PLATEAU

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ties, tribes, and governments. He was expected to dispense hospitality to visitors.

Generally two or three men acted as assistants and advisors to the headman and were appointed by him. They were detailed to various duties in his absence. No recognized tribal or community council existed, though individual expression was encouraged at any public gathering.[13]

Neither the headman nor his helpers were paid for their services. In rare cases, if the *natani* were absent, his farm would be cared for by the community, but this was the only form of compensation which was made.

In summary: no centralized authority existed among the Navaho. The political unit was the natural community, environmentally defined. Over this was a non-hereditary elective headman, whose influence permeated every sphere of the culture except warfare, which was usually in the hands of a separate religious leader. This headman had no coercive power and his efficacy and tenure depended entirely upon personal qualities and practical abilities.

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(13) For a discussion of the alleged political aspects of the natc'it, see W. W. Hill, Op. cit., p. 18.

HOPI LAND PATTERNS[1]

By GORDON B. PAGE

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. This claim is always presented as being a basic consideration in boundary discussions. The second claim is more conservaaive and approximates the area formerly occupied by the ancestors of the clans which now make up the loosely organized "Hopi Tribe." This is an area bounded roughly by the Colorado-San Juan Rivers to the north, the present Arizona-New Mexico state line on the east, the Zuni and the Mogollon Rim to the south, and the San Francisco Peaks to the west. 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. Use is made of it by priests who visit the shrines to perform certain rites, to trap eagles, and to gather various herbs and minerals necessary to their rites. The Hopi does not think of this region as an area to be used for agriculture or for exploitation of the natural resources.

Within the two previously mentioned areas there are two more, the first, cattle range, and the second, agricultural lands. 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. The area ranged by cattle is fairly recent, since the beginning of the 19th century. Cattle were owned in earlier times, but cattle herding as an important factor in the culture, had not been developed. Four operators with large herds emerged in the late 1800's. These men established ranges and herding camps as far away from the villages as Shonto Springs, Tolani Lakes, Ganado, and the Hopi Buttes. The localities are now deep within the regions used by Navajos.

The Hopis feel that the cattle ranges gave them prior rights to the area now settled thickly by the Navajo. Due to the character of the Hopi method of herding cattle, some doubt may be cast on this claim. Few operators, even today, make any attempt to herd or account for the cattle they own.

(1) Published with the permission of the Soil Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture, Division of Economic Surveys.

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The cattle drift and often drift into a Navajo corn field or on Navajo sheep ranges.

The fourth and last use area represents the basic "home land" of the Hopi. This is the region represented on the accompanying maps. Here the Hopi has his home, his fields, and his flocks. Sheep are herded and corralled within a radius of ten or fifteen miles of each village, and for that reason do not usually overlap Navajo sheep ranges.

Agricultural lands are in essentially the same locality as they were when the first migrating clans found them and cleared and planted for the first crop. The first clan, traditionally the Bear clan, settled near the spurs of First and Second Mesas and used the lands in the washes which drain Black Mesa. Other clans continued to enter the area and with the consent of the Bear clan, settled nearby. As the towns grew in size, other villages were established as suburbs on adjacent spurs of the mesa.

The system of allotment of lands was simple. The Bear clan continued to grant allotments until the Sun clan, presumably the last clan to enter the area, occupied the blocks on the edge of the clan allotments as they are recognized today.

Within the clan, authority to grant use of land remained with the "clan mother," who allotted planting areas and settled disputes. Land disputes between clans were presumably settled by the Kikmongwi, who were usually members of, or affiliated with the Bear clan. Livestock range was not a factor until the entrance of the Europeans and then, not important until the Reservation Period.

The clan block system was the predominant pattern until late in the 1800's. The pattern of land use has changed considerably since 1900 A.D. A comparison of the maps labeled "Land Use Pattern Before 1900" and "Land Use Pattern, 1939" show a marked shrinkage in the areas formerly classed as "clan land."

Before the revolt and disruption of Old Oraibi in 1906 there were still traces of clan land holdings in the Oraibi Wash. Stephen,[2] who lived some years among the Hopis during the late 1880's, reported concerning Oraibi "of the land properties there are still traces that it once was divided on a communal basis for use of families composing the clans and not as individual holdings."

Conrad Quoshema[3] of Oraibi says that Lomavayouma,

(2) Stephen, A. M. Hopi Journal (Edited by E. C. Parsons), Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. 23, 1936, p. 17.

(3) Conrad Quoshema, Dec. 30, 1939.

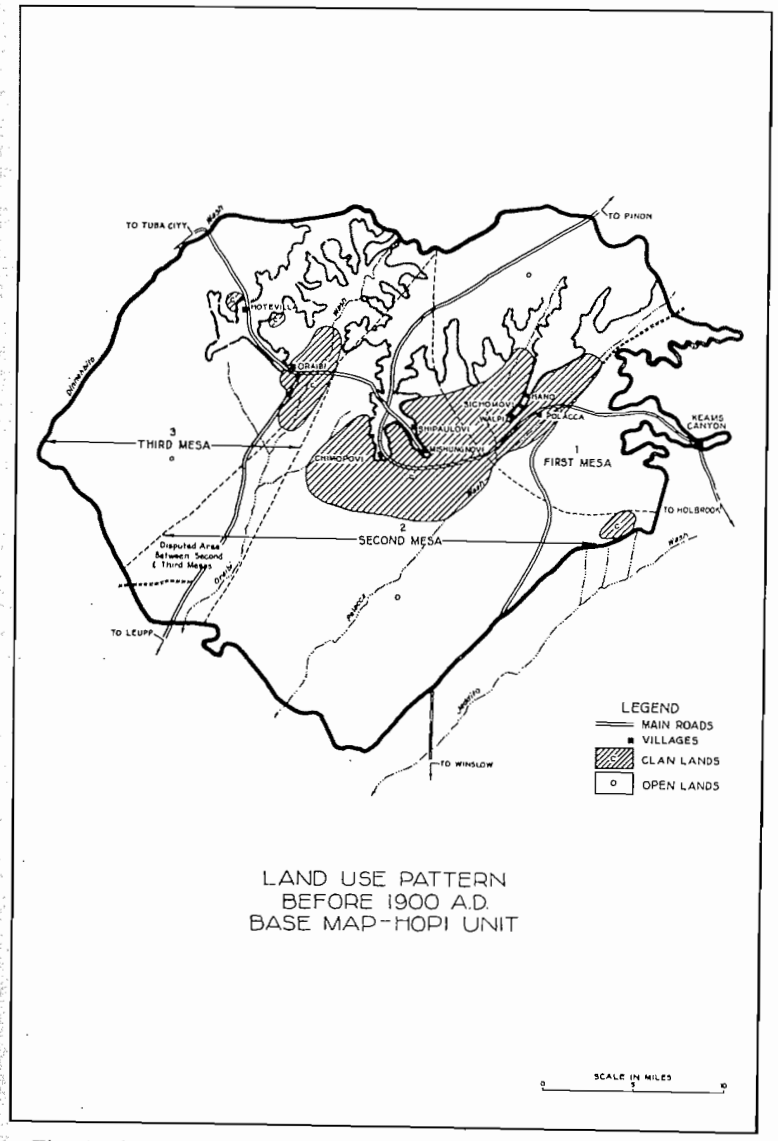

Fig. 1. Map of Hopi country showing land in use before 1900.

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his grandfather, told him of clan lands extending from what is now Well M-60 along both sides of the Oraibi Wash southward for five miles. Lomavayouma also stated that the Bear clan, of which he was a member, controlled the best blocks of land situated on the wash near the present site of New Oraibi.

A tendency toward expansion of existing farm land at Oraibi was apparent before the "revolt."(4) Some individuals began to encroach on the clan blocks and overlapping and confusion ensued. The sanctions applied to land rights lost their significance. The revolt precipitated the tendency toward a break up of clan lands. Over a period of a few years the clans lost their rights. Individuals using the land continued to do so but on an individual use basis. New lands were cleared and prepared for farming by individuals who either desired more land than the clan blocks provided or wished to use lands away from the former agricultural areas.

With the breaking away of groups from Old Oraibi, new lands were opened up. The gardens at Hotevilla and Bakabi, formerly used by the people of Old Oraibi, were taken over by the groups from that village, who settled near the gardens and utilized the water from the springs for domestic purposes. The families who settled New Oraibi took over much of the old clan blocks as did Bakabi, but on an individualistic basis.

The clan block system continued to hold at First and Second Mesas. This condition was probably due to a more stable village government and the presence of strong leaders at the time of the Oraibi revolt. Too, the deep-seated conservatism of the villages of First and Second Mesas may have been of a more passive nature than at Old Oraibi and the necessary adjustments were made in the relations between the villages and the government without the breakdown of religious and civil authority.

Individuals living in the villages of Shungopovi, Shipaulovi, Mishongnovi, Walpi, Sichomovi, and Hano were free to open and use new lands, with the provision that it was not clan land, and that their nearest neighbors approved. Beyond these two limitations an individual was free to use land provided he kept within the area used by his village.

The Hopi Unit has been divided into three sub-units, the sub-units being defined by the traditional village boundaries existing before the Reservation period. There exists today a well defined boundary between First and Second Mesa.

(4) Lomavayouma.

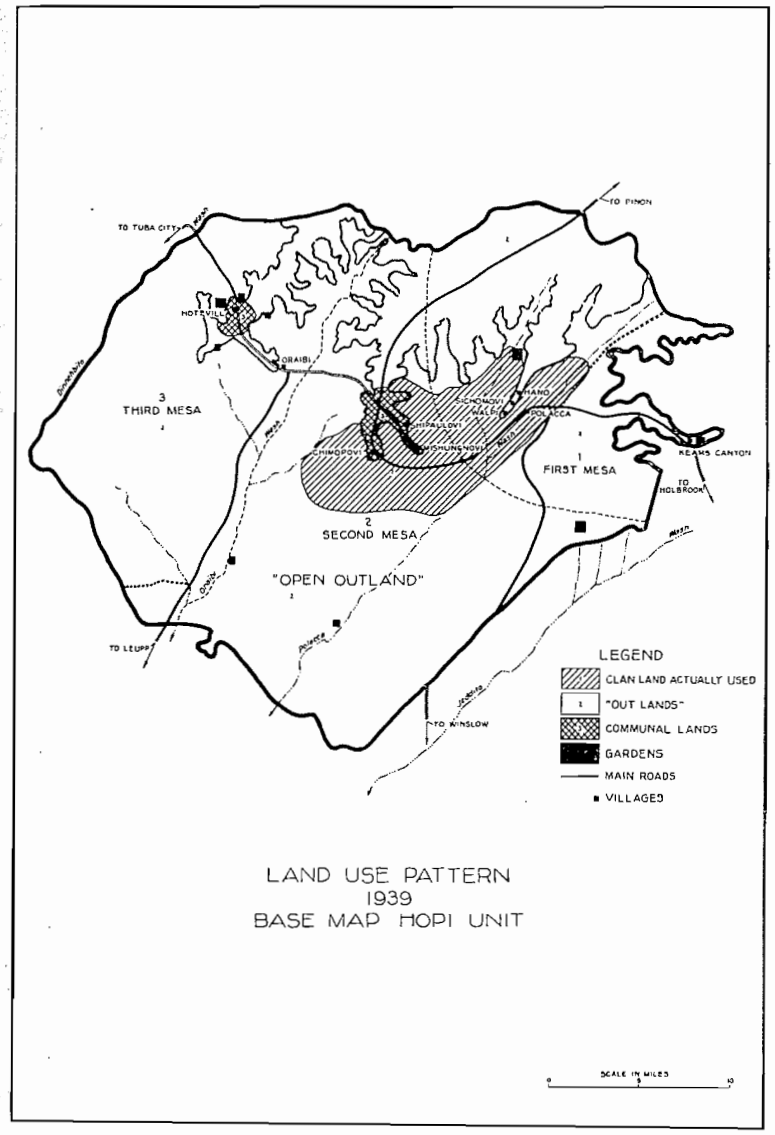

Fig. 2. Map of Hopi Indian country showing land use in 1939.

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The boundary is based on traditional claims, seemingly based on land claimed by the house chiefs of the first groups to settle in the area. The boundary between Second and Third Mesa is disputed, but for practical purposes of land administration a compromise has been acknowledged. The Oraibi Wash serves as a boundary and splits the area claimed by each Mesa group. Of the three sub-units, it may be seen that in the third, centering around Oraibi, there have occurred the greatest changes in land patterns, the central and eastern units remaining stable in land policy.

While the Oraibi revolt was gathering momentum in the middle 1800's, a new force was beginning to make itself felt on Hopi land use. This force was exerted by Navajos, who in increasing numbers were settling on the periphery of the region occupied by the Hopi.

After the release from Fort Sumner, the Navajos were forced, by new treaty obligations and increased pressure by white immigrants from the Rio Grande valley, to abandon to a large degree their old territory in the Mt. Taylor-Chaco Canyon region. This tended to push many members of the tribe westward even beyond the west boundary of the 1878 treaty reservation established by executive order. Droughts also attracted some groups to the Hopi country to trade for corn and melons. These groups settled in the Jeddito Valley and on Black Mesa, where water was available.

Ute and Navajo raids for agricultural produce and slaves were not uncommon before 1879. At this time an agency was established at Keams Canyon and some measure of protection was given to the Hopi. Trading posts were founded at Keams Canyon, Polacca, and Oraibi after this date and the goods obtainable at these posts influenced Navajo families to settle around the Hopis. The juxtaposition of the two groups generated some friction over outlying agricultural lands.

The individual holdings of the Hopis mentioned earlier were, in some cases, along the Jeddito Wash and south of Oraibi near Padilla Mesa. These areas were settled by Navajos and permanent camps built. The Hopis and Tewas of the villages on First Mesa were directly involved in this settling of lands in the southeastern portion of the Hopi use area. Inter-marriages between these two groups and Navajos occurred in this area, creating a colony in Talahogan Canyon, which is unique in the Hopi unit today. This farming colony is made up of descendants of these inter-marriages, who use the springs in the canyon to water the terraced gardens built below the canyon rim and are constantly expanding the areas planted to corn.

Other Navajo families have settled south of Talahogan Canyon in order to be near the flocks which they herd for Hopis of the First Mesa region. Small areas of agricultural land are used by these groups to furnish subsistence and in this manner new lands are being developed for dry farming along the Jeddito Wash.

So far the discussion of the land use pattern has been chiefly agricultural, that is the use of land for raising crops not for ranging stock. To the Hopi the use of fields for raising corn and other crops has more than an economic significance. The raising of corn has become an integral part of his inner life, his spiritual life. An infinite number of ceremonials and acts are bound up with his concepts of agriculture.

That is not true of a new stratum of land use which, introduced by Europeans, has now become an important factor in the Hopi economy. This stratum is the pattern imposed on the basic agricultural clan—individual land holding concept by the introduction of livestock in the form of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and burros.

The establishment of the original claims to range rights was a simple process of "first come, first served." As long as the stock were not allowed to enter the cultivated areas, they were free to graze near the villages. The Hopi, being a villager, naturally preferred to stay in the village and take his part in the ceremonies. For this reason the first corrals were built on the benches immediately below the villages. The sheep were herded out, in the early morning, to graze and returned to the village at night to be watered and penned. As the herds built up, operators increased and the good range decreased. Newer operators were forced to build corrals farther out on the "out ranges" and arrange to ride out to them to herd or build small shelters where the herder might stay during his turn at herding.

This condition prevails today, some corrals being located twelve miles away from the village, the herder driving out in a pickup, to take his turn tending the flock. The majority of the sheep men still prefer to stay in the village rather than live away. The Navajos surrounding the Hopi use area have taken advantage of this tendency on the part of the Hopi and have established range rights solidly around the Hopi unit.

To obtain more range a few Hopis have tried to buy out Navajos living close to the villages but, the mass opinion of the Navajos is naturally against this practice.

Other Hopis, notably those from the village of Hano,

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have established satisfactory herding relationships with neighboring Navajos. This relationship is based on a need on the part of the Hopi employer for a herder to relieve him of all herding duties, and a willingness on the part of the Navajo, hired as a herder, to assume the duties. This practice of hiring herders is not to be confused with the system of herding practiced in northern New Mexico and known as the "Partido System." The "Partido" imposes an obligation on the part of the herder to return a fixed number of sheep to the employer in exchange for the use of grazing land controlled by the employer. The system also is fixed and bound by a contract between the two parties.

The arrangement between the Hopi and Navajo is not set forth in a formal contract, nor are there stipulations about the number of stock to be returned. Unless the season is abnormally dry or cold, the Hopi employer expects to have returned to him the increase of the flock which is measured by the Navajo herder's competence and skill in herding. The range used is usually the area which the Hopi established in the period when his lack of wealth did not allow him to assume the role of employer.

The Hopis readily realized the value of livestock but the manner of production did not become a part of their religious life. Systems of herding, establishment of range lands, the trade of livestock products all became fixed in the general pattern, but the use of livestock was not accepted as a part of the Hopi concept of the inner life. This is a separation of economic factors which must be considered in administration.

In the application of revised land use ways, a searching survey is necessary where the proposed uses of clan blocks are concerned in order that ritualistic planting ceremonies and religious holdings be preserved intact. The same plans applied to livestock movements will not have as great an effect on the "inner core" of the Hopi's way of living and therefore a more realistic approach to range problems may be used.

DIVISION OF ECONOMIC SURVEYS
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PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE PEABODY MUSEUM AWATOVI EXPEDITION OF 1939

By J. O. BREW

WITH the fifth field season in 1939, the Peabody Museum of Harvard University completed a program of archaeological work in the Jeddito Valley and on Antelope Mesa in northeastern Arizona.[1] The Jeddito wash separates Antelope and Roberts Mesas which are part of the southern edge of the high plateau known as Black Mesa. The present

PEABODY MUSEUM AWATOVI EXPEDITION

Fig. 1. Jeddito Site 4A. Pit House with Pueblo II D-shaped kiva superposed. Note adobe ridges radiating from the central firepit.

Hopi towns lie on similar mesas a few miles to the northwest. On all of these points and on the benches grading down into the valleys are hundreds of prehistoric sites. Along the Jeddito alone two hundred and ninety-six sites have been located by the Awatovi expedition. Six of these, Awatovi (NA820), Kawaika-a (NA1001), Chakpahu (NA1039), Nesuftonga (NA1048), Kokopnyama (NA1019), and Lulu-

(1) The continuation of these studies was made possible by the contributions of Mr. and Mrs. William H. Claflin, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Emerson, and the Peabody Museum.

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