

Lt. Schroeder Visits Moquis, 1852

The remote location of the Moqui pueblos, almost completely isolated from the Indian pueblos and settlements of New Mexico, their closest neighbors, accounts for the fact that so little was known of them, or that the U. S. military officers obtained so little reliable information about them. These difficulties were demonstrated in March, 1852, when Major Backus ordered Lt. H. B. Schroeder, 3rd Infantry, to visit the Moqui towns to determine if he could find a wagon road to their mesas and to ascertain whether they had any forage or supplies to sell. Schroeder managed to reach the First Mesa, occupied by the three towns of Walpi, Sichonovi, and Hano, but owing to a snowstorm and other difficulties did not visit the rest. He reported:

They are an exceedingly slow people, and it is impossible to acquire from them anything like an approximation to their numbers, or the amount of corn, or sheep they have on hand, or annually raise. [Schroeder to Backus, April 11, 1852. War Dept., Dept. of New Mexico, Letters Rec'd.]

In spite of this definite statement that it was "impossible" to acquire from them anything like an approximation to their numbers," Schroeder estimated the Moqui population at 8,000 to 10,000, obviously the merest sort of guess, based on most inadequate observation or examination. Indeed, he had visited only three of the seven towns and his estimate was fantastic, as we know from the reports of United States Indian agents, soon to be sent to these pueblos.

Schroeder continued:

The principal crop raised is corn, they also have melons, squashes, onions, and some cotton. They have sheep but the number small in proportion to the population. They manufacture chiefly coarse blankets, and make the same pottery

usually found in Indian Pueblos. It is impossible to estimate the quantity of corn annually raised as they do not irrigate. I should think from five hundred to one thousand bushels could be obtained at present; should such articles be sent to them for trade as they require. [Ibid.]

Smallpox Epidemics, 1853-54

Epidemics were often a serious menace to the Indian tribes. In the time of Governor Anza, mentioned above, p. 11, the Moquis had been ravaged by disease and less than a thousand remained, according to report. In 1853, Bvt. Major Henry L. Kendrick, then in command at Fort Defiance, wrote Governor David Meriwether of New Mexico that both Zuñi and the Moqui pueblos were afflicted with the smallpox, and begged for medical aid, which he was unable to provide.

From what we hear Moqui is in danger of being depopulated; indeed it is said that not an individual is left alive in one of the villages; that their crops are still standing & that in their desperation the people are killing each other.

Without fully crediting these reports, I have thought proper, knowing our inability to render aid, to call your attention to the case, in hopes that as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in this Territory you may have control of means of sending Physicians, vaccine virus & medicines to these Pueblos, which humanity & our interests require us to foster. [Kendrick to Meriwether, Nov. 13, 1853, New Mexico, N-198/1854 encl.]

The seriousness of the epidemic was corroborated by Lt. A. W. Whipple, who during 1853-54 was engaged in surveying for a Pacific Railroad along the 35th parallel. On leaving Zuñi, he needed guides to explore the Little Colorado country and sent two Zuñi Indians to obtain Moqui guides.

At our request they traced a sketch of the Moqui country and the route they propose to travel. They say that the population of the seven towns of Moqui has been greatly diminished lately, and now is about the same as that of Zuñi;

that is, according to our previous estimate, 2,000 persons. But it is a difficult matter to determine satisfactorily the population of an Indian pueblo.... The houses are so piled upon each other that they cannot be counted, nor does any one seem to know how many families occupy the same dwelling. [A. W. Whipple "Itinerary" in Report of Explorations and Surveys...for a Railroad...to the Pacific Ocean, Washington, 1846. 33d Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. 73, pp. 72-73.]

While waiting for the Zuni Indian messengers to return from Moqui, Whipple's party continued its explorations and was at Leroux's Fork near the Little Colorado on Dec. 5, 1853, when the messengers rejoined them.

Every one was glad to see them, and their arrival created quite an excitement. Their mission has been performed, but no Moqui guide could be obtained. The smallpox had swept off nearly every male adult from three pueblos. In one remained only the cacique and a single man from a hundred warriors. They were dying by fifties per day; and the living, unable to bury the dead, had thrown them down the steep sides of the lofty mesas upon which the pueblos are built. There wolves and ravens had congregated in myriads to devour them. [Ibid., p. 75.]

It will be seen, therefore, that Whipple estimated the Moquis at 2,000, distributed in seven villages. These names he gave as Oraibe [Oraibi]; Taucos [Tewa or Hano]; Moszasnavi [Mishongnovi]; Guipaulavi [Shipaulovi]; Xougopavi [Shongopovi]; Gaulpi [Walpi]; and one village without a name. This was on the First Mesa and subservient to Walpi. It was therefore Sichomovi. ["Report upon the Indian Tribes," By A. W. Whipple, Thomas Ewhank, and William W. Turner, in ibid., p. 121.]

During the early 1850's, Major H. L. Kendrick (who is not to be confused with Navajo Agent Silas F. Kendrick), in command at Fort Defiance, was in a key listening and observation post where he picked up information about the various tribes. Thus, he wrote Governor Meriwether of New Mexico on February 6, 1854, that the smallpox had disappeared from the pueblos of

Zuñi and Moqui, though it had done much damage, especially at the latter place. Of other news, he wrote:

The Navajoes & Moquis have been on unfriendly terms the Moquis killing one Navajoe, for theft, and Navajoes retaliating by killing five Moquis. The Navajoes express a willingness now to remain at peace with the Pueblos. [Kendrick to Meriwether, Feb. 6, 1854, War Dept., Dept. of New Mexico, Letters Rec'd, K unnumbered 1854.]

Major Kendrick recommended that the government give the Moquis some agricultural implements to permit them to raise more corn, which the government might then purchase from them.

Two years later, February, 1856, Major Kendrick was able to write that he had been occupied "in helping to maintain a peace which has not been broken since this Post was established..." [Kendrick to Cooper, Feb. 3, 1856, War Dept., Adj. Gen.'s Off., Letters Rec'd, K-29/1856], *i. e.*, when Fort Defiance was established in the summer of 1851. About the same time he informed Agent H. L. Dodge, "I have some spades, axes, hoes, ploughs, hatchets, harness, for the Moquis & Zunis, which I am under engagement to distribute myself." This he evidently did in March or April., [Kendrick to Dodge, Feb. 6, 1856, New Mexico Field Papers, 1856.]

Major Kendrick's Letter of June 12, 1856

Having made a distribution of farming tools to both the Zuñis and Moquis, and having seen these towns and observed them at first hand, Major Kendrick wrote to Gov. Meriwether an account of what he had learned. In view of the significance that has been attached to this letter, parts of which have been quoted out of context, the portion relating to the Moquis is quoted here at some length:

The so called "Seven Pueblos of Moqui" are situated some 70 or 100 miles to the West of us, while the Zunis have descended from those who once lived in the "Seven Cities of Cibola" of Castañeda, the Seven villages of Moqui are the identical "Seven Cities of Tusayan," but neither have any reliable traditions. Six of these Pueblos are in clusters of three each, these clusters being some seven miles apart; seven miles farther from us is the single pueblo of Oraibe, the largest of all.

All of them are built of stone, upon rocky cliffs, some 200 or 300 feet above the valley, and wholly inaccessible to any but the most sure footed beast.

At present there may be some 2000 or 2500 inhabitants in these seven Pueblos. They say that their numbers are decreasing, which is undoubtedly true. In fact, unless some thing be done for them, they are doomed to utter extinction; that something can not be done too soon.

Their vicious system of intermarriage has deprived them of all manliness, & the Navajoes ride over them rough shod. It will be very difficult to puebloize the latter while the Moquis give so unfavorable an example of that system; for this reason, if for none other, it would be well to resuscitate those Pueblos. For this, the most important thing is to give them a market; the next is that they should have a special agent. Such an agent might have the care of the Zunis also. When it is remembered how completely isolated from all others these Pueblos are, and how exposed they are to inroads by wild Indians, it seems not to be asking too much for them. Still, if it be so deemed, then the Pueblos of Acoma, Laguna, and Pojuate, might be entrusted to his care. All these Pueblos form a tolerably well defined district, of which Fort Defiance is the most central occupied point.

* * * * *

The giving these people a market I believe to be not only the cheapest and most efficient means of saving them, but without it I am certain that all other efforts will be entirely fruitless. The influence that so small an expenditure, if it restores these Pueblos, will have upon the wild Indians, ought not to be overlooked. . . .

In the mean time I will thank you if you will inform me of your views in the premises. [Kendrick to Mariwether, June 12, 1856, New Mexico, R-44/1356 encl.]

into the ranks till we find ourselves moving in great force. The Moquis assured me that the next water was but a little distance from the last camp, but we travelled nearly twenty miles before reaching it.... Countless herds of horses and flocks of sheep were grazing upon the plain. The Moquis said that we were entering one of the most thickly populated sections of the Navajo territory.

Hundreds have come into camp, and, considering their natural impudence and the weakness of our party, have astonished me by the correctness of their behavior. [Ibid., pp. 127-29.]

Throughout Lt. Ives' daily comment runs a keynote of testimony to the willful isolation of the Moquis on their mesa heights, the general good relations of Navajos and Moquis, with recognition of the fact that the Navajos were the more active, industrious, and aggressive, in short, more independent.

Navajo-Zuni-Moqui Agency, 1853

The offices of governor and superintendent of Indian affairs in New Mexico originally had been vested in one person, but by the Indian Appropriation Act of 1857 this was changed and the two offices separated.

Appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs, James L. Collins soon outlined plans for placing the Indians of his jurisdiction on reservations.

Meantime, Collins had created a joint Navajo-Zuni-Moqui Agency and in August, 1853, appointed Samuel M. Yost as agent. [Collins to Yost, Aug. 10, 1853, New Mexico, C-1655/1853 encl.] Collins, in making the appointment, said: "As regards the Indians of Zuni and the Moquis I presume but little of your time will be required with them." [Collins to Yost, Aug. 13, 1853, New Mexico, C-1655/1853 encl.] No provision was made for giving the Navajos any food or supplies. "You are aware that the government has made no provision for feeding the Navajos," wrote Collins to Yost. "It may on some

So now, only exacerbated by the events of 1858, the one-sided struggle went on. In 1859 United States troops launched two campaigns against the Navajo, Major O. L. Shepherd leading the 3rd Infantry on a march south and southwest of Fort Defiance, and Captain J. G. Walker taking a detachment of the Mounted Rifles to the north and northwest. Walker's command did not reach the Moqui towns, but Shepherd's did, visiting several of them during the last days of July. He found them to be a simple-minded people, cultivating the soil about their mesas, but without horses, as was common among most Indian tribes. [Shepherd to Edson, Aug. 7, 1859, War Dept., Dept. of New Mexico, Letters Rec'd, S-44/1859 encl.] The horse, indeed, had never become a feature of Moqui life, as observed by each of the U. S. Indian agents appointed to serve this tribe, beginning with Capt. A. D. Palmer in 1859. (See below, p. 52.)

Silas F. Kendrick, Navajo-Moqui Agent, 1859

Silas F. Kendrick, not to be confused with Major Henry L. Kendrick of the Army, became agent of the Navajo Indians in 1859, with jurisdiction over the Moquis as well. His first report, dated October 4, 1859, shortly after he had taken charge of his office at Fort Defiance, and before he had seen the Moquis, said of them:

The Moquis live in three villages, about 70 or 80 miles from Fort Defiance,--South west--they are inoffensive Indians, noncombatant, and make little or no resistance, even when they are attacked and are called the "Quaker Indians" by some. They are believed to be the remnant of a numerous race, once occupying the country along the Gila and other streams. Priests of the Roman Catholic persuasion were once among them, but at this time, they have no missionaries of any denomination among them. [Kendrick to Commissioner Greenwood, Oct. 4, 1859, New Mexico, C-242/1859 encl.]

On the 21st [November, 1863] arrived at the Moqui village. I found on my arrival that the inhabitants of all the villages, except the Oribis, had a misunderstanding 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. They were of some service and manifested a great desire to aid us in every respect.

While on this subject I would respectfully represent that these people, numbering some four thousand souls, are in a most deplorable condition, from the fact that the country for several miles around their villages is quite barren, and is entirely destitute of vegetation. They have no water for purpose of irrigation, and their only dependence for subsistence is on the little corn they raise when the weather is propitious, which is not always the case in this latitude. They are a peaceable people; have never robbed or murdered the people of New Mexico, and are in every way worthy of the fostering care of the government. Of the bounty so unsparingly bestowed by it on the other Pueblo Indians--aye, even on the marauding bands--they have never tasted. And I earnestly recommend that the attention of the Indian Bureau be called to this matter.... [Carson to Cutler, Dec. 6, 1863, War Dept., Dept. of New Mexico, Letters Sent, Old Book 124 (Bound as 76), pp. 34-38.]

The military tactic of inciting the Moquis against the Navajos failed, and methods of force were resorted to. The Moqui pueblo of Oraibi would have nothing to do with Carson, who thereupon forced them into his service. Having heard that this town was in alliance with the Navajos, he seized and bound some of its chiefs, forced them to accompany him as he searched for Navajos, and presumably let them go again when they had served his purpose. [Ibid.]

During the campaigns of 1864, United States officers learned still more of the Moquis. In August, General Carleton wrote to Supt. Poston of Arizona: "I have the honor to inform you that. . .the Moqui and Oribi Indians have lost their crops from high winds and excessive drought; and are, from the statements of the Indians themselves, as well as from their famished appearance, already

at the point of starvation." [Carlston to Poston, Aug. 24, 1864, War Dept., Dept. of New Mexico, Letters Sent, Old Book 12 (Bound as 16), p. 34.] This, it will be remembered, was at the time when many of the Navajos were at Fort Sumner and they could not, therefore, be blamed for the Moqui plight.

In September, 1864, Lt. Robert Thompson of the New Mexico Volunteers was sent to examine the Moqui villages "to ascertain the amount of grain on hand from last year and the probable amount of grain that may be produced this year," the number of inhabitants, amount of stock, and whether any Navajos were hiding there. Thompson with twenty men started out from Fort Canby (Old Fort Defiance) on Sept. 2, and reached the Moqui village, probably meaning the First Mesa, three days later, where he camped. He described the village as having 300 inhabitants. It looked out over a large valley, he said, but it did not have any stream. Crops consisted of corn, beans, pumpkins, melons, and chile, but these were of very poor quality owing to the incessant winds. [Thompson to the Post Adjutant, Sept. 15, 1864, War Dept., Dept. of New Mexico, Letters Rec'd, 501-3-225/1864 encl.]

After resting his men and animals, Thompson set out for Oraibi on the 9th. When he got there, the people, whom he thought from appearances might number 600-700, and their chiefs, had fled and could not be induced to return. Thompson estimated that Oraibi had about 400 acres in cultivation, mostly planted to corn, and that its people probably raised from 3,000 to 4,000 bushels per year. He examined some of the houses and found that they had corn left over from the previous year, from which he concluded that Oraibi was not suffering from want of provisions. From appearances he thought the pueblo might have from 3,000 to 4,000 sheep and goats and could not, therefore, be in a starving condition. [Ibid.]

exceed 3,000, but he was certainly misinformed in saying that they were an easy prey for their foes. The Navajos, for example, had been in captivity at Fort Sumner at the Bosque Redondo for two years and were not to be freed for another three years. He could hardly have had reference to this tribe or he was most careless, for those not in prison were widely scattered.

Moqui Census, 1865

A copy of Ward's letter was sent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs William P. Dole, by Michael Steck, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico, dated April 21, 1865, with some comment of his own.

There has heretofore been but little known of these Indians, a few travelers have visited them in passing hurriedly through the country. Their description and the fabulous accounts of the Spanish Conquerors, savor more of fiction than reality.

John Ward under instructions from my predecessor--Col. Collins, visited these villages in 1861, and reports the names and population of each, viz:

Oraiva [Oraibi]	population	800
Sho-mon-pa-vi [Shongopovi]	Do	600
Tano [Hano]	Do	250
Ci-cho-mo-vi [Sichomevi]	Do	100
O-pi-ji-que [Malpi]	Do	300
Mi-shan-qu-na-vi [Mishongnovi]	Do	250
Sha-pau-la-vi [Shipaulovi]	Do	200
Total population		2,500

[Steck to Dole, April 21, 1865, New Mexico, S-65B/1865.]

Steck scaled down Ward's figure of the Moquis population to 2,500.

"Total population of the seven villages, according to his [Ward's] estimate

New Mexicans Rob the Moquis, 1866

Raids by New Mexicans against the Navajos were of frequent occurrence during this time, as they had been throughout the Spanish and Mexican periods. Reeve says that this charge was a common one because "it was not difficult to commit a theft in a frontier region and blame it on the Indians without the falseness of the charge being discovered." [New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. 12, p. 231.] As a result, the Navajos were forced to defend themselves against these incursions, and, after 1863, were helpless as the United States troops rounded them into a prison inclosure at the Bosque Redondo.

A documented example of such raids took place in December, 1866. At that time, about eighty New Mexicans from the Taos and Abiquiu areas made a raid "after Apaches and Navajos" [Henderson to Bogy, Feb. 12, 1867, New Mexico, A-69/1867 encl.], but failing to find any, visited the pueblo of Oraibi; and having obtained some supplies, attacked the pueblo, killed and scalped several Indians, and carried off twelve captives (one woman, six boys, and five girls), as well as driving off seven hundred head of sheep and goats and two burros. [Davis to Bogy, Jan. 18, 1867, New Mexico, N-11/1867; Ward to Bogy, Apr. 4, 1867, New Mexico, N-64/1867 encl.]

American officers heard of this outrage when seven Moqui Indians reached Santa Fe after a foot journey of about 300 miles and informed Agent Henderson. Thereupon Agent Ward was instructed to investigate, recover as many captives and as much of the stock as could be found. He was successful, found all the captives, who were returned to their people some months later, but only a part of the stock was recovered. [See Henderson to Bogy, Feb. 12, 1867, New Mexico, A-69/1867 encl.; Ward to Bogy, Mar. 4, 1867, New Mexico, W-160/1867; and Ward to Bogy, Apr. 4, 1867, New Mexico, N-64/1867 encl.]

Analysis of this document shows Gunn's desire to take advantage of the Moquis by removing them from their mesa homes to some spot either in the Verde Valley, south of Flagstaff, where they would become a barrier against the Apaches, or to Thompson's Valley, 25 miles west of Prescott, where they would protect that city from hostile tribes from that sector.

Palmer's Mission to the Moquis, 1869

The various pleas made on behalf of the Moqui Indians by soldiers during the Navajo campaigns brought the appointment of a Special Agent to this tribe in the person of Captain A. D. Palmer. At Fort Wingate he was met in November, 1869, by a delegation of Moquis, including two chiefs, who had come to escort him to their towns and to tell him about their situation. After conferring with them, Palmer reported:

They have no definite idea, or at least can convey none, of the population of their villages.... They are extremely poor, as compared with the majority of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico & Arizona. As far as I can learn the only animals they have are "Burros" or small asses....

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 Navajos 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 firearms 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 & themselves, are continually at the mercy of their enemies. The Moquis have the name of being an honest hardworking, peaceable race.... [Palmer to Parker, Nov. 30, 1869, New Mexico, P-26h/1869.]

After this conference with a few Moquis at Fort Wingate, Palmer could report to the Commissioner on December 20th that he had spent December 10-11, in the Moqui pueblos, assisted by a Spanish interpreter and two soldiers. In his report he described their houses, their location on high and rocky mesas, their lack of water, with crops dependent on seasonal rains, their crude farming techniques. The people were well, he said, though many had died of disease and famine in previous years. Captain Palmer observed that there were seven villages, that they owned about 2,000 sheep, 75 burros, and 20 horses; that the population numbered 1,505 by actual count. [Palmer to Parker, Dec. 20, 1869, Arizona, P-275/1869 encl.]

Palmer's letter is of sufficient significance to merit quotation.

It read:

The Moquis are very poor in comparison to the Pueblo Indians on or near the Rio Grande River in New Mexico. They state they were at one time well off, but the thefts of roving bands of Apaches & Navajoes have greatly reduced them. They have lost many of their number by disease and famine of late years, but are now in a good state of health and have enough of corn, pumpkins, watermelons and dried peaches, (their only crops) to carry them thro the winter comfortably. Their clothing is poor and scanty....

I then proceeded to examine into their number, and most urgent necessities. Their number by actual count is, all told, (1505) one thousand five hundred & five. A detailed account of their population accompanies this report....

I applied to Capt. F. T. Bennett USA Agent for the Navajo Indians, stationed at Fort Defiance, for the necessary building for an agency for the Moquis at that Post. I was informed by him that he had no room to spare for that purpose. I do not think it advisable to establish my agency there for another reason, to wit, the hostility existing between the Moquis and Navajoes, which though not open or general, shows itself in occasional murders and frequent thefts.

I would therefore respectfully suggest that I remain at this Post, or probably better at Santa Fé N. M. for the more expeditious transaction of business in relation to my agency, until the opening of spring when I desire to leave for the Moquis Villages as above stated.

I hope to be able to effect a treaty between the Moquis & Navajoes at an early day. [Palmer to Parker, Dec. 20, 1869, Arizona, P-275/1869 encl.]

Palmer gave the names and population of the Moqui towns as follows:

	<u>Adults</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Total</u>
Tay-wah [Tewa or Hano]	108	35	143
Se-che-na-we [Sichomovi]	66	25	91
Jual-pi [Walpi]	210	102	312
Me-shung-a-na-we [Mishongnovi]	140	81	221
She-powl-a-we [Shipaulovi]	71	25	96
Shung-o-pa-we [Shongopovi]	118	42	160
O-rey-be [Oraibi]	<u>308</u>	<u>174</u>	<u>482</u>
Totals	1,021	484	1,505

[Palmer to Parker, Sept. 30, 1870. 41st Cong., 3d Sess., House Ex. Doc. 1 (Serial 1449), p. 597.]

After his trip to the Moqui towns, Captain Palmer returned to Fort Wingate, which became his headquarters as Special Agent to the Moquis. There he made application to General G. W. Getty for 20 stand of arms and ammunition for his Indians to enable them to protect themselves against "hostile Navajo and Apache Indians." He explained the situation to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in these words:

Application has been made (since approved) to Gen G. W. Getty U.S.A. for (20) twenty stand of arms, and suitable ammunition and accoutrements, to be used for protection, alone, of the property and lives of the Moquis Indians and of persons connected with the Moqui Indian Agency from hostile Navajo and Apache Indians. Owing to the scarcity of troops at this time in this District no escort temporary, or permanent, can be allowed my agency. It must therefore be self protecting. The arms will be issued under my personal supervision, and not until I shall be satisfied of the reliability of the Indians to whom they shall [be] given. Should the experiment prove as successful as I confidently hope, requisition will be made for a larger number of Arms. As pertinent here, I would mention that I have learned that several years since, the Zunis, a tribe similar to the Moquis, were intrusted with some (300) three hundred stand of arms, to be used against the Navajoes, who were then hostile. I have yet to hear of their using them against whites, and it is said to have had an excellent effect on the conduct of the Navajoes toward them. During my visit last fall, I did not see a single serviceable firearm at the Moquis Villages. I attribute their present reduced condition to the fact of their want of arms. [Palmer to Parker, April 23, 1870, Arizona, P-391/1870.]

Palmer was already planning to locate his agency on the Little Colorado River, owing to the scarcity of everything at the Moqui villages. There, at a distance of 30 [more nearly 75] miles, he hoped to find good land and water.

Owing to the scarcity of water for irrigation, in the immediate vicinity of the villages, I have determined to locate my agency on the Colorado Chiquito River (30) thirty miles southwest of the villages, where I expect to find good land, & wood and water in abundance. I shall endeavor to secure a removal of the Moquis to that point should the Coyotero Apaches not prove too hostile. Ibid.]

Palmer returned to the Hopi towns on May 10, 1870, for his first extended stay among his Indians. He was able to distribute as gifts 300 axes, 100 pickaxes, 300 hoes, 300 spades, and some kettles and seed, and he urged his people to plant more corn than usual, with a view to selling some of it to the government. [Palmer to Parker, May 31, 1870, Arizona, P-419/1870.]

From early May till June 27, when he returned to Fort Wingate, Palmer and his interpreter-farmer sought to teach the Moquis how to use their new agricultural implements, how to build roads up the mesas to their towns, clean out and curb their wells, and adopt other useful ideas. He remained at Fort Wingate till late in August, when he returned to his Indians to see how they had progressed with their lessons. He found the crops in flourishing condition, but nothing else had been done. After a stay of about two weeks, he returned to Fort Wingate, where he wrote an informative and extensive report for E. S. Parker, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington. It is dated September 30, 1870. [41st Cong., 3d Sess., House Ex. Doc. 1 (Serial 1449), pp. 596-600.]

Captain Palmer made some extensive comments on the Moquis. They were exclusively an agricultural people, he wrote. They had a few sheep and would have had large flocks "had they not been compelled to keep them small through fear of the Kavaojos and Apaches." They had no stock, but some sheep. Stock, Palmer observed, would have consumed all the water available at their towns.

"As a race," said Palmer, "the Moquis are not progressive in their work, clinging strongly to their traditional customs in everything they do. They are much attached to their villages and country, and extremely jealous of innovation. I found this latter fact a great obstruction in trying to induce them to work in our ways."

Community projects were not in favor among the Moquis, Palmer learned.

I had great difficulty in getting any work out of them which conduced to the general good, each man seeming to fear that some one else would reap the benefit of his labor. They are inordinately suspicious and jealous of each other and of outsiders, and I found it very difficult to gain their confidence, and to convince them that I was working for their good.

Palmer concluded:

They are the most ignorant and superstitious tribe I have ever seen, due, I believe, to their isolated position. The Moquis will have abundant crops this year; they are tolerably clothed, well housed, and, with their few wants, are in better condition than half of the Mexican inhabitants of New Mexico.

From personal observation of the Moquis, Palmer had learned some basic facts about them, and this information he reported to his superiors. Not the hostility of their neighbors, but their own ignorance, superstitions, and inability to cooperate with each other or with outsiders were the causes of their apparent poverty.

As to a Moqui agency, Palmer believed that no necessity existed for continuing it, since any business that might arise could be handled through the New Mexico Indian Superintendency. [Ibid.]

W. D. Crothers, Agent to the Moquis, 1871-73

When W. D. Crothers succeeded Palmer as agent to the Moquis, in January, 1871, he planned to establish his agency headquarters in one of the Moqui villages, as he wrote from Fort Wingate on January 2, 1871. [Crothers to Parker, Jan. 2, 1871, Arizona, C-51/1871.] In response to Department of Interior requests, he spoke of establishing buildings for mission and school purposes, but before this was done he felt that the Moquis should be removed from their rocky ledges to convenient farming lands elsewhere, a theme he