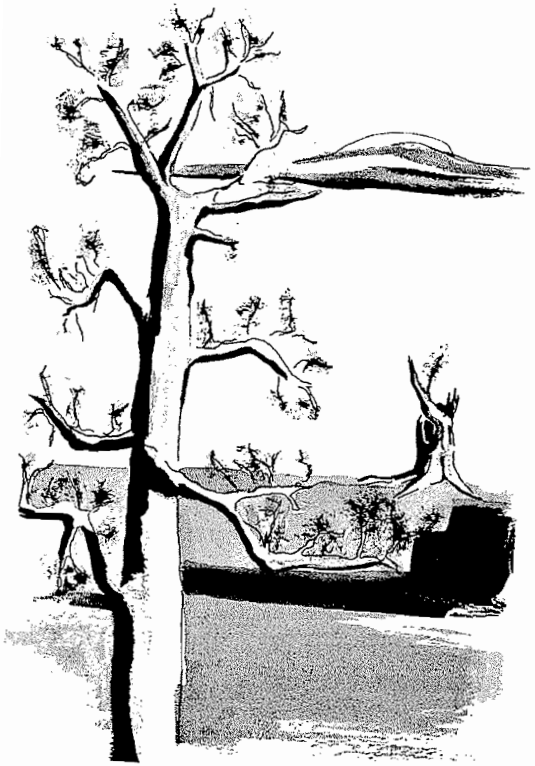

Harry C. James

pages from HOPI HISTORY

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About the Author . . .

HARRY C. JAMES was for half a century known both for his devotion to the conservation of the natural environment and for his interest in the welfare of the American Indian. A founder of the Indian Welfare League and the National Association to Help the Indian, James used his perceptivity to foster productive relationships between the Indians and others involved in activities relating to the increasingly important cause of conservation. He was involved in several of the dramatic events reported in this book, including the sheep-dip bathing incident on June 10, 1920. James also wrote several books about Indians: *Treasure of the Hopitu*, 1927; *Haliksai! Hopi Legends of Grand Canyon Country*, 1940; *The Hopi Indians*, 1956; *Red Man, White Man*, 1958; *The Cahuilla Indians*, 1960; and in 1973, *Western Campfires*.

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As always,
this must be for Grace

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Hopi Tusqua

BUREAUCRATIC INERTIA AND APATHY, often called typical of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, are all too well exemplified by the fact that it was nearly forty years after its without-your-leave takeover of the Hopi before the bureau took any action to safeguard Hopi lands from growing encroachment by both Navajos and whites.

Many of the former, returning from the Bosque Redondo, were reunited with fellow tribesmen who had eluded capture. Concurrent with the rapid increase in their numbers, the Navajo began to build their hogans in Hopi country.

In 1875 the Mormons had established a community near Moencopi. About the same time other Mormon settlements began along the Little Colorado River. The Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, now the Santa Fe, would soon cross into Arizona some sixty miles south of the Hopi villages. Thus the isolation which had granted them at least precarious seclusion from the white man was gradually being eroded.

The need to block these invasions of the Hopi country prompted Agent W. B. Truax, in his 1876 report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to urge that a reservation for Hopi be established. This suggestion was acted upon almost at once — largely due, no doubt, to the then anti-Mormon attitude of both the Indian administration and the military.

On December 16, 1882, President Chester A. Arthur, in an Executive Order consisting of just one long sentence, set up a Hopi Reservation. This order read as follows:

Executive Mansion, December 16, 1882

It is hereby ordered that the tract of country in the Territory of Arizona, lying and being within the following-described boundaries, viz., beginning on the one hundred and tenth degree of longitude west from Greenwich, at a point 36 degrees 30″ north, thence due west to the one hundred and eleventh degree of longitude west, thence due south to a point of longitude 35 degrees 30″ north, thence due east to the one hundred and tenth degree of longitude,

and thence due north to the place of beginning be, and the same is hereby, withdrawn from settlement and sale, and set 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.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR

In his report for 1882 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs published a map of the newly established reservation. This map showed the southwest corner of the reservation reaching to the Little Colorado, and it also included Hopi butte country in the reservation, thus bringing it fifteen or twenty miles closer to the railroad line. Unfortunately, this map was not approved, and the commissioner's 1883 report shows a map of the reservation exactly as it was outlined in President Arthur's Executive Order.

The concluding phrase of that order, "for the use and occupancy of the *Moqui and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon*" (italics added) was only too often slipped into various kinds of regulations establishing Indian reservations. In all, or nearly all cases, it has resulted in controversy and trouble.

There is absolutely no record to show that the Hopi themselves were consulted in any way regarding the reservation that was set aside for them in this peremptory fashion. Furthermore, Arthur's Executive Order allowed the Hopi only the *use* of the lands designated. It in no way recognized their right to ownership. The Hopi had no knowledge whatever that lines were being drawn on maps in Washington limiting them to the use of a certain area of the extensive country which they for centuries had believed to be their own.

It is unlikely that even the few whites living in that part of northern Arizona knew where the boundaries of the newly created reservation were. There was no way the representatives of the government in Arizona could protect the Hopi from encroachment on the reservation. Even the Hopi agency, established thirteen years earlier, was given up in the autumn of 1882 and was not reestablished until 1887. To further complicate matters for the Hopi, from 1882 until 1899 it was administered as part of a joint Moqui and Navajo Agency.

The Hopi themselves have always considered as theirs the lands occupied by their ancestors where they have shrines, such as the one near the summit of Mt. Thomas in the White Mountains of Arizona; and lands with natural features of a sacred nature, like the salt deposit in the Grand Canyon of the Colorado and various eagle-nesting sites. This area can be bounded, roughly, by the junction of the San Juan River with the Colorado in the north, the Arizona-New Mexico state line on the east, the Mogollon and Zuñi rim on the south, and the San Francisco Peaks on the west.

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When one considers that these conceptions of the Hopi as to what constitutes their country were totally ignored when "their" reservation was established and that the order for its establishment also provided for its use and occupancy by other tribes, it is small wonder that down through the years the constant encroachment of the Navajo into the area has proved not only a serious threat to the very existence of the Hopi in their own land, but also multiple thorns in the flesh of conscientious agents at Keams Canyon.

When the first Spanish came to the Southwest they spoke of the Hopi country as being part of the province of Tusayan, but to the Hopi it has always been the Hopi Tusqua, the land.

The Hopi have long been aware of how intimately their lives are bound up with the ecology of their land. The fact that their ancestors settled there so many centuries before the first white man saw what was to him the New World has made Hopi roots grow deep and hold fast to the lands they consider theirs.

In 1951 many important members of the various clans and religious societies of Shongopovi drew up a statement which was presented to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, outlining the boundaries of the area they have traditionally considered to be theirs. This document also set forth in their own words their depth of feeling regarding that land.

Always vital to us is the subject of our land. In times far back before your history we were taught truthful and peaceful living, which remains with us in the traditional life way of the Hopi people. We could not remain here in selfish tenant. In our traditional life we are strong against selfishness and tyranny, and are to be governed in our traditional way so we might have prosperity, happiness, honor and peace, not only for ourselves but for all people including our white brothers.

Many times we have talked with officials of the United States Government on the matter of our land. In April of 1939 we presented a map of our land to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs but have not received acknowledgment of our claim. . . . In this effort we have failed to find where you gave us any legal way or rights or title to the land which was ours from times long before you came among us.

Thus, realizing that inasmuch as you have not given us legal entrance to the problem we must humbly and with deepest thought and sincerity present our claim to the Hopi land (Tusqua) as it is fixed by our traditional life and which we must use in our traditional way in carrying out our traditional practices and regulations. . . .

THE LAND AND ITS PURPOSE

The Hopi Tusqua (land) is our Love and will always be, and it is the land upon which our leader fixes and tells the dates for our religious life. Our land, our religion, and our life are one, and our leader, with humbleness, understanding and determination, performs his duty to us by keeping them as one and thus insuring prosperity and security for the people.

1. It is from the land that each true Hopi gathers the rocks, the plants, the different woods, roots, and his life, and each in the authority of his rightful obligation brings to our ceremonies proof of our ties to this land. Our footprints mark well the trails to these sacred places where each year we go in performance of our duties.

2. It is upon this land that we have hunted and were assured of rights to game such as deer, elk, antelope, buffalo, rabbit, turkey. It is here that we captured the eagle, the hawk, and such birds whose feathers belong to our ceremonies.

3. It is upon this land that we made trails to our salt supply.

4. It is over this land that many people have come seeking places for settlement, and finding Shungopovi established, asked our leader for permission to settle in this area. All the clan groups named their contributions to our welfare and upon acceptance by our leader were given designated lands for their livelihood and for their eagle hunting, according to the directions from which they came.

5. It is from this land that we obtained the timbers and stone for our homes and kivas.

6. It is here on this land that we are bringing up our younger generation and through preserving the ceremonies are teaching them proper human behavior and strength of character to make them true citizens among all people.

7. It is upon this land that we wish to live in peace and harmony with our friends and with our neighbors.

We realize that within the area of the Hopi land claim there are towns and villages of other people. It is not our intention to bring disturbance to the people of these places, for our way requires us to conduct our lives in friendship and peace, without anger, without greed, without wickedness of any kind among ourselves or in our association with any people; and in turn to have guaranteed that there will be no disturbance to us in the carrying out of our traditional life.

Although we are small in numbers, scarce in money and without wide knowledge of your ways and your laws, with humble hearts but strong determination we state the traditional claims of the Hopi people, who are joined as one on this question of land through their commitments to our leader and his assignment of land for their use in fulfilling their obligations and maintaining their life. Our authority to present the claim is in the traditional organization of the Hopi people. By custom long established and observed it is known to all true Hopi that authority and responsibility for the security of the land belongs to their leader, and all individuals, groups, clans, villages, in return for the land assigned to them for use are obligated to support this authority. And none, whether through self-will, ignorance, or through any other means, are free to take authority over the land into their hands. We are aware that through ignorance of our ways certain Hopi individuals, groups and villages have been encouraged in directions in opposition to the traditional government of the Hopi people, and that they may take it upon themselves to act in respect to this land claim of the Hopi people. It is our responsibility to point out this situation, not in anger, not in ill-will, but only to have it clear that we alone are authorized by the traditions

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of the Hopi people to represent the people on this matter of the Hopi Tusqua (land). . . .

At the present time and for some years we have been forced from these boundaries inward and it has been only with difficult effort and strong faith in our way of life that we have managed to survive. Our petition to you is for full restoration of the land to us and the freedom to govern its use. We cannot, by our tradition, accept coins or money for this land, but must persist in our prayers and words for repossession of the land itself, to preserve the Hopi life.

Our claim — based upon our occupation and use in the conduct of our traditional life under the traditional order of the Hopi people joined as one through long established custom, and through agreements whereby all clans are pledged to their traditional leader and in turn are supported by their leader — is for our rights to the full use of our resources, our ceremonial shrines and hunting areas.

Through many dark hours we have come to this time and have lived through the times of anger, confusion, ignorance, fear, and misunderstanding, supported by the strength of our traditional life, and it is our confidence that you in the spirit of justice and honor will recognize this traditional claim of the Hopi people, that we may live together in peace with one another.

BOUNDARY MARKS OF HOPI TUSQUA (LAND)

1. Sak wai vai yu (Chevelon Cliffs)
2. Honapa (west of Sedona)
3. Tusak Choma (Bill Williams Mountain)
4. & 5. Po ta ve taka (Point Sublime, Grand Canyon, to junction of Colorado River and Escalante River) Polungoihoya
6. Tukuk navi (Navajo Mountain)
7. & 8. Ky westima (east of Keet Seel and Betatakin)
9. Nei yavu walsh (Lolomai Point)
10. Nah mee toka (Lupton — mouth of Canyon)
11. Tsi mun tu qui (Woodruff Butte)

* * *

[SIGNED:]

Clark Talahaftewa (Fingerprint)	Kikmongwi (Bear Clan)	Sakwalenmongwi (Blue Flute Society)
Dick McLean Quanavama (Signed)	Katcinmongwi (Katcina-Parrot Clan)	Dowmongwi (Singers Society)
Franklin Coochyestewa (Fingerprint)	Sun Clan	Kwanmongwi (One Horn Society)
Viets Lomaheftewa (Signed)	Water Clan	Al mongwi (Two Horn Society)

Ralph Selina (Signed)	Corn Clan	Wuwucim mongwi (Wucucim Society)
Otis Polelonema (Signed)	Snow Clan	Mas len mongwi (Grey Flute Society)
Louis Tewanima (Fingerprint)	Rope Clan	Tchuf mongwi (Antelope Society)
Wadsworth Nuvangoitewa (Fingerprint)	Sunforehead Clan	Chumongwi (Snake Society)
Andrew Hermequaftewa (Fingerprint)	Bluebird Clan	Advisor

* * *

Leaders of other Hopi villages may differ in some degree as to the boundaries defined by these men of Shongopovi. Such differences are not serious enough to preclude the acceptance of this statement in order to gain some concept of the wide expanse of territory the Hopi have for so long felt to be theirs and why they feel the reservation that was designated for them seems so inadequate.

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Oppression by Superintendent Daniel

ON THE FIRST PAGE of Superintendent Daniel's first annual report — that of June 30, 1920 — he stated: "My predecessor, Leo Crane, in his narrative statement for 1919, and the historical supplement thereto, covered the conditions on this reservation so thoroughly that it would be little more than repetition for me to undertake to cover much of the same ground for the reason that many conditions are unchanged. . . ."

It is impossible to say whether Crane's hatred for the Hopi, so well documented in the reports that Daniel mentioned, served to influence Daniel's own attitude or whether he came to Keams Canyon already an embittered man.

Although Leo Crane had given the Navajo under his jurisdiction almost as bad a name as he had the Hopi, Daniel after his first confrontation with them seems to have decided that Crane may have been wrong in doing so. This first meeting Daniel had with representatives of the *Diné* — "the People," as the Navajo prefer to call themselves, was an impressive occasion. A large delegation presented itself at his office and every man of it was armed to the teeth. From that point on the Hopi came to feel that Daniel showed definite favoritism to the larger and more powerful tribe. Yet, in his report of 1920 he, as so many of his predecessors had done and others would continue to do long after him, urged that the government take action against the Navajo to protect the Hopi. He wrote:

"The Navajo population has encroached upon the Hopi Indians . . . the Hopi is gradually being deprived of his water, land and pasturage. Unless positive corrective measures are taken by the Government the Hopi Indian will soon be a charge upon the Government, or objects of charity for the public to consider."

Early in Daniel's first year as superintendent he followed Crane's procedures to force enrollment of Hotevila children in school. He made a brief mention of this in his first report, but is more explicit in his second, having written, "A year ago it became necessary to surround

Hotevila — *this village of 400 degenerates* — with a dozen employees and police, at two o'clock A.M., and at daylight take their children and place them in school."

During this same year of Daniel's administration serious trouble developed between the Hopi of Moencopi who, for some reason known only to Washington, were under the jurisdiction of the Western Navajo Agency at Tuba City, and the people of Hotevila, who were answerable to Keams Canyon. Daniel stated that, although there had been no open break so far, "When it comes, if it ever does, I shall handle it without outside assistance." His actions in this matter aroused the ire of the superintendent at Tuba City who was beginning to feel that Daniel was overextending his authority.

When he wrote about problems pertaining to law and order on the Hopi Reservation his initial report reads like a bitter echo of something Leo Crane might have written: "The most pusilanimous nuisances we have to contend with are the pseudo archaeologists, anthropologists, ethnologists, artists, the little flickering tallow-dip literary lights, and the sudden rich misfits laboring under the delusion that law and order and Government officials in the field are evils to be put up with, if the cheap glare of wealth or political bluff doesn't work. The country gets its misinformation about Indians largely from this accumulation of intellectual discard."

There was at this time growing pressure upon the Bureau of Indian Affairs to prohibit all Indian "dances." Daniel, curiously enough, during his first year in Tusayan reported that, with the exception of the Snake Dance, he saw nothing very objectionable in them. "So far as I have been permitted to judge," he wrote, "they are mostly comic in nature." How little he understood what he was observing!

As for the Snake Ceremony, he offered a most astonishing and unique method of persuading the Hopi to abandon it. He suggested that the Smithsonian Institute make an authentic detailed photographic record of it and other Hopi ceremonies. Then reputable motion-picture companies should be allowed to film them under the supervision of the government "so that the general public could know all about them without affording the expense of a trip to the reservation."

Such commercialization of the ceremonies would certainly put an end to them, in Daniel's opinion.

By his second year at Keams Canyon, Daniel's policy for administrating the complex problems of the entire Moqui Reservation was well established. Foreseeing future needs, he renewed Crane's request for a new jail. Although Daniel did not suggest that it should be a sanitary one, he did specify that it should be large enough to take care of twenty prisoners.

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