

REPORT SHOWING TRADITIONAL NAVAJO USE AND OCCUPANCY
OF LANDS IN THE 1882 EXECUTIVE ORDER RESERVATION

Anderson
E
99
N3
C54
1972a

Prepared by
J. Lee Correll
Research Section
The Navajo Tribe
April 1972

A14402 340475

Ander
E
N3
004
1772

C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.	i-ix
INTRODUCTION.	1
PART I - DOCUMENTARY DATA.	3
PART II - OTHER DATA - ARCHAEOLOGICAL, TREE-RING, AND NAVAJO BIRTH RECORDS.	46
A. Archaeology and Tree-Ring Data	46
Map No. 1. following	46
Table 1.	47
Table 2.	48
B. Records of Navajo Births.	59
Summary of Table 3	60
Table 3.	61
RECAPITULATION	

C H R O N O L O G I C A L S U M M A R Y

		<u>Page</u>
	Navajo Sacred Places	2-3
1540	Navajos in Hopi country	3
1583	Espejo expedition met Navajos near Awatovi on Jeddito Wash	3
1629	Hopis ask Navajos for help against Franciscans	4
1630	Benavides described Navajo province as extending well beyond Hopi villages	4
1641	Spaniards campaigned against Navajos in Hopi-Zuni area	4
1686	Navajos at war against Havasupais west of Hopis	4
"	Sixty-three tree ring dates from west of Little Colorado river dating 1709-1798 from Navajo hogans and other structures	4
1600's	Hopi tradition says Navajos in their province.	4
1691	Vermilion mine 12 leagues west of Moqui, in lands of Navajos	4
1692	Navajos warn Hopis about de Vargas' approach.	5
1700	De L'isle map shows Navajos north of Hopi	5
1706	Gov. Cuervo describes Colorado river as western frontier of Navajos	5
1708	Navajos continuously at war with Hopis	5
1710	Hopis had almost abandoned Jeddito Valley	5
1750	Navajos near Hopi raided by Utes	5
1769	Provincia de Nabajo completely surrounded Hopi mesas. San Juan river called Rio de Nabajo	5
1775	Map shows Navajos northwest of Hopis	5
1776	Trade route between Hopis and Havasupais very hazardous because of war with Navajos	6

		<u>Page</u>
1776	Oraibi had friendship with Navajos who infest these lands	7
"	Navajos at war with Hopis	7
"	Log stairway built by Navajos at Colorado river indicates stability and permanence	7
"	Hopis at Oraibi and 2nd mesa communicate in Navajo with Escalante's party	7
1779	Few Hopis left in their country	7
"	Navajos obstruct Hopi families wishing to leave their mesas and go to de Anza	8
1780	Smallpox causes many Hopis to join Navajos. Spanish fear all Hopis will join them thinking Navajos will give them shelter	8
"	Between Awatovi and Hopi de Anza took men to guard him from the common Navajo enemies	9
"	Hopi chief at Oraibi says trade impossible on account of continuous war with Navajos	9
1780	de Anza reported 7 Hopi pueblos reduced to 5 - 798 persons instead of 7494 in 1776. Pestilence and warfare with Navajos the cause. Anza offered to mediate for Hopis with Navajos	9
1781	Many Hopis among Navajo. More than 200 Hopis left their country without caring to return	10
1801	Navajos still at war with Hopis and Havasupais	11
1819	Hopis hard pressed by Navajos in Black Mesa area	11
"	Navajos attacked by Melgares in Hopi towns of Walpi and Tewa. Navajos with much stock, in occupation of area	12
---	Navajos caused Havasupais to retreat into their canyon. Pueblo elements in Havasupai culture derived from Navajos	12
1823	Hopis report presence of Navajos to Vizcarra and guided him to them	13
"	Navajo livestock found among Hopi, 278 Navajo stock to 39 Hopi	14
"	Vizcarra finds Navajos at East Fork Dinnebito Wash	15
"	Juanico's herds in Marsh Pass area	15
"	Fight between Spanish and Navajos. Many animals taken from Navajos indicated stability and permanence	16

	<u>Page</u>
1828 Navajos northeast of and near Hopi	17
1829 Navajos occupying country east of Colorado river	17
1833 Navajos live on mesas all around Hopi villages	17
1830's Navajos attack Oraibi and defeat Hopis	17
1846 Navajos inhabit mountains between Rio Grande and Colorado river. Hopis are neighbors	18
" -64 Hopis surrounded by fierce Navajos	18
1849 Navajos north of Hopi, west of Colorado River and north of San Juan river	18
1840's Navajos a little east of Tuba	18
1850 Peshlakai Atsidi born west side Coconino Point, southwest of Cameron. Fire Dance held here in 1850's for woman returned from Ute captivity who had been taken on Black Mesa	18
1850 Spaniards attacked Navajos on Black Mountain. Took much stock and corn.	19
1851 Hopis friendly with Navajos. Hopis report Navajos planting in Canyon de Chelly, many living near Marsh Pass west of Kayenta. Navajos came daily to Hopi to trade.	19
" Navajos nearly exhausted food supplies of Hopis	20
" Hopis at Fort Defiance said Navajos desirous of peace and friendship	20
1852 Navajos reported whites living on Little Colorado river near San Francisco Peaks. Navajos here or could not locate the whites	21
1853 Navajos occupy from near Rio Grande on east to Colorado on west, from Utes on north to Apaches on south. Hopis located within Navajo territory	21
1853 Navajo and Hopi country described as a fine land	21
1854 Map shows 35,000 square miles of Navajo territory, including lands north and south of the Hopis	20
1854 Navajos inhabit region between Colorado and San Juan Rivers, about 200 miles west of Santa Fe	22

	<u>Page</u>	
185	Mormons traded with Navajos around Kayenta. They saw Navajo cornfields and melon crops, goats, sheep, horses. Mormons crossed San Juan at "Navajo Ford" near mouth of Grand Gulch	23
1855-57	Haschinisusu born on Little Colorado 12 miles upstream from Leupp. Parents had lived some 30 mi. north of Oraibi, but conditions crowded and relatives already living on Little Colorado	23
1856	Zunis and Hopis looking for protection against Navajos	23
"	Many crossings on lower San Juan River used by Navajos occupying adjacent regions	24
"	Gov. Meriwether's map assigns country east of the Colorado to the Navajos. Navajo claim extended south of Little Colorado to country of Gila Apaches	24
1858	Navajos claim all land from the Rio Grande to the Colorado of the West, including the Hopi villages.	24
"	An Indian from near Hopi at Fort Defiance said he was sent by the Utahs to make peace with the Navajos.	25
"	Hopis reported that Navajos drove off a great deal of their stock last year	25
"	Navajos drove off all Oraibi stock.	25
"	Several Navajos at Keams Canyon came from direction of Hopi pueblos.	26
"	About half of the Hopis preparing to join the Navajos.	26
"	Col. Miles noted most of the Navajos were in the Calabasa Mountain and on a mesa west of Moqui.	26
"	Backus noted Navajos driving their stock to a large mesa near Moqui	26
"	Miles reported Black Mesa and Calabasa Mesa were among the principal Navajo grazing areas.	26
"	The Navajos were probably familiar with the canyon country of the Colorado long before 1858-64. Some may have fled from the Utes, their ancient enemies, who pressed them from the north and west.	27
1859	Twenty Hopis came to Ft. Defiance to complain of Navajo depredations.	27

		<u>Page</u>
1859	Major Shepherd ordered to march to south-southwest from Ft. Defiance to a mountain beyond the Moqui villages where the Navajos were said to have a hiding place.	27
"	Navajos with large herds reported north and northwest of the Hopi villages	27
"	Walker's command ordered to proceed to a mountain southwest of Skeleton Mesa, north of Hopis, where many Navajos resided with their flocks and herds.	27
"	Walker saw many abandoned Navajo huts on Black Mesa	27
"	Haskell was warned to watch his animals north of the Hopi villages since he was in Navajo country.	28
"	Huero Miles, Navajo chief, lived near the Moqui pueblos.	28
1860	A Hopi delegation to Fort Defiance complained of Navajo depredations.	28
"	Mexicans at Black Mesa were opposed by a thousand Indians; shot four Navajos and wounded a few.	28
"	Army hostilities caused many Navajos to take their flocks to Calabasa Mountain, the Hopi villages, and the Marsh Pass area.	28
"	Some 22 miles north of the Hopi villages hostile Navajos killed a Mormon youth.	28
"	The great body of the wealthy Navajos with their flocks and herds were in the vicinity of the San Francisco Mountains, the Navajos retreating into the territory they claimed and controlled	29
1861	Navajos from the vicinity of the Moqui villages were said to be on the way to Fort Fauntleroy.	29
"	Campaigns went to the Hopi villages and took their stored corn on the pretext that the Hopis were in league with the Navajos.	30
1862	The Navajo country was defined as bounded on the west by the Colorado and Virgin rivers.	30
"	The Navajos love to steal from the Hopis.	30
"	Navajo had corrals 22 miles north of Oraibi. Navajos were encountered on the way toward the Colorado, and Yavapai traditions place the Navajos west of the Little Colorado river prior to 1862.	30

		<u>Page</u>
1863	Many Navajos lived north, west and south of the 1882 Executive Order area as well as within it. The Hopis stayed on their mesas to avoid conflict with Navajos, who considered the Hopis as living within Navajo country.	31
"	A strong party of Navajos with herds lived in the Jeddito-Keams Canyon area.	31
"	Troops attacked Navajos and herds north of White Cone.	31
"	Keams Canyon a favorite resort of Navajos, who planted there.	31
"	Troops with their Ute allies attacked Navajos at Howell Mesa and destroyed their cornfields.	31
"	Majority of uncaptured Navajos at Little Colorado river.	31
"	Navajo child captured at Grand Falls.	32
"	Hopis surrounded by Navajos.	32
"	Carson suggested removing Hopis to some section where they would be out of the power of the Navajos.	32
"	Carson marched his command 65 miles west of Oraibi to Moencopi Wash, where they destroyed a Navajo encampment.	32
"	A considerable number of Navajos lived on Black Mesa.	33
"	Hopis attacked a large group of Navajos north of their villages.	33
1864	A large number of Navajos near the Hopi villages.	33
"	Valley of the Little Colorado, in southwest part of Navajo country, occupied by that tribe.	34
"	Five or six thousand wealthy and powerful Navajos living in the region of the San Francisco Peaks and southwest of the Little Colorado.	34
"	Navajo country two days beyond Hopi villages.	34
"	Some 2,000 Navajos brought in from vicinity of Navajo Mountain.	35
"	Supposed to be some 3,000 Navajos beyond the Colorado of the West.	35
"	Hopis persuade the Navajos not to go to Bosque Redondo (Fort Sumner)	35
"	Navajos living at St. George, Utah, stole horses from Kanab. The Little Colorado was in Navajo territory.	35

		<u>Page</u>
1865	Three Navajo groups from the San Francisco Mountains went to Santa Fe.	36
"	Two parties of uncaptured Navajos, one beyond the Little Colorado and the other at Marsh Pass.	36
"	Citizens and Navajos in battle near San Francisco peaks.	36
"	Little Colorado river adjacent to mountain fastnesses occupied by Navajos, who are well acquainted with area from a Tong residence there.	37
"	Manuelito's band, from other side of Hopi villages, dispersed by Utes.	37
"	Navajos located on Little Colorado beyond Oraibi; also northwest of Hopi villages.	37
"	Moencopi Wash a resort of the Navajos.	38
"	Manuelito and his family hunting on the Little Colorado.	38
"	The only chance to capture Navajos is to send a scout for sixty days beyond Oraibi.	38
1866	Navajos crossed the Colorado River and raided Mormon settlements. Navajos concentrated east of the Colorado.	38
"	Navajos from Marsh Pass and Black Mountain surrendered to the military. Later, those from the Little Colorado surrendered, and in December those from west of the Hopi villages surrendered.	38
1868	Navajo forefathers told them at Mesa Calabasa never to leave our country.	39
"	1868 Treaty reservation too small for a pastoral people.	39
"	After Fort Sumner Navajos occupied areas where they had lived before going to the Bosque.	39
"	Navajos reoccupied grazing grounds at Mesa Calabasa.	39
1869	Navajos are "immediate neighbors" of the Hopis.	39
1870	Agent Army recommended sub-agency at Mesa de los Calabasas, since a chief and nearly a thousand Navajos were located there and had prospects of good crops.	40
1873	The above band of 1500-2000 Navajos lived at the foot of Mesa Calabasa.	40

	<u>Page</u>
1878	Navajo Treaty Reservation extended westward to 110° longitude, the line 4 years later to become the east boundary of the 1882 Executive Order Reservation. 40
1881	Navajos who did not go to Fort Sumner or sign the Treaty of 1868 always resided north and northwest of the 1882 reservation. 41
1882	At least half of the Navajos located beyond the western boundary of the Navajo Reservation, some since their return from Fort Sumner in 1868. Others lived all their lives 100 miles west of the western boundary. 41
"	A new reservation recommended for the Arizona Navajos, extending it to the Colorado river. 42
"	Western Navajos are related in many ways to the Hopis. Their interests are reciprocal. 42
"	Navajos in that region number 8,000 or more, and extend more than 100 miles to the west and north. 42
"	Impracticable to crowd back 8,000 Navajos on their present reservation. 42
"	The greater part of these people have lived where they now do for many years. 42
"	Reservation recommended for the Navajos to extend south to include the southernmost Hopi village and its farms; the eastern boundary identical with the present western boundary; the northern boundary identical with the line between Arizona and Utah; the western boundary parallel with the eastern, 100 miles to the west. 43
"	Executive order outlined area "for the use and occupancy of the Moqui, and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle there." 43
1890	Agent Vandever's report on the Navajos who "have roamed and lived in these surroundings from time immemorial" 44
"	Agent Vandever's report on the Hopis, who with few exceptions, still live on the three mesa tops - population 2,200 44
1909	Special Agent Murphy directed to allot land to each Indian in the 1882 Executive Order irrespective of tribe: 746 allotments of varying acreage made to 437 Navajos in surveyed south half 45

Archaeological data corroborate Navajo occupancy of the 1882 reservation and beyond it to the north, west, and south, from early historic times to the present. 46

Approximately 1,000 Navajo archaeological sites are recorded for the 1882 area, many others not included in this report recorded beyond to the north, west, and south. Tree-ring dates from archaeological sites range from 1622 to the present. Navajo pottery before and after 1800 collected. 46

No Hopi archaeological sites dating since 1700 ever reported in 1882 area. 46

Navajo births, 1882, or earlier, recorded for 1882 area and beyond 834. 496 Hopi births, 1805-1868, recorded are all in or near the Hopi mesa villages, except 4 - 3 at Moencopi, 1 at Keams Canyon. 59

REPORT SHOWING TRADITIONAL NAVAJO USE AND OCCUPANCY
OF LANDS IN THE 1882 EXECUTIVE ORDER RESERVATION

INTRODUCTION

The facts of Indian occupancy and use of the 1882 Executive Order rectangle from traditional times down to the present are now well established. Navajo settlements during historic times completely surrounded the three mesas on which the Hopis dwelt in their villages, refusing to move down until the 1890's, when the first Hopi -- for whom the present town of Polacca is named -- ventured to establish his family at the base of First Mesa.

Regarding Hopi claims to land beyond the three mesas, one writer, long familiar with Hopi land use patterns, stated:

There are various conflicting claims made by the Hopi relative to land which they use. The Hopis, first of all, claim the North American continent from ocean to ocean....The second claim is more conservative and approximates the area formerly occupied by the ancestors of the clans which now make up the loosely organized 'Hopi Tribe'....It is an area of shrines, sacred natural features, eagle trapping locations, and regions where salt is obtainable. It is necessary to realize, concerning this second claim, that actual use is not the important thing. What is important is that this area be recognized as a sacred area....In major land disputes with Navajos, the Hopis usually begin all discussions with a presentation of the religious claims, and then present the practical claims based on livestock or farming use.... 1/

Spokesmen for the Hopi Tribe contend that only after 1848 did Navajos commence to settle upon lands previously used by the Hopis' Anasazi ancestors, but long since abandoned by them, and that only after 1848 did Navajos settle within the 1882 Executive Order rectangle. 2/ The record contains a profusion of evidence to the contrary. Equally tenuous are the unrealisti-

cally ambitious claims of the Hopis based entirely upon sporadic use, such as visits to faraway Anasazi ruins or sacred places. Evidence of actual occupancy of the vast areas claimed by the Hopi Tribe is nowhere to be found in the extensive record of trial in both the Healing vs Jones Case and the Hopi Land Claims Case, Docket 196, before the Indian Claims Commission. Except for Moencopi, not a single Hopi settlement, archaeological or otherwise, dating after 1700 A.D., -- when Hopis from the mesas destroyed their own village of Awatovi on the Jeddito Mesa for allowing Spanish Priests to return there -- has ever been located or reported beyond the region of the three mesas on and below which their present villages are located.^{3/}

Documentary data, archaeological evidence including an abundance of early tree-ring dates, records of Navajo births, depositions and testimony of aged Navajo witnesses, amply support a long and continuous Navajo occupancy and use of traditional Navajo lands within the 1882 Executive Order rectangle and extending beyond to the west, north, and south.

The Hopis rely heavily for their territorial claims upon intermittent visits to Anasazi ruins and other places considered by them as sacred. Within and around the 1882 Executive Order area are also a number of locations held equally as sacred by the Navajos.^{4/} These include:

INSIDE THE 1882 EXECUTIVE ORDER RESERVATION

Awatovi	Elephant Feet
Balukai Mesa	White Mesa
Black Mountain	Juniper Ridge
Cow Springs	Tonalea Red Lake
Dove Springs	

NORTH, SOUTH, AND WEST OF THE 1882 EXECUTIVE ORDER RESERVATION

<u>NORTH</u>	<u>SOUTH</u>	<u>WEST</u>	
Baby Rocks	Bitahochee	Bill Williams Mountain	Lava Rock
Comb Ridge	Elden Spring	Black Butte	Little Colorado River
El Capitan	Moqui Buttes	Black Point	Pasture Canyon
Kayenta	Oak Creek Canyon	Coal Mine Mesa	Red Butte
Kinteel	San Francisco Peaks	Colorado River Junction	Red Mesa
Navajo Mountain	Sheep Hill	Desert View Point	Salt Cave
Oljeto	Star Mountain	Fierce Water Spring	Shadow Mountain
Paiute Canyon	Sunset Crater	The Gap	Tuba City Springs
Shonto	Sunset Mountain	Grand Canyon	Williams, Arizona
	Taylor Spring	Gray Mountain	Willow Springs
	Woodruff Butte	Juniper Ridge	Yei Figure
	Wupatki		

PART I - DOCUMENTARY DATA

The consensus is that Navajos were in and beyond the area later defined as the 1882 Executive Order Reservation as early as 1540.^{5/} In 1583, a Spanish expedition to Hopi led by Antonio de Espejo encountered many "Corecho" or "Querecho" Indians near the Hopi village of Awatovi on the Jeddito Wash. Historians identify them as Navajos.^{6/}

In 1629, Hopis learned that a group of Franciscan Monks were approaching their villages for the purpose, they were told,

...to burn their pueblos, rob their belongings and behead their children;...This news so disturbed the Moquinos that they secretly summoned in their favor the neighboring Apaches/during this period and into later times Navajos were more frequently referred to as Apaches/, with whom at that time they had truce. 7/

In his Memorial of 1630, Fray Benavides described the Navajo Province as extending westward from the Rio Grande for 300 leagues, which, granting the paucity of geographical knowledge at the time, would, nevertheless, place it well beyond the Hopi villages and the 1882 Executive Order Reservation. 8/
Eleven years later - in 1641 - Spaniards campaigned against Navajos in the Hopi-Zuni area. 9/

In 1686, Navajos, then at war with the Havasupai Indians west of the Hopis, were of sufficient force to subdue that tribe. 10/ It is unlikely that unless Navajos occupied the territory, they would venture so far west and beyond the Little Colorado River merely to wage a war. This document also is significant in terms of the validity of tree-ring dates for Navajo sites recorded in the Coconino Basin west of the 1882 Executive Order area. The document clearly establishes Navajos west of the Hopis in numbers large enough to subdue the Havasupais, and sixty-three tree-ring dates ranging from 1709G to 1798G, from hogans and other Navajo structures west of the Little Colorado River, corroborate Navajo settlement there following subjugation of the Havasupais. 11/

According to Hopi tradition, Navajos were in their province in connection with flocks brought in for distribution by missionary priests some time during the seventeenth century. 12/ In 1691 a vermilion mine was reported as being

"located twelve leagues west of the province of Moqui, in the lands of the hostile Apaches and Navajos."^{13/} The following year -- 1692 -- Navajo-Apaches warned the Hopis concerning Don Diego de Vargas, telling the Hopis that they "would all be killed and their women and children would be carried off" by the Spaniards.^{14/}

De L'isle's map published in 1700 shows "Apaches de Navaio" located northwest of the Hopi villages.^{15/} Some six years later - in 1706 - Governor Francisco Cuervo y Valdez, in a detailed account, described the Navajo country:

The extensive province of Navajo is the seat, establishment, and dwelling-place of numerous rancherias of heathen Indians of this name. It extends about one hundred leagues from south to north...

The western frontier of the Navajo Province he described as...

the large river /identified as the Colorado/ which, according to report, flows to the sea. In all this distance there live innumerable Indians of the same /Navajo/ nation,...^{16/}

Two years later, on April 6, 1708, the Governor of New Mexico, in a letter to the Duke of Albuquerque, wrote that the Navajo Nation was continuously at war with the Hopi Indians.^{17/} By the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century -- some ten years after the destruction of Awatovi -- the Hopis had almost entirely abandoned the Valley of the Jeddito.^{18/}

In 1750 Ute Indians raided Navajos located in the vicinity of the Hopi villages.^{19/} A map published in 1769 shows the "Provincia de Nabajo" completely surrounding the Hopi mesa villages, and the San Juan River is the "Rio de Nabajo".^{20/} Jeffery's map of 1775 also shows "Apache de Navajo" Northwest of the Hopi towns.^{21/}

In a letter to Fray Fernando Antonio Gomez, Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante wrote from Zuni on August 18, 1775:

The first pueblo of Moqui is a little more than 46 leagues to the west of Zuni. Today the province of Moqui has seven pueblos in an area of somewhat less than 5 leagues....22/

Two months later, on October 28, 1775, Fray Escalante, still at Zuni, again described the domain of the Hopis:

Beginning with the consideration of the province of Moqui,...I entered at the end of the month of June, just past, the province of Moqui...I stopped in the province for eight days. Having inspected the location, defense, herds; waters, and supplies of its pueblos, I am in a position to speak on the present occasion with some knowledge,...To the west, then, with very little inclination to the northwest, forty-six leagues from this pueblo of Zuni are the first three /settlements/ of the province of Moqui. Today, in the area of four and one half leagues, it has seven pueblos which, in a straight line from east to west, are distributed on three mesas, or peñoles....

After detailing the number of villages on each of the three mesas, and the number of families resident in each, the Fray added:

Thus the province of these /Hopis/ has 7494 according to the computation made (without exaggeration)....23/

In yet a third letter referring to the conversion of the Hopis, Escalante urged the establishment of a Presidio in the Hopi province, and that they

...be reduced by force to the domination of their legitimate sovereigns, be brought down from the peñoles /mesas/ to a plain and fit site,...24/

In 1776, when the Missionary Priest Francisco Garcés visited the Havasupai Indians, he was told by them that the Navajos were friends of the Hopis but enemies of the Havasupai, and that the trade route between the Hopi villages and Havasupai territory

...was for them /Havasupais/ very hazardous, on account of the war that they wage with the Yabipais Tejua and Napao /Navajos/...

their traditional enemies. Father Garcés later wrote:

All those whom I designate by the name of Yabipais are in reality Apaches. Also have they a great refuge and dispatch for the horse-herds they steal, in Moqui; for, as I have said, those of the Pueblo de Oraibe have friendship with the Yabipais Nabajay /Navajos/, who are those who infest these lands....25/

Despite the reportedly peaceful conditions between the Navajos and Hopis in 1776, Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, who with Father Silvestre Velez de Escalante followed Father Garcés, reported on November 25, 1776, that

The Navajos and Yutas have killed, captured, and robbed the Moquis, and they are now at war with them.... 26/

During the same month, the Escalante party camped along the Colorado River at a place yet known as the Crossing of the Fathers, where they noted a log stairway built and used by the Navajo Indians, which descended down into the Canyon. Such construction efforts, although northwest of the 1882 Executive Order area, are not normally expended by transients or raiders, and are indicative of a degree of stability and permanence. 27/

When the Escalante party reached the Hopi villages, the Hopis communicated with them in the Navajo language both at Oraibi and at Second Mesa, 28/ an unquestionable indication of Navajo-Hopi contacts sufficiently long and frequent enough for the Hopis to have learned the Navajo language.

Governor Juan Bautista de Anza, only a few years after the visit of Escalante's party, reported that there were comparatively few Hopis left in their country. It is evident from his reports that his tribe at that time occupied an even more limited territory than the five leagues attributed to them by Escalante, since there were not enough of them to maintain any sizeable area of land.

On November 1, 1779, Governor de Anza, in his efforts to convert the Hopis to Catholicism, informed Comandante-General Teodoro de Croix:

...that if those /Hopis/ who come /to the Rio Grande/ wished to be organized as a part or as an entirely separate pueblo of their nation alone, that of El Sabinal would be put at their disposal or another which may accommodate them, ...I have well founded information that when many /Hopi/ families leave their pueblos they do it for the honest purpose of coming to give themselves up to us. This fortunate overture the Navajo Apache nation obstructs, intimating to them that we would not receive them... 29/

The following year, 1780, pestilence in the form of Smallpox and famine due to crop failures caused many Hopis to seek refuge among the Navajos. The Spaniards believed this to be a propitious time for their conversion, and also feared that, unless relieved, all the Hopis might join the Navajos who were hostile to the Spaniards. De Anza's persuasion through the emissaries he had despatched to the Hopis finally elicited a promise from them on August 25, 1780, that forty Hopi families would migrate to the Rio Grande

...on condition that I personally should go to bring them out...

The De Anza expedition left Santa Fe on September 10, 1780. Arriving at Awatobi on September 22, De Anza decided to await the return of emissaries he had sent ahead to Hopi.

At two in the morning some of the emissaries...returned with news that they had been cordially received...and that most of the caciques...begged me not to force any of their people to abandon their pueblos, as most of them desired to end their lives there, notwithstanding the misfortunes of war and hunger which they were experiencing. They added that the forty families, which had first summoned me, left fifteen days before my departure to await my arrival in the country and possessions of the Navajo Apaches, persuaded that they would give them shelter as friends, as they had done at other times,

...In this belief they had put themselves in the power of the Navajo, but these barbarians had committed the crime of murdering all the men and making prisoners of the women and innocent children. This lamentable event was learned through two of the former who had succeeded in fleeing and returning to their country.

De Anza decided to go on the Hopi,

...the number of troops and Indians accompanying me were only those indispensable to guard me from the common Apache enemies.

On September 23, de Anza arrived at Oraibi. In conversing with the old Chief there, he stated

...that with regard to the opening of trade...they would enjoy coming and carrying it on in our country, if some day they succeeded in reestablishing themselves well; that he held it impossible because of the extermination of his nation and so much of their goods which they suffered because of lack of rains and pastures in addition to continuous war which the Utes and Navajos make on them. Of these he complained so bitterly. For this reason I offered to mediate with both nations. However, the perversity of this nation is, and according to old accounts has been so great, that he requested I refrain from that because he was firmly resolved to die at the hands of his enemies.

Comparing the Hopis with Escalante's summary of 7494 Hopis occupying seven pueblos on the three mesas, de Anza continued:

...Today, the seven pueblos are reduced to five. The first and second have 40 families; the third, 45; the fourth, 10; and the fifth, the capital, Oraibe, from 38 to 40, which by the usual rule of six persons to a family would make the preceding 135 families, equal 798 persons. This is the most that will be found. From this it follows that in the three years previously noted 6698 have died, if some are not concealed from us living among the heathen nations, their friends. They have some horses; they assured us they have no more than five head in all the pueblos, no cattle and about three hundred sheep. The greater number of these we observed in the pueblo of Gualpi /Walpi/. The crops they now have are numerous, but have done badly as much as being in sandy soil as because it has not rained. We calculate they will not harvest in all two hundred fanegas of all grains.

These causes which have contributed to the extermination of these pueblos or provinces, all its natives agree, have been hunger and pestilence, the first because it has not rained since the year 1777, and from that has resulted the second. To this may be added the war which the Utes and Navajos make upon them cruelly....Continuing with what has been described, my limited consideration marvels that the province or pueblos spoken of had existed many years in the fortune that the old chronicles show us. Today we see it in the last stages of its extermination, because it lacks the most fundamental things for its preservation since, in the four leagues or a little more in which Moqui is situated, where they are sowing there is no spring with which to irrigate ten bushes of any plant whatever....I offered to mediate with their enemies, the Utes and Navajos, that they might permit them to live in peace.... 30/

On January 17 of the following year - 1781 - De Anza wrote:

...the Navajo Apaches, who are their Hopis nearest neighbors, are being increased by additions from these Moqui. The former having been our declared enemies, it is to be presumed that they would aspire to be so again,...The Navajo Indian tribe, as much by warlike acts and by the other deeds of violence which I have described, have possessed themselves of many of the Moqui. In this matter, I am persuaded that a larger number is included among them than appear to us, because the Navajo are continuing their bad conduct.... 31/

On April 30, 1781, it was reported that more than two hundred Hopis had come to the Rio Grande, and considered

...themselves happy on account of the reception and good treatment which has been given them, without caring to return to their old country where of necessity they must be afraid that war, hunger, and pestilence will pursue and annihilate them... 32/

In November of the same year, de Anza proclaimed the

...inevitable extermination of the Hopis by the ravages of the epidemic of smallpox and of the war which the Utes and Navajos make upon them. 33/

Many of the Hopi converts who had settled in the Rio Grande Pueblos of Sandia and Santa Clara succumbed to the ravages of Smallpox, for during the winter of 1780-1781 -- from December 11, 1780 to March 10, 1781 -- seventy Hopi were buried by the Catholic Priests of these Parishes, fifty-five at Sandia, and fifteen at Santa Clara. ^{34/}

In the spring of 1801, the Navajos, still at war with the Hopis, were again waging war against the Havasupai Indians to the west. In the winter of that year a Havasupai boy, presumably a captive from the war, had been purchased by a Spaniard and was baptized at Jemez, then a trading center for the Navajos. ^{35/}

On February 16, 1819, Interim Governor Antonio Cordero reported that

...there presented themselves to said Justice /of Zuni/ five gentile Indians of the Hopi Pueblo, making known the oppression that the Navajo Nation has finally put upon them, as a result of having settled with all their goods at a distance of two leagues /five miles/ from the same Hopi Pueblo /First Mesa/, and consequently asking that they be aided on our part to free them from the damages that they suffer... ^{36/}

Four days later, Governor Facundo Melgares informed Custos Hozio, head of the Catholic Church in New Mexico, that the Cacique and others of the Hopis Tribe were hard pressed at Ojo de la Vaca /Black Mesa area/ by the Navajos, and were seeking help from the Spaniards; hence, there was hope of founding a Hopi mission. The governor stated that he was sending a division against the Navajos and asked prayers for success. ^{37/}

The following month -- March, 1819 -- Governor Melgares reported to the Comandante-General that he had just returned from his second expedition against the Navajos. During the campaign, troops under his command

...attacked the Navajos in two pueblos of this /Hcpi/ tribe, Guaype and Tegua /Walpi and Tewa/,
...killed several and drove them very far away,
making the Hopis see the frankness and promptness
with which their well-being and tranquility is
attended to....

The governor also referred to the "many humiliations they have suffered from the Navajos," and further reported that

Captain Don Andres Sanudo still remains with a party annoying those gentiles in their country.

Results of the campaign included thirty-six Navajo killed, and twenty of both sexes taken captive. Seized from the Navajos were 470 sheep and goats and 24 horses and mules. ^{38/} The presence of such a quantity of Navajo stock is indicative of Navajo occupation of the area rather than of raiding or trading activities.

On August 21, 1819, a treaty concluded between Governor Melgares and Joaquin, Principal Navajo Leader, Gordo, the Peace Chief, and Captains Vicente, Salvador, and Francisco for the Navajos contained the stipulation, among others that the Navajos would

...respect the persons and property of the Moqui Pueblos, because this government takes them under the protection of its amiable Sovereign, in whose shadow they have been placed.

The treaty was approved October 26, 1819 by the Viceroy of New Spain, Count of Venadito, in the name of the King of Spain. ^{39/}

That Navajos controlled lands within the 1882 Executive Order region and to the west of the Hopis prior to the Mexican period (beginning in 1821) is evident from the fact that the Havasupais had earlier retreated into Havasu Canyon, the cause of their retreat, according to William H. Hodge, being war with Indians "to the east," ^{40/} which only could have been the

Navajos, since warfare between the Havasupais and the Hopis is not known ever to have occurred. Leslie Spier also suggests that the attenuated Pueblo elements present in Havasupai culture were derived from an intervening group who "in the light of known contacts, must have been the Navaho."^{41/}

Certainly the Hopis were aware of the Navajos' presence in the 1882 area, for when Governor José Antonio Vizcarra penetrated that region in 1823, the Hopis themselves not only reported the presence of the Navajos with their families and stock, but also guided Vizcarra to where they were located.

Governor Vizcarra's Journal of the Mexican Expedition that he led against the Navajos in July and August of 1823 provides considerable information relative to them, with their families and livestock, in the 1882 Executive Order area and region to the north. Proceeding westward to Canyon de Chelly, the expedition approached Hopi First Mesa on July 17,

...having had news that there might be some Navajos and also their stock there. On my arrival I scouted the pueblo and tried to learn if they had any Navajo stock hidden among their own herd; finding none, I had the party retire,...At four in the afternoon the War Captain of this pueblo /First Mesa/ came at my call, and offered to take me to where the Navajos had their camp and their stock;...near a mesa that has only one ascent, which they use in time of trouble.

On July 19,

...I marched with a party of fifty men,...to reconnoiter the terrain of the Pueblos of Moqui as far as the last one, which is Oraibi. They total six. Their inhabitants number 3,000, more or less....On the return three Navajos were sighted. They were chased, but could not be overtaken....

On July 21, a Navajo ranchería was attacked,

...killing five women and capturing nine slaves of both sexes, and taking twelve horses and mules and seventy head of sheep and goats. Likewise, Captain Don Miguel Montoya reported having attacked the

Navajos on his march, and succeeded in killing two women and capturing eight slaves of both sexes.

On July 24, two Navajos were met; one was killed, the other taken prisoner.

The following day,

...a party of two hundred men under the Captain, ...Don Julian Armijo, leaving for the Pueblo of Moqui to collect the livestock of the Navajo Segundo, which our Navajo prisoner reported was there. They were found, mixed among the livestock of the Hopis; the report verified, this Navajo was sent with the Captain to separate the Navajo livestock. At three in the afternoon the captain returned with three hundred and seventeen head of sheep and goats, together with three Hopis, who wished to separate their livestock from the rest which they did, picking out thirty-nine. I reprimanded them for having deceived me, telling me there was no Navajo livestock. I detained two of them as guides. At nine at night a party of three hundred men under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Don Antonio Sandoval left for Oraibi having had news that there might be Navajos there.

July 26. A party of two hundred men under the command of...Captain Don José Francisco Ortiz, marched, with Moqui as its destination, to separate Navajo livestock remaining in herds that they did not present. At ten on the same day he returned with forty-eight head of sheep and goats....

July 28. I readied a party of five hundred men to march to the place where the Navajos were said to have gathered. At four in the afternoon, in discussing the expedition, the /Navajo/ interpreter, Miguel García, informed me that the Hopi who said he would guide us declared that on the proposed route, and also where the Navajos were, there was only rain water. Because of this news I postponed the expedition because the heat was extreme,...

July 30.....I marched with fifty men to search some areas where it was suspected there might be enemy habitations unknown to us. I rested at the head of the arroyo that flows down to the pueblo of Oraibi....

July 31. At one in the morning I sent a party of twenty men to go to the top of the ridge, toward which I had moved since yesterday. At five in the morning I reconnoitered the mountain /Big Mountain,

called Dził Ntsah in Navajo/. . . .the senior soldier reported that on their way they had found a fortified mesa, but no habitation. /Site W-LLC-MD-II record during the Navajo Land Claim Survey fits this description. It is located about three miles south of Big Mountain/. . . .Then I descended toward the arroyo where I had spent the previous night, but halted much higher up, about halfway between the arroyo and the mountain. Many tracks of sheep and goats, over fifteen days old, were found.

At about noon, very tired of traveling, I halted on the bank of the arroyo, on some cliffs where there is a large red rock /This was probably on the East Fork of the Dinnebito Wash/. After being there an hour, two Navajos with three mules appeared ahead. I detached ten infantry soldiers, but as soon as the Indians saw them, they left the mules and fled. At the end of another hour three Navajos mounted on horses were sighted in the same direction as those with the mules. I detached another ten men to a point where they could shoot at them, to see if they could wound or kill them. I did not realize that the troop was poorly located, and that the Indians saw them. A shot at them was merely a wasted bullet, and they fled. . . .August 1. . . .the march was resumed. . . .the tracks of an individual on foot, and barefoot, were found on a path. I followed the tracks and path for a quarter of a league. Shortly, he was overtaken and proved to be Navajo; he was killed and his quiver and bow were taken. . . .

Proceeding on to the Elephant's Feet and Cow Springs via Moencopi Wash, Vizcarra wrote on August 8, after attacking a party of Paiutes believed to be Navajos:

. . . .There only remained in my company the man who was to guide me to where a woman of one of the prisoners told him the Navajos were (although they did not wish to reveal it, we felt that they ought to know, for goats were found among them, which only the Navajos have). . . .I rested a short while where I had joined the others, and continued my march, the Ute /Paiute/ guiding me (from whom I learned that the arroyo or canyon called Los Pilares is the same as Chellecito /March Pass area/ where the Navajo Juanico should be). On the trip I came across the tracks of Juanico's horse herd and cattle at one in the afternoon. I followed it until seven at night. As it became very rainy and dark, . . .

August 9. I continued the march on the trail of the horse herd and the sheep and goats, which now were traveling together....At noon, when I overtook this party, the Navajos appeared on the ascent to a mesa /Skeleton Mesa/ among them Juanico, who shouted from above that he wanted to talk to me. I replied in a few words that I had come to fight. I directed, in order to gain the ascent, that a party of infantry go to the right, and with the rest I ascended in front of where they were. At the first shots they abandoned their position, but continued opposing us and firing at us, with the intention of delaying us to give time for the flight of their livestock. I followed the trail without capturing them. They continued shooting....As soon as we reached the top, a drove of cattle and several little herds of sheep and goats were sighted in the middle of another short, canyon-like pass. I gathered up all of them, left twenty men as guards, and continued on the trail. After going a short distance, the dust of the rest of the livestock was sighted....I left men there to guard them, and continued with ten mounted men to gather up the herds of sheep and goats that were seen. (The Navajos always fled on superior horses.) I ordered the Lieutenant...Don Manuel Sanchez...to round up a few cattle that were seen near there. Upon moving some two hundred paces from me, approximately ten Indians attacked him. I followed behind to protect him. They attacked before I arrived. He faced them and made them retreat....On arriving where the cattle had been seen, he was attacked by the ten Indians first seen, together with others on horseback and four on foot that were among the little rocks where the cattle were. Sanchez and those accompanying him quickly dismounted to oppose them, and the Indians attacked, the combat becoming hand to hand....I arrived with the five men that accompanied me...the Indians fled at our attack, being satisfied with driving off five horses of those with Lieutenant Sanchez and seizing the ensign's gun, which they took from his hands in the fighting and carried off. No enemy was seen to fall, but Lieutenant Sanchez killed one of their horses with the only shot he had time to fire, so violently did they attack....The Indians withdrew a great distance, even onto the heights, but others continued to overtake their stock. I proceeded slowly. I continued marching back over my own tracks, rounding up little bunches of livestock until I reached the first cows that I had left, which I found at the place where I left them. Here I spent the night without water, having traveled to the last place where the Navajos were overtaken, 25 leagues, and on the return, five - 30 leagues.

August 10. I continued from this point over my own trail...I counted the sheep and goats and cattle taken from the Navajos. Eighty-seven cattle were taken from them, and the sheep and goats counted here, after having eaten some and killed some through disorder, were 405 head... 42/

Governor Vizcarra encountering Navajos with their families and stock indicates stability and permanence, for certainly, Navajos on a mere trading or raiding expedition would not bring their families nor drive their stock before them.

In 1828, Navajos were living northeast of and contiguous to the Hopis. 43/
The following year - 1829 - Antonio Armijo led a party of sixty men on a trading expedition from Abiquiu, New Mexico to Santa Barbara, California. He procured a Navajo guide for his westward journey in order to protect the party from possible Navajo depredations. Armijo's diary shows Navajos occupying the country east of the Colorado River. 44/

Djasjini, A Hopi, was a boy at the time of the meteorite show of 1833, 45/
and recalled that at that time Navajos lived on the mesas all round the Hopi villages, were friends, and came every day to the Hopi villages. Djasjini learned to speak Navajo well from being among them so much. In 1858, when he guided Lt. Joseph C. Ives' party, Djasjini had long been a full grown man. 46/

Peace between the Hopis and Navajo apparently was short-lived, for a few years later - about the mid-1830's or perhaps a little later, Navajos attacked Oraibi, westernmost of the Hopi villages, in such force that the Hopi suffered a severe defeat and the pueblo was practically annihilated. 47/ In 1853, the Whipple and Ives Survey and Exploration Party reported of one of their Mexican herders:

A few years since, while he was playing at Covero Spring, he was captured by Navajoes. For nine months he was a prisoner, and followed the Indians in their wanderings. He accompanied a party of one thousand warriors through the Moqui country,...48/

It is likely that this was the war party that attacked Oraibi.

AMERICAN PERIOD: 1846 - 1882

In 1846 Navajos inhabited

...the mountains between the Rio Grande and the Colorado River of the West.... 49/

and the Governor of New Mexico reported that

The Moquis are neighbours of the Navajoes and live in permanent villages,... 50/

Between 1846 and the Fort Sumner period when about half the Navajo Tribe was in exile, the Hopis

...were surrounded by deserts and the fierce Navajoes, and these were sufficient to stop visitors or adventurers: only armies could reach them. 51/

On his sketch map prepared in 1849 suggesting areas for the location of Indian Agencies, Superintendent of Indian Affairs James S. Calhoun shows Navajos immediately north of the Hopis as well as west of the Colorado River and north of the San Juan. 52/ About the 1840's some Havasupai strangers from Cataract Canyon came to a Navajo's

...place a little east of the present Tuba, where I had some horses. They killed all of my family, my wife and children and some other women. I was not home then.... 53/

About 1850 Peshlakai Atsidi, well-known headman from west of the 1882 rectangle, was born on the west side of Coconino Point, southwest of present Cameron. In March, during one of the early years of his life, Navajos held an Ajinta, or Fire Dance, in the area of Coconino Point. Many Navajes

from all the country around...attended the event, which was held for Asdzaa Yazhee, the occasion being her return from Ute captivity.

...She had been taken from her family's camp on Black Mesa. 54/

In October of 1850, Governor Calhoun in Santa Fe reported:

...The seven Moqui Pueblos sent to me a deputation who presented themselves on the 6th day of this month....They complained, bitterly, of the depredations of the Navajos. 55/

In the fall of 1850 a Spanish-American expedition attacked Navajos on the Mesa de la Vaca (old name for Black Mesa). The Commander of the expedition, Ramon Luna, wrote:

...there I divided my forces and scattered them on the various routes to the Navajo country. I succeeded in chastising the Indians and taking their stock amounting to 5,000 Sheep, 150 riding animals, 11 Oxen and 28 prisoners, also 20 four (sic) men, who were delivered to by a Navajo who surrendered himself to save his life. We used up nearly 700 fanegas of their corn... 56/

In April of 1851 the Governor, War-Captain, and three other men of Zuni arrived at Cebolleta to deliver four soldiers who had recently deserted, and reported that the "...Moquis who are friendly with the Navajoes,..." had made frequent inquiries of the Zunis regarding the movements of the military, and whether a campaign was being "meditated against them."^{57/} The following month Henry L. Dodge, later to become Agent to the Navajos; reported from Cebolleta:

The Zunians say that they learn from the inhabitants of seven pueblos of Moque that the Navajos are planting extensively in the Canon of Chey, that many of them are living to the west of the Canon of Chey near a mountain called the Calabasa /Marsh Pass-Skeleton Mesa area west of Kayenta/ and that the rich have retired with their flocks and herds to the Rio St. John. I had a conversation with the Moques themselves and they stated to me that the Navajos came daily to

their pueblos, traded them mules, horses and sheep for corn bread, red flannel, indigo &c. The Moques have a large number of government mules purchased by them from the Navajos. I obtained two of those mules in Zuni....and I can with ten Dragoons go to Moque and get some fifty or sixty more with the aid of the Zunians and some Mexicans whom I have in my employ by paying to Moques ten dollars a piece which was the price I paid for those I brought here. 58/

In August of 1851 Governor Calhoun wrote the Commissioner regarding the

Hopis:

Thirteen Indians, from these Pueblos, visited me on the 28th inst. Their object was to ascertain, whether their Great Father, and they supposed me to be him, would do anything for them. They complained that the Navajos had continued to rob them, until they had left them exceedingly poor, and wretched, indeed, did they look....These Indians seem to be innocent, and very poor, and should be taken care of. The Navajos having exhausted, or nearly so, the supplies of the Moquies, are now at peace with them, and will remain so, until the Moquies increase their stores to an extent that shall awaken their cupidity.... 59/

In October of 1851, Major Electus Backus, Commander at Fort Defiance, wrote:

About 20th of October, 1851, forty Moqui Indians, headed by their governor, presented themselves at Fort Defiance, and requested an interview on the part of the Navajos, who, they said, were desirous of living on terms of peace and friendship...on the 26th of the same month, a formidable body of Navajoes, well mounted, and armed with guns, lances, bows, and arrows, presented themselves in front of the garrison, and solicited an interview. It was at once granted and resulted in an agreement, on their part, to cease hostilities and depredations against the troops of the United States, the citizens of New Mexico, and the pueblas of Tunice (sic) and Moqui.... 60/

Dr. Ten Broek, Surgeon at Fort Defiance, visited the Hopis in 1852, and noted:

...There is a mountain, in the plain south-west from Moqui, which is covered with perpetual snow, and called by the Navajoes, Cierra Natary -- the chief mountain /San Francisco Peaks/. They say that by riding very fast, one can go from here to the river in a day, or in two, by easy marches. The Navajoes say that a large party of Americans have been living all winter on the river near this mountain /Little Colorado River/,... 61/

To supply such intelligence, the Navajos must have been living or ranging in the same vicinity west of the 1882 area.

Describing the Navajo country in 1853, Major Electus Backus wrote:

The Navajoes occupy a large of country directly west from Sante Fe, extending from near the Rio Grande on the east, to the Colorado on the west; and from the land of the Utahs on the north, to the Apaches on the south....The country occupied by the Navajoes is not susceptible of a high state of cultivation,...An exception...will be found at Tunice (sic) and Moqui, Indian Pueblos within the Navajoe territory,... 62/

A similar description was written by Captain Joseph H. Eaton:

Within the present confines of the Territory of New Mexico, are found three or four tribes of wild Indians; and interspersed here and there, in various parts of their country, are found small towns or villages of semi-civilized Indians, denominated Pueblo Indians....In the western portions, embraced between the Del Norte /Rio Grande/ and the Colorado of the West, dwell the noted tribe of Navajoes,... 63/

On November 21, 1853 Elder P. O. Pratt in Salt Lake City wrote the Editor of Deseret News regarding some New Mexico traders recently arrived in that city:

They have for sale some hundreds of woolen blankets, or 'serapas,' some of which are manufactured by the Navijo Indians....They live at a small town...on a stream called the Chama,...They traveled northwesterly from their town, crossing the river St. John /San Juan/, a tributary of the Colorado,...and pursued a southwesterly course, entering the Colorado below the mouth of Grand River /At this time the Grand was part of the Colorado River above the Green River/. ...On the south of this stream is the country of the

Navijos; and further down on the same side, are the villages of the Moquis, built of adobies. They are seven in number; the principal of which is called Oriba. The country of the Navijos and Moquis is a fine, good soil, well timbered, mild climate, not much winter, abundant in pasturage, and produces large quantities of cattle, horses, mules, sheep, wheat, maize, peaches, melons, etc.... 64/

On February 6, 1854 it was reported from Fort Defiance:

...The Navajos and Moquis recently have been on unfriendly terms, the Moquis killing one Navajoe for theft, and Navajoes retaliating by killing five Moquis...The Moquis are anxious for me to open a road to their Pueblos, in order that trading relations may be established with their people, expecting in this way to be able to cope with the Navajos in their difficulties thereafter, and perhaps to derive protection from us.... 65/

Governor David Meriwether's Map of 1854 showing boundaries generally conceded to Indian Tribes and bands in the Territory of New Mexico, ascribes "35,000 sqr. miles" to the Navajos, including lands both on the north and south of the "Moquis". In his letter accompanying the map to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Merwither wrote:

I...enclose you a map with such boundaries marked upon it, as are generally conceded to the tribes and bands respectively; together with a rough estimate of the number of square miles contained in each boundary. It should be borne in mind, however, that these Indians claim and roam over a much greater extent of country than that which I have assigned to them on the map.... 66/

W. W. H. Davis, Secretary to the Governor of New Mexico, wrote:

One of the most interesting excursions I. made in New Mexico was a visit to the country of the Nabajo Indians in the summer of 1855, who inhabit a region that lies between the rivers Colorado and San Juan, about two hundred miles west of Santa Fe. 67/

During late summer of the same year, Ethan Pettit and a party of Mormons from the Elk Mountain Mission (present Moab, Utah), travelled south to the

area around Kayenta to trade with the Navajos. Pettit noted Navajo corn-fields and melon crops and

...that the Navajos are rich in goats, sheep and horses of which they have large numbers. 68/

From his diary, it is apparent that Pettit and his group crossed the San Juan River at the "Navajo Ford" near the mouth of Grand Gulch, shown on McComb's Map of 1860. 69/

About 1855-1857 Haschinisusu ("Small Man"), was born on the Little Colorado River at a point twelve miles upstream from Leupp. Just before his birth his parents moved to this place from about thirty miles north of Oraibi,

...because of crowded conditions there and the fact that relatives were already living on Little Colorado. 70/

On February 3, 1856, Captain H. L. Kendrick, Commander at Fort Defiance, wrote Army Headquarters in Washington that

...the Navajoe Nation, whose 2000 warriors have been the terror & scourge of N. M. for forty years, with the Pueblos of Zuni & Moqui looking to us for protection against the Coyoteros as well as the Navajoes--I trust you will believe that my time & attention are very sufficiently occupied in helping to maintain a peace which has not been broken since this Post was established.... 71/

On April 19 of 1856 Navajo Agent Henry L. Dodge at Fort Defiance reported:

I have recently seen a few fine rifles silver mounted, tobacco & Blankets among the Navajos near Moqui, which upon enquiring I found they had got from the Mormons in exchange for horses. They say that the Mormons asked them about the Americans that had a fort in the Navajo country and why they did not drive them out of their Territory for if they permitted them to stay in their country they would take the entire land from them in a few years. That these people may be operating upon the Utahs and Navajoes prejudicial

to the interest of the U. S. is a matter that
deserves to be enquired into. 72/

Two days later - April 21 - Captain Kendrick reported that

...when the San Juan is high the Navajoes cross
it much lower than our knowledge extends.

Many crossings on the Lower San Juan are known and used by Navajos occupying 73/
the region as well as those travelling north to trade with the Mormons.

Governor Meriwether's map of 1856 delineating boundaries of land claimed
by various groups shows the "Claim of Navajos" completely surrounding the
"Moquis" and extending to the Colorado River on the west. In his transmittal
letter, however, Meriwether stated:

There are no well defined and acknowledged bound-
ary lines dividing the white people from the Indians
of this Territory, nor between the several tribes
and bands of Indians themselves. Each tribe and
band claims all the land which its people have
usually hunted and roamed over, ... I think it pro-
bable, too, that the Navajos and Utahs have no
valid claim so far west as the Colorado river,
but I can gain no information as to where the west-
ern boundary of their claim should be placed; and as
no other people inhabit the country west of the es-
tablished claim of the Navajos and Utahs, and east
of the Colorado, I have assigned it to those Indians.

On the south the Navajos' claim extended

...over the Colorado Chiquito Little Colorado to
the country of the Gila Apaches. 74/

When first known to history, the Navahoes occupied
the country on the San Juan River and south there-
of, in the northern parts of New Mexico and Arizona,
and extended into Colorado and Utah. They were then
surrounded by Apaches on all sides, except in the
north, where they met the Shoshonean tribes...the
Navahoes claimed in 1858 all the land extending from
the Rio Grande to the Colorado of the west, including
as to-day Early 1870's the villages of the Hopis. 75/

On January 4, 1858,

...an Indian, whose mother is Navajo and father is said to be Utah, living in the direction of the Moqui villages, came into the post /of Fort Defiance/ and reported that he was on his return from a visit to the head men of the Navajo people, whither he had gone at the instance of some Utah chiefs who desired to make peace with the Navajoes....The Indian who came here has been to Salt Lake City...

General John Garland, commanding the Department of New Mexico, prophetically surmised:

There is reason to believe that the Utahs have been tampered with by direction of Brigham Young, whose object, also, is to extend his relations into the country of the Navajoes. 76/

When Lt. Joseph C. Ives visited Second Mesa in May of 1858, he noted the defensive location of the Hopi villages and wrote that

...the position unfortunately does not protect the animals upon the plains below, and our friends /the Hopis/ informed us, with rueful faces, that the...Navajoes had driven off a great deal of their stock during the previous year.

Lt. Ives next visited Oraibi and noted of the Hopis there:

...All are wrapped in Navajo blankets, with broad white and dark stripes, and a crowd at a distance looks like the face of a stratified rock.

On the way to Oraibi Ives'

...guide pointed out a place where the Navajoes had recently made a descent upon the Moquis flocks.... The herders had been utterly routed, and retreated to their pueblo, while the conquerers made off with all their stock.

On May 18, at Peach Orchard Spring (present Keams Canyon) east of First Mesa,

Lt. Ives noted:

After reaching camp two Navajoes rode in upon horses that we had seen yesterday hobbled near the Moquis pueblo. I supposed at first that they had stolen them, but a soldier told me that he had seen one of the men at Mooshahneh /Mishongnovi on Second Mesa/, and that the Moquis had told him that there were two

or three Navajoes there on a visit. That the latter should have the face to go to Moquis so soon after the recent foray speaks well for their boldness, but does not indicate much spirit on the part of the others....A third joined them after a while, also from the direction of Moquis,... 77/

During the 1858 campaign against the Navajos beginning on September 9 and terminating on November 20, one E. T. Bucknam at Zuni wrote to Colonel D. S. Miles at Fort Defiance that a Hopi Chief had come to Zuni

...to consult with this Pueblo as to the best course he should pursue....He says another Chief and about one half of his people are preparing to join the Navajos, that he with his tribe are afraid of the others, and will be obliged to seek protection somewhere, they cannot go through the Navajos to you, so they wished to bring their stock and come and live here... 78/

Miles replied:

I regret to hear the Moquis show a disposition to join the Navajoes, if they do I will attack & destroy them....woe to them if they join our enemies. 79/

In outlining his campaign plans, Colonel Miles noted:

...I will march through Pass Washington...The commands will then strike west on the north side of Canon de Chelly to its western mouth, then so. w. to Calabasha Sierra /north of Marsh Pass/ and mesa to the west of Moqui, where most of the Indians with their families are now.... 80/

Indeed, Navajos in the Calabasa Mountain had been attacked in September by troops under Captain W. L. Elliott's command. 81/ Major E. Backus, commanding a second column of the expedition also noted that his troop would

...follow the Navajoes to a large mesa near Moqui, where they /the Navajos/ are driving their stock. 82/

After the 1858 campaign was over Colonel Miles noted that the Black Mesa north of the Hopi villages and Calabasa Mountain north of Marsh Pass were among the principal grazing areas of the Navajos. 83/ In summarizing data with re-

ference to Glen Canyon, well to the northwest of the Hopi, Dr. Gregory

Crampton writes:

The Navajos were probably generally familiar with the canyon country of the Colorado long before these years /1858-1864/. They must have hunted the high mesas and the slopes of Navajo Mountain bordering the canyon lands to which some of their number may have fled for protection from the Utes, their ancient enemies, who pressed them from the north and east. 84/

In May of 1859, some twenty Hopis arrived at Fort Defiance where they complained to the Commanding Officer of the frequent Navajo depredations. 85/

In July of 1859 during operations against the Navajos, Major O.L. Shepherd was ordered to

...march to the south south-west from Fort Defiance. It is desirable that this column proceed, if possible, to a mountain beyond the Moquis villages, where it is reported several of the wealthy Navajos have taken their stock and flocks, and where it is supposed some of the depredators and disaffected make their hiding place.... 86/

In his report on his expedition, Major Shepherd noted:

...Regarding the Moqui Indians, they appeared to be an honest and very industrious and simple-minded people, living almost entirely by cultivating the soil....It is a well settled fact, from the best information, that the Navajo Indians live a great deal upon them; and what they don't sponge they rob, as is evident from there being no horses among them.... 87/

During the same month, Navajos with large herds were reported north and north-west of the Hopis. 88/ On September 1, 1859, Captain Walker's command was ordered to

...march to the Mesa de la Vaca /Black Mesa/, thence to the Mesa Calabaza /Skeleton Mesa/ and to a mountain beyond, supposed to be southwest, where it is reported there are numerous cañons well watered, and where many Navajoes reside with their flocks and herds. 89/

On Black Mesa Walker "...saw many abandoned Navajo huts..." 90/ Describing the

Hopi Indians, Agent Silas F. Kendrick wrote:

The Moquis live...about 70 or 80 miles from Fort Defiance,...They are inoffensive Indians, non-combatant, and make little or no resistance, even when they are attacked and are called 'Quaker Indians' by some....91/

This was during the time of year when Navajos would have been in other areas tending their farms. 92/ In November, 1859, on a trip to the Hopi towns, the Mormon Thales Haskell recorded north of the Hopi villages:

...Indians said that we had better keep a good lookout for our animals as we are in Navajoe country. 93/

In December, the Navajo Chief Huero Miles lived at a place about 80 miles west of Fort Defiance "...near the Pueblos of Moqui." 94/

In July of 1860 another Hopi delegation to Fort Defiance complained

...of the depredations committed by the Navajoes upon them. 95/

During the same month, a party of about 125 Mexicans proceeded from Fort Defiance to Black Mesa, where

...they found too many indians opposed to them to admit of overtaking stock, and finally on the Mesa de la Vaca [Black Mesa], where were great numbers of sheep, and horses, they were opposed by a thousand indians, and there being, a great want of water for both men & animals, they were therefore, compelled to return, with only four ponies captured. They reported about four Navajoes shot helpless, and some few others wounded.... 96/

In the fall of 1860, hostilities against the Navajos by the Army caused many to take their flocks to the Calabasa Mountain, the Moqui villages, and the Sierra Lemita (Marsh Pass area). 97/ In October 1860, Jacob Hamblin's party of Mormon Missionaries journeyed from southern Utah to the Hopi villages. Some twenty-two miles north of the Hopi villages, they encountered a group of hostile Navajos who killed George A. Smith, Jr., a member of their

party. Retreating to the friendly camp of Spaneshanks, Chief of the Navajos in that area, the friendly Chief would not allow the hostile Navajos, who were from Fort Defiance, to further harm the missionaries. Spaneshanks, of long residence in the area, was the father of Ira Hatch's Indian wife, who accompanied the missionaries. The Chief had given his daughter to the Mormons some years previously. Adopted and reared by them, she later became one of Ira Hatch's wives. 98/

In December of 1860 Colonel Ed. R. S. Canby wrote:

...that from information derived from the Navajos recently captured, and from the delegations that have visited this post and Fort Defiance to ask for peace, indicate that the great body of the wealthy Navajos with their flocks and herds are now in the vicinity of the San Francisco Mountains. This information derived from different sources is confirmed by our own observations....Six weeks or two months will probably be required for a thorough examination of the country in the neighborhood of the San Francisco mountains and that north of the Moqui villages. 99/

The Navajos actually were retreating into territory which they claimed and controlled. 100/

Early in February of 1861, Canby reported from Fort Fauntleroy that prior to treaty negotiations

The Navajoes are assembling in large numbers. About 2000 are already encamped in the neighborhood of the post....The Indians from the neighborhood of the Moqui villages are represented to be on their way in, but have been delayed by the depth of the snow.... 101/

John Ward, Agent to the Pueblo Indians, visited the Hopis during 1861, and later wrote:

A short time previous to my visit to them they had been attacked and robbed by the hostile Navajos; and to make their condition worse the independent

campaigns from this territory against the Navajos had also gone to their village and taken from them even the very corn they had in store for their subsistence. This was done, as afterward learned, under the plea that the Moquis were in league with the Navajos against us. 102/

In 1862 Navajo Country was defined as being bounded on the west by the Colorado and Virgin Rivers. 103/ Travelling from the west to the Hopi Villages, in the same year, the Mormon John Steele reported on December 18th:

...at last came in sight of the long looked for village standing upon a high prominent point of rocks; ...found them prepared for war, they having seen us, ...There were several hundred of them assembled...for they took us for Navajoes...Of late that wicked nation has robbed the people of this village of many of their flocks and sheep and goats....they are industrious and wish to live in peace, the Navajoes love to steal from them....

After leaving the Hopis, Steele noted some Twenty-two miles north of Oraibi:

There is cottonwood timber here and the Navajoes have made corrals here for their sheep. There is a nice little meadow here upon which the Navajoes were camped, when our brethren were here two years ago, when George A. was killed....

As the party traveled towards the Colorado River, other Navajos were encountered on December 25th and 27th. 104/

Havasupai traditions place Navajos at several locations west of the Little Colorado River in 1862 and prior to that time, 105/ and Big Jim, a Havasupai born about 1855, testified in 1942 that as a boy his playmate was a Navajo boy. 106/ George Hunt, a Yavapai born in 1856, placed the northern boundary of the Yavapai when he was a "young growing boy" at present Elagstaff, and described the Navajos as living "to the north and east" of the Yavapai boundary. 107/

Many Navajo family groups from the Western area did not go to Fort Sumner - (1863-1868) - but remained near the places of their birth and residence, or

retiring into nearby canyons, on to mesa tops, or north of the San Juan River, to avoid attack or capture. While many of the Tribe were at Fort Sumner, others farmed, hunted, and herded their stock over the 1882 Executive Order region, and to the north, west, and south, to where many Navajos returned in 1868 after returning from the Fort Sumner exile. ^{108/}

From very early times, the Hopis kept close to their three mesas to avoid conflict with the Navajos, and the Navajos considered that the Hopis lived within the Navajo Country. ^{109/}

In July of 1863 Colonel Christopher Carson on the Pueblo Colorado recorded:

From a Pah Ute woman captured, I ascertained that a strong party of Navajoes, with a large herd of sheep, cattle, and horses, were at a pond of water about 35 miles west of here, ...^{110/}

This location would be in the Keams - Jeddito Wash area. The following month, the troops attacked Navajos, with their herds, northwest of White Cone. ^{111/} Keams Canyon was long a favorite resort of the Navajos, who planted corn and melons there. In 1863 Navajo attacked troops camped there in a well-planned attempt to capture their animals. ^{112/} Also during August of 1863, Navajos at Howell Mesa west of Oraibi were attacked by the troops and their Ute allies, killing and capturing some of the Navajo livestock, and destroying their cornfields. In his report, Carson stated:

From all I could learn from the Moqui Indians, and the captives taken, the majority of the Navajoes with their herds are at the Little Red River /Little Colorado River/, and this is confirmed by my own observation. ^{113/}

In September of 1863, Carson's troops at Grand Falls on the lower Little Colorado River

...saw and pursued 7 Navajoes with about 15 horses;

but, owing to the broken-down condition of our horses,
the Indians escaped. They captured 1 child....114/

In October of 1863, Colonel Carson wrote Army Headquarters in Santa Fe
relative to

...the condition of the Moqui and Oribi tribes of
Indians inhabiting the villages ninety (90) miles
west of this post /Fort Defiance/; and to their
position as regards the Navajos....They have little
or no flocks or herds, and what little they have is
kept on the insecure tenure of forbearance on the
part of the Navajoes, by whom they are surrounded,
and it is to this forbearance and services rendered
by them, such as herders, spies, &c, that they are
permitted to exist at all. Under these circumstances
it is not surprising that the Navajoes are continual-
ly advised of the movements of any body of troops
operating in the vicinity of the Moquies. And, apart
from any consideration of humanity, I would respect-
fully suggest the necessity of removing them to some
more hospitable section of the country, and where
they would be out of the power and influence of the
Navajoes....Until they are removed I am satisfied
that there will always be a barrier opposed to the
removal of the Navajoes. 115/

On November 15, 1863, Carson left Fort Defiance

...for the purpose of exploring the country west of
the Oribi villages, and, if possible, to chastise the
Navajoes inhabiting that region....On the 21st, arrived
at the Moqui village. I found...that the inhabitants
of all the villages, except the Oribi, had a misunder-
standing with the Navajoes, owing to some injustice
perpetrated by the latter. I took advantage of this
feeling, and succeeded in obtaining representatives from
all the villages, Oribi excepted, to accompany me on the
war-path. My object in insisting upon parties of these
people accompanying me was simply to involve them so far
that they could not retract -- to bind them to us, and
place them, in antagonism to the Navajoes....Before my
arrival at Oribi, I was credibly informed that the people
of that village had formed an alliance with the Navajoes,
and on reaching there I caused their governor and another
of their principal men to be bound, and took them with me
as prisoners...

Carson marched his command 65 miles west of Oraibi to Moencopi Wash where

...my command captured 1 boy and 7 horses and destroyed an encampment.

The following day a Navajo attempted but failed to have a parley with Carson's troops. On November 25,

...we captured 1 woman and child, about 500 head of sheep and goats, and 70 head of horses, and destroyed another Indian encampment. There were 5 Indians with this herd, but on our approach they fled...I encamped on the table-lands of the river, and that night sent out spies, who, on their return, informed me that the Navajoes were in the vicinity...I sent out two parties of 50 men each,...The parties returned to camp late at night without having found any Indians, although they found every indication of where they had recently been; in some places the fires were still burning....Our camp of this day is about 25 miles northwest of the San Francisco Mountains....116/

Late in December, troops were ordered to campaign against Navajos on Black Mesa where

The Colonel Commanding /Carson/ is satisfied that there are a considerable number of Indians...and he is equally well satisfied that you will use every exertion and precaution to enable you to overtake and chastise them.

The 'Scout' resulted in one Navajo killed, one wounded, and thirteen taken captive. 117/

In 1863, Hopis attacked a large group of Navajos north of their villages. 118/

On January 11, 1864,

...two squaws came into the Post /of Fort Defiance/, who reported...that they had been traveling for ten days through the cold and snow. They stated there were a large number of Navajoes near the Moqui villages, who were willing to make their submission to the Government and remove to the Bosque Redondo, provided a company or two of troops would protect them and their stock in the removal....119/

On February 16th, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Michael Steck wrote the Commissioner:

With reference to the proper location of the Navajo Tribe, I would state that in my judgment there is no place so well calculated to make a permanent home for these Indians as in the valley of the Colorado Chiquito /Little Colorado River/ in the southwestern part of the country now occupied by that tribe....By selecting the location recommended in the valley of the Colorado Chiquito, the reservation will be further removed from mining interests than at Bosque Redondo,...119/

In March of 1864, Carson wrote:

There is no doubt in my mind but that the strength of the Navajo Nation has been underrated, and that there is five or six thousand still at large; and these the most wealthy and powerful...

living in the region of the San Francisco Peaks and southwest of the Little Colorado River. 120/ On April 24, it was reported from Fort Defiance that

...all the Navajoes, rich and poor, are now en route to this Post...The greater portion of them above just started from the west of the Colorado Chiquito and it will be from fifteen to twenty days before they are in... 121/

Five days later - April 29 - Captain A. B. Carey further reported that

...on the morning of the 25th inst. a Navajo Indians arrived here and reported...that while en route to this Post with families and herds he was attacked in the vicinity of the Moqui Village by a party of Mexicans and that all of his family were either killed or captured and his herds taken by the Mexicans. About noon of the same day another Indian arrived... and stated that all the Indians who were en route to this post had on being attacked turned back, separated and fled to the mountains. This second Indian stated that all his herds of horses and sheep were captured....122/

On May 19, 1864, Jose Antonio Mansanarez, Agent to the Utes, reported from Abiquiu, New Mexico:

Some two weeks since a party of citizens from the Conejos and Rito Colorado passed by this place on their return from the Navajo country, and stated that they had been two days' travel beyond the Moqui Pueblos (villages) accompanied by twenty five Indians from those Pueblos. They also stated that they had taken considerable amount of stock from the Navajoes, sheep and horses and several captives.

but few hours afterwards they regretted having done so from the fact that they found themselves surrounded by a party of over two hundred Navajoes, all mounted, but at last they succeeded in killing eighteen of the Indians (I. saw some of the scalps which the party brought in), and made good their retreat with a portion of the stock, besides over two hundred dollars worth of silver plate for belts, saddles, buckskin, &c.... 123/

During the summer of 1864, some two thousand Navajos were brought in from the vicinity of Navajo Mountain north of the 1882 area, 124/ and on July 6, 1864, Captain P.W.L. Plympton reported from Fort Defiance:

...I understand that there are supposed to be some 3,000 beyond the 'Colorado of the West.125/

Six days later, Captain Plympton reported that many Navajos "...are living 126/ beyond the Moquis, cultivating the land....

In August of 1864, Major Julius C. Shaw reported from Fort Defiance that

...many more Navajos would immediately come in but are afraid to do so, owing to the pernicious influence exercised over them by the Moqui & Zuni Indians, who persuade the Navajos that the Govm't is taking all the stock and killing the male Inds. upon their arrival at the Bosque Redondo.... 127/

In the fall of 1864, Pawny-shank and a few other Navajo Indians (who live to the E.S.E. of here /St. George, Utah/, about 175 miles on the opposite side of the Colorado, near Pawny-shank Mountain /Navajo Mountain/, came to some of our eastern settlements on a visit, pretending to be friendly. They were well received and fed by our people; however on their return home they stole a number of horses from a settlement called Kanab, about 80 miles from here, doing this entirely without the least provocation. 128/

In October, a party of Navajos who had escaped Carson's roundup were "...living near the Moqui Villages,..." 129/ and during the same month Superintendent Steck referred to the Little Colorado River as being "in their own Territory" 130/. The Hopis also continued their depredations against Navajos in 1864. 131/

Early in 1865 Jacob Hamblin was told by Hopis that the old Navajo Chief from north of the Hopi Villages, the friendly Spaneshanks, had been discarded by his band, and that his son had succeeded him as Chief and was disposed to raid at any favorable opportunity. 132/ On February 8, Major Eaton reported from Fort Wingate:

...There has lately come from the Conino Mts. /San Francisco Peaks/ three ranchitos, say thirty souls. One of these Indians was about the largest stock owners in the Navajo country, but Utes cleaned him out leaving him only six horses. This party are on their way to this Post and will probably be here in about ten days. 133/

On March 21, General James H. Carleton questioned Herrera, a Navajo Chief, on how many Navajos were still back in the old Navajo country. Herrera replied that

...there are now six small parties. The first one is beyond the Colorado Chiquito and consists of fifty souls all told, men, women, and children....There is a sixth party at the Mesa de Calabasa /Marsh Pass area west of Kayenta/, which has some stock, say 2,000 head of sheep and 100 horses.... 134/

In the spring of 1865 a Navajo woman

...and six others were captured near the Moqui Villages by a party of citizens and taken to the Rio Grande & sold,... 135/

On July 24, Colonel Shaw reported from Fort Wingate:

...a citizen named Juan Vigil reported to me this inst. that he in company with fifty one other citizens left Abique N. M. on the 19th day of last month on a scout against the Navajoe Indians, that after having passed over a great portion of the Navajo country finally upon the 8th inst. they encountered at or near the San Francisco Mts. about two hundred warriors, Navajoes & Apaches combined, with whom they had two fights....They killed nine Indians, and recaptured a Mexican boy of some ten years of age, and captured eighty five Ind. horses and about one thousand head of sheep....On the

third day after the 2d fight...the Indians surprised the herders (twenty two in number) and retook all their stock excepting some fifty or sixty sheep which had been killed for the subsistence of the party.... 136/

In September of 1865 Superintendent of Indian Affairs Felipe Deigado wrote the Commissioner with regard to the Navajos:

...The Colorado Chiquito is urged by those opposed to the Bosque /Fort Sumner/ as a more suitable location for the Navajoes....It is adjacent to the endless mountain fastnesses heretofore occupied by the Navajoes, with every part of which they are well acquainted from a long residence there,...137/

From Fort Wingate, Captain Butler reported:

...a Navajoe Indian with his family (wife and child) arrived at this post and surrendered himself for the purpose of being sent to Fort Sumner. He calls himself (Cabellado Chino) says he came from the other side of the Moqui Villages and formerly belonged to Manuelito's band. This body, he says, has been dispersed by the Utes...The party was attacked by the Utes, he states, about 2 months since /November, 1865/ near Mesa de la Baca /Black Mountain/; several Navajoes were killed - no Utes. He was absent hunting when the fight took place and the Utes took all his stock 27 horses and Mules and a large Number of Sheep. The greater portion of the Men, who could not effect their escape by flight, were killed by the Utes. Cabello Blanco the Ute Chief took the survivors and a larbe number of women and children with him to his own country....138/

During the same month, on November 26, Captain Montoya reported from Fort Wingate:

...From the Zuni Indians, and some Moquis (whom I met at Laguna Salada /Zuni Salt Lake/ I heard that...a few Navajoes, who still remain hostile, are located on the Colorado Chiquito beyond Oraibe....Citizen scouts are now en route to Oraibe and will, I think, discover there the Navajoes to whom I have alluded. 139/

Also during November a citizen expedition from Cubero, New Mexico led by Antonio Mexicano campaigned against the Navajos northwest of the Hopi villages.

In his report, Mexicano referred to the Moencopi Wash as "...a resort of the Navajoes..."^{140/} and to get there "...they travelled over a great portion of the old Navajo country...."^{141/} A third member of the expedition reported:

I took 32 Moqui Indians for spies. When I arrived at the place where Col. Carson passed in his expedition...I found that the Moquis were not acquainted with the country...These Ariabe /Oraibi/ Indians are well supplied with provisions as are also the Mosquis, and they are at war with the Navajo... 142/

In January of 1866 Chief Manuelitio was on the Little Colorado

...having with him only his brother, 'El Ciego' the family of the latter and his own family. They have barely animals enough to transport their families. Manuelito has some corn buried, which he digs up from time to time, and trades for provision etc, with the Moquis. 143/

Other Navajos lived west of Hopi.^{144/} In April 1866, Captain Montoya recommended that the only chance to capture Navajos still at large "is to send a scout for sixty days beyond Oraibe and Moqui villages."^{145/} In the Spring of 1866,

...Navajos were wont to cross the Colorado, scatter into small bands, make swift raids on the Mormon settlements, gather up horses, cattle and sheep and flee back across the river. ...Navajos were concentrated east of the Colorado... 146/

In July of 1866 Navajos from the Marsh Pass and Black Mountain areas surrendered to the military.^{147/} The following month Navajos from the Little Colorado River surrendered,^{148/} and in December, more Navajos from west of the Hopi villages.^{149/}

During treaty negotiations at Fort Sumner just prior to the Navajos' return to their homes, Chief Barboncito stated:

There is another mountain called Mesa Calabasa /north of the 1882 area/ where these beads which we wear on our necks have been handed down from generation to generation and where we were told by our forefathers never to leave our own country. 150/

Upon their return from the Fort Sumner exile, many Navajos were wandering from the Continental Divide to the San Francisco Mountains in search of food, locating their old hogans and grazing grounds, and re-establishing themselves among their Navajo clansmen who had remained behind. The 1861 Treaty Reservation was

...too small for a pastoral people, and in view of the fact that the country for many miles around had previously been occupied by the tribe, the Navajo soon spilled over the Reservation boundary and reoccupied the areas where they had lived before going to Fort Sumner....151/

On the western side, they reoccupied the good grazing ground of the Mesa Calabasa, some seventy miles beyond the true reservation. 152/

Soon after the Navajos returned from Fort Sumner exile and were again settled in their country, Captain A.D. Palmer was assigned to the Hopis as their Special Agent. On November 30, 1869, in a preliminary report, regarding them, he wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

...They are extremely poor, as compared with the Majority of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico & Arizona....They were at one time contented & happy but bad seasons, sickness and the thieving propensities of their immediate neighbors & hereditary enemies the Navajos and Apaches, have made & kept them poor. They appear to be contented with their country and desire to remain there, if they can be assured of protection or of the means of protection against their above named enemies. I shall endeavor to make a treaty between them and the Navajo, who are nearest to them, as soon as practicable. They have no arms but their bows & arrows; the Navajos are well armed with various kinds of fire arms, and the Moquis say, that until they can acquire or receive fire arms, they have no hope of improving their present condition, as their crops, their animals & them-

selves, are continually at the mercy of their enemies.... 153/

The following month -- on December 20, 1869 -- Special Agent Palmer wrote again regarding the Hopis:

...The Moqui Villages are seven in number and are located about (100) one hundred miles nearly due west from Fort Defiance...They are built on high abrupt "mesas" or table lands (which jut out into a broad plain)...accessible by foot paths cut in solid rock....The Moquis are very poor... They state they were at one time well off, but the thefts of roving bands of Apaches & Navajoes have greatly reduced them....Their number by actual count is, all told (1595) one thousand five hundred & ninety five....Taking into consideration the general character of the Moquis and their present destitute condition, I regard them as eminently fit subject for governmental assistance. They desire in any event to remain where they are.... 154/

In 1870, Special Agent W. F. M. Army recommended a sub-agency for the Navajos at Mesa de los Calabases, adding:

At this last place...a Navajo chief with nearly a thousand Indians are now located, have prospects of good crops, and desire to remain there. This location is over a hundred miles from the agency at Canon Bonito /Fort Defiance/ and is off the reservation 72 miles from the west line...

Agent Army wrote several times of this band, stating on November 4, 1873 that the chief

...lives at the foot of 'Mesa Calabasa'...He has between 1500 and 2000 Indians with him, and under his control. 155/

By Executive Order of October 29, 1878, and January 6, 1880, the Navajo Treaty Reservation of June 1, 1868, was extended westward to 100° longitude, which line was later to become the east boundary of the Executive Order Reservation on December 16, 1882. 156/ In 1881, Galen Eastman, Navajo Agent, reported to the Commissioner with reference to Navajos

...who have always resided west and north of this /Treaty/ Reservation, and who did not go to Fort Sumner, or sign treaty in 1868,... 157/

Some months before the 1882 Executive Order Reservation was established, U.S. Indian Inspector C. H. Howard made on-the-spot examinations of both the Navajo and Hopi Agencies, submitting his lengthy reports to the Secretary of the Interior. In his report on the Navajo Agency dated October 25, 1882, he wrote:

...After much careful study upon the ground and riding horseback several hundred miles and conferring with the more intelligent of the Navajos and with all the respectable white citizens interested, I came to the conclusion that it was not best to try to maintain the Western boundary /of the Navajo Reservation which then was synchronous to the east boundary of the yet-to-be-created 1882 Executive Order Reservation/ as now defined....a still more important fact is, that even at the present time at least one half /of the Navajos/, and some put it a higher proportion, are located beyond the western boundary. They have had their homes there for many years; some said ever since their return from Fort Sumner in 1868; others never went to Fort Sumner and had lived all their lives at a distance of one hundred miles or thereabouts west of the west of the western boundary. It should be noted that the seven villages of the Moquis are in this region. One of them about twenty miles from the western boundary, and one as far as fifty miles....The Navajos are all about them and somewhat intermarried with them. They have more or less of relations in common and frequently have difficulties between the two tribes which must be settled by some common umpire. There are only 2000 of the Moquis....

In recommending that an Industrial School be built at Keams Canyon, the Inspector added:

This would be seventy miles /west/ from the present Navajo School. But the Navajos extend for one hundred miles or more west of that point /Keams Canyon/, and it would be available, also, for the 2,000 Moquis....I therefore recommend that

a new Reservation be designated for the accommodation and management of the Arizona Navajos, i.e., all living west of the present boundary line of their Reservation and that this new Reservation be extended at least one hundred miles to west /this would be to the Colorado River/, and far enough to the south to embrace the villages and lands now cultivated by the Moquis;...

Howard wrote that some 8,000 Navajos lived west of the 110° longitude, the west boundary of the Navajo Reservation at that time, and the east boundary of the 1882 Executive Order Reservation created a few months later. ^{158/}

In his Report on the Moqui Agency submitted about a month later - November 29, 1882 - and some 17 days before the Executive Order of December 16, 1882, Inspector Howard wrote:

...I took care to see in person some of the chiefs and leading Navajos living far beyond the western limits of their Reservation. I soon ascertained that these Western or Arizona Navajos...were in many ways related to the Moquis, that their interests were reciprocal,...the Moqui Agency /at Keams Canyon/ ...is inadequate to deal with the great body of the Navajos, who live in that region and whose flocks and herds are constantly overrunning the cultivated land of the Moquis,...the Navajos situated in that distant and inaccessible region...number some 8,000 or more, and extend more than one hundred miles to the west and north. It must be borne in mind that this extensive tract of country is occupied for pasture by the Navajos on the north and west, and for tillage and pasture by the Moquis on the south....I have already demonstrated...the impracticability of crowding back these 8,000 Arizona Navajos upon their present Reservation. It is barely sufficient for the flocks and herds of those already located upon it, and these will naturally increase as they have for ten years past....It would be fatal to self-support to force the Western or Arizona Indians in upon this already scanty pasture land. Another fact, the greater part of these people have lived where they now do, or in this general region, for many years....

The Inspector recommended a reservation for the Navajos, to extend far enough south to include

...the southernmost Moqui village and its contiguous farms, cultivated by the Moquis...

as follows:

Eastern boundary identical with the Western boundary of the present Navajo Reservation; its Northern boundary identical with the line between Arizona and Utah; its Western boundary a line parallel with the Eastern, one hundred miles to the West,.../This would be about to the Colorado River, or the present western boundary of the Navajo Reservation/159/

Inspector Howard's recommendations, however, were bypassed in favor of that submitted by Hopi Agent J. H. Fleming on December 4, 1882, which read:

...Make the N.E. corner of the intersection of 36°30' with the 110° meridian -- running thence west to 111° -- thence east to 110° -- thence north to place of beginning. 160/

Supported by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, ^{161/} Agent Fleming's rectangle became a reality on December 16, 1882, when President Chester A. Arthur issued his Executive Order setting it apart

...for the use and occupancy of the Moqui, and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon. 162/

In his report to the Commissioner for 1890, U.S. Indian Agent C. E. Vandever wrote lengthily with regard to the Navajos and Hopis. Of the Navajos he wrote in part:

...During the past year I have spent much of my time in visiting every portion of the reservation. It has been my endeavor to study the tribe thoroughly by learning all I could of their past history, traditions, and habits and customs....The Navajos, although they early encroached upon the ancient Moquis, seem to have met but little resistance from that people,...The area of the reservation is about 11,500 square miles, but as they have always ranged over the greater part of the adjoining Moqui Reservation, 3,000 square miles may be added, giving a total of 14,500 square miles of Navajo country within reservation lines....The surging conflict lies here: that many of the inherited lands of the Navajos lie some

distance beyond the established Navajo Reservation. They have roamed and lived in these surroundings from time immemorial, and it is almost a matter of impossibility to explain to them our scheme of restricted land-holding. No explanation can be made to them of the difference between an acre and a square mile, so far as possessory title lies. Wherever grass grows, there they think their sheep and horses ought to graze.... 163/

Of the Hopis he wrote:

...I have studied them as carefully as circumstances would permit, and now give the result of my investigations. The Moqui differ in many ways from their neighbors, the Navajo, these two tribes presenting many contrasts in habits and character. The saucy, arrogant Navajo leads a kind of Bedouin life, while the timid, unresisting Moqui cling closely to their old villages perched on the cliffs. ...The Moqui goes afoot defenseless, and will trot a long distance out of his way to greet the American with a conciliatory hand-shake...Their country was later named by the Spaniard the province of Tusayan, from an appropriate Navajo term, 'ta-sa-ún,' meaning the place of isolated buttes....We know that in 1541 the Spaniards found the Moqui occupying villages which were old then,...Not long after this the Navajo began to encroach from the eastward, and roamed between Tusayan and the Rio Grande....About 1780 an epidemic of small-pox devastated all the Moqui villages, and again in 1840 the same disease raged among them for several months....Three of the villages are built upon the bare, flat summit of the east mesa, 600 feet above the level of the valley; upon the middle mesa three other villages are built upon points of equal height; but the western point, upon which Oraibi is situated, is considerably lower. These mesas all point to the southward, projecting from main tableland, with intervals of about 7 miles between each of them. I have visited them frequently, and estimate their population as follows--sexes about equal:

East Mesa:	
Teh-wa-----	200
Si-tchom-ovi-----	100
Walpi-----	300
Middle mesa:	
Mi-shong-in-ovi-----	350
Shi-powl-ovi-----	175
Shung-op-ovi-----	250
Oraibi-----	<u>825</u>
Total population	2,200

The villages have all the same general appearance-- rows of houses more or less dilapidated, of irregular heights, but all flat-roofed and built together, with here and there a dingy court. Viewed from the valleys it is difficult to distinguish between cliff-wall and house-wall,...A constant source of bickering between them and the Navajo are the encroachments of the latter. I have given this matter a great deal of careful attention, and have time and again restrained the Navajo from these intrusions, warning them not to approach with their herds within certain specified limits, which would give the Moqui ample room grazing, if they were not too timid to use it. Since I made this last adjustment complaints have not been so numerous, but it is a slow task to set up back-bone in these Moqui who are too spiritless to assert their own rights. But friction between them gradually decreases, and more cordial relations are slowly growing among them....a few families have been induced to leave the noisome villages and build down in the valley, lumber, doors, and windows having been furnished them for this purpose. But, as a whole, the Moqui seem not to possess sufficient energy to conceive or carry out any proposition for their own betterment....Security from intrusion is gradually tempting more families to build in the valleys, and the more civilized ideas acquired by the younger people at the school may develop sprightlier faculties in the coming generation....164/

From Vandever's report it is evident that, with few exceptions, the Hopis continued to cling to their mesa tops and their population had increased but little since Escalante's and De Anza's visits there in the 1770's and 1780's.

On February 25, 1909, Special Allotting Agent Mathew M. Murphy was directed by Acting Commissioner R. G. Valentine, and approved by Assistant Secretary of the Interior Jesse E. Wilson February 26, 1909, that

An allotment of forty acres of valley or agricultural land and 320 acres of mesa or grazing land, should be made to each Indian on the /1882 Executive Order/ reservation entitled, irrespective of the fact of whether such Indian is a Moqui or a Navajo. 165/

Between 1909 and 1911, when the allotment program was abandoned, 166/ 746 allotments were made to 437 Navajo Indians in the surveyed southern half of the 1882 reservation. 167/

PART II - OTHER DATA - ARCHAEOLOGICAL, TREE-RING, AND
NAVAJO BIRTH RECORDS

A. Archaeology and Tree-Ring Data

Archaeological data from field investigations carried on during the 1950's corroborate Navajo occupancy of the 1882 Executive Order area and regions beyond to the north, west, and south from early historic times down to the present. Nearly 3,000 Navajo structures were recorded during field work; these comprise approximately 1,000 Navajo archaeological sites for the 1882 area. Map No. 1 which follows shows the locations of these sites. Many other Navajo archaeological sites recorded beyond the 1882 rectangle to the Colorado River also substantiate early Navajo occupancy and use of this broad region.

Tree-ring dates from timbers cut from these Navajo structures range from 1622 to well into the 20th century and the present. Navajo pottery dating before 1800 and that dating after 1800 was collected from a number of the above sites.

Data from Navajo archaeological sites for the 1882 area are summarized in Table 1. Tree-ring dates from these sites and those from Navajo sites beyond the 1882 area, originally published in the Tree-Ring Bulletin of the University of Arizona, are tabulated in Table 2. ^{168/}

It is significant that no Hopi archaeological sites dating later than 1700 have ever been reported for the 1882 Executive Order Reservation beyond the vicinity of the three mesas which the Hopis still occupy today.

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF DATA FROM NAVAJO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
1862 EXECUTIVE ORDER RESERVATION

* BC: Burat Corn Wash
DO: Doyanegija Moss
DZ: Dziłłéjinnah (Black Mtn.)
HT: Hooohododitito Moss
J: Jashdeezaili (Pitch Point)
LM: Lone (Low) Mountain
LO: Lower Oraibi
LP: Lower Polacca
M: Moencopi Wash
MB: Moqui Buttes
MO: Middle Dinnebito
MJ: Middle Jeddito
MO: Middle Oraibi
MP: Middle Polacca
NJ: North Jeddito
OP: Owl Point
P: Pinyon
SM: Salinas Mesa
TS: Tse Chiasi
UD: Upper Dinnebito
UO: Upper Oraibi
WS: Wepo Wash

SUB-AREA	SITES													STRUCTURES													SITES WITH DATABLE MATERIAL													DATING					Total Range of Dating from All Sources
	HABITATION	GAME CORRAL	CADASTRAL SURVEY	MISCELLANEOUS	FORKED-POLE HOGAN	CHIMBED LOG	STONE WALL	OTHER TYPE HOGAN	CHINDI HOGAN & BURIAL	STONE HOUSES	SWEAT HOUSES	STOCK CORRALS	LAMB PENS	SUBSTITUTES & WINDSHREDS	ANTELOPE TRAPS	LOOKS	SMITHIES	DANCE CORRALS	FORTIFICATIONS	MISCELLANEOUS	TOTAL STRUCTURES	NAVAJO POTTERY	NAVAJO ARTIFACTS	TRADITION	DOCUMENTARY HISTORY & KNOWLEDGE	Range of Tree-Ring Dates	Trade Material Associated	Ceramic Associations	Tradition	Documentary	PRE-1862	Post 1862													
BC	23	-	-	-	27	14	-	2	5	-	5	6	-	3	-	1	1	1	1	1	3	68	4	-	10	-	-	1765-1870	Post-FS	18th-20th Century	Ca. 1839 to Post-FS	-	18	1	1765 to present										
DO	22	-	-	-	22	22	4	4	-	-	4	19	5	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	86	4	-	-	-	-	1772-1900	"	"	-	-	11	2	1772 to present										
DZ	17	-	11	-	7	23	1	4	-	-	4	12	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	60	-	-	2	-	-	1701-1893	"	-	Pre-1863 to 1923	-	6	2	1701 to present										
NM	23	-	(2)	-	-	-	16	8	-	1	8	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1909-1911	-	1	1909 to present										
HT	5	-	-	-	8	14	-	2	1	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	2	1	1	-	-	1797-1872	"	Post-1800	Pre-1878	-	2	-	1797 to present										
J	11	-	-	1	2	15	-	2	-	-	1	8	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	35	1	-	3	-	-	1723-1854	-	"	1860-1865	-	6	-	1723 to present										
LW	16	-	-	-	3	21	3	3	-	-	3	15	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	57	1	-	3	-	-	1773-1932	Post-FS	"	-	-	2	3	1773 to present										
LO	10	-	(1)	1	-	-	5	3	1	7	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	24	-	-	3	1	5	-	"	-	1868-1937	1909-1910	-	6	1868 to present										
LP	16	-	-	2	-	-	4	22	1	-	9	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	10	47	-	-	7	-	4	-	"	-	1868-1937	-	-	9	1868 to present										
MJ	68	11	(8)	2	22	13	15	80	4	-	22	48	5	10	11	1	-	1	15	247	4	7	46	8	33	1720-1891	"	Post-1800	Pre-1863 to present	1891 to 1930's	32	54	1720 to present												
M	240	2	(3)	-	74	132	12	137	6	1	83	174	23	76	3	4	-	2	-	17	744	16	23	29	3	19	1759-1900	"	"	Pre-1863 to present	1910-1911	17	32	1759 to present											
MB	39	2	(8)	-	16	26	2	30	8	8	17	22	-	7	2	1	-	-	-	2	141	6	6	18	10	3	1819-1887	"	"	"	1894 to 1910	7	17	1819 to present											
MD	76	3	(8)	1	7	16	45	49	2	1	19	43	3	13	4	3	-	-	1	9	215	2	3	19	8	7	1740-1916	"	"	"	1886 to 1911	11	21	1740 to present											
MO	24	1	(7)	-	1	5	7	24	3	1	10	16	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	5	76	2	1	7	7	12	-	"	"	"	1909-1911	4	19	Pre-1863 to present											
MP	15	1	-	-	-	2	-	51	1	-	9	11	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	77	-	-	8	8	-	-	"	-	Pre-1663 to 1945	-	3	10	Pre-1863 to present											
NJ	34	1	-	-	29	29	-	6	3	-	7	20	4	1	1	2	-	-	-	1	103	2	-	4	-	-	1703-1900	"	Post-1800	Ca. 1871 to 1905	-	13	2	1703 to present											
OP	27	1	-	-	3	11	1	30	-	-	5	17	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	72	-	-	1	-	4	1711-1860	"	-	1918 to 1937	-	3	5	1711 to present											
P	13	6	-	-	3	23	-	2	1	-	1	4	1	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	42	1	-	7	-	-	1804-1817	"	Post-1800	"	-	-	2	-	1804 to present										
PA	28	1	(2)	-	-	5	15	20	-	4	6	8	2	7	1	-	1	-	-	5	74	4	1	6	2	5	-	"	"	Post-1868 to present	2	-	7	Post-1868 to present											
SM	24	-	-	-	5	45	-	3	-	-	5	16	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	78	-	-	-	-	-	-	1711-1860	-	-	-	-	13	-	1711 to present										
TM	42	-	(6)	-	-	3	19	40	1	-	13	16	1	8	-	1	-	-	-	1	103	1	2	6	6	9	-	Post-FS	Post-1800	Pre-1863 to 1938	1909-1911	4	10	Pre-1863 to present											
TS	10	-	-	-	9	8	1	5	-	-	1	5	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	1	1	3	-	-	1666-1893	-	"	"	-	-	7	3	1666 to present										
UD	47	1	-	1	36	75	-	34	2	-	10	42	8	18	1	-	1	-	-	5	330	11	3	23	-	5	1780-1895	Post-FS	18th Century to 20th "	1799 to 1956	-	25	8	1780 to present											
UO	47	-	-	-	22	73	3	18	-	-	13	26	4	9	-	2	1	-	2	4	177	6	2	22	-	1	1822-1919	"	Post-1800	Pre-1848 to 1898	-	27	7	1822 to present											
WS	14	4	(1)	-	1	3	6	13	-	1	3	11	1	9	4	1	-	1	-	2	56	1	-	4	1	7	1860-1939	"	"	1888-1937	1909	2	8	1860 to present											
WV	3	-	(2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	2	-	"	"	Post-1866	1883-1910	-	2	1883 to present											
TOTALS	893	34	48	9	297	578	158	592	39	27	253	564	73	178	37	86	4	4	4	91	2,920	69	50	236	48	125	-	-	-	-	-	210	229												

T A B L E 2*

TREE-RING DATES FROM NAVAJO ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRUCTURES
(From: TREE-RING BULLETIN, Vol. 26, Nos. 1-4, June, 1964)

Index Code for Western Sector

1882 EXECUTIVE ORDER AREA

LLC: Lower Little Colorado area	MD: Middle Dinnebito
BC: Burnt Corn Wash	MJ: Middle Jeddito
DO: Doyanescla Mesa	MO: Middle Oraibi
DZ: Dzildajinnah (Black Mountain)	MP: Middle Polacca
HT: Hooshdodiito Mesa	NJ: North Jeddito
J: Jeehdazaii (Pitch Point)	OP: Owl Point
LM: Lone (Low) Mountain	P: Pinyon
LO: Lower Oraibi	SM: Salinas Mesa
LP: Lower Polacca	TS: Tse Chizzi
M: Moencopi Wash	UD: Upper Dinnebito
MB: Moqui Buttes	UO: Upper Oraibi
	WE: Wepo Wash

NORTH, WEST AND SOUTH OF 1882 EXECUTIVE ORDER AREA

HC: Havasu Canyon area	LLC: Lower Little Colorado area
LH: Lower Havasu	B: Bodoway
	C: Coconino Plateau
NM: Navajo Mountain area	D: Deadman's Wash
NC: Navajo Creek	SF: San Francisco Wash
OC: Oljeto Creek	
PC: Paiute Creek	

PART I - 1882 EXECUTIVE ORDER AREA

<u>NLC</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Specimen</u>	<u>Tree-Ring Laboratory Date, A. D.</u>
<u>Lower Little Colorado Area</u>			
576	W-LLC-BC-B	Hogan 3	1868inc
578	" B	Hogan 4	1868G
577	" B	Sheep Corral 5	1869inc
580	" C	Hogan 1	1868G
581	" C	Hogan 2	1868G
582	" C	Sheep Corral	1848+
894	" I	Hogan 1	1803+
895	" J	Hogan 1	1869B-
896	" J	Shelter 2	1869G
897	" K	Ch'indi Hogan 1	1870incG
898	" K	Ch'indi Hogan 1	1842+
899	" L	Hogan 1	1853inc
900	" L	Hogan 1	1787+
2212	" P	House 3	1798+inc
2213	" P	House 3	1765+G
2214	" Q	Hogan 1	1850+inc
2216	" S	Hogan 1	1824+incG

TABLE 2

<u>NLC</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Specimen</u>	<u>Tree-Ring Laboratory Date, A. D.</u>
2225	W-LLC-BC-T	Hogan 1	1844incG
2226	" T	Hogan 1	1918+incG
2227	" T	Hogan 1	1838+incG
2228	" T	Hogan 1	1841+incG
2230	" X	Hogan 2	1808+inc
2231	" X	Hogan 2	1846+inc
2229	" X	Smithy 1	1830+G
675	W-LLC-DO-B	Hogan 1	1898G
677	" B	Hogan 6	1901incG
679	" D	Hogan 1	1874+G
681	" E	Hogan 1	1854+c
682	" F	Hogan 1	1858+G
699	" F	Sheep Corral	1798+
683	" G	Hogan 1	1788inc
684	" G	Hogan 2	1772inc
686	" H	Sweat Hogan 1	1844+
667	" L	Sweat Hogan 5	1808+
671	" P	Hogan 4	1874inc
672	" P	Sheep Corral 2	1869inc
904A	" Q	Hogan 2	1858inc
909	" V	Hogan 1	1869incG
912	" V	Hogan 2	1875incG
661	" V	Hogan 3	1878G
907A	" Y	Hogan 1	1897incG
908A	" Y	Lamb Pen	1899+incG
915	" Z	Hogan 1	1874+incG
913	" Z	Hogan 3	1873+incG
914	" Z	Hogan 3	1871+G
916	" Z	Hogan 7	1803+
573	W-LLC-DZ-B	Sheep Corral 3	1843+
598	" D	Hogan 1	1805+
599	" D	Hogan 2	1875G
600	" D	Hogan 3	1874G
596	" G	Sweat Hogan 1	1805+
935	" K	Hogan 4	1808inc
939	" L	Corral 2	1872+G
940	" L	Corral 4	1893+G
941	" M	Hogan 1	1856inc
942	" M	Hogan 2	1852inc
943	" M	Hogan 2	1807+
944	" M	Sweathouse 6	1858G
945	" N	Hogan 1	1701+
688	W-LLC-HT-C	Hogan 1	1870inc
924	" C	Hogan 1	1872incG
691	" C	Hogan 2	1841inc
925	" C	Hogan 2	1869incG
926	" C	Hogan 3	1870incG
689	" C	Hogan 4	1865+G
936	" C	Hogan 5	1869incG
690	" C	Hogan 6	1870G

TABLE 2

<u>NLC</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Specimen</u>	<u>Tree-Ring Laboratory Date, A. D.</u>
927	W-LLC-HT-C	Hogan 6	1866inc
698	" D	Hogan 3	1797+
693	" D	Hogan 4	1817inc
1725	W-LLC-J-B	Hogan 1	1795+
1726	" B	Hogan 2	1828+inc
1731	" C	Hogan 2	1724+
1733	" C	Hogan 3	1854+
1738	" E	Sheep Corral 3	1808+
876	" H	Hogan 1	1840+
877	" H	Hogan 3	1798+
880	" J	Hogan 1	1723incG
882	" K	Hogan 1	1778+G
1723	W-LLC-LM-G	Hogan 2	1773+
1724	" H	Hogan 1	1891inc
886	" M	Hogan 1	1858c
887	" M	Hogan 1	1807G
888	" N	Hogan 1	1926CG
889	" N	Hogan 1	1926cG
890	" N	Sheep Corral	1926cG
891	" P	Hogan 1	1932cG
892	" P	Hogan 1	1932B
893	" P	Hogan 2	1932G
2610	W-LLC-M-D10	Hogan 1	1811+
2611	" D10	Hogan 1	1817+G
2612	" D10	Hogan 1	1804+G
2427	" B24	Hogan 1	1878incG
2662	" B24	Hogan 1	1878cG
2663	" B24	Hogan 1	1878cG
2592	" D7	Hogan 1	1860cG
2600	" D8	Windbreak 1	1895cG
2602	" D8	Corral 3	1898incG
2615	" D12	Hogan 3	1900+G
2623	" D13	Hogan 1	1823+
2624	" D13	Hogan 1	1838+G
2632	" D13	Hogan 1	1871incG
2626	" D13	Hogan 2	1871inc
2627	" D13	Hogan 2	1853incG
2628	" D13	Hogan 2	1846incG
2629	" D13	Hogan 3	1809+
2630	" D13	Hogan 3	1804+G
2199	" E	Hogan 1	1875incG
2200	" E	Hogan 1	1805inc
2904	" E8	Hogan 1	1860incG
2905	" E8	Hogan 1	1859incG
2906	" E8	Hogan 1	1857+G
2907	" E8	Hogan 1	1857+G
2908	" E8	Hogan 1	1860incG
2909	" E8	Hogan 1	1852+G
2910	" E8	Hogan 1	1859incG
2911	" E8	Hogan 1	1859incG

TABLE 2

<u>NLC</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Specimen</u>	<u>Tree-Ring Laboratory Date, A. D.</u>
2913	W-LLC-M-E9	Hogan 1	1759+
2915	" E9	Hogan 1	1782+G
2919	" E9	Hogan 4	1789+
2922	" E9	Hogan 6	1860cG
2922A	" E11	Hogan 1	1897cG
2923A	" E11	Hogan 1	1898+cG
2924A	" E11	Hogan 1	1898+cG
2975	" E21	Hogan 1	1898cG
2977	" E21	Hogan 1	1888+G
2979	" E21	Hogan 2	1897cG
2980	" E21	Hogan 2	1897cG
2981	" E21	Hogan 2	1898incG
2982	" E21	Hogan 2	1898incG
2983	" E21	Hogan 2	1898G
2984	" E21	Hogan 2	1898G
2756	W-LLC-MB-BB	Hogan 1	1887incGB
2236	" G	Antelope Corral	1849incG
2237	" G	Antelope Corral	1819incG
2238	" G	Antelope Corral	1840+incG
2852	" JJ	Hogan 2	1900+G
2853	" KK	Hogan 1	1898inc
2822	" NN	Hogan 1	1817incG
2825	" NN	Sweathouse 4	1887cB
2827	" OO	Hogan 1	1902+incG
2829	" PP	Hogan 1	1875incG
2836	" PP	Hogan 3	1875incG
2842	" QQ	Shelter 2 Yei'i Baghan	1886+inc
2843	" QQ	Hogan 4	1887inc
2844	" QQ	Hogan 4	1777+inc
2342	W-LLC-MD-GGG	Hogan 4	1916incG
2343	" GGG	Hogan 4	1916incG
2643	" JJJ	Windbreak 4	1760+
2645	" KKK	Hogan 1	1782+
2650	" KKK	Hogan 4	1790+
2652	" KKK	Hogan 4	1770+
2653	" KKK	Hogan 5	1795inc
2647	" KKK	Corral 2	1811inc
2656	" KKK	Corral 6	1740+
2742	W-LLC-MJ-A3	Sweathouse 1	1884incB
2744	" A3	Hogan 2	1892incG
2745	" A3	Hogan 2	1893incG
2747	" A3	Hogan 2	1892inc
2749	" A3	Hogan 3	1856incG
2751	" A3	Hogan 3	1856incG
2770A	" A7	Hogan 1	1878incG
2771A	" A7	Hogan 1	1873incG
2250	" DD	Antelope Corral	1772incG
2252	" DD	Antelope Corral	1798+incG
2253	" DD	Antelope Corral	1795+incG
2254	" DD	Antelope Corral	1806+incG
970	" G	Hogan 1	1878+G

TABLE 2

<u>NLC</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Specimen</u>	<u>Tree-Ring Laboratory Date, A. D.</u>
972	W-LLC-MJ-G	Hogan 1	1864+G
973A	" H	Swcat Hogan	1876+G
2279	" HH	Game Corral 1	1809incG
2286	" HH	Game Corral 1	1811incG
2292	" HH	Game Corral 1	1804+inc
2268	" II	Game Corral 1	1822+incG
2272	" II	Game Corral 1	1810+inc
2273	" II	Game Corral 1	1817incG
2274	" II	Game Corral 1	1826G
2418	" III	Yei Hogan 7	1797incG
2667	" QQQ	Hogan 1	1811+inc
2675	" QQQ	Hogan 1	1804+inc
2681	" QQQ	Hogan 3	1807incG
2693	" SSS	Hogan 3	1720inc
2694	" SSS	Hogan 3	1854+incG
2696	" SSS	Hogan 3	1879incG
2697	" SSS	Hogan 3	1867+
2698	" SSS	Hogan 3	1868+G
2699	" SSS	Hogan 3	1882+G
2700	" SSS	Hogan 4	1797+
2706	" SSS	Hogan 4	1793c
2707	" SSS	Hogan 4	1806+G
2718	" WWW	Windbreak 2	1858incG
2728	" XXX	Hogan 1	1880+G
2730	" XXX	Hogan 2	1878G
2731	" ZZZ	Hogan 1	1861+incG
2735	" ZZZ	Hogan 3	1883+incG
2736	" ZZZ	Hogan 3	1887+B
2871	W-LLC-MO-L	Hogan 4	1835incG
655	W-LLC-NJ-AA	Hogan 1	1855inc
1710	" B	Sheep Corral 2	1703inc
657	" BB	Hogan 1	1816inc
1713	" D	Hogan 2	1730+
1714	" D	Hogan 2	1776+
872	" DD	Hogan 3	1868G
871	" EE	Corral	1800+
863	" F	Hogan 1	1795+
864	" F	Hogan 1	1858inc
865	" F	Sheep Corral	1860+G
874	" FF	Hogan 1	1867G
875	" FF	Hogan 3	1857G
866	" H	Hogan 1	1888incG
867	" H	Hogan 1	1893+G
868	" H	Hogan 3	1860+G
869	" J	Hogan 1	1890G
870	" J	Hogan 1	1898cG
1783	" K	Hogan 1	1757+
1784	" L	Hogan 1	1900incG
1785	" N	Hogan 1	1858inc
1788	" N	Hogan 4	1843+G

TABLE 2

<u>NLC</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Specimen</u>	<u>Tree-Ring Laboratory Date, A. D.</u>
638	W-LLC-NJ-P	Hogan 2	1814G
641	" P	Hogan 7	1748+
642	" P	Sheep Corral	1802+
651	" W	Sweathouse 1	1784+
1706	W-LLC-OP-P	Hogan 1	1804inc
1728	" T	Hogan 2	1711inc
1729	" U	Hogan 1	1860incG
1718	W-LLC-P-F	Game Corral	1710inc
1717	" I	Game Corral	1754+
1744	" N	Hogan 1	1804+
1747	" N	Hogan 4	1807+
904	" R	Hogan 3	1817+G
705	W-LLC-SM-A	Sheep Corral 4	1760+
603	" B	Hogan 1	1738+
606	" D	Hogan 1	1773+
607	" D	Hogan 3	1732+
614	" E	Hogan 1	1711+
615	" E	Hogan 2	1756+
619	" G	Hogan 2	1879G
623	" I	Sheep Corral 2	1817+
633	" N	Hogan 1	1756+
632	" N	Sweat Hogan 3	1722+
1759	" P	Hogan 2	1821+
1762	" Q	Sweathouse 1	1784+
1764	" T	Hogan 1	1813+inc
1765	" T	Sheep Corral 2	1752+
1770	" U	Hogan 4	1826+
1772	" V	Hogan 1	1761+
1773	" V	Hogan 3	1782+
1774	" V	Hogan 4	1871+G
1775	" W	Hogan 1	1800+
1780	" X	Hogan 3	1860+G
1781	" X	Hogan 4	1766inc
974	W-LLC-TS-I	Unit 1	1893incG
1715	" B	Hogan 1	1817inc
1740	" D	Hogan 1	1853inc
1741	" D	Hogan 3	1858G
1734	" E	Hogan 1	1666inc
1735	" F	Hogan 1	1759+
883	" H	Hogan 1	1856incG
884	" H	Hogan 1	1856G
885	" H	Hogan 2	1743+
2188	W-LLC-UD-A	Hogan 1	1843+incG
2191	" B	Hogan 1	1849+incG
2198	" D	Hogan 1	1834+incG
2208	" G	Hogan 2	1877+incG
2209	" G	Hogan 3	1866+incG
2217	" H	Hogan 1	1856+incG
2218	" H	Hogan 1	1850+incG
2221	" I	Hogan 4	1856+incG

TABLE 2

<u>NLC</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Specimen</u>	<u>Tree-Ring Laboratory Date, A. D.</u>
2409	W-LLC-UD-II	Hogan 2	1888incG
2317	" W	Hogan 1	1842+inc
2316	" X	Hogan 2	1839+inc
2315	" X	Sweathouse 1	1895cB
2318	" Y	Hogan 1	1780+inc
2320	" Z	Hogan 1	1887+inc
2322	" Z	Hogan 6	1869+incG
2417	" PP	Smithy 5	1846incG
861A	W-LLC-UO-A	Hogan 1	1879+
862A	" B	Hogan 1	1919+c
2327	" BB	Hogan 1	1815+incG
863A	" C	Hogan 1	1835+G
863A	" C	Hogan 1	1833+G
864A	" C	Hogan 1	1854+G
2331	" DD	Hogan 3	1873+inc
2328	" DD	Fortified Crag 1	1790+incG
411	" E	Hogan 2	1744+
416	" F	Hogan 2	1779+
2387	" FF	Hogan 1	1857inc
2388	" FF	Hogan 1	1857+incG
423	" H	Hogan 2	1809inc
2393	" KK	Hogan 6	1850incGB
2394	" LL	Hogan 6	1882incG
2396	" LL	Hogan 7	1743+inc
2398	" NN	Hogan 3	1894incG
946	" O	Hogan 1	1728inc
947	" O	Hogan 1	1817+Gc
951	" P	Hogan 2	1792+inc
2400	" PP	Lean-to	1866inc
952	" Q	Hogan 3	1795inc
953	" R	Hogan 1	1622+incG
954	" R	Hogan 1	1804+inc
955	" R	Sweathouse	1672+
2407	" TT	Hogan 3	1877inc
404	" V	Hogan 1	1809+
408	" V	Hogan 5	1808+
2224	" X	Hogan 3	1743+inc
2265	W-LLC-WE-H	Sweathouse 5	1867+G
2296	" K	Hogan 2	1900+inc
2297	" K	Windbreak 3	1935cGB
2298	" K	Windbreak 4	1939incG
2299	" K	Windbreak 4	1935incG
2301	" K	Windbreak 5	1935incG
2302	" K	Windbreak 6	1935incG
2304	" M	Hogan 6	1921+incG
2293	" O	House 1	1850+inc

TABLE 2

<u>NLC</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Specimen</u>	<u>Tree-Ring Laboratory</u> <u>Date, A. D.</u>
3517	W-NM-PC-P	Hogan 1	1864incG
3519	" P	Hogan 1	1863incG
3551	" S	Sweathouse 1	1820inc
3553	" S	Sweathouse 1	1806incG
3567	" U	Hogan 1	1845inc cG
3568	" U	Hogan 1	1829+incG
3569	" U	Hogan 1	1860incGB
3570	" U	Hogan 1	1830+incG
3571	" U	Hogan 1	1859incG
3572	" U	Hogan 1	1851+incG
3573	" U	Hogan 1	1860incG
<u>Lower Little Colorado Area</u>			
706	W-LLC-B-E	Hogan 1	1907inc
257	" M	Rockshel	1898G
1817	W-LLC-C-A	Hogan 2	1833+
349	" B	Hogan 1	1786+G
350	" B	Hogan 1	1793G
351	" B	Hogan 1	1797G
352	" B	Hogan 1	1793G
3385	" B	Hogan 1	1709+incG
3378	" B	Hogan 2	1787+incG
3379	" B	Hogan 2	1772+incG
3381	" B	Hogan 2	1794+G
3383	" B	Hogan 2	1790+incG
353-4	" B	Hogan 2	1803+G
355	" C	Hogan 1	1825+
356	" C	Hogan 1	1833inc
1821	" C	Hogan 1	1788+
3422	" D	Hogan 1	1798+
3423	" D	Hogan 1	1794+
3424	" D	Hogan 1	1758+inc
3428	" D	Hogan 1	1745+inc
3429	" D	Hogan 1	1790+c
3432	" D	Hogan 1	1812+inc
361	" D	Hogan 2	1763+
362	" D	Hogan 2	1782+G
364	" D	Hogan 4	1789+inc
3410	" D	Hogan 5	1766+inc
3412	" D	Hogan 5	1751+incG
3413	" D	Hogan 5	1773+inc
3414	" D	Hogan 5	1828+incG
3418	" D	Windbreak 6	1789+inc
365	" E	Hogan 1	1796+G
366	" E	Hogan 1	1839inc
3401	" E	Hogan 1	1820incG
3402	" E	Hogan 1	1798incG
3403	" E	Hogan 1	1809+incG
3404	" E	Hogan 1	1837+incG

TABLE 2

<u>NLC</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Specimen</u>	<u>Tree-Ring Laboratory Date, A. D.</u>
3405	W-LLC-C-E	Hogan 1	1792+incG
3406	" E	Hogan 1	1826+incG
370	" F	Hogan 2	1759+
371	" F	Hogan 2	1765inc
374-5	" F	Sheep Corral 1	1809+
376	" F	Corral 2	1779+G
713	" G	Hogan 1	1788+G
2364	" H	Hogan 7	1735+incG
214	" I	Corral 8	1832+
391	" R	Hogan 1	1865G
392	" R	Hogan 2	1869G
382	" T	Hogan 2	1823+G
395	" Z	Hogan 1	1858+
806	" CC	Hogan 1	1795inc
804	" CC	Hogan 10	1828+G
3433	" MM	Hogan 1	1746+incG
3435	" MM	Hogan 1	1771+incG
3436	" MM	Hogan 1	1824+incG
3450	" MM	Hogan 4	1744+inc
3453	" MM	Hogan 5	1792+inc
3454	" MM	Hogan 5	1788+incG
3455	" MM	Hogan 5	1788+incG
3456	" OO	Hogan 1	1751+incG
3457	" OO	Hogan 1	1786+incG
3459	" OO	Hogan 1	1757+incG
3461	" OO	Hogan 1	1729+incG
3462	" OO	Hogan 1	1814+inc
3463	" OO	Hogan 1	1757+inc
3464	" OO	Hogan 1	1726+inc
3465	" OO	Hogan 1	1711+incG
3466	" OO	Hogan 1	1713+inc
3467	" OO	Hogan 1	1822+incG
3468	" OO	Hogan 1	1711+incG
3469	" OO	Hogan 1	1809+incG
3470	" OO	Hogan 1	1742+incG
3471	" OO	Hogan 1	1825CG
3499	" OO	Hogan 2	1795incG
3472	" OO	Hogan 3	1829+incG
3476	" OO	Hogan 3	1830+inc
3477	" OO	Hogan 3	1796+incG
3478	" OO	Hogan 3	1805incG
3485	" OO	Hogan 3	1776+incG
3486	" OO	Hogan 3	1778+incG
3487	" OO	Hogan 4	1782incG
3488	" OO	Hogan 4	1764incG
3489	" OO	Hogan 4	1756incG
3490	" OO	Hogan 4	1770incG
3492	" OO	Hogan 4	1786incG
3493	" OO	Hogan 4	1781inc
3494	" OO	Hogan 4	1728+incG

TABLE 2

<u>NLC</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Specimen</u>	<u>Tree-Ring Laboratory Date, A. D.</u>
3495	W-LLC-C-OO	Hogan 4	1776+incG
2383	" PP	Windbreak 1	1746+inc
207-8	W-LLC-D-A	Hogan 1	1911inc
347	W-LLC-SF-I	Game Corral	1884+
348	" I	Game Corral	1885+
334	" K	Hogan 1	1826+inc
335	" K	Hogan 2	1875+G
341	" L	Hogan 1	1870G
342	" L	Hogan 2	1813+G
343	" M	Hogan 1	1893+G
204	" O	Hogan 2	1854+

* EXPLANATION OF TABLE 2

Column 1: "NLC" = Navajo Land Claim. Number assigned to wood specimen.

Column 2: "Group" = Site designation. The fourth letter designation is the site. The first site in BC (Burnt Corn, etc.) is A, the next B, the next C, and so on to AA, BB, etc.

Column 3: "Specimen" = Navajo structure from which wood specimen was cut.

Column 4: "Tree-Ring Laboratory Date A. D." The terminal date - when the tree stopped growing, or was cut for use in building a hogan or other structure.

Explanation of symbols used with dates:

+ = indicates that either the outermost rings are very small and a ring count only could be made to the outside, or that the outermost dated ring is one just preceding what is usually a small, micro or absent ring which may be missing from the specimen.

inc = indicates that the outside ring of a specimen is incomplete in growth.

c = outermost ring is complete in growth

C = outermost ring is continuous around the circumference of the specimen, implying that the date is close to the cutting date.

G = beetle galleries present.

B = bark present on the specimen.

B. Records of Navajo Births

Table 3 following contains a tabulation of some 834 Navajo births, 1882 or earlier. ^{169/} Of these, 328 persons were born within the 1882 Executive Order Reservation; 506 were born to the north, west, or south of that area.

Of 496 Hopi births, 1805-1868, also located during research, it is of interest to note that only four were recorded for areas beyond the present mesa villages, the records indicate as follows:

- 220 Hopis - Born at the First Mesa Villages
- 105 Hopis - Born at the Second Mesa Villages
- 167 Hopis - Born at the Third Mesa Villages
- 3 Hopis - Born at Moencopi
- 1 Hopi - Born at Keams Canyon

Such records clearly indicate the presence of family groups occupying and using their respective areas of residence. These Navajo birth records (Table 3) corroborate and complement documentary and archaeological data of Navajo occupancy and use of the 1882 Executive Order area and beyond; the Hopi birth records also substantiate early and continued occupancy of the Three Mesas on and at the base of which they yet live today.

SUMMARY OF TABLE 3

INSIDE THE 1882 EXECUTIVE ORDER

<u>Place</u>	<u>No.</u>
Artesian Wells	1
Beshbito Wash	2
Big Mountain	12
Black Mountain (Mesa)	105
Blue Canyon	6
Burnt Corn Wash	1
Burro Spring	1
Cow Springs	11
Dinnebito Wash	7
Doyanescla Mesa	2
Finger Point	1
Forest Lake	2
Hard Rock	3
Hooshdoodito Mesa	1
Hopi Reservation (1882 Executive Order)	13
Howell Mesa	1
Jeddito Wash	7
Keams Canyon	28
Kiits'iili	2
Low Mountain	18
Navajo County	13
Oraibi Wash	5
Pinyon	41
Polacca	1
Rainbow Spring	1
Sand Spring	1
Skunk & Snowbird Springs	4
Tachee Wash	1
Talahogan	4
Tonalea (Red Lake)	22
White Cone	10
White Mesa	1
Total	328

SOUTH OF THE 1882 EXECUTIVE ORDER

<u>Place</u>	<u>No.</u>
Bidahoochii	1
Bird Spring	2
Castle Butte	6
Cedar Springs	5
Canyon Diablo	1
Deep Lake	1
Dilkon	8
Indian Wells	16
Leupp and Leupp Reserve.	16
Moqui Buttes	1
Red Lake (Leupp area)	1
Seba Dalkai	1
Star Butte	1
Teesto	5
Tolani Lakes	2
Total	67

NORTH OF THE 1882 EXECUTIVE ORDER

<u>Place</u>	<u>No.</u>
Allen Canyon, Utah	1
Baby Rocks, Ariz.	2
Bear's Ears, Utah	14
Betatakin, Ariz.	1
Blue Mountains, Utah	1
Bluff, Utah	10
Chilchinbito, Ariz.	11
Comb Ridge, Utah-Ariz.	3
Dinnehotso, Ariz.	21
Douglas Mesa, Ariz.	2
El Capitan, Ariz.	1
Inscription House, Ariz.	6
Kayenta, Ariz.	29
Marsh Pass, Ariz.	2
Mexican Hat, Utah	2
Monument Valley	4
Navajo Mountain	23
Navajo Canyon, Ariz.	20
Oljayto, Utah	6
Paiute Canyon (Mesa)	3
Shonto, Ariz.	21
Tall Mountain, Ariz.	4
Tsegi Canyon, Ariz.	2
Total	189

WEST OF THE 1882 EXECUTIVE ORDER

<u>Place</u>	<u>No.</u>
Black Point	3
Bodoway	10
Cameron	1
Coconino Basin	1
Coconino County	3
Flagstaff	2
Gap	8
Grand Canyon	1
Grand Falls	7
Gray Mountain	54
Kaibito	17
Kendrick Peak	1
Moenave	1
Pasture Canyon	1
San Francisco Mountains	5
Shadow Mountain	2
Tanner's Wash (Well)	4
Tuba City	28
Upper Coconino Rim	1
Western Navajo Reservation (Tuba City Agency)	91
Wildcat Butte	2
Willow Springs	7
Total	250

GRAND TOTAL 834

TABLE 3

Birth- date	Place	Name	Source
			Tr. p. ref.; Nav. Ex. No., Doc. 229; or Nav. Dep. and No.
1815	Black Mtn. (Mesa)	Asdzaa Yazhi	#144 Binaa' Tsoh
By 1819	"	MoMo (unnamed)	#119 Elva Lee
By 1820	"	Hashkeneinii	Tr. 2778-80, 2790, 2805-07, 2812, 2839, 2483, 1290
1824	"	Bilii Yani	#124 Aggie Ndischii
1825	"	Keh yah haat'soono	#203 George Nells
By 1828	"	Hashke Naazhnii'in	Tr. 5364
By 1830	"	Hastiin Bilii Naadlande	Tr. 2482-83
1833	"	Atsidii Neez	#121 Baa Yazhi
1834	"	Asdzaa Ashiihi	#329 Maggie Holgate
By 1835	"	Taahi 'Agodi	#118 Asdzaa Neez
By 1835	"	Asdzaa Siitini	Tr. 5214
By 1838	"	Asdzaa Ayo'i Niteel	#27 Charley Begay
1840	"	Hastiin Ba'aXchiini Yani	#419 Everett Mann
1841	"	Daghaa (Sikaad)	#219 Yidloohe Biye'
Ca. 1843	"	Nak'ai Asdzaa	Tr. 2505-06
By 1843	"	Bila'agodii	Tr. 2491-92
1843	"	Asdzaa To'ahani	#116 Mary Daghaa Ts'osi
By 1843	"	Bah	Nav. Ex. 1632
By 1845	"	Ason Deel	Nav. Ex. 1633
1845	"	Todich'ii'nii	#423 Frank Todicheenie
1845	"	Daghaa Tsoh	#183 Mariano Toledo
1845	"	Asdzaa Ha'diXchaaXi	#340 Hastiin Tsoh
Ca. 1847	"	Asdzaa Dibe Yani	#205 Joe Oltkoe
1847	"	Dine Yazzie	#206 Adesbah Spencer
By 1848	"	Fa (unnamed)	Nav. Ex. 1634
By 1848	"	Mo (unnamed)	Nav. Ex. 1634
By 1848	"	Hosteen Ahjahi (A Je Hi)	Nav. Exs. 1635, 1635A
By 1848	"	Keyahaatsohnii	Tr. 5256-57
Ca. 1848	"	Asdzaa Hoonaghahnii	Tr. 5269
Ca. 1848	"	Hastiin Yichii	Tr. 5349, 5367-68
By 1848	"	Asdzaa Nez's Fa Mo	Tr 5427-28
1848	"	Ha Nas Bahi	#423 Frank Todicheenie
1848	"	Asdzaan Ashiihi	#124 Aggie Endischee
By 1848	"	Kezahaatsohnii	#203 George Nells
1849	"	Hastiin Bitsiin	#126 Mabel Navajo
By 1850	"	Bilaagoody	Nav. Ex. 1636
By 1850	"	Debelchee	Nav. Ex. 1636
By 1850	"	Dine Yazhi	#206 Adesbah Spencer
By 1851	"	Neshchilli "Shut Eyes"	#2 Mrs. Pete
By 1851	"	Fa (unnamed)	Nav. Ex. 1637
By 1851	"	Abraham Manygoat's Mo	Nav. Ex. 22
By 1852	"	Dineh Chilii	Tr. 5285
By 1852	"	Asdzaa Ask'ehe Biche'e	#120 Inez Ndischee
By 1852	"	Asdzaa Yigaii	#67 Fay Lane Martin
1853	"	Atsidii Neez Biye'	"121 Baa' Yazhi
By 1854	"	Fa (unnamed)	Nav. Ex. 1638
By 1854	"	Mo (unnamed)	Nav. Ex. 1638
By 1854	"	Ason Ashiihi Sonny	Nav. Ex. 1639
By 1857	"	Asdzaa Alts'iisi	#22 Slim Salt
By 1857	"	Hosteen Bileen Tulih	Nav. Ex. 1640
By 1858	"	Hosteen Tohagleni	Nav. Ex. 1642

TABLE 3

Birth-date	Place	Name	Source
			Tr. p. ref.; Nav. Ex. No., Doc. 229; or Nav. Dep. and No.
1828	Willow Springs	Tsi'naajinii Ayo'Xnezi	
		Be'asdzaa	#58 John Sampson
1838	"	Asdzaan Ba'aXchiini Xani	#419 Everett Mann
a.1848	"	Dineh Diil Be'asdzaa	#58 John Sampson
a.1848	"	Dineh Hastiin Diil	#58 John Sampson
a.1848	"	Naad Xindez Bah	#114 John Walker
1853	"	Dagaa Xani	#419 Everett Mann
1872	"	John Walker	#114 Subject

Part IV - South of the 1832 Executive Order Reservation

Ca.1847	Bidahoochii'	EunancootcoX Baadaanee	Tr. 5068
1865	Bird Springs	Ason Gonnie	Nav. Ex. 1520
By 1868	"	Grandma Curley	Nav. Ex. 1521
1849	Castle Butte	Asdzaan Dichale	#412 Billy A
By 1863	"	To-Lah-Halene	Nav. Ex. 1522
1864	"	Adzon Tally	Nav. Ex. 1523
By 1865	"	Mah Cosh Toy	Nav. Ex. 1524
By 1865	"	Ason Joe Cli-ee	Nav. Ex. 1524
1869	"	Ke'na'rinii Bah Bima	#412 Billy A
By 1841	Cedar Springs	Asdzaa Yazhi	#16 Joe Kabinto
By 1861	"	Yisnzhbah	#16 Joe Kabinto
1863	"	Billy Dixon No. 1	Nav. Ex. 1532
By 1868	"	Kayanee Nez	Nav. Ex. 1533
1874	"	Pete Totsohnii	#8 Subject
1862	Canyon Diablo	Judge Curtis	Nav. Ex. 3012
By 1836	Deep Lake	Wahio (unnamed)	Tr. 4921-22
1853	Dilkon	Astahn Nez	Nav. Ex. 1525
1860	"	Tapaha Chischilly Yazzie	Nav. Exs. 1526, 1526A
1862	"	Adzon Tso	Nav. Ex. 1527
1864	"	Tah Bah Bitsie Chilly Yazzie	Nav. Ex. 1528
1864	"	Adzon Begay	Nav. Ex. 1529
By 1865	"	Tsenajinni Tso Tsi	Nav. Ex. 1530
By 1865	"	Tsenajinni Tso Tsi's Wife	Nav. Ex. 1530
1868	"	Bah Spencer	Nav. Ex. 1531
By 1826	Indian Wells	FaFaMo (unnamed)	#328 Robert Sombrero
By 1826	"	Dibe Xani Niclai	#328 Robert Sombrero
1838	"	Asdzaan Bi Lin Xani	Nav. Ex. 1534

N O T E S

- 1/ Gordon B. Page, HOPI LAND PATTERNS, Plateau, V. 13, #2, October, 1940.
Mr. Page directed the Human Dependency Survey of the late 1930's and early 1940's for the Soil Conservation Service, which was a house to house and hogan to hogan economic survey of the Navajo and Hopi Indian Tribes.
- 2/ Brief in Support of Petitioner's Motion for Further Hearing on the Matter of Dates of Taking by the Defendant, and Pursuant to Rule 25 C.F.R. Para. 503.33 for a Rehearing and for Amendment of Findings, before the Indian Claims Commission, Dockets 196 (Hopi) and 229 (Navajo), September 4, 1970.
- 3/ Ross G. Montgomery, Watson Smith & J. O. Brew, FRANCISCAN AWATTOVI, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. XXXVI, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1949; Alfred Barnaby Thomas, FORGOTTEN FRONTIERS, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1932, pp. 19-20.
- 4/ Richard F. Van Valkenburgh (Edited by Clyde Kluckhohn), NAVAJO SACRED PLACES, Manuscript (Navajo Pl. Ex. 687, Docket 229, Indian Claims Commission); NAVAJO SACRED PLACES MAP (Navajo Pl. Ex. 687, Docket 229); Findings 13 and 18, and Appendix H, PROPOSED FINDINGS OF FACT IN BEHALF OF THE NAVAJO TRIBE OF INDIANS IN THE AREA OF THE OVERALL NAVAJO CLAIM (Docket 229); Stanley A. Fishler, IN THE BEGINNING, Anthropological Papers, University of Utah, Vol. XLII, Salt Lake City, 1953; Mary C. Wheelwright, Recorder, NAVAJO CREATION MYTH. THE STORY OF THE EMERGENCE BY HASTEEN KLAH, Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico 1942; Robert W. Young, THE NAVAJO YEARBOOK, Report No. VIII, Navajo Agency, Window Rock, Arizona, 1961, p. 517; Aileen O'Bryan, THE DINE: ORIGIN MYTHS OF THE NAVAHO INDIANS, Bulletin 163, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Wash., D.C., 1956; Dana & Mary Roberts Coolidge, THE NAVAJO INDIANS, Houghton, Mifflin, Boston, Mass., 1930; Washington Matthews, NAVAHO LEGENDS, G.E. Stechert & Co., N.Y., 1897; Berard Haile, LEGEND OF THE GHOSTWAY RITUAL AND SUCKING WAY, St. Michaels Press, St. Michaels, Arizona, 1950; Personal Communications from Harold Drake & Maxwell Yazzie, Navajo Councilmen.
- 5/ Montgomery et al, supra note 3, at p. xxii.
- 6/ George P. Hammond & Agapito Rey, Editors, EXPEDITION INTO NEW MEXICO MADE BY ANTONIO DE ESPEJO, 1582-1583, AS REVEALED IN THE JOURNAL OF DIEGO PEREZ DE LUXAN, A MEMBER OF THE PARTY, The Quivira Society, Los Angeles, California, 1929, pp. 96-97.
- 7/ Lansing B. Bloom, FRAY ESTEVAN DE PEREA'S RELACION, New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. 8, No. 3, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1933, p. 231.
- 8/ Peter B. Forrestal & Cyprian J. Lynch, Editors, BENAVIDES' MEMORIAL OF 1630, Washington, 1954, p. 2
- 9/ France V. Scholes, CHURCH AND STATE IN NEW MEXICO, 1610-1650, New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. XI, 1936, p. 339.

- 10/ Donald E. Worcester, THE NAVAJO DURING THE SPANISH REGIME IN NEW MEXICO, New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, 1951, p. 107; Adolf A. Bandelier, FINAL REPORT OF INVESTIGATIONS AMONG THE INDIANS OF THE SOUTHWESTERN UNITED STATES, CARRIED ON MAINLY IN THE YEARS FROM 1880 TO 1885, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, IV, Part II. University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1892, p. 382.
- 11/ Tree-Ring Report Sheets from the Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, University of Arizona, Tucson (Navajo Pl. Ex. 556-B, Docket 229). Also published in the TREE-RING BULLETIN, Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, Univ. of Arizona, Vol. 26. Nos. 1-4, June, 1964. The "G" following in the dates cited indicates the presence of beetle galleries, and thus a good indication of an outside-ring date, as opposed to an eroded wood specimen.
- 12/ Victor Mindelleff, A STUDY OF PUEBLO ARCHITECTURE IN TUSAYAN AND CIBOLA, Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Wash., D.C., 1891, pp. 21-22.
- 13/ José Manuel Espinosa, THE LEGEND OF SIERRA AZUL, New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1934, p. 136. A league approximates 2½ miles.
- 14/ José Manuel Espinosa, FIRST EXPEDITION OF VARGAS INTO NEW MEXICO, 1692, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1940, p. 204; Hubert Howe Bancroft, HISTORY OF ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO, 1530-1888, A Facsimile of the 1889 Edition, Horn & Wallace, Pubs., Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1962, p. 201.
- 15/ William Y. Adams, SHONTO: A STUDY OF THE ROLE OF THE TRADER IN A MODERN NAVAJO COMMUNITY, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 188, Wash., D. C., 1963.
- 16/ Charles Wilson Hackett, HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO NEW MEXICO, NUEVA VIZCAYA, AND APPROACHES THERETO, TO 1773, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937, pp. 381-83.
- 17/ Frank D. Reeve, NAVAHO-SPANISH WARS 1680-1720, New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, 1958, p. 224, n. 53.
- 18/ J. O. Brew, AWATOVI EXPEDITION OF 1939, Plateau, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1941, p. 46.
- 19/ Charles W. Hackett, Translator, PICHARDO'S TREATISE ON THE LIMITS OF LOUISIANA AND TEXAS, 1931.
- 20/ Map, Madrid, November 18, 1769 (Navajo Pl. Ex. 875, Docket 229). This map was made from an original by Don Joseph de Urrutia who lived in the southwest from 1693 to about 1700, according to Herbert Eugene Bolton, ATHANASE DE MEZIERES AND THE LOUISIANA-TEXAS FRONTIER 1768-1780, The Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio, 1914, p. 26. During this period the San Juan River was known as the "Rio Grande de Navajo", W. W. Hill, SOME NAVAHO CULTURE CHANGES DURING TWO CENTURIES (WITH A TRANSLATION OF

THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY RABAL MANUSCRIPT), in *ESSAYS IN HISTORICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF NORTH AMERICA*, Smithsonian *Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. 100, Wash., D. C. 1940, p. 415, n. 8.

- 21/ Adams, supra note 15, at p. 1.
- 22/ Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante to Fray Fernando Antonio Gomez, August 18, 1775, in Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chaves, (Translators and Annotators), *THE MISSIONS OF NEW MEXICO, 1776*, Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1956.
- 23/ Escalante to Governor Don Pedro Fermin De Mendinueta, October 28, 1775, in Thomas, supra note 3, at pp. 150-58.
- 24/ Escalante to Fray Ysidro Murillo, May 16, 1776, in Ibid., pp. 158-66.
- 25/ Elliott Coues, *ON THE TRAIL OF A SPANISH PIONEER. THE DIARY AND ITINERARY OF FRANCISCO GARCÉS*, Francis P. Harper, N. Y., 1900, pp. 351-53, 403-04, 457; Leslie Spier, *HAVASUPAI ETHNOGRAPNY*, Anthropological Papers of The American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XXIX, Part III, N. Y., pp. 356ff.
- 26/ Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez to Fray Isidro Murillo, Zuni, November 25, 1776, Adams and Chavez, supra n. 22. Also in Frank D. Reeve, *NAVAHO-SPANISH DIPLOMACY, 1770-1790*, New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. XXXV, No. 3, 1960, p. 210, n. 28, who cites letter as being to Governor Mendinueta.
- 27/ Herbert E. Bolton, *PAGEANT IN THE WILDERNESS. THE STORY OF THE ESCALANTE EXPEDITION TO THE INTERIOR BASIN, 1776*, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1950 (Also published as *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII), p. 121.
- 28/ Ibid., pp. 123, 232-35
- 29/ Juan Bautista de Anza to Teodoro de Croix, November 1, 1779, in Thomas, supra note 23, at pp. 145-48.
- 30/ *Diario de la Expedicion que haze a la Provincia del Moqui el Infraescripto Tenientecoronel, Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governador y Comandante del Nuevo Mexico, September 10 - October 5, 1780*, in Thomas, supra note 23, at pp. 227-41. See also Bancroft, supra note 14, at p. 265ff.
- 31/ De Anza to Croix, January 17, 1781, in Thomas, supra note 23, at pp. 241-42.
- 32/ Galindo Navarro to Croix, April 30, 1781, in Thomas, supra note 23, at pp. 243-44.
- 33/ De Anza to Croix, November 15, 1781, in Thomas, supra note 23, at pp. 244-45.

- 34/ Bancroft, supra note 14, at p. 266; BUR-46, Sandia Burials, 1771-1830, & BUR-30, Santa Clara Burials, 1781-1842, Archdiocese of Santa Fe Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico (Extracts on file in the Research Office of the Navajo Tribe at Window Rock).
- 35/ Summary of the Events Happening in the Province of New Mexico from the 1st of April until the 12th of June of 1801, New Mexico State Records Center, Spanish Archives #1548, which reads: "April...On the 9th two Navajo headmen and a warrior arrived at this captial /Santa Fe/ with news that those of their nation are at war with the Moqui /Hopi/ and Conino /Havasupai/ Indians...."; JEMEZ BOOK OF BAPTISMS, B-17, 1730-1829 (Navajo Pl. Ex. 778-A, Docket 229). Also, Fray Angelico Chavez, ARCHIVES OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF SANTA FE, 1678-1900, Academy of American Franciscan History, Wash., D. C., 1957, p. 203.
- 36/ Series of letters, dating from March 18, 1819 to April 13, 1819. Estado 33 (Mexico 14), Archivo General de las Indias, Sevilla, Spain, Chapman 6183, pp. 5-7, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California (Navajo Pl. Ex. 769A, Docket 229)
- 37/ Chavez, supra note 35, at p. 82. Mesa de la Vaca is also the old name for Black Mesa. See also David M. Brugge, VIZCARRA'S NAVAJO CAMPAIGN OF 1823, Arizona and the West, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1964, p. 231 & n. 41.
- 38/ Series of letters, supra note 36.
- 39/ Gaceta Extraordinaria del Gobierno de Mexico del Miércoles 27 de Octubre de 1819, Tom. X, Num. 144.
- 40/ William H. Hodge, HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIANS NORTH OF MEXICO, Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Wash., D. C., 1907, p. 538. See also text at notes 10, 11, & 35, supra.
- 41/ Leslie Spier, PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE HAVASUPAI, American Anthropologist, Vol. 31, No. 2, April-June, 1929, p. 217.
- 42/ Brugge, supra note 37, at pp. 231ff.
- 43/ George C. Yount, A SKETCH OF THE HOPI IN 1828, Masterkey, Vol. 16, No. 6, November, 1942, pp. 193-99.
- 44/ Leroy R. & Ann W. Hafen, OLD SPANISH TRAIL. SANTA FE TO LOS ANGELES, The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, Calif., 1954; Leroy R. Hafen, ARMIJO'S JOURNAL, The Huntington Library Quarterly, Vol. XI, No. 1, November, 1947.
- 45/ METEOR, Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 15, p. 138; James H. Howard, DAKOTA WINTER COUNTS AS A SOURCE OF PLAINS HISTORY, Anthropological Papers, No. 61, Bulletin 173, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 371; Frank Russell, THE PIMA INDIANS, 24th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Wash., 1908, pp. 35. 38.

- 46/ Alexander M. Stephen, HOPI INDIAN JOURNAL, Contributions to Anthropology, Columbia University, N. Y., 1936, pp. 1016-17.
- 47/ Ibid., p. 1002; W. W. Hill, NAVAJO WARFARE, Yale Univ. Pubs. in Anthropology, No. 5, 1936, pp. 4-6; Richard F. Van Valkenburgh, A SHORT HISTORY OF THE NAVAJO PEOPLE, Navajo Service, Window Rock, Arizona, 1938, pp. 7-8.
- 48/ REPORTS OF EXPLORATIONS AND SURVEYS, TO ASCERTAIN THE MOST PRACTICABLE AND ECONOMICAL ROUTE FOR A RAILROAD FROM THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN, 1853-4, Senate Ex. Doc. No. 78, 33d Cong., 2d Sess. (Serial #670), 1856, p. 76.
- 49/ A. W. Doniphan to W. L. March, October 20, 1846, National Archives, Record Group 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Letters Received, File D-295/1846 (Hereinafter: NA, RG 94, AGO, LR)
- 50/ Charles Bent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 10, 1846, in Annie Heloise Abel, THE OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES S. CALHOUN, Office of Indian Affairs, Gov. Print. Off., Wash., D. C., 1915, pp. 6-9.
- 51/ Thomas Donaldson, MOQUI PUEBLO INDIANS OF ARIZONA AND PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO, Extra Census Bulletin, Eleventh Census of the United States, Wash., D. C., 1893, p. 24.
- 52/ SKETCH MAP PREPARED BY JAMES S. CALHOUN IN 1849, SUGGESTING LOCALITIES FOR INDIAN AGENCIES, National Archives, Record Group 75, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, Map #255 (1) Portf. XY; Calhoun to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 15, 1848, in Abel, supra note 50 at pp. 48-58.
- 53/ Spier, supra note 25, at pp. 363-65
- 54/ Sallie Pierce Brewer, THE "LONG WALK" TO BOSQUE REDONDO AS TOLD BY PESHAKAI ETSEDI, Museum Notes, Vol. 9, No. 11, May, 1937; Robert C. Euler, AN ECONOMIC STUDY OF THE NAVAHOES IN WUPATKI BASIN ARIZONA, Manuscript on file at Wupatki National Monument, Arizona; Richard F. Van Valkenburgh, DINE BIKEYAH, Navajo Agency, Window Rock, Ariz., 1941, p. 68.
- 55/ J. S. Calhoun to Orlando Brown, October 12, 1850, in Abel, supra note 50, at pp. 262-65.
- 56/ Ramon Luna & Fra^o Sarracino to Donaciano Vijil, January 20, 1851, in Abel, supra note 50, at pp. 284-86.
- 57/ D. Chandler to Lt. McLaws, April 24, 1851, National Archives, Record Group 98, Records of the War Department, Department of New Mexico, Letters Received (Hereinafter: NA, RG 98 WD, LR), File C-38/1851.
- 58/ Henry L. Dodge to Col. T. Munroe, May 12, 1851, NA, RG 98 WD, LR, File D-1/1851.
- 59/ James S. Calhoun to L. Lea, August 31, 1851, in Abel, supra note 50 at pp. 414-15.

- 60/ Major Electus Backus, "An Account of the Navajoes of New Mexico," in Henry R. Schoolcraft, INFORMATION RESPECTING THE HISTORY, CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UNITED STATES, Part IV, Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1854, pp. 210-11.
- 61/ P. G. S. Ten Broek, "Manners and Customs of the Moqui and Navaho Tribes of New Mexico," in Schoolcraft, supra note 60, at p. 82.
- 62/ Backus, supra note 60, at pp. 209, 211.
- 63/ Joseph H. Eaton, "Description of the True State and Character of the New Mexico Tribes," in Schoolcraft, supra note 60, at p. 216. Note: At this time, Arizona was a part of New Mexico Territory.
- 64/ P. P. Pratt to Editor, Deseret News, Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, November 21, 1853, published in that newspaper on December 1, 1853.
- 65/ H. L. Kendrick to D. Meriwether, February 6, 1854, NA, RG 98 WD, LR, File K "copy"/1854
- 66/ D. Meriwether to G. W. Manypenny, September 29, 1854, and Map Delineating Boundaries Generally Conceded to Indian Tribes and Bands in the Territory of New Mexico, National Archives, Record Group 75, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, Letters Received (Hereinafter: NA RG 75, OIA, LR), File N-315/1854.
- 67/ W. W. H. Davis, EL GRINGO: OR, NEW MEXICO AND HER PEOPLE, Harper & Brothers, pub., N. Y., 1857, p. 389.
- 68/ DIARY OF ETHAN PETTIT, 1855-1881, Manuscript, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
- 69/ McCOMB'S MAP OF EXPLORATIONS AND SURVEYS IN NEW MEXICO AND UTAH, 1860, National Archives, Record Group 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, File W-81.
- 70/ E. W. Gifford, CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XII APACHE-PUEBLO, Anthropological Records, Vol. 4, No. 1, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, Calif., 1940, p. 2. Thirty miles north of Oraibi would be approximately on the Moencopi Wash.
- 71/ H. L. Kendrick to S. Cooper, February 3, 1856, NA, RG 94, AGO, LR, File K-29/1856. Fort Defiance was established September 10, 1851, Transcript of Orders Published at Fort Defiance, Navajo Country, New Mexico, during the Month of September 1851, NA, RG 98, WD, Misc. Docs., File: None/1851.
- 72/ Henry L. Dodge to W. W. Davis, April 19, 1856, NA, RG 75, OIA, LR, File N-86/1856 encl.
- 73/ H. L. Kendrick to W. A. Nichols, April 21, 1856, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File K-5/1856. Such crossings of the San Juan established by long usage, plainly establish Navajo occupancy and use of adjacent lands. The "Lower Crossing" was located about 18 miles up the San Juan from its

junction with the Colorado River. Another major crossing was called "Nahondsoo" by Navajos, and was located near the mouth of Grand Gulch, and was a place long favored by Navajos also as a farming area. This crossing is shown on McComb's Map of 1860 as " Navajo Ford", McComb, supra note 69.

- 74/ D. Meriwether to G. W. Manypenny, December 30, 1856, and accompanying Map Showing the Indian Country in the New Mexico Superintendency, NA, RG 75, OIA, LR., File N-220/1857.
- 75/ Samuel Woodworth Cozzens, THE MARVELLOUS COUNTRY: OR, THREE YEARS IN ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO, Sampson, Low, Marston, Low & Searle, London, 1874, p. 129; Father A. G. Morice, THE GREAT DENE RACE Administration of "Anthropos," St. Gabriel-Modling, near Vienna, Not dated but about 1910, p. 52.
- 76/ W. T. H. Brooks to Asst. Adjutant General, January 12, 1858, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File B-5/1858; John Garland to L. Thomas, January 31, 1858, NA, RG 94 AGO, LR, File N-27/1858.
- 77/ Joseph C. Ives, REPORT UPON THE COLORADO RIVER OF THE WEST, Senate Ex. Doc., 36th Cong., 1st Session (Serial #1058), 1861, pp. 122, 124-25, 127-28.
- 78/ E. T. Bucknam to D. S. Miles, September 9, 1858, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File M-73/1858 encl.
- 79/ D. S. Miles to E. T. Bucknam, October 15, 1858, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File M-73/1858 encl.
- 80/ D. S. Miles to John D. Wilkins, November 3, 1858, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File M-82/1858.
- 81/ D. S. Miles to John D. Wilkins, November 21, 1858, NA, RG 94, AGO, LR, File M-520/1858.
- 82/ E. Backus to Wilkins, November 3, 1858, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File B-74/1858.
- 83/ Miles to S. M. Yost, December 20, 1858, NA, RG 75, OIA, LR, File Y-42/1858 encl.
- 84/ C. Gregory Crampton, HISTORICAL SITES IN GLEN CANYON, MOUTH OF SAN JUAN RIVER TO LEE'S FERRY, Anthropological Papers, Dept. of Anthropology, Glen Canyon Series No. 12, Univ. of Utah, Salt Lake City, 1960.
- 85/ T. W. Walker to J. D. Wilkins, May 12, 1859, NA, RG 98, WD, Misc. LR, Box 37.
- 86/ Orders No. 8, Fort Defiance, July 14, 1859, NA, RG 98, WD, Misc. LR, Box 37; J.S. Simonson to Wilkins, July 18, 1859, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File S-39/1859.
- 87/ O. L. Shepherd to J. H. Edson, August 7, 1859, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File S-44/1859 encl.; also, NA, RG 94, AGO, LR, File N-74/1859 encl.

- 88/ Wilkins to Simonson, August 14, 1859, Senate Ex. Doc. 2, 36th Cong., 1st Sess. (Serial #1024), pp. 335-36.
- 89/ Orders No. 14, Fort Defiance, September 1, 1859, NA, RG 98, WD, Misc. LR, Box 37.
- 90/ J. G. Walker to J. H. Edson, September 20, 1859, Senate Ex. Doc. 2, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. II (Serial #1024), pp. 345-50.
- 91/ Silas F. Kendrick to A. B. Greenwood, October 4, 1859, NA, RG 75, OIA, LR, File C-242/1859 encl.
- 92/ Walker Dyk, Recorder, SON OF OLD MAN HAT, A NAVAHO AUTOBIOGRAPHY, Harcourt, Brace and Co., N. Y., 1938, pp. 5-6.
- 93/ Juanita Brooks, JOURNAL OF THALES H. HASKELL, Utah Historical Quarterly, Utah State Hist. Soc., Salt Lake City, January-April, 1944, p. 80.
- 94/ O. L. Shepherd to J. D. Wilkins, December 9, 1859, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File S-94/1859.
- 95/ O. L. Shepherd to D. H. Maury, July 5, 1860, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File S-81/ 1860.
- 96/ O. L. Shepherd to D. H. Maury, August 3, 1860, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File S-97/1860.
- 97/ H. H. Sibley to D. H. Maury, September 29, 1860, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File Unentered/1860; Ed. R. S. Canby to Asst. Adjutant General, October 4, 1860, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File C-39/1860.
- 98/ James A. Little, JACOB HAMBLIN, A NARRATIVE OF HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCE, AS A FRONTIERSMAN, MISSIONARY TO THE INDIANS AND EXPLORER, Juvenile Instructors Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1881, pp. 66-71; John Steele to George A. Smith, January 8, 1863, Latter-day Saints Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, Manuscript Collection (Entry for December 23, 1862, locates the incident about 22 miles north of the Hopi villages; Bureau of Indian Affairs File on Claude Hatch Trepass Case, Copy on file in Research Office of the Navajo Tribe at Window Rock, Arizona.
- 99/ Ed. R. S. Canby to Asst. Adjutant General, December 24, 1860, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File C-2/1861.
- 100/ Supra notes 66 & 74.
- 101/ Ed. R. S. Canby to Asst. Adjutant General, February 4, 1861, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File C-23/1861 & February 6, 1861, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File C-30/1861.
- 102/ Donaldson, supra note 51, at p. 34.
- 103/ George M. Willing, Jr. to Caleb B. Smith, October 27, 1862, NA, RG 75 OIA, LR, File W-663/1862/
- 104/ Steele to Smith, supra note 98.

- 105/ Spier, supra note 25, at pp. 83, 225-26, 338, 378 and Genealogy Chart following p. 392.
- 106/ Felix S. Cohen & Abe Barber, EXAMINERS' REPORT ON TRIBAL CLAIMS TO RELEASED RAILROAD LANDS IN NORTHWESTERN ARIZONA TOGETHER WITH TRANSCRIPT OF FINAL HEARING AND EXHIBITS, 1942, Exhibit "DD" (Copy in file Research Office, The Navajo Tribe, Window Rock, Arizona).
- 107/ Ibid., Exhibit "W".
- 108/ PROPOSED FINDINGS OF FACT..., supra note 4, Finding 13, pp. 409-29.
- 109/ Ibid., p. 429 and notes 2494 and 2497.
- 110/ C. Carson to Asst. Adjutant General, July 24, 1863, WAR OF THE REBELLION, Series I, Vol. 26, Part 1, pp. 233-34, Pub. during years: 1880-1902.
- 111/ Raymond E. Lindgren, A DIARY OF KIT CARSON'S NAVAJO CAMPAIGN, 1863-1864, New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. XXI, July, 1946, pp. 226-47 (Diary attributed to Captain Eben Everett).
- 112/ Ibid., Stephen, supra note 46, at pp. 1017-19
- 113/ C. Carson to B. C. Cutler, August 19, 1863, NA, RG 98, WD, Letters Sent, Old Book 124 (Bound as 76) pp. 8-12; George W. Campbell to James H. Carleton, August 21, 1863, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File Unentered, No. 11/1863.
- 114/ Carson to Cutler, October 5, 1863, WAR OF THE REBELLION, Series I. Vol. 26, Part 1, pp. 252-54.
- 115/ Carson to Asst. Adjutant General, October 6, 1863, NA, RG 98, WD, Letters sent, Old Book 124 (Bound as 76) pp. 25-26.
- 116/ Carson to Cutler, December 6, 1863, WAR OF THE REBELLION, Series I. Vol. 26, Part 1, pp.255-57; also in House Ex. Doc. 1, 38th Cong., 2d Sess., (Serial #1220), pp. 302-03 & NA, RG 98, WD, Letters Sent, Old Book 124, (Bound as 76) pp. 34-38.
- 117/ Lawrence G. Murphy to John Thompson, December 21, 1863, NA, RG 98, WD, Letters Sent, Old Book 124 (Bound as 76), p. 50; General Orders No. 3, WAR OF THE REBELLION, Series I. Vol. 26, Part I. pp. 23-33, also in Senate Report No. 156, 39th Cong., 2d Sess (Serial 1279), pp. 252-55.
- 118/ Stephen, supra not 46, p. 1002.
- 119/ Memoranda of Events at Fort Canby, New Mexico, from the 11th to the morning of the 18th of January, 1864, NA, RG 98 WD, LR, File N-8/1864 encl. Bosque Redondo is another name for Fort Sumner, New Mexico.
- 120/ Carson to Asst. Adjutant General, March 20, 1864, NA, RG 98, WD, LT, File 528-C-64/1864.

- 121/ A. B. Carey to J. H. Carleton, April 24, 1864, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File 74-C-108/1864.
- 122/ Carey to Asst. Adjutant General, April 29, 1864, NA, RG 98, WD, Letters Sent, Old Book 171 (Bound as 89), pp. 22-24.
- 123/ José Antonio Mansanarez to Michael Steck, May 19, 1864, NA, RG 75, OIA, LR, File W-382/1864 encl. (I-161/1864).
- 124/ Van Valkenburgh, supra note 47, at p. 26.
- 125/ P. W. L. Plympton to Acting Asst. Adjutant General, July 6, 1864, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File 409-P-64/1864.
- 126/ Plympton to Acting Asst. Adjutant General, July 12, 1864, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File 410-P-66/1864.
- 127/ Julius C. Shaw to Ben C. Cutler, August 17, 1864, NA, RG 98, WD, Letters Sent, Old Book 171 (Bound as 89), p. 68.
- 128/ Erastus Snow to R. N. Fenton, November 17, 1869, NA, RG 75, OIA, LR, File F-205/1869 encl.
- 129/ E. W. Eaton to Cutler, January 11, 1865, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, FILE E-4/1865.
- 130/ Michael Steck to Wm. P. Dole, October 10, 1864, House Exec. Doc. 1, 38th Cong., 2d Sess. (Serial 1220), pp. 324-31.
- 131/ Little, supra note 98; Walter C. Powell, JOURNAL OF WALTER CLEMENT POWELL, Utah Historical Quarterly, Salt Lake City, 1948-49.
- 132/ Little, supra note 98.
- 133/ E. W. Eaton to Ben C. Cutler, February 8, 1865, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File 115-E-14/1865.
- 134/ James H. Carleton to (No addressee), March 21, 1865, WAR OF THE REBELLION, Series I, Vol. 48, Part 1, pp. 1232-33. Herrera reported other Navajo groups at Black Creek south of Fort Defiance, along the Pueblo Colorado south of present Ganado, at Canyon de Chelly, and another 60 miles west of Zuni - all east of the 1882 Executive Order Reservation.
- 135/ Julius C. Shaw to Ben C. Cutler, August 28, 1865, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File S-241/1865.
- 136/ Shaw to Cutler, July 24, 1865, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File S-191/1865.
- 137/ Felipe Delgado to the Commissioner, September 10, 1865, House Exec. Doc. 1, 39th Cong., 1st Sess. (Serial 1248), pp. 328-48.
- 138/ E. Butler to Asst. Adjutant General, January 18, 1866, NA, RG 98, WD, Letters Sent, File Unetered/1866.

- 139/ D. Montoya to Cutler, November 26, 1865, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File M-131/1865.
- 140/ Antonio Mexicano to Cutler, December 9, 1865, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File M-151/1865.
- 141/ D. Montoya to Cutler, December 14, 1865, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File M-146/1865.
- 142/ M. Lucero y Rais to James H. Carleton, December 14, 1865, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File L-61/1865.
- 143/ E. Butler to Asst. Adjutant General, January 18, 1866, NA, RG 98, WD, Letters Sent, File Unentered/1866.
- 144/ Albert H. Pfeiffer to Cyrus H. DeForrest, January 22, 1866, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File P-2/1866.
- 145/ D. Montoya to J. W. Feary, April 7, 1866, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File B-77/1866 encl.
- 146/ Angus Munn Woodbury, A HISTORY OF SOUTHERN UTAH AND ITS NATIONAL PARKS, Utah State Historical Society, Vol. XII, Nos. 3-4, 1944, pp. 167, 169.
- 147/ E. Butler to DeForrest, July 28, 1866, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File B-164-1866.
- 148/ Theodore H. Dodd to "Col.", August 11, 1866, NA, RG 75 OIA, New Mexico Field Papers.
- 149/ E. Butler to DeForrest, December 9, 1866, NA, RG 98, WD, LR, File B-265/1866.
- 150/ Proceedings of a Council, May 28, 1868, NA, RG 48, Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Indian Division, Treaties File, Treaty #372, File: None
- 151/ Van Valkenburgh, supra note 47; Young, supra note 4, at p. 279.
- 152/ Frank D. Reeve, THE FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY IN NEW MEXICO, 1858-1880, New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. XII, Part II, 1938, pp. 46-47.
- 153/ Palmer to E. S. Parker, November 30, 1869, NA, RG 75, OIA, LR, File P-264/1869.
- 154/ Palmer to Parker, December 20, 1869, NA, RG 75, OIA, LR, File P-275/1869 encl.
- 155/ W. F. M. Army to Eli S. Parker, July 19, 1870, NA, RG 75, OIA, LR, File A-1235/1870; Journal of W. F. M. Army, November 28, 1870, NA, RG 75, OIA, LR, File A-1579/1870 encl.; Army to Edward P. Smith September 4, 1873, House Exec. Doc. 1, Part 5, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess. (Serial 1601), pp. 638-41; Army to Smith, November 4, 1873, NA, RG 75, OIA, New Mexico Field Papers.

- 156/ NAVAJO TRIBAL CODE, Equity Publishing Corporation, Orford, New Hampshire, 1962, Vol. 2, pp. 337-38. By Executive Order of May 17, 1884, the area contiguous to the north boundary of the 1882 Reservation was made a part of the Navajo Reservation; that to the west of the 1882 area was added to the Navajo Reservation by Executive Order dated January 8, 1900.
- 157/ Galen Eastman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 27, 1881, NA, RG 75, OIA, LR, File 17647/1881.
- 158/ C. H. Howard to H. M. Teller (Report on the Navajo Agency), October 25, 1882, NA, RG 48, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Indian Division, File M-2423/1882 encl. Also OIA 22416/1882. Howard had earlier expressed similar recommendations to the Secretary in Howard to Teller, July 31, 1882, NA, RG 75, OIA, LR, File 15060/1882.
- 159/ C. H. Howard to H. M. Teller (Report on the Moqui Agency), November 29, 1882, NA, RG 48, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Indian Division, File 1403/1883. Also OIA 6311/1883.
- 160/ J. H. Fleming to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 4, 1882, NA, RG 75, OIA, LR, File 22383/1882.
- 161/ H. Price to Secretary of the Interior, December 13, 1882, NA, RG 48, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Indian Division, File 230/1882.
- 162/ NAVAJO TRIBAL CODE, supra note 155, at pp. 338-39. Also photostat copy Defendant's Exhibit 438 and in OPINION OF THE COURT Filed September 28, 1962, Healing v. Jones, USDC, Ariz., Civil 579 Prescott.
- 163/ C. E. Vandever to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, REPORT OF NAVAJO AGENCY, August 22, 1890, in 59th Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, pp. 158-167. Vandever was a contemporary of the noted Scholar-Surgeon Washington Matthews at Fort Defiance, whose many publications on the Navajos during this period are still basic references to the Anthropologist, and there is little doubt that Vandever's knowledge of the Navajos and the Hopis was enhanced by this association.
- 164/ C. E. Vandever to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, REPORT OF MOQUI PUEBLO INDIANS, NAVAJO AGENCY, August 22, 1890, in 59th Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, pp. 168-172.
- 165/ R. G. Valentine to Mathew W. Murphy, February 25, 1909, NA, RG 48, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Indian Division, Moqui Allotments 51, Part I.
- 166/ Valentine to Murphy, March 31, 1911, NA, RG 75, OIA, Classified Files, 1907--, File 101882-11-313 Moqui.
- 167/ Allotment Schedules Nos. 1771-2245 for Allotment Nos. 3731-4565, NA, RG 75, OIA, File 73898, pp. 270-307. Copy on file in the Research Office of The Navajo Tribe, Window Rock, Arizona. Of the 746 allotments made to Navajo Indians, there were 302 allotments of 320 acres, 308 allotments of

40 acres, 79 allotments of 640 acres, 55 allotments of 160 acres, and 2 allotments of 20 acres, an aggregate total of 168,360 acres.

- 168/ Navajo archaeological data submitted to the Healing v. Jones Court consisted of Defendant's Exhibits 241, 242, 242A (3 volumes of Navajo Site Reports); 245, 245A (2 volumes of Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research Report Sheets); 248, 248A, 248B (3 volumes of Navajo Site Photographs).
- 169/ Data compiled from Navajo Plaintiff's Exhibits 1500-1956 (Navajo Birth Records), Exhibits 900-1175, 1176, 1176A (Hopi Indian Birth Records), Indian Testimony - all in Docket 229 before the Indian Claims Commission. All sources of data, including hospital Personal History Sheets from Clinical Records, Birth and Death Certificates, and Indian Scout Pension Records, researched only through the year 1868, the "Date of Taking" in the Navajo Land Claim Case, Docket 229. Photo copies of all records on file in the Research Office of The Navajo Tribe, Window Rock, Arizona.
- 170/ Neil M. Judd, THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF PUEBLO BONITO. Smithsonian Misc. Collections, Vol. 124 (Whole Volume), Wash., D. C., 1954.
- 171/ E. W. Gifford, CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XII APACHE-PUEBLO. Anthropological Records 4:1, Univ. of Calif. Press, Berkeley, Calif., 1940.