a new, modern jail which had a "bull pen" in the cellar. The "bull pen" was reopened especially to accommodate the Indians expected at the Ceremonials.

The Indians were not fined or even tried; unless of course, their drunkenness had involved them in more unsociable actions. This sometimes happened and usually took the form of attacking other Indians. The policy of law enforcement agencies usually consisted of merely picking up tottering Indians and releasing them when they were sober.¹⁴

Allen Rollie, chairman of the 1955 law and order committee, said that also a novel innovation had been used to control drinking. He said, "We didn't wait until they were drunk--we picked them up when they looked like they could stand a little sobering up and stuffed them with baloney sandwiches and coffee."¹⁵

Some persons in attendance at the 1955 Ceremonials felt that there had been less conspicuous drinking than at any previous one that they had attended. Indian Service Special Officer Delos Botone expressed this view. He said, "Last year was terrible (meaning the 1954 Ceremonials) and drunken Indians--mostly Navajos--were sprawled out all over the streets. But this past week-end more control was evidenced. We encountered very

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Roswell Record, Roswell, N. Mex., Sept. 22, 1955

few heavy drinkers."¹⁶ Botone was one of the one hundred or so officers assigned to keep peace among the thousands of Indians at the 1955 Ceremonials.¹⁷

The "cleaning up" of Gallup was an objective of Governor John F. Simms. That there had been some improvement since expression of the governor's interest was an important point when some Gallup spokesmen went before the Board of Finance in Santa Fe in 1955. The Gallup delegation was present to ask for thirty thousand dollars to construct a new detention center to hold drunk Indians overnight and sober them up.¹⁸ Apparently existing facilities were insufficient to handle the reformed Indians.

These Gallup spokesmen had been George McDevitt, City Attorney; Dean Middleton, City Clerk; and former United States Marshall Martin Lopez.¹⁹

This suggested detention center--also referred to as a "tank" or "stockade"--would hold ninety Indians and a maximum of one hundred and eighty if it was double-bunked.²⁰ It would not resemble a jail and would really amount to cheap accommodations for the duration of sobering-up procedures. Furthermore, the Indian would have the social satisfaction of being with scores of his own kind while they slowly sipped coffee and munched baloney sandwiches. What better environment for discussing

¹⁶ Albuquerque Journal, Albuquerque, N. Mex., Aug. 19, 1955

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Albuquerque Journal, Albuquerque, N. Mex., (no date)

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

Ceremonials of years past?

The city of Gallup was willing to obtain the necessary land and to assume operating costs of the detention center, estimated at seven hundred dollars a month.²¹

McDevitt said, "Gallup could not afford to feed the drunks or punish them (through jail sentences). It, therefore, has been decided to attack the problem from the viewpoint of safety and detain drunks in a safe place until they are sober and can be released."²² McDevitt was asked whether it had been a mistake to make liquor legally available to Indians. He replied that he was still hopeful that the situation would resolve itself satisfactorily. He added that many Indians, especially the younger generation, were beginning to realize that there is such a thing as moderation.²³

There may be a tendency towards moderation but today, as at the 1955 Ceremonials and those before and since, with the lid off the wine bottle, many Indians are experimenting with the sensations associated with alcoholic beverages so long denied them. Whether one hears that the situation is "disgraceful" or "far better than before," the problem still is a serious one. "It was hell during bootlegging days and it's hell now,"²⁴ said one Colorado newspaper.

The Navajos are finding out what the effects of legalized drinking can do to their tribe. There are no clear-cut opinions, either among

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Denver, Colorado Post, Denver, Colo., Aug. 15, 1955

the Navajos or among the whites, as to what the over-all drinking situation is in regard to the Navajo tribe. One reporter for the Denver Colorado Post came to the following conclusions after traveling over one thousand miles of the reservation and its environs and talking with scores of people--Indian and non-Indian:

1. Navajos are unquestionably drinking in much larger numbers than they did during bootlegging days.
2. Some Navajos are drinking themselves to ruin and death. How many are doing this remains a controversial subject today as it was in 1955.
3. As has always been the case with anything concerning the Navajos, authorities don't agree. Some well-informed persons feel the events following the lifting of the ban on liquor to Indians are running expected paths. The Indians are perhaps floundering a bit until they learn how to handle liquor, these people believe, but, they will gradually do so and no great harm will have been done in the meantime.
4. Other well-informed people see the Navajo families which alcohol is tearing apart. They see a nation of naive, unschooled people suddenly wading knee-deep in cheap rotgut, and foresee an entire generation demoralized and destroyed by beverages they have never been schooled to handle.²⁵

If moderation in Indian drinking is approaching, it was not evident in 1955. Nor, does it seem overly apparent today. In 1955, as at present, the Front Street section of Gallup was by far the most frequented place for Navajos in quest of beer, wine, and gin. This is exceptionally true during Ceremonial periods. But, other cities come in for a good amount of this trade. The Indians also spend freely in Grants, Shiprock, Cuba, Farmington and other communities within pickup-truck range of the

²⁵Ibid.

reservation. Fringe towns in Arizona also profit from this trade.²⁶

Figures given at one bar--serving Navajos almost exclusively--would tend to support the theory of wide-spread drinking among Navajos. The proprietor said the bar has been selling some two hundred cases of wine per week and making a profit of \$1,500 to \$2,000.²⁷

This situation does seem to demonstrate that the Indian is over-drinking, not just at gala occasions like Ceremonial expositions, but generally throughout the year. But, apologists say it is conspicuous during the Ceremonials because its legality places it in the open and shows up more because it is concentrated in towns frequented by Indians.²⁸

Nearly everyone says the situation should be improved. Some of the remedies are as follows:

1. Provide a temporary detention place--really a sobering-up spot--in which to keep drunk "inter-tribal" Indians until they are able to leave. They would not face the courts or possible fines, as they sometimes do when put in jail. This is the idea most subscribed to by Gallup authorities.
2. Send the worst offenders to work camps where they would spend sixty days or so doing nothing but breaking up rocks.
3. Prohibit sales by the case to Indians and restrict the quantity of liquor any Indian can buy.
4. There are some also who advocate clamping prohibition back on the Indians. These people maintain that an Indian is constitutionally incapable of consuming alcohol without great intoxicating effects. Few people feel such an attempt would be successful.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

Tavern owners near the reservation do not think this would be successful.²⁹

The problem of Indian-drinking is a general one. It is not confined to Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonials. The 1955 Ceremonial was presented to point out the general drinking situation that has existed at all Ceremonials--either legally or illegally. The Ceremonial expositions seem to be the traditional place for excessive consumption of intoxicating beverages by Indians. The 1955 All-Indian Pow Wow at Flagstaff, which attracts the same number of Indians, day for day, as the Gallup show, reported only fourteen arrests as drunks. This was also for the three-day period which happened to be a payday week-end at the ordinance depot where many of the Indians worked. Furthermore, not all those arrested had been Indians.³⁰

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Phoenix, Arizona Gazette, Phoenix, Ariz., Sept. 13, 1955

CHAPTER X

THE 1966 CEREMONIALS and a CRISIS

Since 1922 the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial Association has gradually increased its presentations to conform to rising expectations of the general public. From meager beginnings that amounted to a small number of Indians performing before a relatively small number of spectators, the Ceremonial has grown to the nationally proclaimed spectacle of 1966. A summary of this spectacle follows:

The Gallup exposition of 1966 was a good one by any yardstick.¹ Although rain was a factor in cutting attendance at two of the performances and ticket sales were slightly lower than the previous year, gross income was compensated for by other sources. Operationally, it ran smoothly and was well organized and supervised. Exceedingly high achievements of the performers was attested to by many favorable comments from both spectators and participating Indians.²

¹ Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial, Sept. 8, 1966, (in the files of the Association)

² Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial, Sept. 15, 1966, (in the files of the Association)

An innovation from the regular series of Indian dances and contest participants, was the revival of the Sunday morning parade. This activity had been discontinued four years before.³ This decision caused some discontent among ministerial groups, but drew a large crowd to the Gallup streets on the Sunday assigned. The Sunday morning parade added more than two thousand five hundred dollars to the cost of the previous parades. The additional cost is explained by the necessity of paying more money to the Indian participants. The decision to hold this third exposition parade was based on several factors. These reasons were given as bringing in a greater crowd from nearby towns for the afternoon show. Also, it would attract passing tourists. In addition, local people desired the Sunday parade.⁴ The Ceremonial is watching this activity and studying it against its dollar and cents benefits to the Ceremonial.

As a companion feature, the exhibit hall was outstanding. This meant an increased income of one hundred and eighty-five dollars. All display spaces were filled with the creations of exhibitors. Quality of the craft and of the displays was high. Hall attendance hit a new high as compared to a decrease in grandstand attendance.⁵ Craft awards were raised as were exhibitor fees. The increased costs of the exhibit

³Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial, May 12, 1966, (in the files of the Association)

⁴Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial, May 12, 1966, (in the files of the Association)

⁵Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, "Spot Comparisons - 1966 Ceremonial," Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

hall was offset by enthusiastic reception of the general public. This fact rendered this operation financially stable and feasible.

As has been the growing tendency, the Ceremonial was well advertized and publicized. This was achieved through issuance of one hundred thousand brochures, two thousand posters, and a well-planned program of newspaper, radio, and television advertising. Newspaper clippings indicated that it received good treatment in many large metropolitan newspapers.⁶ It was also featured by the U.S. Travel Service in its foreign advertising to encourage travel to the United States.⁷ The Ceremonial provided the United States Travel Service with ten thousand multi-language brochures for foreign distribution. The Ceremonial planned to repeat this for the 1967 Ceremonial exposition. Television and radio stations throughout New Mexico have been very generous in providing publicity under a pro-rata plan in which the radio budget is divided equally among them. A payment of five hundred dollars is made to the scholarship fund of the New Mexico Broadcasting Association in lieu of payment to individual members.⁸ This is a policy of great benefit to the Ceremonial.

Maintenance and preparation costs of the Ceremonial grounds were kept at a minimum due to the imminent move to a new location. There

⁶Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, "General Information - 1966 Ceremonial," Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

were no expenses for capital improvements.⁹ A man-hole was laid in the grounds sewer system by the city of Gallup at cost to the Ceremonial. The purpose of this man-hole was to eliminate costly maintenance during the Ceremonial period.¹⁰

Improvements in seating and supervision in force for the past few years resulted in a smooth operation in the grandstand and bleachers.¹¹ A great improvement in the appearance of personnel was provided by some Navajo blouse usher uniforms given the Ceremonial. The Ceremonial then provided similar style blouses in contrasting colors for other grandstand personnel.

Relations with law enforcement personnel brought together for the policing of the Ceremonial grounds and adjacent areas was excellent. These personnel, in their supervision of public conduct and direction of traffic, were good despite a drop in manpower.¹² A more specific complaint was voiced in the board meeting of September. Secretary-manager Merry recounted rowdiness and the throwing of cherry bombs under the announcer's stand at the Sunday afternoon program. Merry strongly recommended a combination of better fencing and police supervision for the next year's Ceremonial exposition. Other board members

⁹Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, "Report - 1966 Ceremonial Expenses," Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

¹⁰Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association "General Information - 1966 Ceremonial," Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

expressed the conviction that use of the bandstand during afternoon performances for contestants as one way to control unauthorized persons in the arena. Sentiment was expressed that the grounds security police, under Gilson, was poorly organized and the board felt that afternoon committees should hire their own police. Wilson felt that the sheriff's deputies were effective the first two days, but not the last two. He said State Police would not remain in trouble spots.¹³

The seven thousand dollar balance on the nineteen thousand dollar loan negotiated in 1963 had been paid off by 1966. During this period, the Ceremonial has managed to operate without contracting any new loans despite the inherent difficulty of disproportionate cash flow throughout the year.¹⁴

It was not possible to predict the future any more clearly in 1966 than it was a year prior to that date. The Ceremonial is constantly endeavoring to anticipate the future so as to always be able to put itself in a favorable position to service the public.

The understanding of the Ceremonial Association with the State Highway Department was to vacate its grounds after the 1967 Ceremonial. The Ceremonial Association was optimistic that if the necessity did arise to move, they could acquire new grounds which would enable them to stage as good a show in 1968 as any in the past. A request had been sent to the New Mexico Highway Department for a stay through 1968 based on a news

¹³Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial, Sept. 15, 1966, (in the files of the Association)

¹⁴Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, "General Information - 1966 Ceremonial," Gallup, N.Mex., (in the files of the Association)

story that the Gallup urban project was scheduled for 1969.¹⁵

The Ceremonial relocation committee had many meetings in the year 1966 to discuss problems confronting the Association. Many of these meetings have also been attended by Navajo tribal representatives. The relocation committee had also inspected a great number of possible sites. Despite these meetings and consequential reports, the Board had taken no action on either site or on the appraisal offer of \$285,000 for damages and loss of land from the Highway Department.

Starting July 1, the Economics Research Associates of Los Angeles began a six month feasibility examination of the Association's plan to enlarge greatly its operations to conduct a year-round public orientated program. The Economics Research Associates was commissioned to study also possibilities of expansion of the many related activities that it has already developed. The study is being financed by a fifty thousand dollar federal grant which the Ceremonial negotiated. The study was to be completed by April 1, 1967. The Ceremonial hoped that this study from a reputable research firm would provide the organization with directions.

Despite that the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial Association has been in operation since 1922 and seems such an integral part of the city, the Ceremonial's contributions to Gallup have generally been underrated. It not only contributes a powerful economic boost each August and indirectly throughout the year, but it provides, through national recognition of its cultural achievement, a civic status that

¹⁵Ibid.

the ex-coal mining town and present railroad town of Gallup would not otherwise enjoy. The Ceremonial presents a unifying project that most Gallup citizens enjoy and may join.¹⁶

An enlarged Ceremonial would not only continue existing benefits that Gallup enjoys but would also provide the major force to offset possible tourist losses that will be felt with completion of the interstate highway through the Gallup area. No city in the United States was so fortunate as little Gallup in having a made-to-order indigenous activity ready to meet the problems that the interstate highway would pose. As a further note, it should also be observed (and is not generally) that in recent years all-weather roads have been finished across the north and middle of the Navajo reservation and cutting away from the Interstate at Grants through Zuni into Arizona. And even more recently, the State of New Mexico is now developing a major highway through the northern half of the state. These factors clearly indicate that considerable tourist traffic may in the future be channeled away from the Gallup area or even to it.¹⁷

Because of the loss of their present grounds, the Ceremonial may realize proper development of an expanded operation that will not only enlarge services that it has brought to Indian and tourist alike, but will also provide facilities that will more generally enrich the economy of the Indian Country. The completed project envisions greater utilization of the full potential of the Ceremonial as an enduring memorial

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

to the American Indian. The Ceremonial hopes to offer the essence of the Ceremonial on at least a summer-long basis, in addition to its present exposition with eventual development of facilities and program into a year-long public activity.¹⁸

As of 1966, the Ceremonial relocation committee had examined many possible and accessible locations in the Gallup area. A federal agency authorized a fifty thousand dollar grant for a feasibility study by a private firm.¹⁹ As mentioned above, the Ceremonial was also offered damages of two hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars from the Bureau of Public Roads for loss of land and facilities at its present location.²⁰

The Ceremonial Association was aware that despite continuing public non-acceptance, they were at a crisis and on a decline. They had been out-maneuvered by circumstances such as the Highway Department and a generally indifferent local citizenry. The Ceremonial endeavored to enact the following steps without delay:

1. While they must be patient and wait on certain state matters out of their control, they could completely reorganize the Association. Herein, they sought to broaden and enlarge the board of directors, change the dues structure, and more fully spell out the duties and responsibilities of board members, officers, and employees.

¹⁸Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, "General Information - 1966 Ceremonial," Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

¹⁹Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial, March 10, 1966, 7:30 p.m., (in the files of the Association)

²⁰Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial, Nov. 16, 1966, 4:00 p.m. (in the files of the Association)

2. In seeking and developing a site, the Ceremonial should work as closely as possible with responsible far-sighted members of the Navajo community, which had development plans of its own for property it controls in the Gallup area.²¹

Thus, the Ceremonial Association faces the difficulty of relocating its facilities. This problem can be overcome. What remains a more serious threat is the apparent indifference on the part of many Gallup citizens who have failed to associate the Ceremonial Association with economic benefits derived by Gallup and surrounding areas. The Gallup citizenry are more cognizant of the unsightly drunks that inhabit their streets and regard the Association as the basic cause for this situation. This situation would exist to some degree with or without the Association as it does in all cities on the fringe of the reservation.

Since 1922 the Ceremonial Association has held an important place in the field of entertainment. Since then, the spectator has become more aware of the authentic Indian. The Association has given to thousands of visitors an enjoyment they might not otherwise experience. Were it not for the Association and the few events like it, the Indian might well continue to be portrayed in non-realistic terms.

In summary, we can succinctly say that the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonials is above all--an Indian affair--an affair organized and staged by white men; organized into various committees and positions, for the Indians' benefit and pleasure, but one in which the white man remains but an interested outsider.

²¹Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, "General Information - 1966 Ceremonial," Gallup, N. Mex., (in the files of the Association)

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