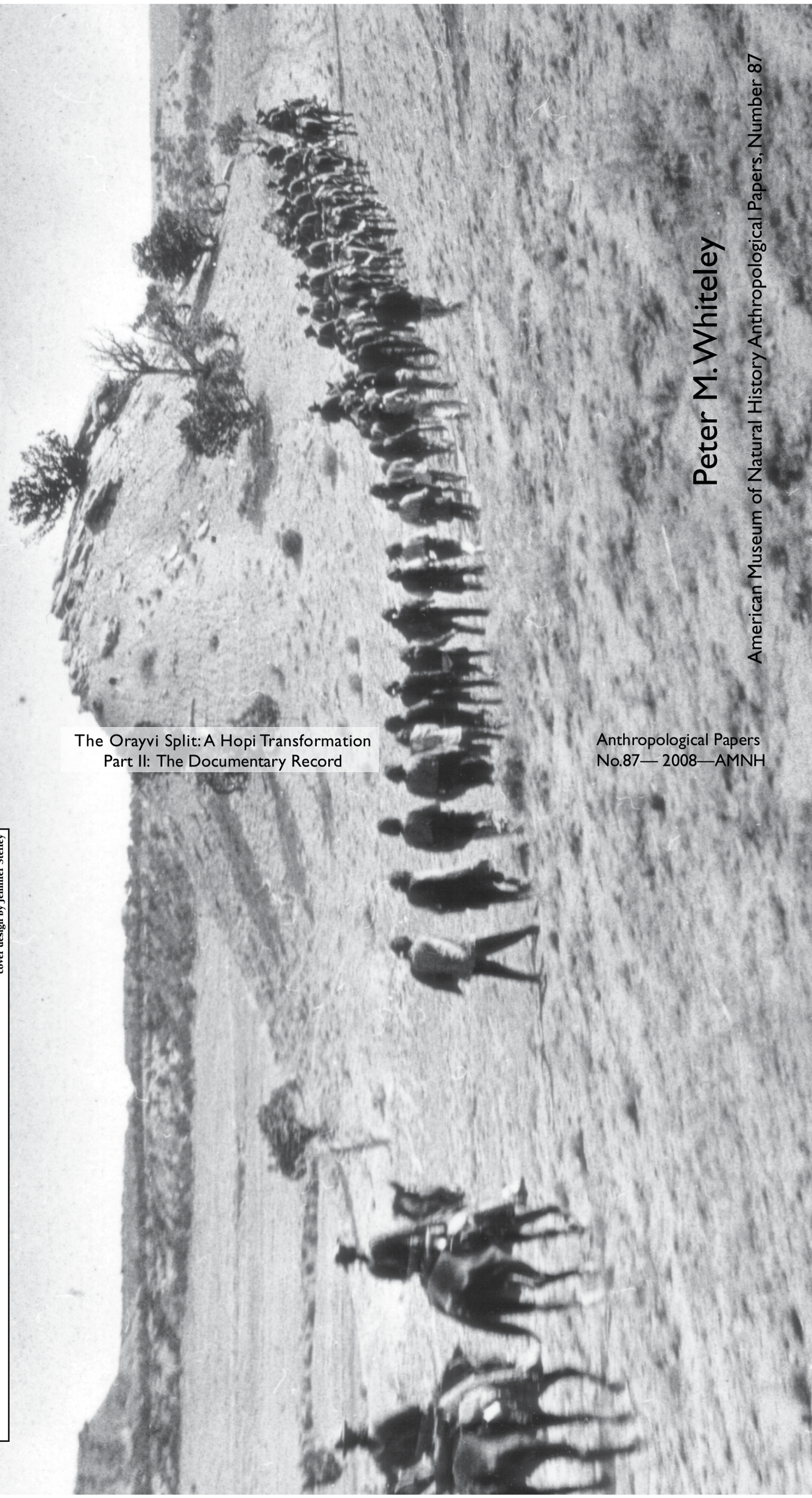
The Orayvi Split
A Hopi Transformation
Part II: The Documentary Record



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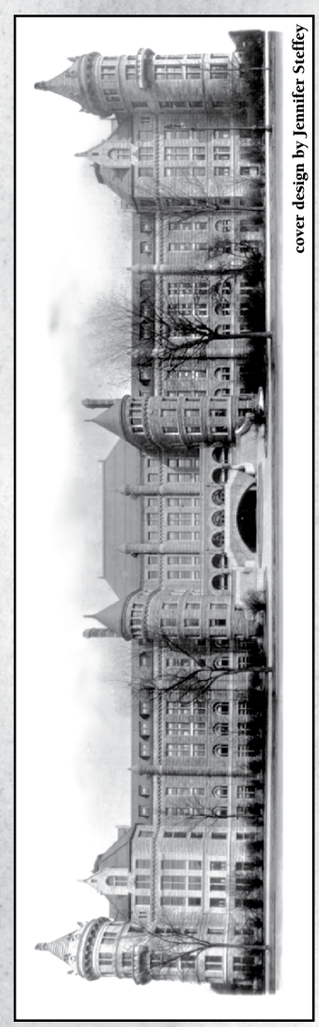

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Part II: The Documentary Record

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THE ORAYVI SPLIT
A HOPI TRANSFORMATION

PART II: THE DOCUMENTARY RECORD

PETER M. WHITELEY

Curator, Division of Anthropology
American Museum of Natural History

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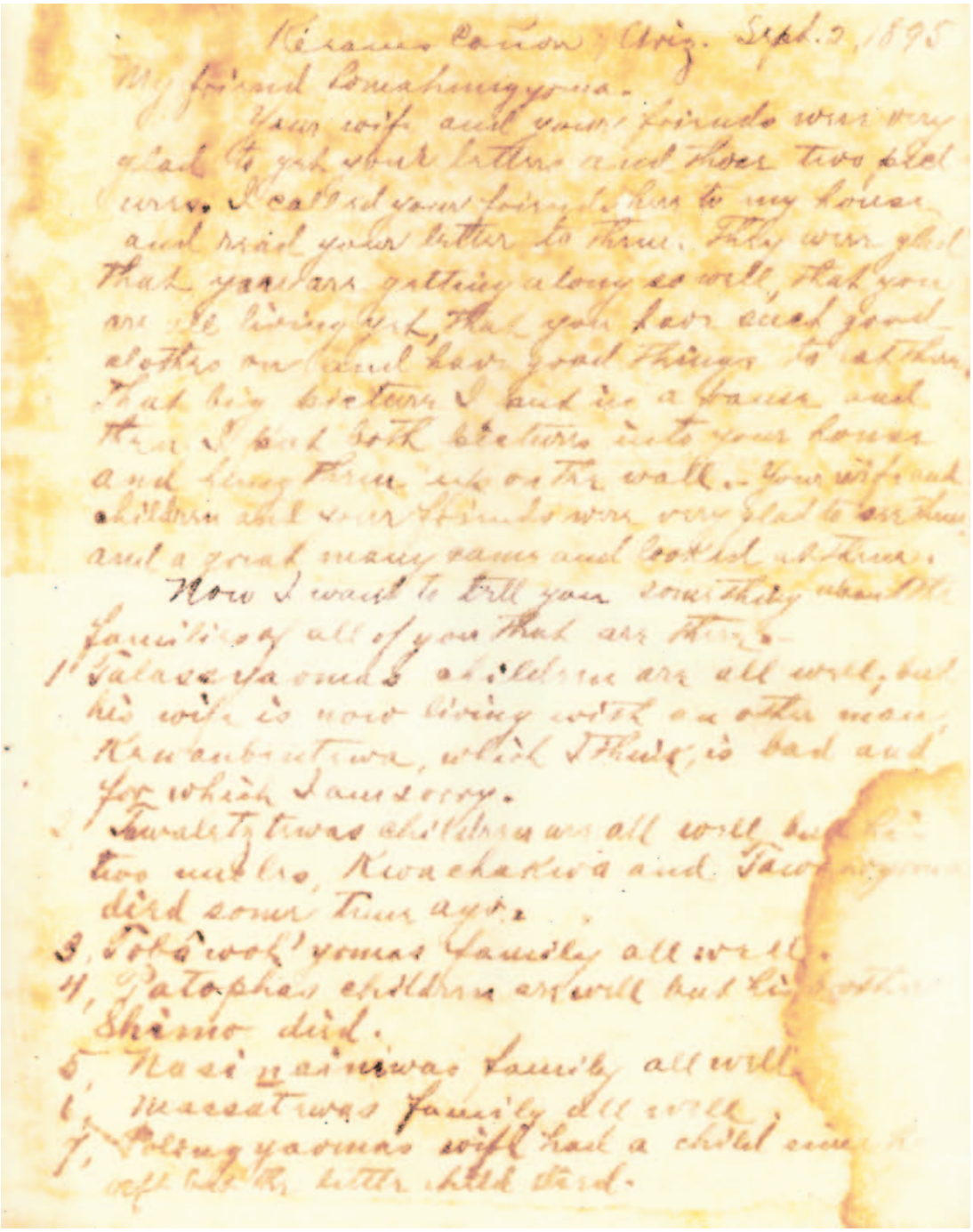

Keams Canon Ariz. Sept. 2, 1895

My friend Lomahongyowma.

Your wife and your friends were very glad to get your letters and those two sheets. I called your friends here to my house and read your letter to them. They were glad that you are getting along so well, that you are still living yet, that you have good clothes on and have good things to eat there. That big sheet I had in a frame and there I had both sheets into your house and hung them up on the wall. Your wife and children and your friends were very glad to see them and a great many came and looked at them.

Now I want to tell you something about the families of all of you that are there.

1. Talasevayoma's children are all well, but his wife is now living with another man, Kewanbentewa, which I think is bad and for which I am sorry.
2. Tewaletewa's children are all well but his two uncles, Kwachakwa and Tacowungwma died some time ago.
3. Tobâwoh'yomas family all well.
4. Patophas children are well but his brother Shimo died.
5. Nasi uainiwas family all well.
6. Macsatewas family all well.
7. Polengyaomas wife had a child since he left but the little child died.

First page of a letter from Orayvi missionary H.R. Voth to Lomahongiwma, September 2, 1895, while the Hostile leaders were incarcerated at Alcatraz (see page 889 for the transcribed letter). Courtesy of the Mennonite Library and Archives, Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas.

PART 2

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On the cover: Orayvi ''Hostile'' prisoners en route to Ganado from Keam's Canyon, Arizona, November 1906. Photograph by Jo Mora. Courtesy of John R. Wilson, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

HP009929

For Jack and Lucy
And for all the descendants of Orayvi

HP009930

CHAPTER 17

INTRODUCTION TO THE DOCUMENTS

The documents selected are designed to add to the available record of the Orayvi split's history. My aim here is to present salient Hopi Indian Agency and other government documents pertaining to significant events in the period from 1891–1911. Additionally, I have included passages from the diaries of H.R. and Martha Voth, brief entries from Titiev's census notes, H.R. Voth's record of an interview with Yukiwma ca. 1903, and an account of the split presented in the 1950's by Lewis Numkena Sr. (Honnömtiwa) of Mùnqapi. The documents are not comprehensive, merely representative. The range is somewhat arbitrary, but includes the period when factional arguments intensified and peaked, leading to the 1906 split, the second split of 1909, and the persistence of Yukiwma's ideological commitment in the new village of Hotvela. The chronology is bookended by two troop visits and associated arrests: beginning with the first major arrest and imprisonment of Hostiles in 1891 (that included Yukiwma), and ending in 1911 with Yukiwma's arrest at Hotvela, following his visit to Washington to meet with President Taft earlier that year.

The documents are loosely arranged into chapters by chronological order; each chapter and, within a chapter, each group that concerns a particular theme, is prefaced with introductory remarks. In Chapter 18 (1891–1895), general themes include: the arrest and imprisonment of Hostile leaders at Fort Wingate in 1891–1892; the first allotment program (cf. Mayhugh's allotment lists in chap. 9, tables 9.2–9.3); and events leading to imprisonment of Hostiles at Alcatraz in 1894–1995.

Chapter 19 (1893–summer 1906) includes a series of incidents pertaining to factional opposition over various issues—principally land, education, and leadership. I also include excerpts from the Voth diaries in this chapter, keeping the entries together consecutively from 1893–1903, and thus interrupting the otherwise chronological order. The Voth diaries concern numerous aspects of the effect of the mission and give insights into factional relations. Among the other documents included in this, the longest chapter, major themes concern: factional leadership, education, and the attack on Kikmongwi Loololma by Tawaletstiwa (Badger), the Lakonmongwi (chief of the Lakon society) and son of Loololma's godfather, Lomanakwsu (Parrot), in 1897; the tumultuous tenure of Agent Charles Burton (1900–1904), especially its effects on the Oraibi Day School and its role in the factional dispute; H.R. Voth's interview with Yukiwma, ca. 1903, which shows Yukiwma's political commitment and his overlay of ''prophetic''/millenarian discourse; and the period covering the tenure of Theodore Lemmon, Burton's replacement, from January 1905 to August 1906, which involved even more violent clashes with the Hostiles, including the relocation to Orayvi of about 50 people from Second Mesa in March 1906.

Chapters 20–25 includes documents from September 1906–December 1910, primarily from five files labeled ''Oraiba Troubles'' in the National Archives. These show important contexts for specific events and actions in the split. They encompass: the immediate aftermath of the split; the imprisonment of Hostile leaders at Keam's Canyon and Fort Hu-

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achuca, and the enforced schooling of other Hostiles and of Friendly leaders; the return under troop escort of part of the Hostile faction to Orayvi in November 1906; subsequent reports on the prisoners and the school situation; and events in the second split of 1909 that led to the founding of Paaqavi, following Tawakwaptiwa's return from school at Riverside, California. These documents particularly inform the tables in Chapters 11–14. Chapter 20 includes letters from September 1906; Chapter 21, October 1906; Chapter 22, November 1906; Chapter 23, December 1906–January 1907; Chapter 24, February 1907–August 1908; and Chapter 25, 1909–1910. Chapter 25 includes only a few documents on the second allotment program, since Chapter 4 dwells on this at some length, with passages quoted especially from Matthew Murphy's correspondence (chap. 13, table 13.1, contains the allotment schedule).

Chapter 26 focuses on Yukiwma's visit to Washington in March 1911, and the aftermath at Hotvela in December when he still refused to go along with the schooling of Hopi children. Despite the efforts of President Taft and Commissioner Valentine, Yukiwma returned to Hotvela unbowed and unyielding. Eight months later, troops were called in relation to Hotvela's resistance to the school, and Yukiwma was yet again arrested. Two documents, the first an account of his meeting with Commissioner Valentine, the second a record of his oration to Col. Hugh Scott in December 1911, contain extended accounts representing Yukiwma's own perspective. The amount of time Yukiwma spent imprisoned, between his first arrest and incarceration at Fort Wingate in 1891 and his death in 1929 is somewhat elusive. But he evidently spent upwards of eight years in jail, mostly at Keam's Canyon, at various junctures between 1900 and 1920, as well as the more noted episodes at Fort Wingate (1891–1892), Alcatraz (1895), and Fort Huachuca (1906–1907). Recommendations to banish him for life from the Hopi Reservation, both in the early 1890's and at the split itself, failed. He is still remembered by people in Hotvela as a heroic leader who resolutely insisted on Hopi independence to the end of his days.

Finally, Chapter 27 includes Lewis Numkena Sr.'s account of the split, as translated in a meeting with Bureau of Indian Affairs officials in 1955.

Many of the documents contain nonstandard spellings; these have been left as is without interpolating a ''sic'' each time.

Table 17.1 is a complete listing of the documents reproduced in Part II.

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TABLE 17.1
Historical Documents List, with Sources, and Identifications of Correspondents

Author and Recipient	Date	Subject
Chapter 18 (1891–1895)		
Collins, R. to Comm. T.J. Morgan	6.22.1891	Hostile threats, Friendly requests
Shipley, D. to C.I.A	7.6.1891	Sup't Collins' plans, military to Orayvi
Collins, R. to C.I.A	7.8.1891	Hostile actions, Collins conv. with Loololma
Secretary of War annual report	1891	re: conflict at Orayvi; Hostile arrests; school situation
Titiev/Tawakwaptiwa	[1933]	Account of the confrontation of 1891
Shipley, D. to C.I.A	12.14.1891	Report on Orayvi prisoners
McCook, Gen. A.M. to Adj. Gen, U.S. Army	1.25.1892	Ft. Wingate prisoners' return
Collins, R. to C.I.A	3.18.1892	Loololma vs. Hostiles
Mayhugh, J. S. to C.I.A.	6.9.1892	Troubles re: allotment at Orayvi
Mayhugh, J. S. to C.I.A	6.22.1892	Orayvi Allotment issues at Tuba City
Mayhugh, J. S. to C.I.A	8.4.1892	Mùnqapi allotment; clans & allotment at First Mesa
Mayhugh, J. S. to C.I.A	2.14.1893	Threats against allotments by Heevi'yma
Collins, R. to C.I.A	5.18.1893	School issue
Mayhugh, J. S. to C.I.A	7.12.1893	At Orayvi: Problems re: Mùnqapi allotment
Mayhugh, J. S. to C.I.A	9.19.1893	New surveys; Loololma reported pleased
Mayhugh, J. S. to C.I.A	11.29.1893	Orayvi allotment land conflict
Mayhugh, J. S. to C.I.A	2.19.1894	Final report
Goodman, C.W. to C.I.A.	3.8.1894	Runaways and school conditions
Keam, T. to Lt. E.H. Plummer	4.5.1894	Enclosing the Hopi petition against allotment
Goodman, C.W to C.I.A.	7.31.1894	Report of Keam's Canyon School
Hertzog, S. to Lt. E.H. Plummer	10.10.1894	Heevi'yma takes Mùnqapi lands; Loololma told to leave
Williams, Capt. C. to C.I.A	11.15.1894	Williams' meeting with Hostile and Friendly chiefs
List of Moqui Indians	11.25.1894	List of Hostile prisoners
Williams, Capt. C. to C.I.A	11.29.1894	Commending Friendlies; Hostile arrests
Keam, T. to C.I.A.	12.3.1894	Arrest of Hostiles; request for school improvement
Robinson, F.V. to Post Adjutant	12.8.1894	Troop tactics, an escaped prisoner located
Voth, H.R. to Col. F.L. Guenther	7.8.1895	Request for information on Alcatraz prisoners
Voth, H.R. to Lomahungyoma	7.8.1895	News from Orayvi; Voth asks news of prisoners
Guenther, F.L. to H.R. Voth	7.28.1895	Report on Alcatraz prisoners
C.I.A to Sec. Interior	7.31.1895	Report on Alcatraz prisoners
Williams, Capt. C. to C.I.A	8.29.1895	Annual report - Moqui Indians
Voth, H.R. to Lomahungyoma	9.2.1895	Letter on prisoners' families at Orayvi
Browning, D.M. to Sec. Interior	9.14.1895	A.R.C.I.A re: arrest and imprisonment of Orayvi Hostiles
Williams, Capt. C. to R.Collins	9.29.1895	4 prisoners held back, Loololma recognized as chief
Williams, Capt. C. to R. Collins	10.7.1895	Promise to send children to school
Chapter 19 (1893–Summer 1906)		
Collins, R. to C.I.A	4.16.1896	Factional troubles; leaders chosen
Collins, R. to C.I.A	9.26.1896	Factions and education
Collins, R. to C.I.A	10.29.1896	Attack on Loololma by Tawaletstiwa
Collins, R. to C.I.A	1.20.1897	Collins defends credibility
Voth, M. diary	8.1893-8.1894	Mennonite mission, and its relations with Orayvi
Voth, H.R. diary	1.1895-1.1903	Mennonite mission, and its relations with Orayvi
Burton, C. to C.I.A	8.16.1900	Moqui Training School and Oraibi Day School reports
Burton, C. to C.I.A	9.4.1900	Navajo trespassing on Hopi reservation
Burton, C. to C.I.A	9.10.1900	Keam and Volz should trade only with Hopi
Burton, C. to C.I.A	9.15.1900	Hostile children removed from school, chief being watched
Burton, C. to C.I.A	10.19.1900	Complaints of Volz's store
Burton, C. to C.I.A	11.5.1900	Ethnologists keeping progress of Indian back
Burton, C. to C.I.A	12.8.1900	Volz's trading license
Burton, C. to C.I.A	12.15.1900	Request for vouchers
Burton, C. to C.I.A	2.26.1901	Request for Keam to be removed from reservation

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TABLE 17.1—*(Continued)*

Author and Recipient	Date	Subject
Burton, C. to C.I.A	3.24.1901	Successful vaccination of Moquis
Burton, C. to C.I.A	4.2.1901	Accounts of Schools, Burton defends his actions
Burton, C. to C.I.A	4.4.1901	Request for funds to build well
Kampmeier, H. to C.I.A.	6.18.1901	Request for transfer from Oraibi Day School
Burton, C. to C.I.A	4.29.1902	Request for married physician in Orayvi
Burton, C. to C.I.A	8.4.1902	Crop Failure
Burton, C. to C.I.A	8.7.1902	Annual Report
Burton, C. to C.I.A	11.20.1902	Mrs. Gates on reservation, request for investigation
Burton, C. to C.I.A	12.4.1902	Smallpox Vaccination
Burton, C. to C.I.A	12.6.1902	Complaints of Mrs. Gates
Burton, C. to C.I.A	12.27.1902	Seeking to prevent Hopis going to Pasadena for exhibition
Burton, C. to C.I.A	1.3.1903	Recommendation to remove Miss Watkins
Burton, C. to C.I.A	1.26.1903	Argument with missionaries & employees over hair-cutting
Burton, C. to C.I.A	1.26.1903	Order to forbid children to participate in ceremonies
Burton, C. to C.I.A	2.9.1903	All Hopi children in school
Burton, C. to C.I.A	2.9.1903	Request money to pay police re: Oraibi school conflict
Burton, C. to C.I.A	2.12.1903	Orayvi prisoners, schooling
Burton, C. to C.I.A	2.12.1903	Request for another teacher at Oraibi school
Burton, C. to C.I.A	2.17.1903	Reports no danger of famine
Burton, C. to C.I.A	4.13.1903	Accusation over keeping children in school at gunpoint
Burton, C. to C.I.A	5.4.1903	No danger of famine on reservation
Burton, C. to C.I.A	5.13.1903	Request for recall of Rev. Epp
Burton, C. to C.I.A	6.13.1903	‘‘Out West’’ article; Pasadena visit prevented
Voth, H.R. n.d.	ca. 1903	Interview with Yukiwma
Burton, C. to C.I.A	7.15.1904	Annual Report
Burton, C. to C.I.A	9.13.1904	Hostile children fleeing to Moencopi
Lemmon, T. to C. Viets	1.26.1905	Land dispute at Orayvi
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	1.26.1905	Land dispute at Orayvi
Lemmon, T. to C. Viets	2.1.1905	Land dispute at Orayvi
Lemmon, T. to C. Viets	2.14.1905	Land dispute at Orayvi
Lemmon, T. to F. Mead	2.17.1905	Land dispute at Orayvi
Lemmon, T. to A.H. Viets	3.1.1905	Possible violence over land
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	7.23.1905	Land dispute at Orayvi
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	7.23.1905	Report of Conditions on Moqui Reservation
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	1.29.1906	Resistance to school growing
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	3.1.1906	Conflict with Hostiles at Second Mesa
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	3.10.1906	Conflict with Hostiles at Second Mesa
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	4.20.1906	Agency fight with Hostiles at Songòopavi; move to Orayvi
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	6.16.1906	Troops march to Ganado; Indians working to mend springs
Titiev/Tawakwaptiwa	[1933]	Account of the Second Mesa Hostiles move to Orayvi
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	7.5.1906	Mr. Viets resigned; sheep dipping
Epp, J.B., to *The Mennonite*	6.2.1906	Burgeoning antagonisms at Orayvi
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	7.9.1906	Sheep dipping; Lemmon’s incitements to leave Orayvi
Epp, J.B. to T. Lemmon	7.9.1906	Pressure on Orayvi fields; Sunday school
Lemmon, T. to J.B. Epp	7.9.1906	Pressure on Orayvi fields
Staufer, P. to T. Lemmon	7.18.1906	Staufer applies for post of Day School Inspector
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	8.30.1906	School Report
Chapter 20 (September 1906)		
Lemmon, T., Tawakwaptiwa et al	9.8.1906	Statement and Agreement re: the split
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A	9.9.1906	Lemmon to Orayvi

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TABLE 17.1—*(Continued)*

Author and Recipient	Date	Subject
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A	9.9.1906	Changing of school conditions at Orayvi
Keith, M. to T. Lemmon	9.10.1906	Requests Hostiles to await word from Washington
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	9.12.1906	Rumors at Orayvi
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	9.12.1906	No reason for scare; impatience w/Washington
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A	9.13.1906	Awaiting inspector
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A	9.13.1906	Navajo policeman killed en route to R.R
Lemmon, T. to P. Staufer	9.14.1906	Request to talk w/Joe [Lomahongiwma]
Gates, G.L. to F.E. Leupp	9.15.1906	Factions in truce until Lemmon returns
Keith, M. to M.M. Murphy	9.16.1906	Statement re: split
Tawakwaptiwa	9.16.1906	Statement of Ta-wa-quap-te-wa
Yukiwma	9.16.1906	Statement of Yu-ke-o-ma
Keith, M. to M.M. Murphy	9.16.1906	School conditions
Staufer, P. to M.M. Murphy	9.18.1906	Statement re: Orayvi Split
Gates, G.L. [to C.I.A.]	10.25.1906	Concerning the Separation at Orayvi
Betts, H. [to M.M. Murphy/C.I.A.]	[9.1906]	Account of split
Woodgate, A.M [to M.M. Murphy/C.I.A.]	[9.1906]	Account of split
Stanley, E. to C.I.A	9.18.1906	Dealing w/armed Hostiles
Epp, J.B. to C.I.A	9.18.1906	Friendlies expelling Hostiles
Stanley, E. to M.M. Murphy	9.20.1906	Women/children on day of conflict
Murphy, M.M. to C.I.A	9.20.1906	Has heard of Orayvis expelling 7 from Songòopavi
Murphy, M.M. to C.I.A	9.20.1906	Conditions in Hostile camp
Stanley, E. to M.M. Murphy	9.20.1906	School behavior
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A	9.20.1906	Need for force; list of ''obstructionists''
Epp, J.B. to M.M. Murphy	9.20.1906	Relations w/whites; timeline request
Larrabee, C.F. to T. Lemmon/R. Perry	9.29.1906	Hospital for Hostiles; orders for Perry
Epp, J.B. to M. Keith	no date	Hostile perserverance
Chapter 21 (October 1906)		
Stanley, E.	10.1.1906	Lease agreement w/ Qa'ömana for temporary hospital
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A	10.4.1906	Yukiwma forbids white medicine
C.I.A. to R. Perry	10.4.1906	Program for dealing with Hopi Troubles
Larrabee, C.F. to Sec. of Interior	10.5.1906	Report on Hostiles
Sec. Ryan of Interior to Sec. of War	10.6.1906	Need for Wingate soldiers
Perry, R. to C.I.A	10.11.1906	Perry to Orayvi, Williard absent
Williams, Brig.-Gen. C. to R. Perry	10.12.1906	Wingate troops ready, more if needed
Sec. of War to Sec. of Interior	10.12.1906	Troop request
Larrabee, C.F. to T. Lemmon	10.12.1906	Hospital
C.I.A. to R. Perry	10.18.1906	Reiterating Williams' communication
Perry, R. to C.I.A	10.20.1906	Departure for Orayvi
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	10.21.1906	Conflict between Lemmon and Epp
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	10.24.1906	Students 12 and older go to non-res. schools
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	10.25.1906	Perry talks w/chiefs; Tawakwaptiwa to Riverside 3yrs
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	10.29.1906	List of Hostiles for school or prison
C.I.A. to R. Perry	10.29.1906	Orders re:enrollment in schools
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	10.30.1906	Women/children to return for new village
C.I.A. to R. Perry	10.31.1906	Hostiles should have shelter, build new houses
Chapter 22 (November 1906)		
C.I.A. to Supt .H. Hall	11.3.1906	Tawakwaptiwa accepts school, supports government
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	11.3.1906	Tawakwaptiwa; Mùnqapis
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	11.5.1906	Holbrook & Perry speak to Hostiles - futile
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	11.7.1906	Request to employ 15 Navajo police
Perry, R. to C.I.A	11.8.1906	Prisoners should go to Ft. Wingate
Hostiles Agreement	no date	Returned Hostiles' agreement
C.I.A. to Sec. of Interior	11.9.1906	No. of prisoners, new school, school policy

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TABLE 17.1—*(Continued)*

Author and Recipient	Date	Subject
C.I.A. to R. Perry	11.10.1906	Prisoner work detail, need for police
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	11.12.1906	Some Hostiles obey school, most stay at camp
C.I.A. to R. Perry	11.13.1906	Aim to help Hostiles, maintain idea gov't is friend
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	11.13.1906	Prisoners work, food requests
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	11.17.1906	Status report re:Orayvi troubles
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	11.18.1906	22 children accompany Tawakwaptiwa to Riverside
C.I.A. to R. Perry	11.20.1906	Praise for getting signatures; Epp; police
Miller, H.H. to T. Lemmon	11.20.1906	Miller's impending arrival
Hall, H. to C.I.A.	11.26.1906	Tawakwaptiwa cuts hair, dons''western clothes''; no priest
Chapter 23 (December 1906–January 1907)		
Leupp, F.E. to R. Perry	12.5.1906	C.I.A's review of Perry report, own suggestions
C.I.A. to H. Hall	12.6.1906	Reason for sending Tawakwaptiwa to Riverside
Taft, W.H., Sec. of War, to Sec. Interior	12.7.1906	18 Hopis held at Ft. Huachuca
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	12.18.1906	Funds for new village, favor toward govt
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	12.18.1906	Homes to be built in valley, houses described
C.I.A. to R. Perry	12.28.1906	Against forcing civilization, desires broad viewpoint
Lemmon, T. to C.I.A.	12.28.1906	Crop loss > Kwaavenqa wishes to join Husband at school
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	1.3.1907	Office information
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	1.3.1907	Preference for school over prison for young Hostiles
C.I.A. to H.H. Miller	1.7.1907	Kwaavenqa's crops eaten, seeks to join husband at school
C.I.A. to R. Perry	1.11.1907	Arrangements for prisoner to go to gov. school
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	1.14.1907	Employment of 5 police privates
C.I.A. to Supt. of Carlisle Indian School	1.15.1907	Transfer of prisoner to Carlisle school
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	1.17.1907	Carlisle order executed
C.I.A. to H.H.Miller	1.23.1907	Release of some prisoners
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	1.28.1907	Kwaavenqa's status, changed mind re: school
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	1.30.1907	Gov't will not interfere w/ceremonies; no more Tawakwaptiwa letters
Chapter 24 (February 1907–August 1908)		
C.I.A. to R. Perry	2.8.1907	Children must go to school, chief should not be honored
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	2.13.1907	Prisoners building roads at Keam's Canyon
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	3.1.1907	Discussion with Tawakaptiwa
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A	3.5.1907	If children go to school, KC prisoners may go home
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A	3.22.1907	5 KC prisoners agree to school, others sullen
Perry, R. to C.I.A.	4.5.1907	6 KC prisoners go home, children will stay in school
C.I.A. to H.H. Miller	4.20.1907	Children allowed to return home for vacation
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	5.9.1907	Allotment
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	5.14.1907	Hostile children to Orayvi school, Hostiles will build homes
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	7.18.1907	Allotment
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	8.18.1907	KC Hostile prisoners' views & actions after release
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	10.19.1907	Release of 16 Hopi prisoners
C.I.A. to H.H. Miller	5.1.1908	Requesting information on prisoners
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	5.25.1908	Concerning those prisoners released from Huachuca
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	7.16.1908	Ongoing schooling issue
Leupp, F.E. to H.H.Miller	8.21.1908	Hostiles' attitude to schooling
Chapter 25 (1909–1910)		
Gossett, C.A. to H.H.Miller	10.29.1909	Orayvi situation worsening, guns pulled at store
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	10.30.1909	Kuwannömtiwa et al report Hostile council w/ Tawakwaptiwa
Gossett, C.A. to H.H.Miller	11.1.1909	Reporting factional strife

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TABLE 17.1—*(Continued)*

Author and Recipient	Date	Subject
Epp, J.B. to H.H. Miller	11.1.1909	Epp forecasts another skirmish
Gossett, C.A. to H.H.Miller	11.3.1909	Need troops soon for safety of all
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	11.3.1909	Tawakwaptiwa intends to remove Hostiles
Epp, J.B. to H.H. Miller	11.5.1909	Epp to Mùnqapi indefinitely
Miller, H.H. to J.B.Epp	11.5.1909	Mission property will be taken care of
Epp, J.B. to H.H. Miller	11.8.1909	Epp appologizes, had to leave for personal safety
Abbott, H., Ass't C.I.A., to R. Perry	11.12.1909	Perry ordered to Keam's Canyon
Abbott, H. to H.H. Miller	11.12.1909	Perry ordered to Keam's Canyon
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	11.12.1909	Second Orayvi split
Tawakwaptiwa/Titiev	[1933]	Account of Returned Hostiles and second split
Hauke, C.F. to R. Perry	11.13.1909	Perry must stay w/sick wife, may go to Orayvi in 10 days
Epp, J.B. to H.H. Miller	11.18.1909	Requests house protection,seeks replacement
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	11.19.1909	Orayvi situation adjusting
Wedel, C.H. to H.H. Miller	11.20.1909	Mennonites desire to resume,trust government
Shelly, A.B. to C.I.A.	11.22.1909	Epp leaves Orayvi, request protection of land
Epp, J.B. to H.H. Miller	11.27.1909	Plan to bring Wedel to talk with Tawakwaptiwa
Abbott, F.H to A.B. Shelly	12.4.1909	Orayvi situation does not seem serious
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	12.4.1909	Exemption from school for house builders
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	12.8.1909	Epp's effectiveness
Murphy, M.M. to C.I.A.	12.10.1909	Obstacles requiring removal,new village details
Abbott, F.H. to H.H. Miller	12.18.1909	Discussion of Paaqavi, allotment
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	12.31.1909	Plan to protect Paaqavis,clarifies agreement
Murphy, M.M. to C.I.A.	2.12.1910	Hopis ready to take land, cautious w/this process
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	2.19.1910	No expense incurred to Mennonite property
Murphy, M.M. to C.I.A.	4.18.1910	Allotments to Orayvi, Hotvela, Paaqavi factions
Hauke, C.F. to M.M. Murphy	5.13.1910	Land allotment for Kuwannömtiwa faction
Miller, H.H. to C.I.A.	9.26.1910	Allotment in vicinity of Orayvi
Lawshe, A.L. to C.I.A.	11.4.1910	Drop in school attendance, police report
Murphy, M.M. to C.I.A.	11.23.1910	Allotments at Moqui villages, table
Lawshe, A.L. to C.I.A.	12.19.1910	Complaints of Indians concerning Allotment
Chapter 26 (1911)		
Yukiwma & Comm. Valentine	3.28.1911	Conference in Washington
Valentine, R.G. to Chief Yukeoma	3.30.1911	Yukiwma's visit toWashington; plea to follow better way
Scott, H.R to Sec. of Interior	12.5.1911	Troops surround town; Yukiwma talks; dysentery
Rutherford, R. to Pres. W.H. Taft	12.12.1911	Hopi way versus White way
Yukiwma [to Col. H. Scott]	1911	''Story of Ukeoma, Chief of Hotivillos''
Chapter 27: Additional Document		
Numkena, L. Sr.	1955	Account of the split

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CHAPTER 18
IMPRISONMENT AND ALLOTMENT
(1891–1895)

The first group of documents refers to the conflict at Orayvi between Hostile leaders and the U.S. Army in June and July 1891 (see also chap. 4). Several published accounts (e.g., Donaldson, 1893; Fewkes, 1922; and Titiev, 1944) describe a ritual declaration of war. The first conflict occurred when a small troop present at Keam's Canyon was called to Orayvi following J.C. Smith's survey of the Flute spring. The ritual display by Patupha, Heevi'yma, Yukiwma, Lomahongiwma, and others caused Lt. Brett to retreat. Reinforcements arrived from Fort Wingate and Fort Apache under Lt.-Col. H.C. Corbin and proceeded to arrest several of the key protagonists (see plate 9.1); they were incarcerated at Fort Wingate, some for almost 18 months. Brig.-Gen. A.D. McCook, Commanding Officer of the Department of Arizona, produced a useful summary of these events for the Adjutant General of the U.S. Army. McCook also mentions the earlier arrest of Hostile leaders in December 1890 (see, e.g., Donaldson, 1893), following McCook's own visit to Orayvi in company with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, T.J. Morgan, the object of which was to encourage school attendance at the Keam's Canyon Boarding School. The visit to Washington by Loololma and several leaders from First and Second Mesas in June 1890 (e.g., James, 1974) had not produced the compliance to government programs, especially at Orayvi, that the Commissioner sought. Included among these documents is Titiev's record (from Titiev, n.d.a) of Tawakwaptiwa's account of the conflict, which gives some additional information to his published account in *Old Oraibi.*

Telegram
Keams Canon, Arizona
Via Holbrook, Ariz. 20.
Rec'd a: 2.23 P.M.
June 22, 1891

To Hon. Commr. Of Ind. Affrs.
Washington, D.C.

Two days ago Colomi [Loololma] informed me that the rebellious faction in Arabi has sent a man in to steal their children away and poison the water at the school. The man came and caught him while watching an opportunity to talk to the children. This faction has also been destroying all the surveyors marks and whipped and threatened to kill a friendly Indian while working for the surveyor with Lieut. Britt I went to Arabi to investigate and if proper arrest the culprit. The friendly Arabi's told us that if we entered the village we would be killed; we entered and were confronted by about 50 armed men behind a barracade with loop holes. They boldly declared their hostility to the govt; said they wanted to fight; would take their children from school & kill all whites and friendly Indians; wanted nothing to do with the white man and were dressed in their war paint and instigated by their great Medicine Man covered with fresh blood who called upon the sun god to destroy us by sundown. Colomi asks protection as they will kill him. The village of Arabi numbers 750; about 3/4 are hostile and they have doubtless 90 able bodied men with 50 guns and pistols and plenty of bows and arrows. Courier will wait for answer. I certainly think re-inforce-

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ments should be sent and these outlaws taught a lesson.

Collins
Supt.

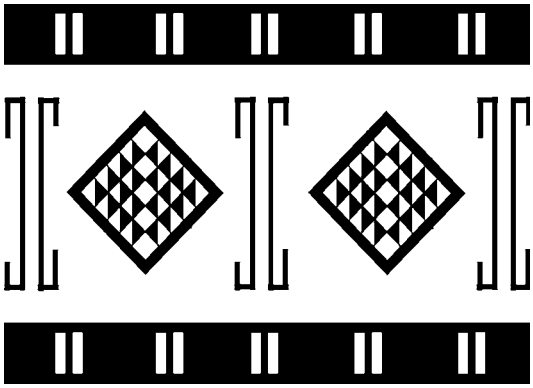
Navajo Agency, N.M.
July 6th, 1891

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C

Sir,

On June 23rd I left the Agency, with Interpreters & six scouts for the scene of trouble at Oribie Village; as mentioned in a letter dated June 21st by Mr. Collins. In consultation with Mr. Collins and Lt. Brett, I found that these people were very much excited, in fact frenzied over the arrest by Mr. Collins of one of their number, who has children in the Moqui school; and of whom it is said was sent out as a spy. That Collins acted a little indiscrete in this particular there can be no doubt. The result of his visit, you were informed by his telegram of June 22″ 91. On the 29th inst. the entire command arrived, and proceeded at once to the Oribie village. Asst. Adj. General Corbin being in command. Mr. Keams, myself, and two interpreters, went in advance of the troops to the base of the mesa, occupied by the hostile faction. I gave instructions to my interpreters to go and tell these men, that their Agent was here and desired to know what grievances they had or what had caused all the trouble; and that I desired them to settle this matter peaceably, and that their lives depended upon prompt action. In about 50 minutes five of the ringleaders among them the two medicine [men] came across to see me. I then had my police, march them over to where the troops were and have an investigation the result of which was that not a single man had a word to say in defense of their previous conduct, or why they made the threats they did. These men were taken in charge by the military and marched to the Oribie village; those others who commenced to harangue the Oribies in their native style were quickly arrested and placed with the balance of the prisoners, after which a talk was had warning them of the uselessness of defying the government. And cautioned them against doing so again. Both Mr. Keams and Mr. Collins urged the destruction of a portion of the village as it might be the means of getting them to move off the mesa. This might do as a war measure, otherwise not. No letter was received by me from the Indian Office that indicated or hinted at such a policy. I could not be a party to the wanton destruction of the homes of these people; [e]arlier than the days of Crusades were these hills the abiding place of these people. They cling to these mountains with as much tenacity as the New Englander does to the old homestead. In conclusion, permit me to say that the reported threat as stated in Mr. Collins letter to you dated April 30'' 91 as to the Navajos intending to kill the whites in the vicinity of Keam's Canon, because of their being driven off the Moqui reservation is certainly doing the Navajo Indians an injustice; that the Navajos are armed and well armed there is no question. That they purchase arms and ammunition I do not dispute, but what Indians do not; The Navajos have too much at stake to make any serious trouble and the older men in the tribe recognize the fact. It seems strange that these reports concerning the Navajos should be given credence when it must be clear to your mind now that they told these stories to throw off suspicion. No need of fearing trouble from the Navajos.

Respectfully Yours,
David S. Shipley
U.S. Indian Agent



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Department of the Interior,
Indian School Service,
Office of Superintendent,
Keams, Canon, Ariz. Ter.
July 8, 1891

Hon. T.J. Morgan
Commissioner of Indian Affrs.
Washington, DC

Dear Sir,

Yours of June 26th relative to the trouble with the Oreibas received.

I hope and believe that you appreciate the awkward position in which I am placed in such matters. On the one hand I am instructed to go ahead and direct and manage and push the work with these people then where any trouble arises I have no authority and must either go ahead and act without authority or back out and let opposers have their way; to do the former might get me into trouble and to do the latter is ruinous to the work. But thus far I have gone ahead relying on those in authority to stand by me and they have done so, and that nobly.

As to the immediate causes of this trouble they were, on their face, quite trifling, and yet I am constrained to believe almost providential.

We had at times since last winter heard rumors of mutterings of hostility from this discontented party, but gave them no heed thinking them more the result of fears from the friendly Moquis.

At this time Lo lo lo mi came in and stayed. Two days and the second day of his stay, two other moquis from the first mesa came in and told me that this unfriendly party had sent a man in to steal away their children and poison the water, and they asked me to take care of him as they were afraid for their own children. They also told me when he would come. (I found him as they said and arrested him.) They also said these Oreibas were destroying the surveyors marks and had whipped one of the Moquis who was working for the surveyor. (They had been threatening this ever since the surveyor commenced work). I thought that to lose the work of the surveyor was not right nor should such demonstrations be allowed to go unheeded. These people had also been discouraging the other Moquis who were building new houses, saying we were lieing [lying] to them and would never give them any lumber for roofs. Hence I asked Lieut. Brett to go out to Oreiba with me to investigate, and I thought if I found grounds I should arrest some of the worst ones.

Before arriving at the village we were told by friendly Oreibas that if we went up there they would kill us. We sent up for Lo-lo-lo-mi to come down and he told us the same. Said that the day before their war chief had told all who wanted to fight the Americans to come and wash with him, and a great many had washed with him. That they were then all assembled in one house were armed and ready to fight, and he advised us not to go up.

We considered the matter fully and decided that we would not know whether or not it was a bluff talk until we went up and saw and tried to talk to them. Hence we went and were fully convinced that they meant fight. We tried to talk to them but they called us dogs and told us to shut up whenever we spoke: neither Lieut. Brett nor myself did anything to provoke or excite them nor showed any excitement on our part, had we done so we would have been slaughtered in an instant, for we were covered by guns all the time we were there and had a gun been accidentally fired or had anything have occurred to specially excite them or had we remained a few minutes longer, I think none would have been left to tell the tale. These people did not and would not believe the other Indians who had told them how many Americans there are. And nothing but the sight of more soldiers than they have could convince them, and then after seeing the whole force one of the leaders told the Adjt Gen'l that if his people would stand by him he was ready to give him a fight then. Their head medicine man claimed to have power to darken the Sun (their great deity) and since he was able some time ago to take advantage of an eclipse both he and his people believed he had this power. He assured them also that he could turn the bullets of the Americans hence they need not fear. When on the approach of the troops the great medicine was made and the Sun did not darken, then they came down to talk. But the war-

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riors did not surrender until the force was marched up on the mesa, and some have not surrendered yet. But they took the medicine man, war chief, and ring-leaders prisoners of war and told their people that their return would depend on the good conduct of those at home. I think it will have a good effect on them and hope nothing more will occur to arrest the progress of the work among the Moquis.

Now as to the effect upon the other Moquis I have this to say:

While these have been hostile and growing worse, the great majority of the tribe has been just as determined on the other side. This is shown by these facts: Some in every village except Oreiba have started new houses, and that before a single board was in sight to help them with.

They take a great interest in and uphold, the school on all occasions. Five of them went with us into that trap in Oreiba and stood right by my side with their guns in their hands fully realizing before hand that they would probably be killed, but fully determined to die fighting for what they thought right even against their own tribe. And then before the soldiers arrived the other Moquis offered to go over and whip those Oreibas for us.

The lumber is now coming and they are scattering out in earnest and some are locating eight and ten miles from the mesa. Several houses are now ready for roofs and many more will be ready before we can get to them.

I certainly feel that wonderful strides have been made this year towards gaining the confidence of this whole people.

Nothing but a display of force would ever bring them to the point where you could convince them that the Government is their friend. And since you and General McCook were here there has not been a backward step in gaining that end. This last difficulty I consider the greatest step of all forward. I certainly regret such trouble but I know of no better way than to meet them squarely when they do come and I think that to overlook and disregard intentional affronts and menaces to authority is only to go from bad to worse.

If, however I am at any time rash or hasty or in these dealings with the Moquis I assume more authority than you wish I would be glad to be so informed.

Yours Very Respectfully
R.P. Collins
Sup't. & Sp'l. Disb. Agent.

House Exec Docs 1st Sess 52nd Cong.
Vol 1 1891 (258–260)
Report of the Secretary of War.
Fort Wingate, N. Mex.

(Exc)

The Moqui Indians are Pueblos or remnant of the Aztec Indians. They are a peculiar people living in six villages located upon table rocks averaging 600 feet above the plain.

These Indians have been heretofore friendly to the whites, with the exception of the most distant village of the Areibes. The people of this pueblo resisted the census enumerators, and did not desire to have anything to do with the white men, calling them dogs and coyotes. The people of this pueblo refused to furnish their quota of children for the school established by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Keam Cañon, Arizona. Lolami, the governor of the village, with a few followers, favored the school, but the medicine man and the majority of the people resisted, became obdurate, arrested the governor and imprisoned him in an estufa.

Upon application of the Interior Department Lolami was released by a detachment of troops under First Lieut. C. H. Grierson, Tenth Cavalry, who was stationed at Keam Cañon from December 18, 1890, to March 22, 1891. Lieut. Grierson performed his duties there with intelligence and good judgment.

In May last the inhabitants of this village again became rebellious, defying the orders of the acting agent, and troops were called for, when First Lieut. L. M. Brett, Second Cavalry, was ordered with 30 enlisted men to proceed at once to the Areiba village with orders to arrest the medicine man and the principal supporters of the rebellion. Lieut. Brett was met near this village by Lolami, the governor, warning him not to enter the

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village with his small detachment, as most of the men, under the influence and direction of their medicine man, were in arms and fortified to resist his command, notifying him that should he enter the village he and his men would be killed. Lieut. Brett, with proper foresight, arrested some of the recalcitrants on the plain, at the foot of the mesa, and placing one of these prisoners alongside each of his men ascended the mesa, but soon found himself confronted by at least fifty rifles in the hands of men securely placed behind loop-holed walls.

The medicine man came out dressed for war, telling Lieut. Brett if he did not leave the village he and his men would be killed. Having but ten enlisted men with him, this officer very properly withdrew from the unequal contest and returned to Keam Cañon, near the school located there. He sent dispatches to these headquarters, giving an account of the situation, when orders at once issued for two troops of the Tenth Cavalry from Fort Apache, under Maj. C. B. McLellan, to march at once to Keam Cañon: also two troops of the Second Cavalry, from Fort Wingate, with two Hotchkiss mountain guns, to march upon the same point.

Lieut. Col. H. C. Corbin, assistant adjutant-general of the department, was directed by me to proceed to Keam Cañon, joining the command from Fort Apache at Holbrook, Ariz., marching with these troops to point of concentration.

Lieut. Col. Corbin was charged to deliver in person the commands and instructions of the department commander to Maj. McLellan, Tenth Cavalry, the senior officer in command. The united commands from Forts Apache and Wingate moved upon the Areibe village. The presence of these troops had the desired effect; the arrest of the medicine man with his principal followers was made and they are now prisoners at Fort Wingate, N. Mex. The troops returned to Keam's Cañon, where orders were issued for their return to their stations, leaving Lieut. J. T. Nance, Second Cavalry, with 20 men, to remain as guard to the school. During the march of the troops the heat was intense, water was scarce, and the roads dusty upon both routes, causing suffering to men and animals. . . .

The school established at Keam's Cañon for the education of children from the Moqui villages is in successful operation. I visited there during the day and evening of the 19th of August of this year. I was kindly received by Mr. and Mrs. Collins, who have charge of the school. The children looked neat and clean and are well fed and cared for by the principal and employés of the school. The children are nearly of an age, consequently they will leave the school at the same time, carrying with them an education and habit of life far superior to any they had heretofore enjoyed, and no one can fail to believe, or to hope at least, that the 103 children now present at the school, returning to their home imbued with another and better civilization, will produce much good. To the casual visitor the efforts made by these handsome children to speak our language is pathetic.

Mr. and Mrs. Collins should be encouraged in their good work. The school should be liberally supported by the proper department. The location is a good one; the parents and relatives can visit the school and meet their children during the term, which is humane and proper. The children take great interest in their work, with their practical lessons as well as with their books.

I have assured Mr. and Mrs. Collins that they have my moral support all the time, and will have physical support when necessary to protect the school from the interference of obdurate Areibes. Nothing but good can come from this school. The dormitories are too small; they are now crowded. The mess room is one-half too small.

If an object lesson is to be learned by these interesting children, the Government should place proper buildings for this purpose. The sooner this is done the better. If there were greater facilities for accommodation, there would be a greater number of children in the school. I am glad to report that 44 of the pupils are from the Areibe village and not the least comely of those gathered there.

Very Respectfully, your obedient servant,
A. McD. McCook,
Brigadier-General, Commanding.

The Adjutant-General, U.S.A.,
Washington, D.C.

HP009942

An account of the Hostiles' confrontation with Lt. Brett was recorded from Tawakwaptiwa by Mischa Titiev (n.d.a). Although it is strongly biased, both in tone and perspective against the Hostiles' intentions and actions, Tawakwaptiwa's account is included for the detail of cultural context it adds to Titiev's published version (1944).

(Transcribed from Titiev, n.d.a: notes at Household L 322-25)

During the time of Lololoma, he used to be unfriendly to whites until he made treaty with whites – Then he became a friendly but about half of the people were Hostiles and turned against him. The disturbance here brought out U.S. troops to quell the hostiles. At one time, seeing that the troops were coming, the hostiles met near Wiklaβi kiva and made an attempt to murder Lololoma. One man, Qöcyauoma [Qötsyawma], pointed a gun at him. Lol. stood there facing him and when Qöcyauoma failed to fire, Lol. said ''Well, you're the one that's going to kill me. Well, go ahead, shoot''. Still no shot, so Lol. dared him four times to fire, getting more insistent with each challenge. The white troops were looking and awaiting Qöcyauoma's (Pa Is [Desert Fox]) shot to open fire on the Hostiles. At his failure to shoot, a white soldier fired in the air to show that there was to be no shooting. Just as the echoes faded out, Batupha [Patupha, Kookop] emerged from the Kokop clan house (#552-5) dressed as Masau'u [Maasaw] in typical costume. And in view of the white soldiers he made an embracing motion out and towards chest (indicating all this land is mine) and then he pointed to the troops indicating that they owned none of it. (First he had called out the low moaning call of Masau'u – once – long drawn out – before he emerged.) Then Lol called, ''Come out, Masau'u, don't be a coward. I'm not afraid of you''. Then he emerged. After motioning he went inside and took up a tray of piki [*piiki*, wafer bread] and nakwak [*nakwakwusit*, prayer-feathers] (already prepared by the hostiles.) – this he took and again emerged, rotating the tray 4 times before his chest to show that the attack on the Hopi had failed and bad thoughts were to leave the minds of the people. Then he went to the North side home of Masau'u where all Masau'u impersonators undress. Then he unmasked, deposited his pahos [prayer-sticks] etc. and returning to Masau'u home, took a bath, washing off the blood. Meantime in the same house (Kokop) a woman Sïnimka [Sinömqa] (Pikiac [Piikyas], Harry's [Kuwanwari [WPikL1G4]] Mo, still living, dtr of a Ho [Cedar] clan man, Nasiletstiwa (Ahl), YB of Cocongo [Tsootsongo]) was ready to emerge with a gourd full of ashes with which to ruin the enemy and the village. Alton Talasyestiwa (Lizard AHL) was dressed as Balongahoya [Palöngawhoya, the younger War Twin] and Puhúwaitiwa [Puhuwaytiwa] (Lizard, W [Wuwtsim]). Sakw. [at Sakwalenvi] H. [i.e., went to Hotvela at the split], just clan bros. – both were Kaletakas [*qaqlèetaqt*, warriors], was dressed as Pookonghoya [Pöqangwhoya – the elder War Twin]. They sat behind this lady ready to come out in order. (The image was not to be carried out but left there.) They were lined up in this order to emerge:

[First, though not given a number] Masau'u impersonator

1. Lady [Sinömqa]
2. Pok [Pöqangwhoya].

3a. Image of Masau'u, Maswuya, kept in Mas. clan house—face & head = black rock—used to cure sore heads & swellings at throat (Masau'u whip). Blood on top of head—ashes rubbed on arms & body make it grey color. Garment is Hopi black garment (manta).

3b. Spider Woman—stooped on ground—impersonated by Lomáhongnioma [Lomahongiwma] (Uncle Joe)—had a powerful med. to make hostiles hearts swell up & insane so that they would more readily massacre the people & ruin the village.

4. ßalongahoya [Palöngawhoya]

5. Vulture, Kwátoko [Kwaatoko]—lives in sky. This was impersonated by Qöcnöiva [Qötsngöyva] (Eagle, Tao, not Momtcit). After the slaughter, he is supposed to come out & feast on the dead. His power also helps in the slaying.

[B]ut they didn't really come out—they would have come out and started the attack if Qöcyauoma (a kaletaka) had actually fired at Lololoma. {Though their clan (Coyote) is

HP009943

protector of chiefs—it was told that some day they would turn against the ruler.}

The lady (dress not known)—her actions just like Vulture #5—was to carry out gourd of ashes, throw it to ground & dust of the ashes would cover the valley & the village & ruin everybody & the village (just as Macito [Matsito], Masau'u, & Pookonghoya did in fighting Chimwava [i.e., Chemehuevis] . . .). The ashes would so weaken the enemy that they wouldn't defend themselves & could easily be clubbed to death. This to take place before above 5 come out.

All the hostiles were in this house—were supposed to emerge from back of house & throw meal to sun in order ''to kill the Sun'' & re-enter, i.e. make it dark so that the fight would be in darkness (but actually, says Don & Chief, they were praying to Sun for power to kill Lololoma).

Only the Masau'u actually emerged because Qöcyauoma failed to shoot and so with the piki he signalled peace—otherwise the others would have emerged and war and destruction would have followed.

Kokop people shouted to kin among Lolo's followers ''Now the world is going to end, if you want to be saved, come over to the Kokop house and join Yukioma's side''. Some went, others said. ''It is better for us to stay by our governor (Lol) even if we perish''. Thus a division took place. If Qöcyauoma killed Lol. it was planned to kill Lol. followers & then Yukioma & his people saved at Kokop house would possess Oraibi and all the land. Then in time Yuk was to lead his people to Xty [Christianity].

Kokop clan, and so Yukioma, gets its importance because having helped Macito fight the enemy, they well knew ''death songs'' & how to ruin one & all.

In real wars against enemies with 2 Masau'us carrying the ashes—then the Pookonghoya & Spider Woman & Balohonghoya [Palöngawhoya] (younger Twin War God) & then the warriors—similar to [this event]. . . except no real woman & no Kwátoko. Real warriors had to eat some of the medicine as in Macito's time. Name of med. is secret.

Dï ovaiya [Töyovaya] (Grey Badger, Soyal Sakw, Powamu, d. a 6, Joe) one of the Kokop's side who had eaten the war med. impatient at the delay to emerge & fight—fell into a sort of trembling fit.

Man named Cócongo [Tsootsongo] (Real Howungwa—only Howungwa & close to Kokop, used to act as Masau'u, Kwan member) was the special Kokop man who knew best the power of killing & ruining having inherited it from Kokop ancestors of Macito's time. Only one to know the true innermost secrets of ruination. Knew in advance of their gathering at the Kokops & fearing death before this happened he told his people that at his death—a secret image or altar could be buried with him so that when the gathering took place—nothing would happen. They did that—that is why the attack on Lolol failed.

Jumped off mesa & committed suicide. Then they went to bury him & took the image with them. Body brought here for burial during a Nav. Katcina dance. Some real Navajos saw the death leap & told the people who took the image along & buried it with him. Jumped only from low spot but was killed.

Yucca stems, knotted, were worn around the forehead as band by the Kokops—never worn by common persons, might be worn by Warrior Katcina—& their followers & they had the war paint markings on face [small diagram] black & shiny stuff across nose at [end of nose] ∧ & | | lines on cheeks. Later warriors after Macito's time didn't dress thus but had the paint put on by spec. Kaletaka before fighting—fur caps, eagle feathers & any clothing man wanted to wear, white buckskin across body was a favorite. The dress & paint as above is for ceremonial warfare.

By dressing as a Masau'u Batupha had done wrong—had broken a law—& people often came on him crying for sorrow over the wrongs he had inflicted on the people. Then he got sick & his head & neck swelled up badly & the eyes closed by the puffing of his cheeks. This was the whipping punishment for his deeds, & on account of this he died—tho' by the waving of the tray of piki etc. he had been thought to perform the discharming rite & so avoid the whipping illness—but in spite of the discharm effort he fell ill & died as above.

It was the Kokops & their followers who

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got him to play this role & this broke his health.

United States Indian Service
Navajo Agency, N.M.
December 14'', 1891

Hon, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

On the 9'' instant I with my Interpreter left the agency, to investigate and report on the condition of the Oribie prisioners, whom I turned over to the military authorities July1st 1891, and who are held as prisioners of war at Ft. Wingate, N.M. I found them comfortable quartered plenty to eat drink etc, and all of them ready and willing to return to their homes. I am of the opinion that it would not be the best policy to set at liberty all of these men, and therefore recommend that the two sons of Behama [Heevi'yma; the two sons were probably Tawaventiwa and Puhu'yma—the latter in fact Heevi'yma's son-in-law] the old medicine man the stone man [Yukiwma] and the Indian who was to poison the water be held as prisioners for a period of four months, while Behama, and the three others be given their liberty. I will further suggest that it might be well to send Behamas sons to either Hampton, or Carlisle, as they were the fiercest and most determined of the entire number and the experience would in the end be most far-reaching.

Enclosed find vouchers for the expenses incurred in making said trip for which I ask approval.

Respectfully Your Obd't, Servant.
David L. Shipley
U.S. Indian Agent

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA,
Los Angeles, Cal., January 25, 1892
Subject: Return of Oribie Indian prisoners to their homes.

To the
Adjutant General, U. S. Army,
Washington, D. C.

SIR:

Referring to the indorsement of the Major General commanding the Army, upon letter of the Honorable Secretary of the Interior of January 5th, concerning certain Oribie Indians held as prisoners at Fort Wingate, I have the honor to report that after careful inquiry I am of the opinion that Agent Shipley's recommendation for the return of certain of them to their people is timely—orders have been given accordingly. They will go under a small escort, commanded by a commissioned officer, who has been instructed to turn them over to Mr. Collins, the superintendent of the Indian school at Keam's Canon; this in accordance with request of Mr. Collins, who resires [desires] to have a talk with them having in view a more perfect understanding as to their future conduct after reaching their homes. Hope is expressed that Mr. Shipley's recommendation for certain young men to be sent to Carlisle will be carried out.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
A. McD. McCook
Brigadier General,
Commanding.

Department of the Interior,
Indian School Service,
Office of Superintendent,
Keams Canon, Arizona,
March 18th, 1892.

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

As you are doubtless informed, five of the Oreiba prisoners were sent home some time

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since, and before turning them loose, I gave them a long talk, telling them all about what the Government is trying to get the Moquis to do, and they promised to do anything I said.

In about two weeks after they went home, Lo-lo-lo-mi came in and reported that they were talking very bad, and that nearly all of the Oreibas were on their side, and that the report which they brought to their people was as follows:

Mas-sou-wa [Patupha], the old medicine man sent us home, with this message ''My medicine is still good, I have made friends with the soldiers, who have nothing to do with the white people at Keams Canon, and am going to stay a while longer until I find out more about the white man and his language, when I will return home with some soldiers and kill all the white people there together with all my enemies among my own people''.

Lo-lo-lo-mi came in again three days ago and said they were still talking very bad, and he seemed to almost believe their report of himself, and was apparently expecting that they might appear at almost any time.

I of course told him just to go right ahead about his own business and get his farm fenced, and get his land allotted to him and move out of the village.

In my talk to the returned prisoners, I told them that I was soon going to build a day school at Oreiba, and would want their children to attend, they promised to support it; now Lo-lo-lo-mi says they say they will not send any children to it.

I have had no occasion to put their promises to me to the test, and hence do not know positively whether they are converted or not; but I thought it best in view of the past experience with these people, that you be informed of the state of opinion and talk among them.

Unles [unless] instructed to the contrary, I shall go ahead and build the day school near Oreiba, and when finished call upon them for children, but I should not be surprised if we have trouble with them.

Very respectfully,
Ralph P. Collins
Superintendent.

The next group of documents concerns the allotment program from 1892–1894. Special Allotting Agent John S. Mayhugh arrived in February 1892 to allot the reservation, in accordance with the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 (see also chap. 4). Mayhugh also made several allotments at Mùnqapi, not yet included on an Indian reservation, in part to secure Hopi rights against Mormon encroachment. Those allotments and that conflict were to be the focus of a major flare-up of factional tensions over land in late 1894 (see below). Mayhugh submitted his final allotment schedule in February 1894, including Orayvi allottees and the list of ''Orabis Who Have Not Taken Land'' (see chap. 9). Mayhugh's final report, dated February 19, 1894, is revealing in several ways, including his prejudice against Hopi customs (like dances and names), his fervor for imposed culture change, and the implications of taxing the Hopi and making them citizens. Not all pertains to Orayvi per se, but I have elected to include it all as indicative of the attitudes and conditions Hopis were facing in their relations with government officials.

Keam's Cañon Apache Co
Moqui Indian Reservation
June 9th, 1892

Hon. T. J. Morgan
Commissioner of Indian Affairs
Washington D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to herewith transmit the result of my labor in the taking of the Census of the Moqui tribe of the Indians entitled to allotment on the Moqui Reservation Apache County Arizona in compliance with your letter of Instruction under date of March 23rd 1892 marked Land and numbered 9137.

In company with the Interpreter I proceeded from Mesa to Mesa and visited every house in each Village and took their names—ages sex and relationship from the head of each family: through the Interpreter who at best understands but little English consequently it took a great deal of care and time as we had to proceed very slowly and I may add cautiously as they were not inclined to give their names—having a supertious [su-

perstitious] fear of a something in having their names put upon paper.

I found but little trouble among the first Mesa people the Tewa's Tci-chum-ni-vi and Wal-pi's after I explained to each head of the family that the taking of their name's was only for the purpose of giving to each of them 80 acres of the best land and for no other purpose, this, generally satisfied the first Mesa people and I obtained all of their names ages sex &c.

I had also to explain to them why they were grouped into families and why I wanted the different degrees of relationship that existed among them, their sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, grandmothers, grandfathers, &c. They were ready to give the total number of their family—by saying—I have so many men so many women—so many boys and so many girls.

Sometimes the head of the family said he had two sons. Upon investigation I would find that it was not his own son but his wife's (she having been a widow when he married her) the same way with the girls and further they would claim a son in law as one of their family when he had to be segregated as a head of another family having a wife and children of his own.

Then I had to tell them it was necessary to have all the members of their family present so I could estimate their ages this required considerable time getting them together as many as possible as some of the children would hide—those not present I would estimate their ages by comparison with young and old present—and some of the very old Indians wanted to know how much the Government would pay me for their names. I told them 80 acres of the best land and perhaps wire to fence it all in by and by.

In every Village I visited I also explained to the men the Allotment Act in such a form as they would best understand. I conceive this information to them was necessary and preparatory to the allotment and so they would understand the purposes of my presence among them—but I fear they all did not fully comprehend it—others again said they did not see why I should give them 80 acres as all the land belonged to the Moquis years and years gone by. I explained to them that the Government wished to give to each of them 80 acres of the best pasture of the land and what was left would still belong to them all as a tribe for timber and pasture purposes unless they wished to sell to the Government at some future time. This seemed to satisfy the majority of the first Mesa people and I think they will accept their allotment without any trouble.

At the second mesa consisting of two villages Ma-shun-go-vi & Shu-pol-o-vi I found these people less inclined to give their names and other information—but after remaining some time and becoming acquainted, talking kindly to them about my work and other interesting matters (to them) I gained their confidence to a certain degree—however in one of the Villages the first day they hissed [?] the dogs on me and closed the doors, this I must say was not done by the men but by some old women who thought I came to steal their children, I managed however to make friends with all including the children and old women.

I camped at each Mesa for several days so as to become familiar with them and their names and so they could become acquainted with me. My wife accompanied me to each and all the Mesas and this had a good telling effect among the women and children as they seemed to think if I brought my wife I was a good man and not afraid of them and was their friend. After concluding my work here I proceeded to the next Mesa containing one Village (Shu-mo-po-ve) here the work proceeded in the same manner as at the second Mesa with the exception that we were met at or near the foot of the Mesa by an Indian who said that he did not wish us to go up and he talked a little bad to us. My Interpreter hesitated about proceeding and suggested we had better not go. I said yes we must go and at least talk with them a little while believing if I once got in the Village and talked a while to them they would consent to give the required information. They treated me very coldly at first but after a while they invited us in to sit down, built a fire and made us comfortable and generally became more friendly after which I proceeded to enumerate them and procure their ages, sex, and relationship.

After completing the same I next visited the Orabis Village here I found great oppo-

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sition to the work of enlisting names for allotments but through the kind efforts of Chief Lo-lo-lo-mi—his brother and several other friendly Indians belonging to his band I secured all the names of his Lo-lo-lo-mi's band their ages, sex—and relationship in their regular order. I told Lo-lo-lo-mi I must see every one if possible so he ordered all his band down from the Mesa to where I was camped and I succeeded in registering them all from the head of the family down to the infant a few days old.

When I finished the names of Lo-lo-lo-mi's band I next proceeded to make an effort to enlist the names of what is known as the unfriendly Orabis as they had absented themselves when they heard I camped at the foot of the Mesa, and sent me word refusing to give me the desired information and for me not to come up on the Mesa—as they did not wish to have anything to do with Americans and threatened Lo-lo-lo mi with death if they gave their names to me. I however sent them word I would come up the next morning on the Mesa just to visit them and if they did not wish to give me their names it made no difference at present but I would like to see them and talk a while, tell them what the Government wanted to do for them. The Interpreter refused to go up with me on the Mesa as he was afraid as they threatened his life—on this occasion and others.

I however next-morning went up on the Mesa with one of Lo-lo-lo-mi men walked through the Village and to Lo-lo-lo-mi brothers house they all stood around and looked at me but would not speak, after seeing I could do nothing with them at that time I left remarking that I was sorry, they did not fully understand me or the Government and hoped they would change their minds and come and see me before I left the camp. Upon my return to the camp three of the opposition Orabis came down from the Mesa and talked with me saying they had nothing against me or the Government but they had to go with their head men and Chief who was absent at Fort Defiance but after talking some time with them and giving them a good supper with warm coffee they finally agreed to give me the number of men women and children but not their names—and before leaving me they gave in the names of their respective families sex, age and relationship which was a good beginning and I felt greatly encouraged they figured up 80 families numbering 299 persons.

Being very anxious to have a complete list of the Moqui tribe of Indians in compliance with your instructions and for the purpose of making a success which I am reliably informed has never been achieved and I was told I could not procure the number and names, sex and relationship of these people without the aid of the military nevertheless I was determined to make the effort and I am pleased to inform your Hon. Office that I have succeeded. My mode of procedure was in securing several of the opposing band of Orabi's who were inclined to be communicative and friendly who however after hesitating a good deal finally gave me all the names of the men, women, and children their age sex and relationship numbering 299 persons—but they said they would not take their land in severalty.

The total number of Moqui Indians on the Moqui Reservation Apache County Arizona is 1976.

I am confident that the above enumeration is correct—including the relationship and sex.

The enrollment of the names of the Moqui Indians on the Allotment Schedule is a long step towards the work of completing the allotment of lands to them in severalty.

None of the Moquis have a complete [E]nglish name—and most of their Indian names are very long and almost unpronounceable but by taking great care having them pronounce and re-pronounce their names and by sylable I was enabled to get them correct.

Your office has no idea of the immense amount of labor and patience it required to complete this census work ordered for allotment among nearly 2000 Indians of which number not over three or four can speak the English language (outside of the school children) to be understood.

During the above work I have been engaged at intervals at other work which is properly connected with the work of allotment and will report upon the same by special letter. All of which is respectfully submitted

Yours Very Respectfully
John S. Mayhugh
U. S. Special Allotment Agent

Department of the Interior,
Indian School Service,
Office of Superintendent
Keams Cañon Apache Co
Arizona
June 22, 1892

Hon. T. J. Morgan
Com Indian Affairs
Washington D.C.

Sir:

. . . If I find it absolutely necessary to divide a forty acre tract for the purpose of completing and making satisfactory an allotment that I be permitted to do so. At the suggestion of Superintendent Collins I have thought it advisable to visit Tuba City and vicinity where a number of Moqui Indians belonging to the Orabi Village have some land and have been cultivating the same.

The land around the Orabi Village has never been sufficient for the maintainance of the Village people for the reason they have not sufficient water for domestic purposes or the cultivation of small gardens and hence a large number have cultivated land at Tuba City and vicinity where there is an abundance of water. The Orabis claims that their fathers once owned all of the land at Tuba City and used all of the water and the Mormons came there about 20 years ago and commenced driving them gradually from the best land and have taken the water until they have little or none. They further state that one Lot Smith a leading Mormon plowed up this Spring the planted crop of corn beans and melons of one family. I have been informed there are quite a number of Indian families in that vicinity. Superdt Collins believes a great injustice has been perpretated [perpetrated] upon the Orabi Village of the Moqui Tribe in this particular by the Mormon settlers in which opinion I concur. It is believed that if the western boundary line of this Reservation was established that the most of the land would be within the limits of the Moqui Reservation. Supdt Collins joins me in reccomending the early establishment of this boundary line. If it is found upon the establishment of this line that Tuba City with the land and water in the vicinity thereof is outside the Reservation then in that case the . . . at Tuba City and those driven away or forced to sell would be entitled to land under the Homestead Law. Tuba City is a small Mormon settlement of a few houses and cabins—contains no buisness [business] houses and consequently is of no importance as a Village and would not be known as a place of abode if it were not for a weekly mail.

All of which is submitted
Yours Very Respectfully
John S Mayhugh
U S Special Allotment Agent

Department of Interior
Indian School Service,
Office of Superintendent
Keam's Cañyon Apache Co.
Arizona
August 4th, 1892

Hon. T J Morgan
Com Indian Affairs
Washington D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report after having finished allotting lands to Indians at Moen Coppie and return to Reservation I commenced to allot lands to the Moqui Indians commencing with those at the first Mesa (Walpi) who had expressed a desire to receive their land. The evening before several of the leading men visited my office and expressed a desire to me to allot them their land they wished to take the land only that they and their fathers had always occupied and wanted to have it located to them in one body the land they had marked out years ago in their peculiar way—saying if these pieces were given them as one family as far as it would go they were then willing to take the balance elswhere upon unoccupied land. I found upon my arrival next morning the place appointed to commence work some 25 or 30 Indians—young and old—earnestly talking about their lands. They informed me that they were the Snake family which consisted

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of about some 25 persons that they had cultivated and claimed a certain piece of land marked out by boundaries for all time and wanted it given to the Snakes as far as it would go around and according to their lines.

I concluded it would be best to see how much they claimed and how it was located so had it chained and is marked upon the Township plat herewith enclosed as they claimed it—with this they were all satisfied, next the Eagle, showed me what they claimed—then the Antelopes came next and I also chained theirs out then a controversy arose about the next piece adjoining which was claimed by the Corn people. During the progress of this work many more arrived and several conferences were held which caused considerable delay but I thought it best to humor them until we got under headway and to ascertain how their land runs. As will be seen by the accompanying plat their lines is not in harmony with the Government surveys but I thought I could adjust it to the surveys afterwards. After running [?] the lines claimed by them to enclose their land we then located the land by ascertaining the sections and part of sections finding the Government corner stakes adjoining then chaining up to the corners marked for the Indians. All the land marked shows what is claimed by the different families. Of course these people are all Moquis and belong to the same Mesa and Village (the Walpi) but are divided into numerous clans each having a representative name such as the Snakes, Eagle, Antelope—Corn, squash, rain people, Coyote, &c. The piece of land claimed by the snakes is cultivated jointly by them and the production thereof divided equally among them of that name. The same with the Eagle family and so on.

In thinking the matter over it has occurred to me that it would be the best plan to give to each of the snakes as far as it would go 40 acres each so that each family would get a piece of the land that they are now cultivating and so on with all other Moqui families that claim land in that peculiar way but giving it to them in legal divisions according to Government surveys of 40 acres each. I told them I would measure out each one a separate 40 in this tract but they objected saying they wanted to work altogether as some were too old and others too young to work his piece separate and others had to herd the sheep for his share of the product of this land—but said I could put it on paper anyway I liked and then select the balance they were each entitled to elswhere and they would be satisfied but if I cut up their corn and melon fields into pieces it would lead to disturbance among them and engender ill feeling and retard the progress of <u>my</u> work among them so please leave it undivided.

If permitted by your office to allot these lands inside of the lines but taking legal subdivisions so as to conform to Gov surveys with or without their consent the work can be accomplished with little or no bad feeling.

The Tewah Village people who are called Tobbacco [Tobacco] people are somewhat inclined to have their lands the same way but as they only represent one family and want it all in one tract and locality and the several sections claimed by them marked out that is the outside boundaries it will easily divided into legal subdivisions among them that is as many will take it. I think a majority will do so and if authorized can divide the balance among them to the best of my ability seeing that all have equal advantages as to character of land and other privileges. They the Tewah Moquis want a piece of land selected at the foot of the Mesa where some are now building left unallotted so that it can be called Tewah Village. This can be done readily as a spring in the 40 they wish and may be called Tewah Spring No 1 in the Schedule. Another Village wants the same way at least they have talked about it to me. I think the idea a good one for when they come off the Mesa they will naturally have to cluster in groups where they can procure water. These people are so afraid and cannot understand clearly why they are now being disturbed in their lands that I have to go very slow to accomplish much. Of course I find an occasional Indian who understands the land matter more clearly ready to take an 80 right away—but it takes and cuts right into other Indians corn patches—he having only an interest in some corn patch and if he can get a whole 80 no matter who claims it he is ready to do so, but I think that unjust. I had the honor to write and transmit to your office under date of June 22nd 1892 a letter signed

by Sup^{dt} Collins & myself requesting authority to allot lands to Indians who after being notified refused to come and show a tract they would like or claim—and to the old and feeble who are unable to attend.

An affirmative reply will enable me to accomplish this work between now and December.

I therefore respectfully the above in connection with the letter above referred to.

Yours Very Respectfully
John S Mayhugh
U S Special Allotment Agt

Keam's Canon. P.O. Apache Co, Arizona
February 14th, 1893

Hon T. J. Morgan
Commr. Indian Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to report that the allotment work has progressed thus far very satisfactory and if the surveys called for in my letter of Oct. 14th 1892 could be made soon I see no reason why the allotments to the Indians of the East and middle Mesas comprising six villages out of the Seven and numbering over 1150 persons could not be fully completed by the 30th of June the present year or sooner. At present there is not sufficient 1st & 2nd rate corn, bean and melon land surveyed. There is yet quite a lot of surveyed land unallotted for the reason that it is either 3rd rate land or is too great a distance from water and for these reasons the Indians will not accept it for allotments.

The Orabis still refuse to take their land in severalty. I have had several conferences or talks with them comprising the head men of both factions for the purpose of inducing them to accept their allotments but so far without avail. I have set forth the great advantage they would derive as a people for accepting their land in severalty pointing out the humane purposes of your office on their behalf but they have so far declined for various frivoulous [frivolous] reasons Lo, Lo, Lo, mi the Chief of the Orabis has on three occasions agreed to take his land and when I was ready he would decline saying he was afraid the hostile faction under Hab-be-mer and others. However on the 1st of October he said he would take his land and influence his people to do the same so I hastened with my surveyor and Interpreter to commence the work of allotment but upon my arrival he wanted to talk and kill time but I remained over three days waiting on him finally he said he was afraid of Hab be mers people some 300 out of the 800 Orabis commonly called here the hostiles. Lo Lo Lo mi said that the Hab be mer crowd would kill him—what truth there was in this assertion of Lo Lo Lo mi I do not know as I have found him unreliable and a very cunning old chief. I told him—you say you are a big Chief and why are you afraid to take your land—he made no reply—so I was obliged to return with the surveyor & supplies.

After Hab be mer and other head men returned from Fort Wingate where they had been imprisoned and who are the leaders of the 300 hostile Orabis I concluded it would be in the interest of the allotment work to see him in person (as he had not been present to any of the former allotment councils) and fully explain to him the allotment law and the purposes of the Government in their behalf. I took an Interpreter and in company with Peter Stauffer the General Mechanic and farmer here, who speaks the Moqui language went up to the Orabi village and to the house of Hab, be, mer on the 18th of January 1893 and had quite a long talk with him and a number of his people were present I fully explained to him the allotment law and my instructions and the benefit of same to him and his people—he replied in substance saying that all the land belonged to the Moqui tribe and that they wished to be let alone—that they were satisfied with their land as they now held it in common that they did not understand the Washington surveys or marking—that they did not want white people among them—that Washington and the white men lied to them. These objections with others equally as frivolous I answered to the best of my ability in harmony with my instructions and the Allotment Act finally after three hours talk back and forth he admitted it might be better to accept some of the white man's ways and that he and his people would

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talk the matter over and they might take their land next summer when they would be all at work watching their crops. We then bid each other good bye at the same time promising me on his part he would call and see me soon at my office and have another talk. I am now of the opinion these people will finally take their allotments this coming summer but before the work of Allotment shall have commenced some additional surveys must be made as I find in making the allotments for the adjoining Mesa (Sho-mo-po-ve) and consulting the Township plats on file in my office I find there is not over 28,000 to 29,000 acres available for allotment for the Orabis near water and in vicinity of the Mesa where their corn fields are of 1st and 2nd class land. The Orabi Villages contain 853 persons which will require about 68000 acres consequently it is necessary to survey at least 40000 acres more so as to give each Indian 80 acres.

In view of this fact I must earnestly recommend that your Hon. Office cause sufficient surveys to be made where the Indians wish their land. I further reccomend to your office that before the surveys are made that the Allotting Agent be directed to examine the land on the north and west side of the Orabi Village also Neb, be, to, wash with a view of selecting lands for additional surveys that the water supply be kept in view as well as the grade and quality of land adjacent to the Village and other lands surveyed and make a sketch of same for your examination.

Most of the land above referred to as being unsurveyed is now being cultivated and claimed by the Orabis. If all the lands that have been surveyed had been 1st and 2nd class and not too far from water and in the vicinity of their various homes or villages there would have been but very little additional surveys required to complete the entire allotments.

All of which is respectfully submitted for your examination.

Very Respectfully,
John. S. Mayhugh,
Special Allotment & Dsbg. Agent.

Keams Canyon P.O.
Apache Co Arizona.

Department of the Interior,
Indian School Service,
Office of Superintendent.
Keams Canon, Arizona
May 18th, 1893

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

At the united request of the two parties in Oreiba, I have the honor to report the policy which each of them wishes followed by their people, and they wish me to ask instructions concerning the matter from the Government in Washington. They come together, and agree as to their disagreement, and all say that they wish to be friendly with the Government.

Lo-lo-lo-mi, as the leader of the party upholding the policy of the Government, says that he wants the people to send their children to school, to build new houses in the valley, and try to make advancement in civilization; but unless the Government will force the other party to send their children to school, he does not want to send his.

The party headed by Ha-be-ma, which has been hostile, says that they want to be friendly with the Government, but that they do not think as do the whites, and hence do not want to do what the Gov't wants them to. That they want to live as they always have. That they are living just as their fathers taught them to live, and they believe that is best for them. That their country was given to them by their deity, is owned now and always has been, by the chief priest of their deity, that he acknowledges no authority of any other power, over their country, that if the other Oreibas wish to leave the country they can do so, but that he is their supreme authority, the original and only pure Oreiba. That if the government wishes to send soldiers out and cut all of their heads off, that will be all right, as they are ready to die, but that they expect to live and die just as they always have lived, in the full practice of their ancient customs, habits, and usages. That they will send no children to school, nor do anything else which deviates in the least from their old ways and ancient teachings. They wish me to state this to the Government at Washing-

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ton, and they wish an answer to it. They mean no hostility by this talk, but it is just the way they have always talked, and they think it right.

They each wish new and direct instructions from the Government.

Please allow me to suggest that any policy which is given to these people, or requirement made, should be given with the full assurance that it can be carried out. And moreover that unless they are made to do so, they will not send an Oreiba child to school next year, and all progress that has been made will be lost.

Very respectfully,
Ralph P. Collins
Superintendent

Keam's Canon P.O. Apache County Arizona
Moqui Indian Reservation
July 12th 1893

Hon. D. M. Browning
Comm Indian Affairs
Washington D.C.

Sir

I have the honor to report that pursuant to an agreement made with Chief Lo-Lo-Lo-my and a number of his head men about the middle of last May which I reported to your Office May 19th 1893 at which time said Chief and his head men agreed to take their land. In per view of this agreement for the 5th time I made preparation to give land to them and left my office for Oribi mesa July 1st 1893 with supplies for camping accompanied by Surveyor Kentner with his instruments employing a team to convey our supplies for a months work. Upon arriving I found Lo, Lo, Lo, my was not at the Village although he was informed of my coming but was some distance from the Village herding sheep.

I immediately sent for him to come and see me as I had come to allot to him and his people their land according to our agreement made some time ago. To this message he sent word he would not come until the next day at which time he appeared with his head men representing about 150 of the Orabis out of the 850 belonging to the Village none of the Hostile element were present. Lo Lo Lo, my seemed sullen and after we had commenced talking he stated that the Government had not protected the Orabis who had taken land at Moencopie (Tuba City) that their land and water had been taken from them by the Mormons that the Government had lied to them that no Washington man had come to protect his people as was promised some time ago referring to what I had told the Orabis at Moencopie April 9th 1893. Pursuant to your office letter under date of March 16th 1893 . . . stating that an Inspector would visit Tuba city for the purpose of investigating and adjusting the difficulties between the Moencopie Indians and the Mormon Settlers.

At this stage of the proceedings I found it necessary to procure a more satisfactory Interpreter the one I had employed being a school boy and timid I therefore sent for Mr. Peter Stauffer the Agency mechanic who speaks the Moqui language quite well and who Lo, Lo, Lo, my preferred and further for the purpose I could have a clear understanding of his objections of not receiving land for himself and people.

I employed a runner to go to Keam's Canon for Mr. Stauffer with the request that he come immediately this took the greater part of two days time and upon Friday July 7th we held our final council of some six hours upon which occasion Lo, Lo, Lo, mi advanced all his former frivoulous [frivolous] objections about Hab-be–mer Chief of the hostile element going to kill him if he took land in severalty. I finally reached his main objection and that was, that, the Government had given land to some of his people at Moencopie wash and failed to protect them and that the Mormons had taken their water and driven them off of the land allotted to them besides abusing and beating them and further if he and his people should take land they would be treated in the same way. I endeavored to fully explain to him the difference between the allotment of land to Indians on and off the Reservation by telling him the land at Moencopie was Washington land and not Reservation land that no white man or Mormon would be allowed to take their land or water that was on the Reservation except such as were sent from Washington for school and other humane persons. In fact I

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explained to these people for the fifth time the great advantages that would accrue to them and their children if they now received their lands and made their own selections taking the best lands adjacent to water that there was no danger of any white man or Mormon interfering with them and that the Government would soon have a Washington man at Moencopie to look after the rights of the Indians who had taken land in severalty there and I told them further that the white man had equal rights to live on land off the Reservation as they had and that whoever first settled upon land and used the water was entitled to both water and land and that was why Government was going to send an Inspector to investigate. The reason that he was a long time coming was because there was a great many Indians and Indian Reservations and a great many white people to look after hence the delay. To these and other reasonable explanations he simply replied Washington had lied and I had lied and that he and his people would not take land unless I would go right away to Moencopie (tomorrow June 8th) and drive the Mormons off of the land and protect the Indian Allottees in their water rights. I explained to him it was not my duty to do that without instructions from Washington that your Department had another man for that work that I was only told to give them land. After rehearsing the whole subject matter over several times Lo Lo Lo mi and his head men agreed to take allotments as soon as the Moencopie trouble was settled to their satisfaction this was their ultamatum [ultimatum] but I have no faith in their promises. This ended the conference as well as the allotment work at Oribi Village, and the Surveyor and myself returned to the East Mesa. As soon as the Surveyors Bonds are approved and his instructions received he will proceed immediately to make the additional surveys ordered by your office after which I will allot the same thereby completing the work of allotment for all these people excepting the Orabis numbering about 850.

In the meantime I shall continue to examine the wood land adjacent to the East and Middle Mesas who have taken allotments with a view of preparing a sketch and reporting the same as directed by Office letter under date of Feb 9th 1893.

I can assure your office I felt disgusted with these Orabi people—they are the most trying and should not be permitted to trifle longer with the just and liberal offers of your office and to dictate impudent terms and conditions as conditional to their acceptance of their allotments in severalty. By your kind permission I would suggest that an order be now made that the land in question be allotted to these people if allowable under Section 2 of the Allotment Act to the end that the work of allotment may be closed up this season at the Reservation.

I have allready a full and correct list of names of the Orabi people less what has been born the past two months—there is adjacent to this Village a Mesa about 31,000 acres of surveyed land ready for allotments.

Besides the explanations herein made to the Orabi Village people I reminded these people of the heavy expense the Government had borne making these surveys and in sending an allotting Agent to give them their choice of the land and that their refusal would be a great disappointment to the big Chief at Washington that he would feel bad to know they had broken their promise. To this they made no reply but hung their heads in silence. All of which is respectfully submitted

Yours Very Respectfully
John S. Mayhugh
US Special Allotting Agt

Office of Allotment Agent
Keams Canon P.O. Apache County, Arizona,
Sept. 19th 1893

Hon. D.M. Browning
Commissioner Indian Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that I with U.S. Deputy Surveyor Kentner have commenced the work of making the new survey for the Orabi Band of Moquis. I accompany him for the purpose of making allotments as the work progresses and to see the surveys are made with dispatch and that the work is properly performed, also to select suitable land from

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the tracts heretofore recommended to your Hon. office for survey which was in due time ordered to be surveyed thereby enabling the allotment work to be completed and giving the Orabis land they earnestly desired.

This work was commenced September 4th 1893. When I arrived at the Orabi Village I informed Chief Lo, Lo, Lo, mi that I came to make new surveys as Washington said there was not enough good land surveyed (for all his people including those of Hay-be-mer's band) in the vicinity of their Mesa and homes and that when the new surveys were finished I would allot all of the old surveyed land to them and I wanted him to furnish me a good Interpreter and other help that I should need in the work and that I further wanted his people to come down off their Mesa Village and show me the land they claimed so I could show them their boundaries as the new surveys progressed. He replied that some of his people had gone to hunt deer and could not be present for some time and that some of the old men and women were herding sheep and the could not be around but most of the men were in their corn fields watching and protecting them from the horses and Burros that those in the corn fields would show me each his tract. I told Lo Lo Lo mi I would rather they all would be present in person as it might not be satisfactory to those away who were engaged in herding and hunting but he assured me it would be all right with his people and further all of his head men agreed that whatever Lo, Lo, Lo, mi said or done in the land matter would be satisfactory to them and to all his people that himself and his people wanted their lands. To prove his good faith Lo Lo Lo mi offered his services as Interpreter alternate days with another head man. Chief Lo, Lo, Lo mi professes to know all of the tracts [of] land claimed by his people and the names of each owner also those of the hostiles—(Hay-be mer's band). I believe he does as he is smart and intelligent.

In making these new surveys we often have to pass through and around the cornfields bean and melon patches belonging to the objective party under Hay-be-mer's leadership.

My Interpreter gives me the names of the owners of the fields and shows me their extent. Some time the claimant (a hostile) is present but will not talk to me or the interpreter when we pass through and around his field. We passed through chief Hay-be-mer's cornfield while he was at work and he made no objection. I stopped to talk with him about his land but he refused to talk about land but asked me for some matches and a drink of water which I gave him—he called for Tobacco for a smoke which the Surveyor furnished him he seemed a little sullen at first but shook hands when I left.

I thought it best to take the names of the Hay-be-mer's people as I went along their cornfields and a description of the land with the legal subdivision where their tract was situated so the land could be given them in the future without further retracing or locating of the same and as a matter of justice so they would really get the land they claim although they refuse allotments now. But this however is of not so great importance as would seem at first all of the land surveyed and being surveyed is of the same character and produces the same kind of crops— corn— beans— melons & squashes.

Now under this state of facts shall I proceed to allot first to Lo Lo Lo-mi and his people which number over 550 persons under the above stated conditions also to Hay be mer and his people the respective tracts they now occupy and claim through the medium of an Interpreter who knows their land and respective names or shall I allot it to Lo-Lo-Lo mi and his people as they now desire it allotted or shall I only complete the new surveys ordered by your Hon. Office.

Lo Lo Lo mi and his people profess to be glad to take their land in the way above described and they constitute over two thirds of these Orabi Moquis. If permitted to give Lo Lo Lo mi and his people the land as they are now willing to take it, shall I omit the tracts belonging to Hay be mer and his band as they often adjoin the tracts claimed by Lo-Lo-Lo mi and his people, it sometimes occurs they are alternate claims in the order of surveying sometimes part of Hay be mer's cornfields would be in the same 40 or 80 that Lo Lo Lo mi and his people's cornfields are situated, that is a part of the field. All of the lands are held in common and so farmed and when I ask Hay-be-mer's people where there

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certain pieces of land are, with a general sweep of both hands they point to all the land around for miles and miles. It seems that the chiefs and head men control the land and have heretofore and now parcel the land out and designate each season what land shall be cultivated. They rarely cultivate the same tract more than a year or more than a season or two letting it rest, then clear off another piece in any direction it suits their fancy. These Indians will get all the good land—all the water and the land being the same they have cultivated for generations and I think it will be more satisfactory for them to take the land the way Chief Lo Lo Lo mi suggests (of course giving each Indian a 40 or 80) as they will pay no attention to the surveyed lines and work their land as heretofore and Hay-be-mer and his people will continue to cultivate as heretofore and Lo Lo Lo mi does not object and they get along peaceably and harmonious in the way, time and education and further intercourse with the whites will eventually settle these people on their respective tracts. This seems to be the only solution of this question.

The new surveys now being made cover their most choice pieces and Lo Lo Lo mi and his people seem glad to have these additional surveys and are doing their best to have Hay-be-mer and his band take their land also with them. If allowed to proceed to complete the work of allotment under the existing conditions herein mentioned I see no reason why the whole work may not be fully completed by the middle of November.

In view of these facts I most respectfully ask to be instructed at your earliest convenience as to how I shall proceed in this matter.

Yours very respectfully,
John S. Mayhugh
U.S. Special Allotment Agent

Keams Cañon P.O. Apache County Arizona
Moqui Indian Reservation
November 29th 1893

Hon. D. M. Browning
Com. Indian Affairs
Washington D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the entire field work of the allotment of land to the Moqui Indians on this Reservation (with the exception of a few incomplete) is finished. In surveying and allotting the land for the Orabi Band of the Moqui Tribe that is Chief Lo, Lo, Lo, my and his people I found it necessary to take a description of the land of those known as the hostiles (and who refused to take their land except four or five) in passing through and around the legal subdivisions where Lo Lo Lo my claimed land in fact there was no other way of doing without leading to a great deal of confusion this shows the crowded condition of the claimants there being in one instance as many as eight claimants on one 80 acre tract. The Lo-Lo-Lo-my head men were all out with me every day showing me their corn fields and melon patches and seeing the surveys and corners, when they came to a hostiles tract or field they told me who it belonged to and they said they did not want to take their corn fields from them. It seemed necessary for me to make a note of it so as to have a clear understanding as to what tracts belonged to Lo Lo Lo my and his followers. In some instances the hostiles were present—saw me go over their land, made no objections and when I asked a few if this was their land they would reply yes.

I herewith enclose two sheets showing the field work and the crowded condition of a few sections so as to give a general idea of how their tracts lay. These two are the most crowded of any. The letter H represents Hay be mers people known as the hostiles. Now in as much as these people have repeatedly refused to take their land and it seems impossible for Lo Lo Lo my's people to each get his piece of land that is a full 40 80 or even a 20 in some places (unless they get occasionally tracts belonging to the hostiles

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as they refuse to talk about land we cannot adjust the matter in a friendly way to both parties and what they may suffer by the loss of any portion of the land is on account of their own indifference and stubborness and Lo-Lo-Lo-my and his followers who are willing and have taken their land should have the preference in the making up of their respective tracts of 80 acres each—leaving the hostiles to take such tracts as are left filling their quota elswhere on surveyed land) so as to complete their respective allotments.

In other words shall I proceed to enter upon my Schedules land for the Lo Lo Lo my people without taking into consideration the land claimed by the hostiles except where the hostiles have a full 40 or 80 acre tract covering their corn fields.

I have surveyed all of the 1st and 2nd rate land claimed by the Orabi people in the vicinity of their Village notwithstanding this they will be short for full allotments that is I mean hostiles and all—about 3,000 acres nevertheless there is sufficient good agricultural land in other surveyed localities and where water is at no great distance and which the other Villages have not enough people to absorb this surplus land. The land in question is called 1st and 2nd rate. The other 6 villages out of the seven have selected all they require. The land I have reference to is situated in Townships № 26-R 19E. 27-R 18E. also Township № 27-R 20E. which was formerly surveyed preparatory for allotment work and will afford more than sufficient land to complete the allotments of the hostile Band of Orabis in the future as before mentioned there will be only about 3000 acres short in the vicinity of the Orabi Village. The land claimed by the Indians lay as sketched on the sheets herewith enclosed.

I am now engaged in making duplicated copies of my allotments heretofore made for the other six villages and await your instructions before copying the Orabi field work above mentioned, on my Schedule Sheets.

All of which is respectfully submitted
Yours Very Respectfully
John S Mayhugh
US Special Allotment Agent

Final Report of Allotment Work

Moqui Indian Reservation
Keam's Canon P.O. Arizona
February 19th 1894

Hon. D. M. Browning
Commissioner Indian Affairs
Washington DC

Sir:

I have the honor to herewith transmit for your examination my Final Report of allotment work upon the Moqui Indian Reservation Arizona ordered by Office letter of instructions dated January 25th [?] 1892 marked Land and numbered 2092–1892 in pursuance thereof I arrived at this Reservation February 29th 1892 by the usual travelled route via San Francisco California. I immediately proceeded with the preparatory work as pointed out to me by the general instructions above mentioned—pending the arrival of the field notes and Township Plats.

My first Act was to call a council of the leading and head men of the three Mesas but only the head men of the East and Middle Mesas attended to wit: The Tewa's—Che-chung-o-ves—Mashong-o-ve's, She powl-o-ves, and She-mo-pi-ves also the Wal-pis—through an Interpreter I fully explained the purposes of my presence and the good intentions of the Government had in view for them in sending an Agent to their Reservation.

I read to them paragraph by paragraph of the appropriate parts of my instructions and the Allotment Act of Congress which was interpreted and fully explained to them by Lieut. Keams the Post Trader of the Reservation in the presence of Suptdt Collins of Keams Canon School. They seemed to fully understand what I came for. The Indians reply was as usual a long list of complaints of what Washington had not done and what they wanted after which they said they would accept their land in severalty but qualified their statement by saying some were absent and they only spoke for themselves and those present.

After this I had other meetings that were favorable towards taking their land. I then visited the several mesas from time to time

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to familiarize myself with these people and to have them become better acquainted with me and the objects and purposes of the Government. I also rode over the surveyed and unsurveyed (some parts to examine the land and the water supplies accompanied by Suptdt Collins and at other times by a guide and Interpreter—pending this preparatory work I received another letter of instructions directing me to look over the entire field of Allotment work embracing the water supply to the end that all the Moquis should have equal water privileges—as water is exceedingly scarce in this Reservation (in fact all North Eastern Arizona), and when this work was completed I was further directed to take a complete Census of the entire tribe by families giving age relationship &c.

On the 5th of April 1892 I reported to your office the number and character of Springs I had examined. This Report was accompanied with a diagram of the country and Mesas I had travelled over and showing the locations of the Springs. I continued to employ my time in this line of work and other matters properly connected with it so as to more fully qualify myself for the work on hand. In the meantime the field notes and plats of survey reached me about July 1st 1892. I at once engaged a Surveyor and as soon as he arrived proceeded with the work of allotment but before I was fully under headway I received your Office letter of July 2nd 1892 marked Land and numbered 22724 1892—which directed me to make Homestead Allotments to Indians off of Reservation at Moencopie in vicinity of Tuba City Arizona this work I completed about the 20th of July 1892 and returned to the Moqui Reservation about the 25th of same month and thereafter re-commenced the Allotment work commencing with the East Mesa. The first Village the Tewa's whose land is principally on the East side of the Mesa—the Che-chung o ve village people next accepted their land which adjoins the Tewa's to the south east—then the Walpis.

The various Villages had their land boundaries established by stone monuments and the family groups or clans of each Village had their local subdivisions such as the corn people the snake—rain, antelope, &c, the same system of holding land prevails throughout the whole seven villages. After holding two Councils I deemed it best to satisfy them to allot their lands within their lines that is to say to give the Tewa's what was claimed as Tewah land and to the Che chung o ves and the Walpis what was claimed by them. Then they were satisfied and ready I allotted them their land so as to conform to the legal subdivisions of survey this was slow and tedious. I allotted to them then individual tracts consisting of their corn fields that they pointed out to me as belonging to them also their bean and melon patches. I found it necessary often to subdivide 40 acres tracts into 20 acre lots so that each claimant could receive his choice piece of the choice land then the additional amount to make their full allotment was selected elswhere. The land situated in the Vallies around the Mesas is generally first rate and that lying and being at the base around the Mesas is 2nd rate is generally used for the planting of Melons—squash and beans also their Peach orchards while the Valley land is used for their corn fields. The land at the foot of the Mesas are more or less sheltered from the prevailing wind and sand storms (hence its selection for Orchards &c). That continue from the 1st of March to the to the 1st of July of each year. After the 1st of July the summer rains set in and continue to the 1st or middle of September which matures their crops of corn—beans and melons otherwise I doubt if they would be able to raise sufficient food to sustain life. No preparatory work such as plowing is attempted by these people and no cultivation is necessary after the vegation [vegetation] has taken root they simply plant their corn in the sandy places by digging a hole in the ground with a sharp stick to the depth of six to seven inches dropping in each hole from 6 to 10 grains to the hill which are from 4 to 12 and sometimes 16 feet apart. There is really no soil but a sedimentary sand in places along the washes and in the immediate neighborhood of the Springs or pools. The land produces only corn, melons, beans, squashes, chillies, and some onions. No wheat Barley or potatoes have as yet been raised although some attempts have been made without success—no irrigation is attempted except their little garden patches around the Springs. Each family

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raises but little more than their pressing needs require to sustain life. They are a self supporting people and receive nothing from the Government except a few wagons harness stoves shovels &c. It has been a law among them to keep two to three years supply of corn on hand this rule has lately been relaxed and but few have more than one years supply laid by. Their crops of corn are gathered and housed from the 1st to the middle of October and melons beans and squashes are all gathered after the first frost which occurs from the 1st to the middle of September the melons are preserved in underground dark holes called Kee-vers and thereby preserved so as to be eatable up to the 1st of January of each year. As a general rule the men plant and gather the corn and the old men and women plant the melons, beans, and squash. The amount of land they cultivated does not exceed in my opinion more than from 2 ½ to three acres to each person.

A large number of these people have flocks of sheep varying in number from 20 to as high as 500 head. The wool that is not sold is used for making blankets and covering for the women and men. They generally slaughter about the increase for food. The East and middle Mesa Village people have but very few cattle possibly not over from 150 to 200 head while the Orabi Village people have over 350 head among them. The number of Beeves slaughtered I am informed by Chief Lo Lo Lo my is equal to the annual increase. These people have but few horses probably not over 450 all told they using Burros instead which number I estimate to be from 1200 to 1300 which are used for packing wood water corn &c and what surplus production they have to market (Post Traders). These people live on high Mesas of an altitude of 600 to 800 feet above the Vallies in a crowded filthy condition they are a low degraded superstitious ignorant people wearing little or no clothes—but they are beginning to get a glimmer of light through the medium of the schools that have been and are now being established through your office. Education is their only salvation they should have a school at each Mesa.

The grouping of these people into families for Allotments has been a very trying task not only in consequence of the close similarity of names but on account of their peculiar social habits and customs, their ever changing of wifes and husbands and their habit of marring [marrying] family relation the line only being drawn between father and mother brother and sister. Uncles nieces aunts cousins, step sons and daughters intermarrying—they are all related. A man marrys to day a Tewa woman and when he leaves her marrys her sister—vice a versa with the women, the females marry as early as 10 years of age. A Tewa Village man if he marries a woman of another Village he becomes a member of that Village and drops his own selection and works the corn field of his father in law. It took a good deal of time and tact as well as patience to ascertain with any degree of certainty the relationship that existed of one to another particular among the children. The reputed head of the family will tell you he has three sons when in fact he is not the father of any one of them and upon investigation you will find that they are the sons of his wife by some other husband or illegitimate children—or sometimes his brothers a brothers wifes children—it is a custom among these people for the children to always remain with the mother and to whatever Village the Mother belonged they become members of that Village and are known as Walpis notwithstanding their father was a Tewah or an Orabi man as the case may be however by becoming personally acquainted with nearly every Indian on the whole Reservation and repeated inquiries I have been able to get my schedules correct. The women own the houses and all the household appliances the men own generally the stock such as horses burros cattle and sheep. The Moquis have built some 60 houses of rock and adobe of which number 31 has been finished by the Government by putting on the roof and laying the floors also doors and windows.

There is a matter that has frequently come under my observation that I respectfully ask to refer to and that is the continual dancing of these people. Many of these disgusting orgies are so filthy and obscene and degrading that it is not a proper matter to describe in this Report the quicker these disgraceful scenes are stopped the better it will be for the children who are allowed to witness these

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performances many of whom are now being educated by the Government to the end of improving them mentally and morally. The Indians on the East and middle Mesas consisting of Tewahs Che-chung-o-ves Walpis on the first or East Mesa—the Ma shong o ves—She-powl o ves and She-mo-pi-ves in the middle Mesas making a total of 1210 have all received their allotments.

At Orabi Chief Lo, Lo, Lo, mys people have not all received their land in severalty in consequence of the very crowded condition of some few sections upon which both friendlies and unfriendlies were located these sections were not allotted under instructions from your office dated Dec 14th 1893 marked Land numbered 45132 therefore about 99 of the friendlies are without land but it was not their fault as they were willing to select their land but would not select land elswhere in lieu of what they claimed (it being choice land) in the crowded sections copies of which I have forwarded to your office. The friendlies who have received land are 424, this makes the total allotments 1634. During the months of August, September and October I was engaged with the Surveyor and the necessary assistants in surveying and marking out the new additional surveys ordered by your office through the general Land Office comprising some 75 sections or more so as to have sufficient first and 2nd rate land to complete the work of allotment the major portions of the survey were for the Orabis and we surveyed all the available land we could find both 1st and 2nd rate.

Nevertheless there is still a deficiency for the Orabis of some 3000 acres or more in the vicinity of Orabi but there is some land left that the other villages did not need but I am afraid it is too great a distance from the Orabi Village to be available for the present. I herewith transmit schedules containing the names of the families their sex, age, and relationship for the Orabis who have not received their land including the hostiles numbering 399 300 of which are hostiles—in pursuance to Office letter dated October 2nd 1893 marked Land and numbered 36332-1893.

I have prepared schedules of the number of Springs seepages and pools of water on the Reservation in the vicinity of the Mesas and Allotments giving in most cases the Moqui and English names of the Springs also the locality where subdivided by legal subdivisions of survey together with the flow of water by inches reserved for the common use of all Moquis, this took time and labor to colate [collate] this information. Water is usually found at the base of the Mesas, during the past year the Supdt of the schools here have been prospecting the vallies for water. A large number of wells were dug in the vicinity of all the Mesas but in consequence of the apparatus used for digging they were only able to penetrate 40 feet and there has only been developed one well of good water and that is at Orabi about one mile east of the school house. Nevertheless I am of the opinion that with proper machinery and going a greater depth a large amount of good water can be developed until then these Moqui people will remain in Villages upon their Mesas because the water is found close by it is useless to ask them to come down and settle upon their land away from water. The true solution of the civilization of those Moqui people is a plenty of water and day schools. As per instruction under date of May 7th 1892 marked Land and numbered 13680 1892—I have prepared schedules showing the sections and part of sections that has been reserved from allotment containing the seven Villages of the Moqui people with the Springs pools of water and Peach orchards situated therein for the common use and benefit of the Moquis—they seem to have a strong sentimental attachment to the houses of their fathers. The Peach Orchards are quite an important factor in their food supply as they dry great quanities [quantities]. I would suggest they be encouraged in planting the Peach tree also the Apricot as their surplus fruit could be readily marketed when dried at a fair price they could also dispose of their surplus beans and corn, this would enable them to purchase many articles necessary to their new condition of civilization which the schools are preparing for the rising generation they ought to have some person to assist and encourage them in this work. I have also prepared (under instructions from your Office) marked out and described by metes and bounds some 15 sections of timber land for the common use and benefit of the Moqui Indians of the East mesa with a diagram ac-

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companing [accompanying] the same showing Pipsy wash with the Springs therein which I have heretofore forwarded to your Office for examination.

These Indians have only one name which has sometimes a very vulgar significance or meaning. Those in charge of the Boarding School also Day Schools should be required to give each pupil an English given name they have repeatedly expressed to me a desire for an English name or names.

The Moquis are increasing in number. As a tribe they are reasonably healthful no drunkeness exists among them and very little gambling and what they do know they have learned from the Navajoes. The Navajoes do not encroach upon them as heretofore only occasionally.

There underlies this Reservation in many places deposits of stone coal. I have examined the coal in several places and found it as good as could be expected on the surface subject to climate conditions. The veins or deposits have a gentle dip to the south East and are from 8 inches to 10 feet in thickness. There is a large vein some 14 miles from the Canon School to the North west at Wee poo of some 6 feet in thickness. Coal taken from this vein burns readily in a stove and leaves little or no cinders.

I counciled with Hay be mer and some of his head men after I finished the work of Allotment at Orabi and still found him much opposed to taking his land in severalty yet he seemed more pleasant and talked more reasonable upon the subject. I think before the expiration of the time required by law to make forced allotments he may take his land there is quite a difference now in his demeanor to what it was when he with his band pulled up the Stakes of survey and levelled down the mounds when the military had to be called in to protect the Surveyors in finishing the Government survey.

In view of the general want of knowledge and appreciation of the Moqui people as to the rights and benefits that the Allotment Act confers upon them when they are declared citizens is not comprehended in the least. That they are totally unprepared to assume the rights of citizenship for want of knowledge of the English language and take upon themselves the burdens incident thereto is hardly a question there are but a very few who have any conception of the meaning of the word citizen. Many of these people have considerable stock and some wagons and harness and if upon the approval of the Allotments by the Hon Secretary they then will become citizens and would be in that event in a helpless condition as to the preservation of their personal property in consequence of the tax levy of the Territory for Territorial and County purposes. I have allready been interviewed by tax payers if the Indians would not be subject to taxation. As there exists an antagonist feeling between the whites and Indians of Arizona the taxation law would certainly be enforced with rigor. I therefore earnestly hope your honorable office would make some provision for the protection of the personal property of these people from forced sale. The rights of citizenship will certainly be a great detriment to the present generation of the Moqui Tribe under their present condition and should be deferred as long as possible nevertheless I note some improvement and I find it more prominent where the day schools exist.

All of which is respectfully submitted
Yours Very Respectfully
John S Mayhugh

A primary target of the Hostiles' ire against the government was undoubtedly the schools. No anthropological explanation of the split should underestimate this factor. The next letter gives a glimpse of the context of opposition.

Department of the Interior,
Indian School Service,
Office of Superintendent,
Keam's Canon, Arizona
March 8, 1894.

The Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

In my letter of February 22 I detailed the attitude of some of the Moquis, and especially of the majority at the second mesa, re-

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garding the education of their children. In this communication I respectfully desire to narrate some of the difficulties in retaining in school the children already there.

The enrollment up to date is 96; the average attendance for the first quarter was 46.5; for the second quarter, 75; and for January and February, 84. The number present to-day is 85; the difference between the number present and the number enrolled is accounted for as follows: Two were exchanged for other pupils; one was expelled; two went home on leave of absence; six ran away. The epidemic of mumps during December and January, followed by severe attacks of influenza, has tried the metal [mettle] both of employes and pupils. The effect could not be other than depressing, especially as the buildings are so poorly arranged for the care and comfort of the sick. Under such circumstances the children were the more ready to listen to the insinuations of the unfriendlies, as spoken of in my letter of February 22 above mentioned.

Two boys ran away in the fall. One who is feeble minded I declined to receive again. The other I could not get.

One large Navajo boy, always a good pupil, while sick with complications following the mumps, thought ''the devil was after him'', and ran away. The doctor has visited him, and if his eyes get well he will return to school.

The other three runaways, who have not returned, will be mentioned soon. About the first of February an event happened, most unfortunately, as follows: About 3 a. m. two boys were discovered by Mr. Fain, the boys' teacher, endeavoring to enter the girls' dormitory. The dormitory was searched, and three other boys were found there. Four others were also implicated. It appeared that some had entered the window, and some the door which had been opened from within by the girls, who were as much to blame as the boys. Reasonable precautions had been taken, but the wretched one-story buildings are unsuitable for school purposes. However, since this occurrence, I have put iron bars on the windows of the boys' dormitory and padlocked the door. There is little danger of fire, and there is an exit through an adjoining room occupied by a teacher. The next morning, all the boys were drawn up in line at the side of the office, and after a serious but kind talk on the gravity of the offense, all cadet officers implicated were reduced to the ranks, one was expelled and the other eight whipped. Tabo, an Oreiba boy, the one I expelled, had a strong influence over the other boys, and by no means for good. They followed his leading, and especially dreaded his disapproval or ridicule. If he had not been expelled he would doubtless have run away, taking others with him. The Moquis never punish their children, but when they heard the circumstances, many said I had done right, while others thought the boys and girls had done no harm. I have not thought corporal punishment advisable on any other occasion. Not one of the boys whom I whipped has run away, although it has required much tact and persuasion to hold them. While Mr. Fain did well to detect the boys at that hour of the night, his violent treatment of them and his abusive language have caused me more trouble and produced more resentment than the whipping. The boys punished were the largest in school, and now seem quite well contented. I won some by allowing them to make short visits home, one at a time. One has not returned, partly, I think, because of the language and treatment of Mr. Fain.

Another large boy, who was not implicated in this wrong but was very homesick, was allowed to make a visit home, and has not returned. In a visit to Oreiba last week I talked with him, but while I could not persuade him to return with me he promised to come later. He wishes to work and earn some money.

The girls were lectured by the lady physician, and as those implicated in the above mentioned scrape comprise the principal part of the afternoon details, the hours of work were changed from one until four, to one until five. A few days after these events four large girls ran away,—three to the first mesa and one to Oreiba. They went just after supper, and although the alarm was given immediately they had hidden in the timber or among he rocks and could not be traced. I visited those at the first mesa, and found the girls barefooted, in Moqui dress, with their hair put up in ''wheels'' as is customary with

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Moqui girls before marriage. They gave as an excuse that the matron was cross to them, but also claimed that another employe had said I would whip them,—a thoughtless and groundless remark on her part. While they seemed sorry, they could not be persuaded to return, principally I think on account of the opposition of the mothers.

A short time ago, a large Oreiba boy who was sullen and declined to work was horsewhipped by Mr. Fain and Mr. Gates, although it is contrary to the rules and to my orders for any employe to administer corporal punishment. The boy escaped from the two, however, during the operation, and went home in spite of their efforts to recapture him. Last week I went to Oreiba and brought back this boy and the runaway girl. The girl is the daughter of one of the hostiles and upon her return home last summer her father tore up her school dresses and threatened her if she should return to school. But she went to live with her mother's brother, and came to school in the fall. I found her at her uncle's, repentant, and anxious to return to school. Her uncle was willing, but wished her to obtain the consent of her father, of whom he was evidently afraid. I went with the girl to see her father. He would neither talk to me nor wait to hear what I had to say. He told her, so she said, that he would have nothing to do with the Americans; if they were her friends it would be right for her to go with them, but he would have nothing more to do with her. The poor girl cried bitterly as her father went away, but she said she would go with me. In the evening her father came to her uncle's and threatened her and all the Americans, and in the morning many of the friendlies came down to see me and told me, very excitedly and with manifest fear, of the threats the girl's father had made, and that it would be impossible to take her back to school. But soon the girl, with her uncle, came down, and the boy having also arrived we started for the school. The poor girl was barefooted, although snow was on the ground. Both she and her uncle showed pluck and appreciation of the school, to act as they did.

I would observe that while we have had these difficulties to contend with the school is more than full, the dining room, sitting rooms, dormitories, kitchen, and laundry being especially crowded. . . .

Yours Very respectfully
C. W. Goodman
Superintendent

On March 19, 1894, a meeting was called at Second Mesa, to discuss petitioning Washington against allotment (see Martha Voth diary entries for March 19th and 20th, below). The following week a petition was drawn up with pictographic signatures from all three mesas, and an explanation of symbols and names by Alexander Stephen (see chap. 9, table 9.6), about three weeks before his death on April 16, 1894. The petition was forwarded to Washington by Thomas Keam, and witnessed also by Stephen, and H.R. Voth, with endorsement signatures by, among others, Brig.-Gen. A.D. McCook (Commanding Department of the Colorado, U.S. Army), and other army officers with experience at the Hopi mesas, by anthropologists James Mooney, Frank Hamilton Cushing, John Wesley Powell, and by John K. Hillers (who took the earliest photographs of Orayvi in the 1870's). It seems probable the language of the petition itself was crafted by Stephen. The petition seems to have been effective, since the allotment program was suspended shortly thereafter.

Petition Against Allotment
Keam's Canon, Arizona,
April 5 1894.

1st Lieut. E.H. Plummer U.S. Army,
Agent for Navajos
Fort Defiance, A.T.

Dear Lieut.:

I forward you enclosed a request of the Moqui Indians, signed by all the chiefs and head men of the tribe, one hundred and twenty three (123) asking the Government to give them a title to their land. Attached are petitions in favor of same, signed by General McCook Commanding the Department of the Officers of his Staff, General Barr with Major Powell Director of Geological Survey, and other prominent citizens who have vis-

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ited and are well acquainted with the character of the Moqui Country.

Every family in the tribe is represented on this paper, and each desires me to make an earnest appeal to you on their behalf. Pray you do all in you favor for them on this most important of all their interests.

Surrounded as they are by deserts with only a few springs miles apart, from which they obtain a scant supply of water for themselves and their stock, depending entirely on the limited rainfall for moisture to raise their crops; this question is of vital importance to them, and we hope it will receive a favorable consideration from the Government.

Very Truly Yours
Thomas Keam

Moqui Villages
Arizona
March 1894

To the Washington Chiefs:

During the last two years strangers have looked over our land with spy-glasses and made marks upon it, and we know but little of what this means. As we believe that you have no wish to disturb our possessions, we want to tell you something about this Hopi land.

None of us have ever asked that it should be measured into separate lots and given to individuals for this would cause confusion.

The family, the dwelling house and the field are inseparable, because the woman is the heart of these, and they rest with her. Among us the family traces its kin from the mother, hence all the possessions are hers. The man builds the house but the woman is the owner, because she repairs and preserves it; the man cultivates the field, but he renders its harvests into the woman's keeping, because upon her it rests to prepare the foods, and the surplus of stores for barter depends upon her thrift.

A man plants the fields of his wife, and the fields assigned to the children she bears, and informally he calls them his, although in fact they are not. Even of the field which he inherits from his mother, its harvests he may dispose of at will, but the field itself he may not. He may permit his son to occupy it and gather its produce, but at the father's death the son may not own it, for then it passes to the father's sister's son, or nearest mother's kin, and thus our fields and houses always remain with our mother's family.

According to the numbers of children a woman has, fields for them are signed to her, from some of the lands of her family group, and her husband takes care of them. Hence our fields are numerous but small, and several belonging to the same family may be close together, or they may be miles apart, because localities are not continuous. There are other reasons for the irregularity in size and situation of our family lands, as interrupted sequence of inheritance caused by extinction of families, but chiefly owing to the following condition, and to which we especially invite your attention.

In the Spring and early Summer there usually comes from the Southwest a succession of gales, oftentimes strong enough to blow away the sandy soil from the faces of some of our fields, and to expose the underlying clay, which is hard, and sour, and barren; as the sand is the only fertile land, when it moves, the planters must follow it, and other fields must be provided in place of those which have been devastated. Sometimes generations pass away and these barren spots remain, while in other instances, after a few years, the winds have again restored the desirable land upon them.

In such event its fertility is disclosed by the nature of the grass and shrubs that grow upon it. If these are promising, a number of us unite to clear off the land and make it again fit for planting, when it may be given back to its former owner, or if a long time has elapsed, to other heirs, or it may be given to some person of the same family group, more in need of a planting place.

These limited changes in land holding are effected by mutual discussion and concession among the elders, and among all the thinking men and women of the family groups interested. In effect, the same system of holding, and the same method of planting, obtain among the Tewa and all the Hopi villages, and under them we provide ourselves with food in abundance.

The American is our elder brother, and in

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everything he can teach us, except in the method of growing corn in these waterless sandy villages, and in that we are sure we can teach him. We believe that you have no desire to change our system of small holdings, nor do we think that you wish to remove any of our ancient landmarks, and it seems to us that the conditions we have mentioned afford sufficient grounds for this requesting to be left undisturbed.

Further it has been told to us, as coming from Washington, that neither measuring nor individual papers are necessary for us to keep possession of our villages, our Peach orchards, and our springs. If this be so, we should like to ask what need there is to bring confusion into our accustomed system of holding our own fields.

We are aware that some ten years ago a certain area around our lands was proclaimed to be for our use, but the extent of this area is unknown to us, nor has any Agent ever been able to point it out, for its boundaries have never been measured. We most earnestly desire to have one continuous boundary ring enclosing all the Tewa and all the Hopi lands, and that it shall be large enough to afford sustenance for our increasing flocks and herds. If such a scope can be confirmed to us by a paper from your hands securing us forever against intrusion, all our people will be satisfied. [For Orayvi signatories see chap. 9, table 9.6.]:

. . . .

I certify that I understand the foregoing petition and that I have told its meaning to the people of the Middle Mesa and of Oraibi.—

[Totemic signature] Ma-cai-yám-ti-wa [Badger, Sitsom'ovi]
Sitcomovi
March 28th, 1894
A.M. Stephen, Witness

We, the undersigned, certify that the foregoing totem signatures were made in the presence of one or other of us, during different days, and at different villages, and that before the signatures were made, we caused the contents of the petition to be explained by one of the above interpreters [i.e., Masayamtiwa of Sitsom'ovi for Orayvi]

A.M. Stephen
Thomas V. Keam
H.R. Voth

The next document, the annual report of the Moqui subagency for 1894, shows the general milieu of government involvement in Hopi life. The superintendent of the Keam's Canyon Boarding School was in effect the subagent for Hopi, since the Hopi Agency was, from 1883–1899, included under the Navajo Agency at Fort Defiance, the Agent at this point being Capt. Constant Williams, who rarely visited the Hopi villages.

Report of School at Keams Canyon, Ariz.
Keams Canyon, Ariz., July 31, 1894.

To: The Commissioner of Indian Affairs

Sir:

In compliance with office instructions, I have the honor to submit the annual report of the Moqui industrial school, and the work among the Moqui Indians.

Location.—The Moqui Reservation, which was set apart by Executive order of December 16, 1882, comprises the territory between 35 ½° and 36 ½° north latitude, and 110° and 111° west longitude. The boarding-school is picturesquely situated in a canyon about 10 miles from the eastern boundary and twice as far from the southern boundary of the reservation. It is 75 miles due north of Holbrook, the nearest railroad point, on the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad. There is a semiweekly mail between Holbrook and Keams Canyon, carried by a Navajo Indian on horseback. The altitude of Keams Canyon is about 6,500 feet, and the climate is pleasant and healthful.

The Moqui live in the south-central part of the reservation (the ''ancient province of Tusayan''), in pueblos, on three high mesas on the extremities of tongues of table-land extending from the Navajo plateau into the valley of the Little Colorado.

Farming.—The reservation contains many fine valleys, but from lack of water is essentially a desert. Still, the Moquis cultivate suc-

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cessfully the sandy ''washes'' and adjacent tracts, planting their corn with a stick and cultivating it with a hoe. If the corn can be started and protected from the violent sand storms, the rains of July and August can generally be depended upon to mature the crop. Only the sandy places will produce without irrigation, and the Moqui farmer frequently ''changes his spots'', following the sand as it shifts from place to place. Besides large crops of corn, beans, and melons, they raise onions, peppers, and other vegetables in little terraced gardens, which are irrigated from the largest springs. Many of the springs are alkaline, and the supply of water near the villages is scanty indeed for the people, not to speak of the sheep and burros. The soil is very fertile, and the development of an abundant water supply is one of the most important undertakings that could be attempted here. During the year two good wells have been obtained at the site of the Polacca day school, near the first mesa.

Houses.—For some years $6,000 has been annually appropriated for the support and civilization of the Moquis. Much of this has been expended in building houses in the valleys. For generations the Moquis have occupied their many-storied communal pueblos, on the tops of lofty mesas, to which wood and water has to be carried from long distances. As an inducement to settle nearer their fields and pastures and live in a more healthful and civilized manner, the Indians are given to understand that if they will build with stone walls the Government will put on roofs, lay floors, supply doors and windows, and furnish the houses with the most necessary articles of furniture. About 50 houses have now been finished, 14 having been roofed during the past year. There is lumber on hand sufficient to finish perhaps a dozen more, while from 50 to 75 houses have been started by the Indians, the walls of some having been standing for two years without roofs.

The finished houses have generally been furnished with stoves, beds, dishes, chairs, etc., while tables and cupboards are made for them, and the houses ceiled with duck or sheeting. They are supplied with ticking and assisted in making mattresses from the wool of their flocks. It is the duty of the field matron especially to assist those who are trying to ''walk in the white man's ways'' to make their homes comfortable and attractive, instructing the women in domestic duties and sanitary laws. The Moquis are industrious and self-supporting, and in nearly every house on the mesas can now be seen some evidence of the proximity of civilization in the articles furnished by the Government, by charitable and missionary enterprise, or purchased from the post trader. A number have ponies and wagons, but, while more industrious, they are a long way behind the Navajoes in their ability to earn money by freighting or otherwise.

Mission work.—The Mennonites are represented by Rev. H. R. Voth and wife, who are settled at Oreiba, some 30 miles from Keams Canyon, and the Baptists by Rev. Curtis P. Coe, who is the only white person at the second mesa, nearly 20 miles from Keams Canyon and the same distance from Oreiba. They are well received by the people and their influence is extending even to the ''hostiles''.

Boarding school.—Although the school was slow in filling up, an actual attendance of 90 was reached and maintained for the latter months of the year. This is far beyond the proper capacity of the buildings.

Heretofore compulsory measures had always been resorted to in filling this school, and with this constraining force removed the hostile element asserted itself, not only at Oreiba, but especially at the second mesa. Not only did this faction absolutely refuse to send their own children, but they constantly endeavored to foment discontent among the children at school. Some fifteen of the number enrolled were Navajoes, who voluntarily asked admission to the Keams Canyon school, many of them living more than 100 miles from the Navajo Agency school, at Fort Defiance.

Although there were several changes in teachers, substantial progress was made in the schoolroom work. The pupils were, as formerly, especially encouraged in originality in letter writing and English speaking, in which they undoubtedly excel.

While the expenditures have been far from extravagant, the children have had abundance of suitable food and been very neatly

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and comfortably dressed. They take a proper pride in their personal appearance, and in addition to their uniform suits every girl has her ribbons and white collar, and each boy his light Sunday shirt and silk tie, some of these things being supplied from Christmas boxes from societies and friends in the East.

The children were very well remembered at Christmas with toys and useful articles, and the games they received made ''play night'' a special treat for the remainder of the winter.

All worked industriously, the details rotating monthly. The boys cut and hauled from timber all the wood used in the school, and in addition cut and hauled a distance of 15 miles enough wood to burn the brick for new day-school buildings. They made the adobes and assisted in erecting a two-room building used for sewing room and employés. Before the close of school each large boy was given an opportunity to earn some money by working on the new day-school buildings, a chance which was eagerly embraced by all. In addition to her regular work, each large girl, during hours of recreation, made herself a nice dress to take home with her, while many made shirts for the boys and numerous articles of clothing for their parents or the little ones at home, the material being purchased out of their scanty earnings.

Day schools.—The Oreiba day school, 30 miles from the boarding school, was opened in March 1893, and remained in continuous session until June 30, 1894, with a steady attendance of about 30 pupils. The regularity of attendance and the excellent work on the part of the teachers have been most favorable to advancement. The children are supplied with clothing and a midday lunch.

The Polacca day school, at the first mesa, 12 miles from Keams Canyon, was opened in January by the field matron in the house bought for physician, field matron, and general mechanic. More than 30 were immediately enrolled and the attendance was excellent. In April a suitable house was rented of an Indian, and is being used while buildings are being erected for the use of day school employés. Two good wells were obtained in the valley south of the mesa, within a reasonable distance of the villages, and at the same time accessible to the settlements in the valley.

Nearly 50,000 brick[s] were burned and stone foundations laid for the buildings. The lumber and roofing material were purchased, but as the authority was obtained near the close of the fiscal year, the buildings were necessarily left to be completed by my successor from a new appropriation, though everything possible was done to hasten the work and utilize as far as might be the first appropriation.

New buildings.—The buildings of the Moqui industrial school were not constructed for school purposes and are in no way suitable. While it would probably be difficult to find as poor and worthless buildings elsewhere in the Indian service, I believe that it would also be difficult to find a more deserving and encouraging field for the proper development of schools. The Moqui children are bright, healthy, and attractive, and their progress, in spite of great disadvantages, is remarkable. Their isolated position and limited contact with the dominant race more than account for their opposition to innovations. The wonder is that they favor schools and civilized ways as much as they do. By perseverance and kindness the race antipathies will slowly be conquered and the tribe educated to take its place with other American citizens; but if all the children could now be given the education they need and can rightfully claim, which they are losing on account of the ignorant opposition of their parents, at least a generation would be saved in the education and Christianization of the Moquis.

Very respectfully submitted.
C. W. Goodman
Superintendent

Despite J.S. Mayhugh's allotments to Hopis at Mùnqapi in 1892, problems over lands there persisted. In late 1894, this involved a factional conflict, as well as Hopi opposition to Mormon encroachment. The conflict led to Agent Williams coming from Fort Defiance with troops, and sending nineteen Hostiles (including two Mùnqapi allottees, Aqawsi and Nasingayniwa) for incarceration at Alcatraz. Williams' account (on November 15, 1894) of

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discussions with Loololma, Heevi'yma, and Lomahongiwma may be the earliest record of a desire by one faction to drive the other out of Orayvi altogether.

Keam's Canon, Ariz.
Oct. 10 [189]4

Lieut. E.H. Plummer,
Ft. Defiance Ariz.,

Dear Sir,

Ololomi [Loololma] was here and tells me that Hay be ma [Heevi'yma] took 50 men over to Moen Copie and took all the land at Moen Copie and sowed it in wheat. This is the first act of hostility.

Maybecue [Ashton Nebeker] a [M]ormon and Akowshe [Aqawsi] a Navajo [a Hopi man of Navajo descent] stole one man's corn and afterward came and cut the fodder and told Ololomi to get out.

Yours very respectfully
Samuel D. Hertzog [Superintendent, Keam's Canyon School]

United States Indian Service,
Navajo Agency,
Fort Defiance, Arizona,
November 15, 1894.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.,

Sir:

I have the honor to report that I arrived at this Agency on the evening of October 29th, and being informed by Lieut. Plummer that it would be two weeks before he could be ready with his papers for transfer, I decided to leave the Agency in his immediate charge and proceed to the Moqui reservation where trouble was reported at Oraibi. I returned yesterday evening and this morning assumed charge of the agency.

On my arrival at Oraibi on the evening of the 5th instant I called together the headmen of the Oraibis and told them to be prepared to meet me on the following morning with full and careful statements of the differences between them. As you are doubtless aware, the Oraibis are divided into two factions; one, under the leadership of Lo-lu-lo-mai, in favor of civilization and progress, and the other, under Lo-ma-hung-yo-ma (with He-bi-ma as his principal adviser), opposed to education and the adoption of white men's ways. In the popular language, Lo-lu-lo-mai and his following, numbering about one-third of the village, are called Friendlies, and the other faction Hostiles, and I shall use these designations in this report.

On the morning of the 6th instant in the presence of the entire population of the village I called upon Lo-lu-lo-mai to make his statement which was in substance as follows: He and his people perceiving the advantages to be derived from education and the adoption of Washington ways (i.e civilized habits) had sent their children to school: that the Hostiles, finding persuasion useless to make them give up this course, had first threatened them with deprivation of their fields and expulsion from their country into Mexico, and finally, that the Hostiles had now sent a party of fifty men over to Moen-copie had seized the fields of the Friendlies there and had planted them with wheat: that the Friendlies, being out-numbered could do no more than protest and report to the Agent: that they were sincerely desirous of walking in the Washington way: and that they wished for soldiers to settle the difficulty.

Lo-ma-hung-yo-ma and He-bi-ma replied for the Hostiles and fully and freely admitted the truth of Lo-lu-lo-mai's statements. They said for themselves that they do not want to follow the Washington path: that they do not want their children to go to school: that they do not want to wear white man's clothes: that they do not want to eat white man's food: that they do want the white man to let them alone and to allow them to follow the Oraibi path; and they bitterly denounced the Friendlies for departing from the Oraibi path. They said that they had taken the Moen-copie fields because they had anciently belonged to them, although they admitted that the Friendlies had had peaceful possession of them for many years; they added that in the spring they intended to take away the fields now cultivated by the Friendlies around the mesa of Oraibi. And they concluded by saying that they also wished to have troops come. I asked them if they could not adjust their dif-

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ferences in a peaceable talk and they replied ‘‘no; that this trouble can never be settled until the soldiers come’’.

I then told the Hostiles that they had been forbidden by Lieut. Plummer to disturb the Friendlies in the quiet possession of their fields: that since they had disobeyed him and planted grain in fields which do not belong to them they must not expect to harvest the crop; that the right of doing so was vested in the Friendlies: that they must not attempt to take away from the Friendlies their fields around Oraibi; and that their desire for the presence of troops would be gratified. I then broke up the council, it having lasted four hours.

On the following day I started for Moencopie, arriving on the evening of the 8th instant, and spent a day there: I found that the fields were made into beds and planted with wheat as stated. I also investigated other matters which will be treated of in a report to be made later.

Feeling assured that the Department will concur with me in the opinion that the Friendlies ought to be protected in their rights and encouraged to continue in the Washington way, and being convinced that this can only be done by a display of force and the arrest of the principal men engaged in the disorders mentioned, I telegraphed this morning to the Commanding General of the Department of the Colorado asking him to send me two companies of troops with Hotchkiss guns; at the same time I telegraphed you advising you of my action. I do not anticipate any resistance on the part of the Hostiles, the force asked for being amply sufficient to overawe them. I shall ask the military authorities to take charge of such persons as I may arrest, pending your decision as to the ultimate disposition to be made of them.

I shall keep you advised, by telegraph when of importance and that method of communication is practicable, of events as they occur.

Trusting that my action meets with your approval and assuring you that I shall proceed with a cautious regard for the public interest, I have the honor to be

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
Constant Williams,
Capt. 7th Infy.,
Acting Agent.

United States Indian Service,
Navajo Agency.
Fort Defiance, Arizona,
November 29, 1894

Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.,

Sir:

I have the honor to report that in compliance with my request to the Commanding General of the repartment [Department] of the Colorado Captain Frank U. Robinson, 2d Cavalry, reported to me on the 18th instant with two troops of his regiment and one Hotchkiss gun, to assist me in restoring order among the Moqui Indians at Oraibi. I reached Oraibi on the 25th instant shortly after noon and after a rest of about an hour ascended the mesa in rear of the pueblo, where the troops were drawn up in line. The entire population was directed to assemble on that side and I delivered a brief address to them, commending the Friendlies for the disposition they had shown to abandon the habits of savage life and particularly for sending their children to school. I then recited the acts committed by the Hostiles, as well as their threats, to deter the Friendlies from their laudable course, adding that the authorities were going to punish the ringleaders. I then arrested and placed under guard eighteen men whose names had been given to me as being the most prominent in the acts complained of: two men whose names were on the list could not be found, but I succeeded in arresting one of them on the night of the following day. All these prisoners are now in the hands of the military on their way to Fort Wingate, to await your orders for their final disposition. A list of them is herewith inclosed.

I respectfully recommend that Hebima, Yukioma and Patopa [Patupha] be separated, as soon as practicable, from the rest and sent to some remote place where they may have

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no opportunity to communicate with their people and there kept until the Oraibis shall have shown in an unmistakable manner that they are truly desirous of taking advantage of the benefits of education and progress so freely offered them by the government. These men are obstinate in their adherence to their old savage ways; their influence, which is very great, has always been, and always will be, exerted against the enlightenment of the Moquis, and for that reason I regard it as of the utmost importance that the course indicated be followed. With respect to the others, I recommend that they be sent for a limited period to some place where they may be offorded [afforded] an opportunity of seeing the practical working of civilization; and that after they shall have learned their lesson they be returned to ther [their] home. Lomahunga [Lomahongiwma] is not a bad man, he is only ignorant; and I think that he will, in time, become a leader in the right way and earnestly work for the true interest of his people. He is an hereditary chief and if he can be brought over the result will be good.

I am, very respectfully

Your obedient servant,
Constant Williams
Captain 7th Infantry,
Acting Agent.

Navajo Agency
Fort Defiance, A.T.,
November 29, 1894.

List of Moqui Indians arrested at Oraibi November 25 and 26, 1894, for seditious conduct [see also see chap. 9, table 9.5].

Lo-má-hung-yo-ma, chief. [Lomahongiwma, Spider]
He-bí-ma, crier. [Heevi'yma, Kookop]
Si-ká-heṕ-ti-wa. [Sikyaheptiwa, Piikyas/Patki]
Ma-sá-ti-wa. [Masaatiwa, Lizard]
Lo-má-yash́-ti-wa. [Lomayestiwa, Spider]
Ta-lang-aí-ni-wa. [Talangayniwa, Kookop]
Po-linǵ-ya-ó-ma. [Polingyawma, Parrot/Raven]
Piép-hung-wa. [Piphongva, Badger]
Köch-ya-ó-ma. [Qötsyawma, Desert Fox]
Ta-laś-ya-ó-ma. [Talasyawma, Badger]
Na-sinǵ-aí-ni-wa. [Nasingayniwa, Eagle]
Yu-kí-o-ma. [Yukiwma, Kookop]
Pa-tó-pa, medicine-man. [Patupha, Kookop]
Lo-má-ya-ó-ma. [Lomayawma, Coyote]
Ta-wá-letś-ti-wa. [Tawaletstiwa, Badger]
A-kaú-ush-I. [Aqawsi, Eagle]
Tu-be-woh́-yo-ma. [Tuvewuhiwma, Spider]
Kú-i-wu-shi.[Qöywisa, Kookop]
Köch́-i-ven-ti-wa. [Qötsventiwa, Bow]

Constant Williams,
Captain 7th Infantry,
Acting Indian Agent.

Keam's Canon, Arizona,
Dec. 3rd 1894

To: Commissioner of Indian Affairs

My dear General,

The day after my arrival here, Capt Williams Actg Agent, with two troops of Cavalry reached the Cañon en route to Orabi, for the purpose of arresting the leaders of the hostile faction, who had taken forcible possession of the farms of the other Orabis at Moen Kopi.

I accompanied the troops and after some work but no fighting, they succeeded in arresting nineteen (19) of the bad elements that have been leaders in every measure of hostility toward the Agents of the Government on such reforms as they may advocate. It's to be hoped this batch will be deported, and as they are handy with the hoe, good use could be made of them in that line of work. I believe if they are kept away for two years, the lesson will be a good one to them, and the bad effects of their influence with the Orabi, will have dissappeared. Placed where they are surrounded by civilization, the object lesson alone will teach them to be better men and have due respect for Agents of the Government. . . .

With sincere regards,
Very truly yours,
Thomas V. Keam

HP009970

Fort Wingate, N. M.,
December 8, 1894

To the
Post Adjutant,
Fort Wingate, N. M.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that, in obedience to Orders No. 129, c. s., Fort Wingate, N. M., I left this post November 17th 1894, with my command (Troops G and H, 2nd Cavalry) and reached Keam's Canon, Arizona, November 21st. I was joined en route by Captain Williams, 7th Infantry, Agent for the Navajo and Moqui Indians. Having gained all necessary information in regard to the condition of affairs at Oraibi, and being prepared for an emergency, I left the Canon November 24th and reached the base of Oraibi cliffs November 25th at 1 o'clock, p.m. Here I was rejoined by Captain Williams and Mr. Thomas Keam, trader in Keam's Canon, who knew all the hostiles and Tom Po-la-ki, Moqui, who talks some English, and knew all the men we wished to arrest; also a large number of Navajos gathered here to see the expected fight which they seemed to think would surely come off. As soon as camp was pitched and all the horses watered, I saddled and, leaving the camp under charge of Lieutenant Sawtelle and 6 men, I moved to the mesa in rear of the Oraibi village (of course using due care in gaining this position) and formed line, Troop H on the right and G on the left, and Hotchkiss guns in center. Cryers [criers] were then sent into the village, and all the Indians it contained were soon congregated between the troops and village. Captain Williams then made them a speech, and having a list of all the hostiles he wished to arrest, called their names, and my guard arrested them without any trouble, being pointed out to me by Mr. Keam and others.

I arrested 18 and marched them with my command to the camp, placing them under strong guard into a Sibley tent. During the evening, Lo-lo-lo-me, a friendly chief, brought word to Captain Williams that the two hostiles whose names were called and that could not be found at the time of arrest, were in the village. At the request of Captain Williams, I sent Sergeant Henser, Troop G, and 6 men to the village, effecting the arrest of one Indian, and not finding the other, making a total of 19 prisoners. It was deemed advisable by Captain Williams and myself to remain at this camp one day to observe what effect the arrest would have on those remaining and to afford any protection that might prove necessary.

Everything remained extremely quiet and peaceable, and Oraiba was evidently left in a more harmonious and peaceable state than it had been for some time. I left Oraiba November 27th, reaching Keam's Canon same day, remaining thereat one day; left Keam's Canon November 29th, arriving at Fort Wingate December 3rd 1894, transferring the prisoners to the post guard house.

I inclose list of names of prisoners with correct spelling and pronunciation as given me by Captain Williams.

In this connection I would state that no command could have behaved better than this during the entire duty, more especially at the Oraiba village, where a fight was expected. Too much in praise of both officers and men cannot be said.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
F.V. Robinson,
Captain 2nd Cavalry
Cmdg. the Squadron

1st Indorsement.
Fort Wingate, New Mexico
December 10, 1894.

Respectfully forwarded to the Assistant Adjutant General Department of the Colorado.

G. G. Huntt,
Colonel 2nd Cavalry,
Commanding.

Names of Oraiba (Ariz.) Prisoners Taken November 25, 1894.

[NB: These are included, since they provide slightly different information to the list enclosed by Williams on 11-29-1894, above, but I have not re-inserted identifications in current orthography]

1. Loma-hung-yoma, (chief)
2. Hab-ema, (sub-chief)

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3. Seka-hep-tewa,
4. Massa-tewa,
5. Lomayash-tewa,
6. Talang-ai-newa,
7. Po-leng-yaoma,
8. Pep-hung-wa,
9. Koch-yaoma,
10. Ta-lass-yaoma,
11. Masseng-ai-newa,
12. Yuke-oma,
13. Pa-top-ha,
14. Loma-yaoma,
15. Tawa-lets-tewa,
16. Akaw-ushe, (Navajo, married Moqui squaw)
17. Tobawah-yoma,
18. Kui-wu-she,
19. Koetch-wen-tewa. (The man who escaped from Colonel Corbin, 3 years ago by jumping over the cliff at Oreiba.)

Headquarters Department of the Colorado.
Denver, Colo., December 14th, 1894

Official copies respectfully furnished the Adjutant General of the Army, for the information of the Major General Commanding.

A. D. McCook,
Major General Commanding.

Keams Cañon, Ariz.
July 8, [189]5

Colonel Francis L. Guenther
Commanding Officer, Alcatrez Island
San Francisco Harbor. Cal.

Dear Sir.

I enclose herewith a short letter to Lo-ma-hung-yoma, the Oraibe chief, who, with the other Oraibe prisoners, is now, I believe in your charge. I would kindly ask you to have the letter interpreted to him which, I think, can be done through the Spanish language, some of the Oraibes having, I think, some knowledge of Spanish.

I had not been with the Mokis very long before that arrest took place but had already succeeded to a considerable degree, in winning the confidence of the so called ''hostile'' Oraibes and having to act at various times as interpreter for Capt. C. Williams and being the only White Man here at Oraibe that was somewhat fully acquainted with the troubles among the Oraibes I became quite deeply interested in their case. In a lengthy, earnest talk that Capt. Williams permitted me to have with Loma hung yoma alone after the arrest had been made, strengthened my hope that Lomahungyoma might some day become a valuable leader of his people in the right direction. This same view I believe is expressed by Capt. Williams in his official report.

Will you have the kindness to let me know by a few lines how the prisoners, and especially Lomahungyoma are doing? Are they all living yet? Should any of them have died would you have the kindness to let me know who they are?

Have those prisoners ever been photographed there in a group? If so I would be greatly obliged to you if you would let me know where a photograph of them could be obtained.

Hoping that you may find it convenient sometime to send me a short reply,

I am yours, respectfully
H. R. Voth
Missionary.

Ref: Lieut. A. L. Brainard
Ft. Wingate, N. Mex.
who kindly referred me to you, saying,
he was sure you would see that a letter
to those Mokis, in your charge, would be
read to them.

Oraibe, Ariz. July 8/95

My friend Loma-hung-yoma.

I think you will be glad to hear something from Oraibe once.—Your wife [Qötsyamqa, Desert Fox] and children are all well yet, I think. I send you herewith your wife's picture. You see she is carrying some ''piki''. The Oraibes are now done planting their corn. Some corn is quite large already. Last winter we had much snow and rain here. Now it has rained only once, a little but we think the Oraibes will get a good deal of

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corn, water melons, and other things that they have planted.

Some of your friends are visiting me quite often. Some get medicines from me when they are sick. Kash-yāshewa [Kyaryesva, Patki] got some medicine for his eyes a few days ago.—So you see your friends begin to understand more and more that we love them and that we want to be good to them. I hope you learn a good deal about the American ways. You must always have your eyes open to see and understand the good things that the American people have. And when you think the American way is good, and Washington sends you home again you can teach your people some good things.

I would be glad if you would write me a letter some time. I think if you can ask one of your white friends there he will write the letter for you and send it to me. Write me whether you are all well yet how you are getting along and what you are working all the time. Remember the good long talk I gave you when we two were sitting in the officer's tent the day before you left.

I think of you and all your friends there very often, and I send my greeting (love) to you all. You must be good and obedient to your white friends and the officers there. I pray to God that he may give you good hearts.

Your friend,
H. R. Voth.
(Missionary.)

Alcatraz Island, California.
July 28th 1895.

Rev. H. R. Voth
Keam's Cañon Arizona.

My Dear Sir:

Your letter of July 8th was duly received and should have received an earlier answer but until now I have not been able to have your letter to Lomahungyoma interpreted or to explain to him its contents. I have just found a young soldier in the Command who can communicate with them fairly well, through what he states in his slight knowledge of the language of the White Mountain Apache tribe. The photograph you sent was given to the chief and your letter interpreted to him by the soldier, who says he was made to fully understand everything you wrote. His answer, written by the soldier interpreter is sent to you in the same mail with this letter with some photographs of the Indians taken as a group. The two photographs fastened together are sent by ''Lomahungyoma'' to his wife. One was taken at the post near the light-house on the island, the other in the private grounds of Mr. Adolph Sutro, Mayor of San Francisco, who had entertained the Indians by a visit to the city buildings, the Golden Gate Park the Sutro Baths etc. Will you please see that the pictures are given to the wife of the chief as he wishes. The other photograph is for yourself. No other pictures have been taken. If any others are taken before they leave here, I will try to send copies to you.

The Indians are all doing very well. There has been but little sickness among them and I think they are all in better condition, physically, than when they came here. They have been well fed and clothed, take their baths regularly and are clean and apparently pretty well contented though I suppose, of course, they are anxious to return to their families and their little possessions. They do the work required of them willingly. It has not been very much, only about enough for good healthy exercise, but they have done everything very well, have given no trouble whatever, and have all behaved in the best possible manner. It is unfortunate that the Indian Bureau could not furnish an interpreter as requested by me, as much better results could have been obtained had there been any way of explaining to these Indians the things that were brought to their attention. I should have been glad to have taken them to the city oftener, to the public schools, &c, but could not see that it would be of any advantage unless there was some one with them who could talk to them and explain what they saw or heard.

I am in the hopes that it will not be very long before they are returned to their homes. I believe the matter is now under consideration at Washington. At any rate when they are sent back I hope to return them in good condition and with no great regrets for their long stay at Alcatraz. They have probably

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been as well off here as they would have been anywhere, away from their homes and families—

I should be glad to hear that you received the photographs safely. I am, with regards,

Very Truly Yours
F. L. Guenther. Lieut. Col. 5th Inty.

Washington, D.C., July 31, 1895

The Honorable
The Secretary of the Interior.

Sir:

I am in receipt, by Department reference for report, of a communication dated July 23, 1895, from the Honorable Secretary of War, transmitting therewith copies of correspondence relative to certain Moqui Indian prisoners in confinement at Alcatraz Island California, with request for the views and recommendations of this Department regarding the advisability of now returning these Indians to their reservation.

The Commandant of the Post at said Island on date of July 7th, reports that these Indians were received at that Post January 3, 1895, and have been kept in confinement at hard labor since that date; that during the entire time they have been required to perform such labor as is suited to their capacity, such as sawing wood, handling the coal supplies of the Post, policing the prison buildings, roadways, &c; that all of their work has been done willingly and without objection; that they have been well behaved and without exception have been well disposed to comply with all orders concerning them; that they are quiet in their manners and do not seem inclined to give any trouble; and that they are in good condition physically, although several of them are quite old and feeble.

He adds further that as regards the facts of the disciplinary measures upon the future conduct of these prisoners after their return to their tribe, he is not able to make any report; that as they have but little knowledge of any language except their own, the service of an interpreter not being available, he has been unable to have but little communication with them; that he does not know what promises they are willing to make in regard to their future conduct, or what reliance might be placed upon their promises, if made. He states that they are anxious to return to their families, and believe that they will comply with orders given to them rather than undergo another separation.

In connection with this subject it is thought proper to give a brief history of the causes which led to the arrest and imprisonment of the Indians referred to. Certain friendly Indians were occupying and using lands near Tuba City, and in the vicinity thereof, they desired to have the same allotted to them as homes for themselves and families. A Special Allotting Agent was sent among them for the purpose of assisting them in making applications for the lands desired as homes under the 4th section of the general allotment act as amended by act of February 28, 1891. Applications for these lands were made and are before the Office and the Department for consideration.

About fifty Indians, principally Moquis, went upon the lands in question, took possession of them, and sowed the same with wheat and declared their intention to return and reap the harvest at the proper time. They committed depredations upon a certain individual's corn field, and notified some of these allottees that they must leave their homes and exhibited other acts of hostility towards the friendly Indians.

Under date of October 23, 1894, I recommended to you that the War Department be requested to lay these troubles before General McCook, and leave it to his discretion as to whether or not a sufficient force of troops should be sent to the scene of the trouble to overawe the hostile Indians.

On December 11, 1894, I reported to the Department that I was then in receipt of a letter dated November 29, 1894, from Capt. Williams, U.S.A., Acting Indian Agent Navajo Agency, in which he stated that Capt. Frank U. Robinson of the 2d Cavalry, U.S.A., reported to him on the 18th of November, 1894, with two troops of his regiment to assist him in restoring order among the Moquis at Oreiba; that he reached the said place on the 25th of that month where, in the presence of the troops he delivered a brief address to the entire Indian population

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assembled there commending the friendly Indians for the disposition they had shown to abandon the habits of a savage life, sending their children to school, &c. that he then recited the acts committed by the hostile Indians as well as other efforts to deter the friendlies from their laudable course; that he then and there arrested and placed under guard nineteen Moqui Indians and notified them that the authorities would punish them for their depredations, hostile acts towards the government, and their refusal to comply with its rules and regulations.

I recommended in the communication last referred to that the Secretary of War be requested to designate some military post and give the necessary instructions to the proper military officers thereof, to hold those Indians prisoners in confinement at hard labor until such time as in the opinion of the said military authorities who might be in charge of them, they should show beyond a doubt, that they fully realized the error of their evil ways and evinced in an unmistakable manner their determination to cease interference with the plans of the government in the civilization and education of its Indian wards and would make proper promises of good behavior in the future.

I am still of the opinion that the matter of returning these Indians to their reservation should be left to the wisdom of the officer commanding the Post. I think, however, that they should not be returned to their reservation unless they promise good behavior thereafter and a compliance with the rules and regulations of the Department in regard to the Indians and their conduct.

I return herewith the papers in the case and enclose copy of this report.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
D.M. Browning
Commissioner

Navajo Agency,
Fort Defiance, Ariz., August 29, 1895.

Sir: I have the honor to submit the following annual report of this agency:

. . . .

Moqui Indians

These Indians have been taught by experience to store up corn in good years, so that they suffered comparatively little for want of food last winter. Their crops will be large this year.

The school at Keams Canyon is well attended, as are also the day schools at the first and third mesas. There is no school as yet at the second mesa, but I hope to start one soon.

The mission at the second mesa has been abandoned, but the Mennonite mission at the third mesa (Oreiba) is still maintained under the direction of the excellent missionary, Rev. Mr. H. R. Voth, who is earnest and untiring in his work.

In the pueblo of Oreiba there are two factions, called by the whites the ‘‘friendlies’’ and the ‘‘hostiles’’, in about the proportion of 1 to 2. The friendlies send their children to school, and are willing to adopt civilized ways; the hostiles, under the bad influence of the shamans, believe that the abandonment of the old ways will be followed by drought and famine, to avert which they wish to drive the friendlies out. Last fall they took away the fields at Moenkopi from the friendlies, and threatened to do the same thing at Oreiba in the spring. They said they would resort to arms if necessary, and I was obliged to call for troops to assist in arresting the ringleaders. Nineteen men were arrested and turned over to the military, by whom they are now held in confinement at Alcatraz Island, in San Francisco Harbor. This action settled the question, at least for the present.

No allotments on this reservation have been confirmed, and it is not advisable to confirm any, for reasons already laid before the Department. Some allotments have been made at Moenkopi, off the reservation, of lands which have been tilled by the Indians for many years. These allotments should be confirmed without any further delay, to settle false claims of white men. It is my firm belief that there will be a conflict of arms at this

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place next spring unless this long-pending land question is settled. The delay is not the fault of anyone in the Indian service, and if there should be trouble the responsibility will properly be laid at the door of the Land Office.

I am very respectfully, your obedient servant,
Constant Williams,
Captain, Seventh Infantry, Acting Agent.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Keams Cañon, Ariz. Sept. 2, 1895

My friend Lomahungyoma.

Your wife and your friends were very glad to get your letters and those two pictures. I called your friends here to my house and read your letter to them. They were glad that you are getting along so well, that you are all living yet, that you have such good clothes on and have good things to eat there. That big picture I put in a frame and then I put both pictures into your house and hung them up on the wall. Your wife and children and your friends were very glad to see them and a great many came and looked at them.

Now I want to tell you something about the families of all of you that are there.—

1. Talassyaomas [Talasyawma] children are all well, but his wife is now living with another man, Kewanbentewa [Kuwanventiwa, Maasaw], which I think, is bad and for which I am sorry.
2. Tawaletztewas [Tawaletstiwa] children are all well but his two uncles, Kwachakwa [Kwaatsakwa, Badger] and Tawahoyoma [Tawahoyiwma, Badger] died some time ago.
3. Tobâwoh'yomas [Tuvewuhiwma] family all well.
4. Patophas [Patupha] children are well but his brother Shimo died.
5. Nasinainiwas [Nasingayniwa] family all well.
6. Massatewas [Masaatiwa] family all well.
7. Polengyaomas [Polingyawma] wife [probably Sikyangöynöm, Eagle] had a child since he left but the little child died.
8. Pephungwas [Piphongva] family all well. His father, Wickwaya [Kuwanwikvaya] is still carrying our mail.
9. Hâbemas [Heevi'yma] family well only his brother-in-law Tanakwaima [Tangaqwa'yma, Badger, Kwan chief, H of Qöyahongsi, Kookop] died.
10. Lomayaomas [Lomayawma] family all well.
11. Kuiwushes [Qöywisa] family all well.
12. Sekaheptewas [Sikyaheptiwa] friends are all well.
13. Talangeines [Talangayniwa] friends are all well.
14. Kotchyaomas [Qötsyawma] wife [Nuvayesnöm, Sand] and children well.
15. Yukeomas friends and children all well.
16. Akaushes [Aqawsi] wife [Talashaynöm] and children all well.
17. Kotchwentewas [Qötsventiwa] wife [Siyawnöm, Coyote] had a child after he left but it died.
18. Lomahungyomas wife [Qötsyamqa] and children well.
19. Lomayeshtewas [Lomayestiwa] children are all well.

You must write me again sometime. I will tell your letters to your friends. They visit me very often now.

There is not much rain this summer and the watermelons will not grow very big. But there are a good many peaches. Your wife said she would have a good many and she would keep some for you. Today the Massau-Katsinas are coming to Oraibe.

I must close now. Give my love to all the Indians and tell them they must be good. I am their friend.—

With best regards,
Yours
H. R. Voth.

HP009976

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington
September 14, 1895

The Secretary of the Interior.

Sir:

I have the honor to submit herewith the Sixty-fourth Annual Report upon Indian Affairs. . . .

Arrest and Imprisonment of Moquis.

[reiterates information from Browning to Secretary of Interior, 7-31-1895—see above]

August 7, 1895, the War Department directed the commanding general, Department of California, to return these Indian prisoners to their reservation, and to exact from each one of them a promise of good behavior hereafter and a compliance with the rules and regulations of the Interior Department. This promise was put in writing and fully explained to them before their departure, and was thereafter transmitted to the acting Indian agent of the Navajo Agency with request to have the interpreter again explain to them what they had promised. It is to be hoped that the disciplinary measures adopted with respect to these Indian prisoners will result in good to them and their tribe.

It is interesting to note that during the entire time these Indians were confined in prison all labor assigned them was done willingly and without objection; that they were quiet in their manners, well behaved, did not seem inclined to give any trouble, and, without exception, were disposed to comply with all orders given them; also they were in good condition physically. This course led to their earlier return to their reservation than would otherwise have been the case. . . .

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
D. M. Browning,
Commissioner.

Navajo Agency
Fort Defiance, Arizona,
September 29, 1895

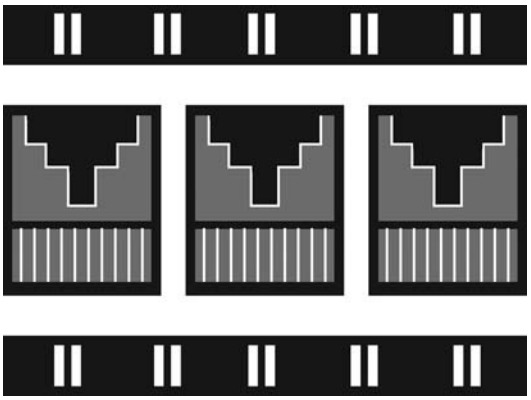
Ralph P. Collins, Esq.,
Superintendent U.S. Indian School,
Keam's Canon, Arizona,

Sir:

I inclose a copy of an engagement made by the Moqui Indians recently held in confinement by the military authorities, upon which they have been this day released. Of the nineteen arrested, I have retained four who are not to be released until it is apparent that the troubles at Oraibi are at an end [the four were probably Lomahongiwma, Patupha, Heevi'yma and Yukiwma]. Please keep me informed of the condition of affairs there. I have told Lomahungyoma that hereafter but one chief would be recognized at Oraibi, to wit, Lololomai.

I send Coenwinktawa [Humiventiwa, Greasewood] back, and will tell him to turn over the pony to Tabo [Sakwwaytiwa #2, Bear], who is to go back to Haskell Institute. Please send for Tabo and his father [Talaskwaptiwa, Sun], and get the consent of the latter to his son going away, informing me of his action; if it be all right let the boy come here to start with the rest.

Very respectfully,
Constant Williams
Captain 7th Infantry,
Acting Agent.



HP009977

Navajo Agency
Fort Defiance, Arizona
October 7, 1895

Ralph P. Collins, Esq.,
Superintendent U.S. Indian School,
Keams's Canon, Arizona.

Dear Sir:

I have just received your letter of the 4th instant with reference to the Moqui Indians recently released from confinement, and in reply I have to say that I informed them that they would not be compelled to send their own children to school. But that I hoped they would soon see the advantages to be gained by doing so and send them of their free will. It is my intention to show such a marked preference for the friendly element in the future that the unfriendly Oraibis will be impressed by it, and probably come to the conclusion that their interests will be advanced by following the Washington Way, to use their own expression. I sent over to Mr. Hertzog two patterns of family grist-mills some time ago for issue to women who had girls in school, and when I get your report as to the pattern which is the most satisfactory I will get enough of that kind to supply all the Moqui women who send children to school; if you know of any other pattern which would be more acceptable than either of those sent, I will get more of that kind. There are doubtless other ways of showing that the Friendlies are alone to be favored which will suggest themselves to you, and we will adopt them to the end that the lesson may not be lost. In other words, I want to exhaust every possible means before considering compulsion, it being of the utmost importance that they be induced to adopt our ways voluntarily. If they will not do so without compulsion, I will then report the matter to the Indian Office for instructions.

With regard to the promise they gave, I have to say that it was carefully explained to them all in a body at first, and then each one was called, in turn, into my office where it was again carefully explained to him and he was required, four times, to repeat his promise and to sign his name at each repetition; there was no chance of a misunderstanding. They have promised, and they must keep that promise; do not let them forget that I have four hostages here in pledge. If they have induced children, by word or deed, to remain away from school, or to leave it, they have violated their obligations, and punishment shall follow.

It has been intimated to me that Mr. Voth has been encouraging the unfriendly element, but I have a very high regard for him and cannot believe this without positive evidence. If you find, however, that his influence is not exerted for the carrying out of the wishes of the government please inform me without delay, as it is his positive duty to assist the authorities as long as he occupies his position, and he cannot be permitted to remain if he does not do so. . . .

Very Respectfully,
Constant Williams
Captain 7th Infantry
Acting Agent

HP009978

CHAPTER 19

LAND, EDUCATION, MISSIONARIES, AND AGENTS (1893–SUMMER 1906)

This chapter reproduces documents over the ten years just prior to the Orayvi split. The documents are somewhat scattered in time, but the chronological range entails this chapter being the longest grouping by far. The documentary record up from 1896–1900 is less comprehensive than for 1891–1895. Hopi continued to be a subagency under the Navajo Agent at Fort Defiance. Ralph P. Collins, Superintendent of the Keam's Canyon School, remained the government's principal representative on the ground. But Thomas Keam, the trader, who had led the party of Hopi leaders to Washington in 1890, remained influential, notably with Captain Williams, the Acting Agent for Navajos and Hopis, at Fort Defiance. In this frontier outpost, personal rivalry and conflict seems to have been a constant theme. In 1897, Williams and Keam sought to get rid of Collins, just as a few years later, Charles Burton, Superintendent of the Keam's Canyon School and the first Hopi Agent since 1883, would successfully seek to get rid of Keam. But there were many other personal animosities among institutional personnel too. Missionary H.R. Voth appears to have been constantly at odds with one or another of his acquaintance, both white and Hopi, fast friends at one moment (for example, with the lay Mennonite government employee Peter Staufer), and rancorous antagonists the next. In the absence of many salient government letters during the period 1896–1899, Voth's diary, up to September 1898 (at which point he removed to Kansas until early 1901) becomes particularly significant. For documentary continuity, I have chosen to keep excerpts from Martha and Heinrich Voth's diaries in an uninterrupted sequence in this chapter, even though they span the period 1893–1903, thus overlapping Chapter 18.

The Voth diary excerpts are placed after the first four letters in this chapter (all by Collins to the Commissioner) from April 1896 to January 1897. In April 1896, responding to a land dispute that came to a head in February (probably during Powamuy, thus similar in time to the major dispute in 1905; see below and chap. 4), Capt. Williams came to Orayvi and tried to install a new system of governance, asking for each faction to select their own leaders, and seeking to depose Loololma. As well as letters by Collins, H.R. Voth's diary gives a good account of this. It is clear that while Lomahongiwma remained the Hostiles' principal alternative to Loololma, Yukiwma and Nakwave'yma (Eagle) were beginning to play increasingly significant roles even at this juncture, a decade before the split. Another significant event was the subject of some government attention in October 1896 and thereafter. Tawaletstiwa (Badger), who was Lakon society chief and son of Lomanakwsu (Parrot), Loololma's godfather, had been one of those incarcerated at Alcatraz. In 1896, compulsory school attendance for Hopi children was again announced as official policy (ARCIA, 1896: 113). Even though, upon their return from Alcatraz, the Hostiles had signed an agreement not to resist government policies (see, e.g., Williams to Collins, 10-7-1895, above), they continued to refuse to allow their children to attend school. Tawaletstiwa had two young children with his wife Talanömqa (Desert Fox). Whether or not the school was a primary cause, it seems the break between his family and Loololma's was severe: he proceeded to attack Loololma with an axe.

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The attack failed, and in the aftermath, Tawaletstiwa, who was epileptic, seems to have become ostracized; Voth attempted to care for him at the mission, but Tawaletstiwa soon died. At the same time, Williams and Keam used this incident as one pretext in seeking to oust Collins from his position (he was transferred in 1897).

In winter 1898–1899, a severe smallpox epidemic broke out at First and Second Mesa (more than half the population was infected), resulting in the deaths of 15–20 percent at those villages (Whiteley, 1988a: 90). A *cordon sanitaire* was set up between Second and Third Mesas, and there was evidently no outbreak at Orayvi. But the aftermath affected Orayvi directly, with enforced house fumigation and vaccination—a pattern that was repeated in the coming years. Opposition to this at Second Mesa lead to the imprisonment at Fort Defiance for five months of leading Hostiles there (Whiteley, 1988a: 90–91). This same group led the relocation of Hostiles from Supawlavi and Musangnuvi to Songòopavi at some point after 1899.

The arrival of Charles Burton to take over the newly re-opened Hopi Agency escalated the conflict between the government and the Hostiles at Orayvi. As I have outlined (Whiteley, 1988a: 91–97), Burton—who also appears to have swung continually from good relations to bad with other Agency employees, the missionaries, traders, and other whites (notably, ethnologists) having any contact with the Agency—zealously sought to compel school attendance, by the use of force. Charles Lummis' campaign against him from California, that included sending associates to Orayvi (like Gertrude Lewis Gates and Belle Axtell Kolp), effectively publicized the scandalous conditions (Lummis, 1968), and thanks to Lummis' personal influence with Theodore Roosevelt, resulted in Burton's transfer in 1904. His successor, Theodore Lemmon, was certainly less of a zealot, but his competence as Agent came seriously into question. As noted in Chapter 4, Lemmon sought to adjudicate a land dispute in 1905, and claimed to have demoted Lomahongiwma from his leadership position in the Hostile faction (which does not accord with Yukiwma's own accounts, also recorded in the present chapter and in chap. 26). In February 1906, Lemmon engaged in a hand-to-hand battle at Second Mesa, with the result that the Second Mesa Hostiles removed to Orayvi shortly thereafter. Evidently doubting Lemmon's competence, Commissioner Leupp visited Orayvi in person in June 1906, bypassing Keam's Canyon, and deliberately not informing Lemmon of his presence. But Leupp's effort to mediate the factional dispute also failed, and within three months, the final conflict was at hand.

Keams Cañon, Arizona,
April 16th, 1896

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

About the first of February, last, the two factions of the Oreibas came to me, saying that they were having trouble again, over the ownership of a piece of land. And they asked me to come out and settle the dispute. I promised to go, but a day or two before the time set, I heard that Captain Williams was on his way over here, and thinking that he was the higher officer, and that the adjustment of such difficulties was legally his duty, and knowing that he had already taken a hand in this same dispute and knew the circumstances, I decided not to take the matter up, but ask him to settle the affair for them when he came, and I sent the Indians word accordingly. When he came I told him about the matter and he said that he was going to Oreiba anyhow, and would of course attend to any disputes which they might bring up. When he returned from Oreiba, he told me that he had settled the land dispute, as well as a dispute over the property of a deceased Oreiba man, which property had been taken from the widow and the child, by the relatives of the dead man, and that he had restored the property to the widow. He also said that he found that Lo-lo-lo-mi had not obeyed his orders, and had therefore deposed him as chief, of Oreiba, and appointed two other men, with a board of councillors, in his stead.

The same day that the Captain left here for

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home, I heard that the quarrel over the property of that estate, was still going on and that the offenders had not made restitution to the widow, and pretty soon the newly appointed chief of the friendly faction came to make formal complaint about this property matter, and ask that I make the restitution to the widow. I had the main offender arrested at once and brought to me. [A]fter hearing his story, which corresponded with the story of the other side, I told him that he would have to restore this property as the Captain had directed, and that I would seize some of his own property then and there, and hold it, until he did make restitution. This I did, and also sent the police with him, to see that it was done fully and completely. The property was restored and when accomplished, I returned his property to him.

While this was going on, the newly appointed chiefs and councillors of Lo-lo-lo-mi's party, and Lo-lo-lo-mi himself came to me and told me of the Captains action in deposing Lo-lo-lo-mi, and protested against it, and urged that I write to Washington about the matter, as they wished to know if the Washington Chief approved of the action. They said that when they brought the land dispute before Captain Williams, and Lo-lo-lo-mi went to make his speech, he was told to sit down and keep still. That both factions should go to their kee-vas and there select five men who should represent that faction, and then from these five the Captain would appoint one who should be chief. They went to the kee-va, and while there Mr. Voth came and asked if they had chosen the five men yet. They said no. He urged them to hurry up, and then Lo-lo-lo-mi named two of them, Lo-lo-lo-mi's first lieutenant named another, one of these selected men named another, and Mr. Voth named one, and from these five thus elected, the Captain selected one to be chief in Lo-lo-lo-mi's place, one to be assistant chief, and the other three to be advisers, all for their faction only, for the same thing was done for the other faction, except that the real leader of the other faction was made its chief. Each of these so-called chiefs and advisers protested that he did not want to act as chief, that he was not a chief at all, that Lo-lo-lo-mi was and had for many years been, the only chief in Oreiba, and Lo-lo-lo-mi protested that he had tried his best to do in all things as the Officers of the Government had told him to do, that he had done just as Captain Williams had told him to do about the land, as he had understood his directions, that his obedience to the wishes of the Government had not been supported by the Government when the issues had come to action, for the prisoners had been returned each time and had not been compelled to put children in school, which was the first and main issue between him and the other party, that the other party was gaining ground all the time, and now even threatening to take away from him some of his most important, sacred and duly inherited and transmitted religious rites, and that he could but say that his support of the cause of the Government and of civilization had cost him his popularity and leadership among his people, and now he was deposed also by the Agent of the Government itself. He asked my own opinion about the matter, asked that I call upon you for your opinion about it, and said that while he felt aggreived [aggrieved] and poorly treated in return for what he had done, yet he believed that what the Government wanted them to do was best for his people and that his mind about the matter was not changed, that he would not be angry nor sulky, but that of course since he was not the chief we must not hold him accountable for the actions of his people, that he should simply go about his own private affairs, try to do right and keep still.

I have the honor to state that my own opinions and recommendations about the case, are as follows, to-wit:

While Lo-lo-lo-mi is a heathenish old Moqui priest, who will die much as he has always lived, while his word is not always to be relied upon, (nor is the word of any Moqui in the tribe, so far as I know) yet he is one of the very smartest men in the tribe, is powerful with his people by reason of his very extensive blood relationship, his controle [sic] of one of their religious orders, his age and ability, and he was their principal man before the first white man ever came among them, and that to-day he is the real leader and guide of his people, and would be of the whole village but for his support of the Government, and that the wishes or ac-

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tion of a Government Officer can not change the real leadership of one of these villages.

I think that if Lo-lo-lo-mi, or any other of the head men of the tribe, takes such action in any matter as is not right, the people should have the privilege of appealing to the Agent and having such action reversed. But that Lo-lo-lo-mi should have been deposed from his leadership in such a hasty and inconsiderate manner, and under such circumstances, and after the stand which he has taken with regard to civilization, and maintained through a running fight for more than five years, with such poor support as has really been given him, I consider very poor diplomacy, unwise and unjust.

However little authority of these head men may be according to our laws, yet if we communicate with these people at all, and manage or direct them in any way, it will have to be done by and through the representatives whom they trust and to whom they look for advice, and whom they empower to speak for them, for the word of any other will not be given except it be confirmed by this head man, and if given without their sanction it could not bind.

I think that Lo-lo-lo-mi and the people of Oreiba, should be informed that he is considered the principal man and spokesman for their village, by the U.S. Government, and will be so considered until his successor should by duly and properly chosen by the full representation of all the people.

Very respectfully,
Ralph P. Collins
Superintendent.

Department of the Interior,
Indian School Service,
Office of Superintendent,
Keam's Canon, Arizona,
September 26th, 1896

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, (Education 34913-1896), concerning the report of Captain Williams upon the Oreibas, and calling for my recommendations upon the point of accommodations for the Oreiba children; and in reply thereto I have the honor to say:

In order that your memory may be refreshed, if need be, and the principal reasons for your action be freshly brought to mind, I will briefly review the main points in the Oreiba troubles from the beginning.

For many years, up to the summer of 1890, Lo-lo-lo-mi was the duly recognized head man of Oreiba, and was, with all his people, quite hostile to all attempts at civilization or innovations of the white man. In July, 1890, Lo-lo-lo-mi, as the chief of Oreiba, with several other head men of the Moquis, went to Washington, voluntarily, and for the purpose of seeing civilization, and having a talk with the Government Officials. When he returned he was convinced that civilization was best for his people and that it was necessary for them to recognize and obey the authority of the Government. He told his people this and promised to send children to school, and in all ways obey the wishes of the Government. As soon as school opened he commenced sending children, sending his own grand-children the first ones. Very soon the priests and members of another religious order than that of Lo-lo-lo-mi began to oppose him and finally threatened to kill him if he did not desist from his efforts to send children to school. They not only refused to send their own, but opposed any going, and abused and opposed Lo-lo-lo-mi in every way within their power. He struggled along for a time but they rapidly gained power against him and then he appealed to the Government for protection and aid. Troops were then sent with instructions to assist in getting school children and to render protection and maintain authority. When the troops came we went to Oreiba and found <u>all</u> of the people, men, women and children, assembled in a court of the village. Lo-lo-lo-mi stepped out in the present of <u>all</u> his people and said that they were sorry this trouble had happened; they wanted no trouble and would now comply with all requests of the Government; and he believed that no more trouble would occur. The children were then all put in line by their parents, and I selected as many as I wanted for school, and they came without any remonstrance. But later these

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same opposers went to destroying the monuments of the Government surveyors who were at work upon the reservation, and abused some of the Moquis who were helping the surveyors[.] I went out to Oreiba, accompanied by a Lieutenant and ten soldiers, to try to stop this interference with and destruction of Government work, and we found the hostiles assembled, armed and barricaded. They ordered us out of the country, dared us to arrest or touch any of them; said that when we were thare [there] before they were scared, but now they were ready for, and would kill us before sundown. Troops were then sent and nine of the leaders sent away as prisoners of war. After a few months confinement they were sent home with an army wagon loaded with clothing, furniture and trappings which the Officers and soldiers had given them, having made very fine promises of good behavior in the future. In July 1892, I let the school children go home, upon the distinct, personal and individually separate promise of each parent that his child should return to school the 27th day of August following. On that day 79 returned; the next day 10 more came, and when I looked over the roll I found that the remaining 13 all belonged to these opposing Oreibas. When I demanded that they live up to their promises they said they would not do it. That they would send no more children to school. That we were not Government people. That they had made friends with the Government people, the soldiers, and that they did not want the children to go to school. I then appealed to the Indian Office for maintenance of authority, and said that while I could fill my school with others, yet I deemed it very unwise to let this matter go in this way, since it would weaken every effort, disorganise the work, encourage these opposers in their disobedience, and more than all else weaken the respect of the Indians for the wishes, laws and authority of the Government. The Indian office tried to get action, but Secretary Elkins had just been appointed and he would not consent that troops should be used to place Indian children in school. Hence I was finally instructed to fill my school as best I could, and the dissenters had their way. From that time on, their opposition has steadily increased. The two factions quarrel all the time and the hostiles are continually gaining power. They got into trouble in 1894 over land and again 19 of the hostiles were taken prisoners of war. They were returned home after a few months, under a written promise to obey the laws, regulations and orders of the Government, and yet they positively refuse to send any children to school, they say that it is not good for any of the Moqui children to go to school, and every Moqui in the tribe who does not want to comply with any of the wishes or regulations of the Government, in any particular, goes to them for counsel, advice and encouragement, and I have no doubt each one gets the desired help. These hostiles, in their contentions with the progressives, charge all calamities to the school. If there is no rain, it is because the friendlies send their children to school; if any one dies, it is because the children are sent to school; no matter what happens, it is because these progressive Moquis are departing from their traditional ways and hence are doing wrong, and the calamities are sent as punishment. In this way, and in no other, is their opposition a matter of religious scruples.

This opposition has grown extensively, and since the attempts at maintaining authority have been so weak and poorly directed, the people of the three second mesa villages have been overlooked and they are now more violent than the Oreibas in their opposition. They should, of course, be brought in line, right along with the Oreibas. But the Oreibas are the source of all the opposition, they were the first objectors, and the school question was the first issue, has all the time been the main issue, and is in reality the only serious matter to which they do object. Hence I maintain that no action which can be taken by the Government, the execution of no other regulations, the application of no other punishment however severe, will ever really impress upon these people the sincerity and force of its wishes and regulations, unless the main point is enforced and these children actually put into school and kept there until they have received an education. This opposition has gone on until many who originally sent their children to school wholly of their own volitions, have become wavering in their support. They have been charged with calamities and ridiculed and

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abused until they have lost faith in civilization, and they have seen these opposers defy the Government so much in regard to the children that all have come to think that the attendance of children at school is a small matter, even to the Government, and that it rests wholly with them as to whether or not the children are educated. Hence it is that when a grand-parent, or uncle or aunt, or the parent or the child itself, so desires, the child quits school, without any regard for the amount of education it has received. Thus, last year, many of the pupils of twelve, thirteen and fourteen years of age, and especially the girls, who had hardly half completed the course of study prescribed by the regulations, remained at home. I filled my school in numbers by taking smaller children. But the classes were all disorganised; the work was weakened, and money spent in such attempts at education is wasted. Hence for the sake of discipline among these people, to maintain the dignity and authority of the Government among them; for the future welfare of their children; as well as for the purpose of preventing wastefulness in the use of money which has been and is now being expended, I would use the whole force of the Government if necessary, to put just one of these children in school if I had room for no more. As to the accomodations:

The Oreiba day school can, without the least crowding, accomodate 15 more and could nearly as easily take 25 more. These should all be taken from the hostile element in Oreiba, since they are in the majority, and the friendly element now has 25 in that school. I now have 72 here at Keam's Canon, and if allowed to enforce attendance of pupils who have withdrawn from school too soon and without good cause and contrary to the regulations, the enrollment would be brought up to about 85. This would bring a few from the second mesa. I could then take 20 more here, and if divided among the hostile element at the second mesa and at Oreiba, it would give five to each village. Thus the hostile element at Oreiba now has accomodation for at least 20 of their children, while there is accomodation for 15 more from the second mesa. Foreseeing this condition with regard to the second mesa, I have thrice asked to be authorized to build a day school at their villages, but as yet it has not been granted.

If these schools are filled as they should be, and this opposition thus broken, I feel sure that a good delegation of the more advanced pupils can soon be had to send away to a non-reservation school. Several of the pupils now want to go and I believe their parents will consent when they are upheld in their contentions in behalf of the schools here. This would make room for still more new pupils.

I can see no justice nor common sense in letting what efforts have been made, be brought to naught, simply because the administration of a little discipline would seem to call for the use of troops to put a few Indian children into school. Nor can I see any reason for withholding the advantages of civilization from those who want them, and from those who need them and do not want them, simply because we have not quite enough room for the whole tribe; as Captain Williams would seem to argue.

I most certainly hope that you will be able to enforce your orders to these people, and that at once. The delay is already causing much mistrust among those who have formerly been true to the Government through thick and thin, and whose doubts as to your sincerity and ability to execute your orders, you can ill afford.

Very respectfully,
Ralph P. Collins
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
Indian School Service,
Office of Superintendent,
Keam's Canon, Arizona,
Thursday Morning, Oct. 29, '96

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

During the night last night, a courier came in from Oreiba, saying that a leader of the hostiles had wounded and evidently tried to kill Lo-lo-lo-mi. Lo-lo-lo-mi had just returned from Tuba City and was unsaddling

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his horse, when this man was seen advancing upon him with an ax. A friend intervened to try to save Lo-lo-lo-mi, and was struck upon the arm, and then Lo-lo-lo-mi was struck upon the forehead with the ax or hatchet. Just how badly he was wounded my informant did not know, for the hostile was after him and he had left in a hurry to come to me for assistance. He returned home at once after giving me his message, saying that they might hurt his children while he was gone; he was armed and ready to fight.

Just how serious this may be I can not say. But it is the logical outcome of the delaying and vacillating way in which Capt. Williams has been dealing with these people. This man, Te-wa-litch-te-wa [Tawaletstiwa], is one of the leaders of the hostile element, is very ambitious for distinction, is a great bully and bad man at all times, was one of the prisoners taken away last time, and his attack is more than a personal affair. He boasted that he had done a noble act, for Lo-lo-lo-mi and his people are following in the white man's way and hence have ceased to be Moquis and are rebels to their own people.

I will dispatch a messenger to Capt. Williams this morning. I have sent a policeman to Oreiba last night to bring back word today as to the state of affairs, and I shall probably go out to-day myself to try to keep down farther trouble. But I have no authority myself, and I am quite certain that anything which I might do would be disapproved by Capt. Williams, and moreover these Indians have already repeatedly disobeyed and defied both Capt. Williams and yourself, and to their view they seem to be safe in doing so; hence I see little chance of their heeding anything which I could possibly do now.

I am ready to go to the 2nd mesa and begin work on the day-school, but it seems to me to be folly and a waste of time to again try to do something which they have already forcibly stopped once, and have seen nothing since that time which does not tend to encourage them in sustaining their first position.

I will report further as soon as I get more information, and I presume that in the course of time you will hear from Capt. Williams about the matter.

Very respectfully,
Ralph P. Collins
Supt.

Department of the Interior,
Indian School Service,
Office of Superintendent,
Keam's Canon, Arizona,
January 20, 1897

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to request that you consider the following statements in connection with the evidence submitted by Special Agent Shelby in his report upon his investigation of the charges made against me.

Irregularities in accounts often occur because of emergencies, circumstance, errors and oversights which are not easily made to conform to regulations. I have never had any intent to steal, nor have I ever stolen, nor is it shown that I have, nor have I ever appropriated to myself one cent of money not due me.

I believe that I am the victim of conspiracy between Mr. Keam, Capt. Williams and my Clerk, who are boon companions of like habits, tastes and opinions, in all of which they differ very radically from myself.

What slight differences there may be between the testimony of myself and my Indian Interpreters, arises from inadequate interpretation.

The assurances of support which Capt. Williams gave me were written in a letter more than a year ago. They were not a separate communication, placing me in formal charge of the Moquis, but written in connection with another subject and hence they were never given the significance by myself which he now seems to have intended, and the experiences of the year have shown so many differences between us in our ideas and policies, and he has allowed the hostiles to disobey and defy him so much, that I had come to feel that he would not support me in any action which did bring me into trouble. And I still believe that my opinion in this is correct, although he had never retract-

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ed those assurances of support. I have often felt that my position here, in which I have been doing so much of what might be strictly termed the Agent's business, might easily lead me into trouble because of seeming to be interfering with business not my own, although I have no desire to meddle with the affairs of others. The circumstances under which I came back to the Moquis, certainly led me to believe that I was not to confine my labors to the Keam's Canon School. I have always advocated to these people the desirability of coming down from their cliffs and scattering out and settling in the valleys; and have always discouraged their everlasting dances; while in these things I am opposed by Mr. Keam and Capt. Williams, and Mr. Keam has just recently gone to the extreme of trying to get the Indians of the first mesa to revive a dance which they have not had for many years and had almost forgotten, and this too with the full knowledge and encouragement of Capt. Williams. Mr. Keam keeps his store open on Sunday, and this with the knowledge of Capt. Williams, while I oppose such business. I have often advocated the removal of this school to a much more desirable site, but since that would leave Mr. Keam's store off to one side and thus detract from his trade, he of course opposes me in this.

The man Tew-litch-tewa who came so near killing Lo-lo-lo-mi, is a leader of the hostile element. Has twice been taken prisoner of war, has always been a bully, and talk of murder and desperate deeds in connection with their factional strifes is common with him and his associate leaders. And I fully believe that neither he nor any other man who is insane beyond responsibility would arm himself and go in quest of his well known enemies and make a determined, sustained, continuous and desperate attack upon one, and then, when he had escaped, go in quest of his next most prominent enemy and chase him around over the house tops of the Pueblo and out of the village until his intended victim makes his escape. I believe that he intended murder, was and is yet a very dangerous man, and that my representations to you about the affair were fully justified. I did not know at the time of my report that he had ever been subject to epilepsy, but I do not yet believe that his attack was the result of his disease.

As to the petition, it was fully conceded in Agent Shelby's council, that the signers did know what they were signing, nor was there the least evidence shown that I had in any way, either directly or indirectly held out any notion of reward for this act, and the injustice of the action and report of Capt. Williams based upon this so-called investigation of this matter, wherein he sat as judge prosecuting attorney, stenographer and jury, with no opportunity for me to defend myself, must be apparent when it is noted that the only witness deemed necessary by Agent Shelby, and the only witness who could do me full justice, was the one which Capt. Williams did not call in his investigation.

Very many small things have occurred in the last few months, which lead me to the conclusion that these gentlemen have conspired to get me out of their way if possible, but a recital of them would not look well in print, but they are nevertheless convincing to me and to those who have knowledge of them.

Very respectfully
Ralph P. Collins.

The arrival of Mennonite missionary H.R. Voth and his wife Martha in July 1893 marked another significant influence on social relations in Orayvi. His diary shows an increasingly irascible and possibly disturbed man, prone to almost paranoid suspicions, outbursts, and seesaw relations with most in his acquaintance, white and Hopi. Conflicts between the missionary and government were frequent; the trader Thomas Keam, and Capt. Constant Williams, Navajo Agent at Fort Defiance, appear not to have liked Voth, and sought his ouster. He seems to have had good relations with Ralph Collins, Superintendent at Keam's Canyon. Voth also appears to have forged a strong tie with trader Frederick Volz at Canyon Diablo, a possible source of his difficulties with Keam. His relations with Peter Stauffer, the lay Mennonite, who worked in various capacities for the subagency at Keam's Canyon, were typical, and reflect his relations with many Ho-

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pis, who provided him much moral and material aid: strong support one moment, virulent criticism the next.

Extracts for Martha's diary for 1893–1894 are also included in this section. Voth had good relations with some Orayvis, and continuously assisted the sick. His Sunday meetings in Orayvi kivas seem to have been occasions for theological discussion, and evidently failed to convert any Hopis. Voth spent much time recording the Hopi language. In time he came to sympathize with the Hostiles, as shown by his letters to Lomahongiwma at Alcatraz in the previous chapter. Voth aggressively sought to record Orayvi's ceremonies, and collect artifacts (often referring to these as ''trinkets''), that he eventually lent and/or sold (for example, he records packing up a batch with George Dorsey of the Field Museum in December 1897). While the ethnological accuracy of his publications is good, Voth's avowed intention was to try to sow seeds of doubt among the priests, preparatory to conversion.

The Voths remained at Orayvi for five years from August 1893 to September 1898, and returned again in 1901. Martha died a few days after giving birth to a daughter, named Martha, in 1901. Mostly not reared by her father, Martha Dyck (née Voth) described her father (in an interview with the author in 1981), in terms that resonate with many Hopi accounts of him, as ''a harsh man, definitely not *gemütlich*'', who was known to have kicked Hopis who tried to eject him from kivas. Voth and his successor, J.B. Epp, built a chapel on top of Oraibi mesa in 1901–1902, close to a sacred pathway for the Katsinas. Thompson's (1950) attribution of Orayvi factionalism itself to the actions of Voth and his successors seems excessive, but he presented a powerful influence that actively sought to subvert the authority of Orayvi ritual leaders. For the first year of their tenure, Martha's diary is the only one I have seen. Thereafter the voice shifts to Heinrich; whether or not Martha maintained a diary is not clear, which is a pity since her voice is often more lucid than his own cryptic, sometimes dyspeptic observations. I only include short extracts from both diaries that shed light on one or another aspect of affairs in Orayvi, and of the Voths' relations with the Orayvis. In 1896 and 1897, the mission was flooded out, in a fashion similar to events in 1909 and 1910 in the Oraibi Wash (see chap. 4); dams had to be built and the wash diverted around the mission buildings. Some excerpts are thus also included that show climatic conditions.

The Voths arrived at Keam's Canyon on July 19, 1893, remaining there until August 4th, when they moved over to Third Mesa. The mission buildings were placed east of the wash about two miles east of and below Orayvi itself (see also H.R. Voth's account of their mission work reprinted in James, 1974: 148–157).

Note on transcription and translation: Names of places, people, and ceremonies have been left in their original spellings, with some identifying inserts, where these are known to Whiteley (the first time a personal name appears, his or her ''Identification'', as it appears in Part I's tables, is presented, and a clan identifier is also added; where the diarist spells a name in different ways—not uncommon—the identification is added each time). Underscored words and phrases in English appear as such in the diary. Transcription of the Voths' handwritten diaries in German is by Kevin Dyck (1893–1900) and Eleonore Aarsen (1901–1903), Mennonite Library and Archives. English translation (for Whiteley) is by Tina M. Brüderlin.

EXTRACTS FROM MARTHA VOTH DIARY JULY 1893–AUGUST 1894

August, 1893

4. . . . We arrive in Oriba at sunset. There were Indians here to greet us. They were very friendly. Went to Russel's [Oraibi Day School teacher] for dinner. . . .

5. The first day in our new home. We have been working hard all day. . . . Heinrich made his first trade with the Oribas; he bought a quarter–dollar's worth of onions from an Indian boy. Had Indian visitors all day. They were curious to watch us unpack.

7. Heinrich and Br. Stauffer started erecting the well driller. . . . Some Indians came bringing eggs and dried peaches to trade for sugar or coffee.

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8. Heinrich and Stauffer were busy with the well driller. But it does not work. . . . Again many Indian visitors. It's been a hot day.

12. . . . Heinrich, Mr. Stauffer & Miss Conklin drove out to the first mesa to attend the Indians' Snake dance there. . . .

15. Cayangnawa [Qöyangayniwa, Badger] & Chief Lalomy [Loololma] came this morning from the dance at the first mesa. They brought a letter from Heinrich in which he writes that he will come home tomorrow, which made us very happy. It has been lonesome without him.

16. . . . Heinrich & Mr. Mappin arrive in the evening. Mr. Mappin came along to fix the well driller. . . .

18. . . . Heinrich has been doing some carpentry and taking some Moki [Hopi] lessons with Cayangnowa [Qöyangayniwa]. We studied Moki in the afternoon.

20. . . . In the evening Heinrich, Mr. Stauffer and I go up to the mesa to visit the Indians. It was the first time for me, so very interesting. Most of the people we visited were very friendly and welcomed us warmly. . . .

September 1893

1. This morning Heinrich and Frieda went to see the wash and the water, which came down from the north. . . . In the evening an Indian boy came to bring us our mail and express (eggs and such). Heinrich went to help him cross the wash. . . .

2. . . . Heinrich took the first photographs with his camera, which arrived yesterday in addition to some other things from Montgomery's. . . .

4. Mr. Mayhugh, who is the one who allots the land to the Indians, came in the evening.

5. This morning Heinrich went to see Mr. Mayhugh, but he was not at home. Heinrich and Frieda went up to the mesa in the afternoon. . . . Mr. Mayhugh came in the evening.

6. . . . We had many Indian visitors in the evening. Traded some roasting ears. . . .

9. Heinrich went to the mesa in the morning. He visited Lolulomys [Loololma] grandchild. His grandmother came for some poultice in the afternoon. . . .

11. . . . The Oribas are very friendly. They were preparing the women's dance. . . . Mrs. Quatschiqua [Kwaatsakwa, Badger, i.e., Mösinömqa, Sand] came here painted all over, certainly in preparation for the dance.

12. Heinrich went to the mesa to see the women's dance early in the morning.

15. . . . Moshahunwa [Masahongva, Parrot] brought us some mutton in the evening.

17. In the morning Kayanginawa [Qöyangayniwa] came with a sick man to get some medicine. . . .

18. . . . Many Indian visitors. They had a council not far from here. Heinrich brought them a sack of crackers. Quachequa [Kwaatsakwa] brought us wood.

20. Very windy. Many Indians here in the morning. We traded for peaches and trinkets. Heinrich is not feeling good. I traded for some large pots. . . . Early in the morning Kewanebuinewa [perhaps Kuwanveniwma, Maasaw] came bringing corn and beans to thank Heinrich for helping him and giving him medicine.

21. Sent Kayanginawa [Qöyangayniwa] with our mail. Soon after we received mail from Russell. The first notice from the Indian Department. We are supposed to get permission to settle here from the Indians.

27. . . . Mrs. Quachequa and her son Queopy [Kiwpi, Sand] came for supper. . . .

28. In the afternoon we go to an Indian neighbor's house to see how 16 Indian men spin wool. They were very diligent and were singing loudly. In the evening most of these men came to visit us.

October 1893

2. . . . In the morning Frieda and I went to the mesa to bring Shockhanyoma [Sakwhongiwma, Bear] a poultice for his bad leg. . . .

3. . . . Moschahugwa [Masahongva] came here with torn up pants and shirt. He wanted calico to make new clothes, but we could not give him any.

6. Early in the morning Lightning [famous as a runner. *Talwiipi* means ''lightning'' and it is a Hopi name, but I do not know whether Talwiipi was this man's actual Hopi name] brought us some sheep meat. . . . Frieda and I went to get some squash from Kayanginawa [Qöyangayniwa]. . . .

9. In the morning Heinrich and Frieda go to see the old ruins with Quatschiquas

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[Kwaatsakwa]. . . . In the afternoon we go to attend Talasnimtiwa's [Talasnömtiwa, Squash] sick child. . . .

12. . . . In the evening Talasnimtiwa and his two daughters brought us many watermelons to lay up. It has been a beautiful day.

13. This morning when Frieda and I were just ready to go up to the mesa Qömayestewa brought us a load of mail, a bucket with 20# butter and a gallon of oil, he had carried all this the whole 38 miles. He had loaded up a donkey with food for us, which he was driving in front of him. . . . Brought some food to Schakongyoma [Sakwhongiwma]. He does not seem to be doing better. His leg is still very swollen. We also visited some of the Hostile Indians. . . .

29. . . . In the evening Mr. Mayhugh and some Indians came here to talk about some land issues. Heinrich had to translate for them. Regarding the land Lolulamy wants to go to Moencope early in the morning. . . .

31. Heinrich was at the mesa the whole morning and the whole afternoon. They are still preparing their dances. In the morning I baked for the Indians and sewed some dresses for the Indian children. . . . An Indian brought us meat from Kwatschequa [Kwaatsakwa] as a present.

November 1893

1. Kwatshequa brought us 35lb. of beef early in the morning. We gave him flour and coffee in return. . . . Mr. Kantner [Kentner, Mayhugh's surveyor] was here for lunch. . . . Lolulamy came back from Moencope today. Could not achieve much with the Mormons concerning their land issue. . . .

2. . . . Heinrich went to the mesa again, but returned soon, because they did not want to have him in the kiva in which he had been observing and studying the preparations for the last couple of days. . . .

3. Today the actual Indian dance took place. They have been preparing this for the last 8–9 days. It started at sunrise. Heinrich and Frieda went up to the mesa right after breakfast, to go and see. At 10 a.m. Kwatschequa's son-in-law came telling me that Heinrich said that I should come right up, because the Indians already were asking for me. They would be in the kiva. I went there right away. When I got there they had already eaten the bread I had baked. They were painting and dressing themselves up, preparing to go outside dancing again. After we had lunch, which we had brought with us, and watched the dance for a while, we three went for a walk to the place where the Oribas bury their dead. . . They place their dead in big crevices and then place a pile of rocks on top. After our walk I returned home. Heinrich and Frieda went back and stayed until sunset and the end of the dance. . . .

6. This morning Heinrich went with Quatchequa to Mayhugh to discuss something. Mayhugh was seriously offensive toward Heinrich. Heinrich wrote him a letter asking for an explanation. . . .

8. . . . This evening Heinrich and Russell went to Mayhugh. Mayhugh returned to being friendly, appearing a bit ashamed. After Heinrich had returned he fetched some water for washing. The Indians have slaughtered a lot of cattle today.

9. This morning Quatchequa brought us beef. Lolulamy already was here before breakfast. . . . Heinrich went around to find land for our missionary station. In the evening Quatchequa brought us another quarter of beef.

10. In the morning Heinrich, Mayhugh, Kantner, Lolulamy, Quatschequa and some other Indians went out to find some cornerstones to mark the land for the missionary station. . . . Mr. Mayhugh & Mr. Kantner came for supper. Mr. Mayhugh was very friendly again. . . . We sent some mail with Mashahungwa today.

15. . . . Heinrich gave Lolulamy & Kayanginawa [Qöyangayniwa] hats. . . .

21. . . . Mr. Goodmann [Superintendent, Keam's Canyon School] & Miss Kalfee came after dinner, bringing Lolulamy & Kayanginawa along. Heinrich translated for them. Mr. Stauffer came for dinner.

22. This morning Wickwaya [Kuwanwikvaya, Lizard] walked to Cañon to look for our mail. He returned before sunset. . . .

24. . . . The Oraibes had a dance. Heinrich was there the whole day to study the dance. . . .

25. Last night there was a lot of rain and snow. The Oraibes danced again today. Heinrich was there from early morning until 3.30 p.m. . . . In the evening our four best friends

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Wickwaya [Kuwanwikvaya], Quachequa, Talasnimtiwa [Talasnömtiwa], Kayanginawa [Qöyangayniwa] were here . . .

December 1893

7. . . . Lolulamy brought a load of wood. . . .

13. . . . Mr. Goodman & Agent Plummer came to Russells' in the evening. They went to Oraibe, Heinrich went along. The agent had a council with the Indians in which they also discussed our land issue. The Indians agreed that we could have the land selected. Heinrich went to Russells' in the evening and wrote some letters. He was not feeling good. Nyoshu [Nayusini'yma, Piikyas] brought us a load of wood.

15. Heinrich stayed at the mesa the whole morning and afternoon in order to learn more about the Indians' religion. They are still preparing for the dance. . . .

19. Today was the end of the 9-day religious preparation of the Oraibes. They went all over distributing Bahus [*paaho*s]. Quachequa brought us some as well. Heinrich went there very early in the morning, but he still missed the beginning.

23. . . . It snowed today. Kömanstiwa [?] brought us a Christmas tree.

January 1894

1. . . . Mr. Mayhugh was here for a while yesterday. What will the next year bring?

3. Lolulamy [Loololma] took our mail to Cañon this morning. . . . Kayangwa [Qöyangayniwa] fetched laundry water in the evening.

4. Did laundry. Wickwaya helped me. . . . Despite the storm Lolulamy brought us our mail. . . .

27. Two Indians brought us beautiful fish from Moencopy. Fried some for lunch, was very good. Many Indians were here. . . .

31. . . . The Indians fetched much water in the morning taking it to Oraibe to bake Piki. The spring is nearly empty. . . .

February 1894

2. . . . Heinrich spent nearly the whole day in Oraibe to see the preparations for the dance. In the evening Heinrich and Mr. Russell went there again to see the dance, which this time was to take place in the evening. . . .

18. We got up at 4.30 a.m. and Heinrich went up to the mesa to attend the Indian ceremony. Even though he got there long before sunrise the whole village was already lively and he had missed the beginning of the ceremony. He returned at 8.00 a.m. and we held our service. Heinrich went back to Oraibe in the afternoon.

19. Heinrich went to Oraibe at 4.30 a.m. Frieda and I were just getting up when he returned. . . . He went back to Oraibe in the evening.

20. Frieda and I went to the mesa and visited many Indians and distributed clothes in the morning. Met women who were busy baking Piki and engaged in other preparations for tomorrow's dance festivities. . . . Heinrich went to the mesa in the evening. . . .

21. Heinrich went to Oraibe at 4 a.m. to see the beginning of the dance. He said that when he got there, there had already been much going on in the village. He returned for lunch. In the afternoon he and Frieda went back to see the kachinas. . . .

March 1894

19. . . . Heinrich went with them [the Stauffers] to the second mesa, where he attended an Indian Council [this appears to be a meeting regarding the petition against allotment]. . . .

20. . . . Around noon Kayonginawa [Qöyangayniwa] came back from the council, he seemed to be very cold and hungry. Gave him something to eat. He brought a short note from Heinrich. He wanted to drive with Keam to Stauffer's the same evening. . . .

22. . . . Heinrich at the mesa in the afternoon. Today, for the first time, Hebeme [Heevi'yma, Kookop], the chief of the Hostiles and one of his men came. . . .

23. . . . Hebeme was here again and was very friendly. We think we have won him over.

26. . . . Mr. Keam and two Indians arrive at 11.30 a.m. Keam and one Indian were here for lunch. In the afternoon Keam and Heinrich went up to the mesa, because of some Indian land issue [i.e., the petition against allotment]. Mr. Keam stayed the night at Russells'. . . . Heinrich and I copied a letter,

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which Mr. Keam has brought, until late at night.

27. After breakfast Mr. Keam and a group of Indians came here. The Indians sign certain papers [the petition] concerning their land. Mr. K. left again around 10 a.m. . . .

28. . . . Heinrich and Frieda at the mesa to watch the kachina dance. . . .

29. . . . Qatciqua [Kwaatsakwa] came here this morning promising, like he often did before, that he would go and get stones. As he never followed through with his promise, Heinrich told him that he does not believe that he will actually go. He could not handle this. So he left giving us his hand saying that he will never come to visit us again. Hebeme [Heevi'yma] was here. . . .

April 1894

1. Service in the morning as usual. Some Hostile Indians were here in the morning. Heinrich preached to them from the bible, they were very receptive. . . .

2. . . . Many Indians here. They emptied the well again. The poor Indians must die of thirst if it does not rain soon.

3. . . . Heinrich and Mr. Russell went to our land in the evening to plant something and they took a well driller along. After the Indians dug 24 feet they drilled another 6 feet and, thank the Lord, found good water. Many Indians here. . . .

17. Last night we had frost and this night it appears to be getting even colder. It could be that the fruits and peaches will freeze. . . . Today the Indians told us that a white man died at Keam, must be [Alexander] Stephen.

18. . . . Today's mail confirmed Stephen's death. . . .

25. Naquaestwa [Nakwayestiwa, Rabbit] drove with the carriage to Cañon and took our mail. Heinrich finally made Quachequa [Kwaatsakwa] bring the stones, but he only delivered 2 loads. . . .

May 1894

15. Wickwaya [Kuwanwikvaya] took the mail. Big storm, but Heinrich and Tabo [Sakwwaytiwa #2, Bear] still worked on the house the whole day. . . .

28. Heinrich wrote a bit; he and Frieda went to the mesa. There was a kachina dance again. Heinrich took some pictures. In the afternoon back to the construction, Russell helped. Because of the dance Tabo stayed away today. . . .

June 1894

28. . . . Many Indians went to Cañon to pick up their children. In Oraibe they have been preparing for the dance. Many Indians were here and asked for ''Calico'', clothes, flour and other things.

29. Tabo did not come for work because he wanted to join the dance. . . . The Indians came from Cañon with their children. The Government's Schools opened today. Nawene [Nawini'yma, Lizard] said, that the new Superintendent had arrived yesterday. Habeme [Heevi'yma] brought us the first fresh onions; they are nice and big. The Oraibes had the kachina dance. . . .

July 1894

7. . . . Mary [Nasilewnöm, Piikyas] from Moen Kopy brought some nice onions and apricots. . . .

10. Moved to the new house today. . . .

18. . . . High water in the wash.

20. . . . The wash rose again today. It must have rained heavily in the north.

21. . . . Frieda and I planted some in the creek, which is still flooded. . . .

August 1894

4. Today it has been a year since we arrived in Oraibe. . . . Some old Indian friends came to visit us in the afternoon.

EXTRACTS FROM H.R. VOTH'S DIARY, 1895–1903

January 1895

1. . . . Moshohungwa [Masahongva] and Talasswaema [Talasve'yma, Eagle] dug a well. Nice weather. . . .

13. Sunday. Read and then drove to Oraibi. Draw the altar in the Marau' Kewa [Maraw kiva]. . . .

24. . . . Stauffer came with a load of wood.

25. . . . Printed photographs. Very cold.

26. . . . Printed photographs. Stauffer went home. . . .

29. Fetched wood. A bit cold. Qöm. [Qömaletstiwa, Badger?] helped get wood in the bush, where there is still a lot of snow. In the evening Hertzog [Samuel D. Hertzog,

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Keam's Canyon School Superintendent] and I up at the mesa. Wanted to have council with the Hostiles, but it was already too late.

February 1895

2. Printed photographs. . . .

3. Sunday. After service went to Oraibi. Nakw's [Nakwayestiwa, Rabbit?] wife [Qöyawaynöm, Snake?] has strong rheumatism in her joints. Bandaged her. Tobâyauma [Tuveyawma, Patki] very sick. Kewanbuyama's [Kuwanvuwyawma, Greasewood] wife [Siwimana, Patki] and Tallasnimtewa's [Talasnömtiwa] child have cachexia. Some children play naked and barefooted in the snow, ice and water. . . .

7. . . . Visited sick in Oraibi in the afternoon. Then stayed until late in the Powul Kiwa [Povol kiva, i.e., Hotsitsivi]. Attended the Powamu initiation. The smoke in the kiva made me sick. They initiated 25–30 children.

8. . . . Attended the Katsina initiation of 30 children, mostly girls, in the Marau kiva. They were heavily beaten. Read Dr. Fewkes' Snake dance in the evening.

9. Today there was a feast at Oraibi, where the beans were eaten; the children received gifts from the katsinas. I went there in the afternoon, but it was too cold for the katsinas, so they did not dance. Many came in the evening, but I did not go. . . .

17. Sunday. After the service I went to Oraibi. The sick are doing much better. In Lomahungyoma's kiva, I saw that the Hostiles are being much friendlier. I sketched the Antelope priests, their altar and the Snake society's altar, which amazed them a bit. Will they now let me participate in their following ceremonies? . . .

21. . . . Was in Oraibi in the morning to tell the Hostiles where the prisoners now are. But could not get them together. Only a few were in the kiva.

22. . . . Hertzog came at noon. I went to the Or. [Orayvi] Council in the Snake kiva in the evening. They do not want to send their children to school before their chiefs have come and told them to do so. . . . The wash is flowing, I crossed it barefooted.

23. . . . Moshohungwa [Masahongva] brought me paint and I talked to him about some things. Showed him and Lomanimtewa [Lomanömtiwa, Bow] where the prisoners now are. The wash rose higher in the evening. Nice weather.

28. . . . A Shipalovi Indian (Lomawentewa) said, that Coe [missionary at Second Mesa] wants to leave. The Mishongnavis do not like him, because he says too much against their kachinas. . . .

March 1895

4. . . . Mailed pictures to Capt. Williams and the officials at Ft. Wingate. Weather nice. Wash is still flowing. Navajo say there is a lot of snow in the north.

5. Wickwaya [Kuwanwikvaya] wants his son [Piphongva, Badger], who has been imprisoned as well, to return home. He wants to know when he will come back. . . .

6. . . . I still lack a clear sign if this [mission] is really supposed to happen. Maybe rather among the Navajo?! Yesterday the Navajo ''Brutus'' was here (for the first time); he said that most of the Navajos' cattle and sheep have frozen to death. He also said, that if they would build a school in Moenk., they would send 300 children. To me it seems as if only among the Navajo the doors are open. . . .

17. Sunday. . . . In the afternoon we drive to Qök [Kiqötsmovi]. Martha and Frieda at Sunday School, I in Oraibi. Had a small meeting in the Ponowa [Pongovi] kiva. Gave explanations with pictures about the life, the suffering, the death and resurrection of Jesus. The people were very attentive. From there I went to the West Spring [Leenangwva], which had been cleaned out. There were nearly 300 people there, mostly young. They were digging, carrying. It was like an anthill. In the evening a sandstorm came again. . . . The wash rose again in the evening. . . .

27. . . . In the afternoon there was a bit of a trouble with Showaina [Sakwwunu, Badger] about the northern [mission] field. . . .

29. A very ugly day with cold, rain, hail and big storm and a lot of sand. Nevertheless, Br. Stauffer and I worked the whole day on the pump. . . . Stauffer had a fight with Russell in the evening (while fetching water). He was here in the evening. We talked about the mission. He also thinks that the Moki [Hopi] are religiously a very satisfied and contented people, and he confessed that he thinks that the doors have been more open in

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the past than now. Br. hints that he might work at the mission for a small salary for a year, if he could work another year for the government. . . .

31. . . . Qöm. [Qömaletstiwa] searched for our donkeys nearly the whole day. . . . In the afternoon I again had a meeting at Ponowakiwa [Pongovi kiva]. At the end Tabo [Sakwwaytiwa #2] translated for me. . . . Tobâyauma [Tuveyawma] went to get medicine for his brother. He asked me about the Americans, if they play ball and if they are many in number.

April 1895

1. . . . Spent some time in Oraibi in the afternoon, watching the Wash Katzina [Wawarkatsina?]. Took some pictures. . . .

9. . . . Shokwaima [Sakwwunu] threatens to take our land. But we were able to sort everything out with the help of the sounder Cakwaima [Sakwwa'yma, Sparrowhawk, Sakwwunu's son]. They both even positioned the posts to mark the northern boundary. I believe, though, that he robbed me of one piece of land, but to avoid a fight I just let it rest until I can take better measurements. He ripped out all of my cottonwood trees.

10. In the morning we measured and marked the southern and western boundaries. Kuyongeinewa [Qöyangayniwa], Cakwaima [Sakwwa'yma] and Shokwoina [Sakwwunu] themselves placed the posts! It seems as if everything is all right now. Then they went on further south where Cakw. took measurements of some land, also from Kuyongeinewa's. There they also took Moshohunge's [Masahongi, Reed] small field away on which he had planted with such effort last year. Yesterday Shokwoina had already ripped out his dug-in windbreaks. I had a long talk with them, reminding them that Cap't Williams had said, that no one is allowed to take away someone else's land. But I can't do anything. They said that I am right, M. [Masahongi] had already planted there for many years, but that he was not a friend of the Americans, he rails about them, the soil is now moist [for planting], the Hostiles did not sign the petition that tried to keep the old order of things, and that is why they are taking away his land today. They became angry here and there. M. [Masahongi] remained calm, though, and finally went home. It seemed very unfair to me. . . .

18. . . . _____ [blank] complained that Lol.'s [Loololma's] people had also taken his father's field away. He also said that Moshahungge [Masahongi] had planted at that site, which Sakweima [Sakwwa'yma] and Kuyong. [Qöyangayniwa] took away from him, for some time. Where will all this end? . . .

20. The Sonopavis are unexpectedly doing a kachina dance for the Oraibi. The Oraibis came asking for flour, sugar. . . .

21. Sunday. . . . Went to Oraibi in the afternoon. Visited Mrs. Lomahungyoma [Qötsyamqa, Desert Fox] and others. Made some young men give water to their dogs. Gave lesson in the Pungowa [Pongovi] and the Sakwalenwe kiva. . . .

22. . . . Tallassnöntewa [Talasngöntiwa, Sparrowhawk] brought the mail. . . .

23. . . . Nice weather. Laundry. Towakwoptewa [Tawakwaptiwa, Bear] helped. . . . Yesterday Loluloma promised me that they will give Moshohunge [Masahongi] his field back.

24. . . . Wickvaya brought us our donkeys back in the evening. . . .

27. . . . I began plastering the chicken house, Hâbemas's [Heevi'yma] son-in-law [probably Puhu'yma, Sun] took over later on. . . .

May 1895

2. Cold, rain, hail. Qöm. [Qömaletstiwa] drove the donkeys back. Then home. Indians went to Moenkope to kachina dance. . . .

3. . . . He [Qömaletstiwa], Sakweima [Sakwwa'yma] and I marked the pasture. Went to attend some sick in the evening. . . .

5. Sunday. Very nice. Went to Oraibi to see after the sick in the morning. All are doing better. There was nothing I could do concerning lessons. The kivas were all deserted. Most of them went to Lolulomais, waiting for the kachinas, others were in their fields. . . .

7. . . . My growths are swelling and hurting. I was concerned today and made plans about going away, but most of them are not feasible. May the only God have mercy! Took donkey and rode to Oraibi in the afternoon. Took pictures of Tasapkatsina [Navajo

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kachinas]. The clowns were very obscene. No wonder the Lord seeks the Indians this hard. They have sunk in sin and are cruel to their livestock.

22. . . . W. [Kuwanwikvaya] brought flour and 5 Vols. Rep. B. of eth. [Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology], about which I am very happy.

25. Indians planted for the chiefs Lol. [Loololma] Shokhungyoma [Sakwhongiwma] and Kuyong. [Qöyangayniwa]. . . .

27. . . . Since 10 a.m. big storm. Most of the plants have been destroyed. Lol. and Neiosho [Nayusini'yma] here. . . .

31. Again sandstorm from the south. Cool. It is a very bad, nasty week. I am concerned about my leg. If we weren't so poor, I would think about leaving this position to the Stauffers and going back to Kansas.

June 1895

1. . . . Volz [trader Frederick. Volz, at Canyon Diablo] writes that we shouldn't have any trouble with freight anymore after the 15th of June. He is thinking about opening a store in this area.

4. . . . I hardly have any courage to plant anything anymore. The fields of the Indians have suffered a lot. Planting late must be the solution here. . . .

11. . . . Fr. [Frieda] and I drove to Pakawe [Paaqavi] in the afternoon. . . .

25. . . . Had a quarrel with Shakwina [Sakwwunu], who again has planted on our field, he obviously has moved the cornerstone. . . .

July 1895

2. . . . Wickw. [Kuwanwikvaya] promised that he will pay for Lomanankwusha's [Lomanangkwusa] corn which his ponies have eaten. Mr. Hertzog was here from 11 a.m.– 4 p.m., Kuy. [Qöyangayniwa] and Lol. [Loololma] also here. Discussed a lot. . . .

5. . . . Sekoishba's [Sakwyesva, Lizard] father [Masayawma, Badger] brought the first corn fodder. Nakwayeshtewa [Nakwayestiwa] came in the evening saying that some Hostiles had just killed his and someone else's cow, because they had entered the corn. What shall he do? I advised him to go to Hertzog together with Lol.

6. . . . Kâsshungnewa [Kyarhongniwa, Spider] came to get some eye-medicine. I asked him about the killing of Nestw.'s [Nakwayestiwa] cow and told him to tell the people involved in it to come to my place in the evening. They actually came late in the evening and I had a long talk with them. I am concerned about these people. They gave me a couple of names of those whose fields have been taken away by Lol. and now their cattle even ate the little corn they had. They gave the meat back to Nokw. [Nakwayestiwa] and they asked me not to write about all this and to ask Nokw. [Nakwayestiwa] not to make a complaint against them. They further would not kill any cattle anymore, but come to me instead. . . .

7. Sunday. . . . Again, had a very interesting S. S. [Sunday school] class today. Wickw. [Kuwanwikwaya], in a very righteous way, brought some tobacco, matches and corn leaves to smoke, which for him is part of a big religious ceremony. He also asked some questions. When I explained that Moses's staff had turned into a snake, he asked if Moses might have been a Snake priest. . . .

11. I fetched wood in the morning. On my way I met Lolul. [Loololma], who promised me that he will bring me Polakkaka's [Tom Polacca's, Tewa—First Mesa] bull in two days. He wanted to know what I had told Nakw. [Nakwayestiwa] last Sunday. But it looked like rain, so I needed to go home.

14. . . . Lol. and Awajo [Avayo, from First Mesa] came with the cattle and the bull at noon. Couldn't go to S.S. Had a lot of trouble with watching and watering the cattle. Awajo had to stay over night. A quiet Sunday.

20. Nimankatz. (Hamis K.) [Nimankatsina, Hemiskatsina] dance. I was in Oraibi in the morning. . . .

30. Scolded Wick. again, because the Indians treat their cattle so bad. He got angry. Some young people who were on their way to Supaulavi heard us. . . .

August 1895

5. I rode in the morning to try to find a path to C. Diablo going over the top of the mesa. I met Nakwawaema [Nakwave'yma, Eagle] and ?, who were just coming back from a trip to the train. Invited them and others to come and stop by in the evening. Some

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had been here during the day already to take a look at the pictures. . . . Around 20 of Lom.'s [Lomahongiwma] people came in the evening and I read out the letters from Col. Guenther & Lom. and showed them the pictures. Everybody was happy and contented. Jacob [?, clearly a Friendly], who had come and had promised to translate for me got defiant and ugly, so that I had to take him by his arm and lead him out of the door.

6. . . . I heard that Jacob has said that he will make a complaint to Hertzog and that he will write to Washington and that I will be chased away from here. . . . .

7. . . . Went to Oraibi with group-picture for Mrs. Lomahunyoma [Qötsyamqa] for which I had been making a frame yesterday and today. She was happy. Immediately some others came. Also visited Lomanimtewa. . . .

23. . . . Dr. Fewkes & Mr. Hodge came. Talked. Looked at Coll. [his collection of Hopi artifacts]; they say it might be of value. Went to mesa in the afternoon. Saw both Flute Ceremonies. For the first time even the Hostiles (Kashlungnewa [Kyarhongniwa] leader) allowed me in, and after I asked them, they also allowed Mr. Fewkes & Hodge to attend the ceremony. . . .

24. F. &. H. left in the morning. I wanted to join them on their trip to Payutka [Payupki], but they gave up and decided to rather go to Shonopavi. . . . Pretty warm. F. &. H. pretty friendly, latter asked me to write something for the Bureau [of American Ethnology]. . . .

27. Tabo [Sakwwaytiwa #2] gave me some more lessons. Frieda, Sister Susie and I drove to the mesa in the afternoon. Also went to Flute ceremony and stayed until sunset, where we attended the official [public] Flute ceremony. . . .

31. In Shonopavi for the first time. Dr. Snyder, Frieda and I drove there. Tabo was supposed to come along to watch the wagon. But he missed us. Was a strenuous hike of 1¼ hours, as we could not drive up very close. It is a neat, clean village. There could be a nice Missionary Station, either within the village itself or at the spring to the east of the village, so that both Mishongnavi and Shupaulavi villages could also be attended by the same missionary. The people were pretty friendly. . . .

September 1895

3. . . . Susanna and Frieda and I to Oraibi to see the Massau dance. Visited some. Ate the first peaches. . . .

15. Sunday. . . . Tabo fetches the donkeys in the morning. Br. Stauffer came. The Snake High Priest Massanötiwa [Masangöntiwa, Snake] was here for the first time. The Mamrauto [Maraw] ceremony also began in the kiva today. Was not there. . . .

16. . . . In the evening Susie and I in the kiva. Dr. Snyder was also there. . . . We also went to Lomahungyoma's. They were eating. Cut melons with the handle of a spoon. . . .

17. . . . In the evening to Oraibi . . . Sekâhungnewa [Sikyahongiwma, Greasewood] told us that she [?, perhaps referring to Sikyahongiwma's mother, Nasinömqa] has old regalia from the Yaya Order [Yaya, Conjurors' Society], of which only one priest is still alive. . . .

23. Went to the Maraukiva at 3 a.m. The M. [Maraw] dance took place today. . . .

25. . . . Mail brought pictures of the prisoners and the news from Col. Guenther that they will be leaving Ft. Alcatraz on the 23rd. In the evening I drove to Dr. Snyder, where we compared our notes about the Marauwahu [Marawvaho, Maraw Prayerstick] dance. . . .

October 1895

2. . . . 15 prisoners returned in the evening. All were here and very good and friendly. The poor people were very tired and hungry. . . . Massayoma [Masayawma] brought freight with two burros. Nice weather. . . .

6. Sunday. Prayer in the morning. Susie and Frieda and I went to Oraibi in the afternoon. . . . In Oraibi visited Lomhungyoma. He showed us knickknacks that he brought from California. . . . Was pretty friendly. . . .

10. . . . In the evening Mr. Collins [Keam's Canyon School Superintendent] came here. Talked to him for a while about the circumstances of the two factions here in Oraibi. . . .

11. . . . In the afternoon I went with Mr. Collins up to the mesa for children. Kuy. [Qöyangayniwa] came along. Mr. Collins said that he could get a special school for the

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Hostiles here, either a government school or a different one.

12. . . . Mr. Collins came, had many children on his wagon. ''Jacob'' promised me yesterday that he is going to be leaving in 4 days. . . .

16. . . . Lom. [Lomahongiwma] brought trinkets to make [trade?]. I talked to him for a while about the school; he does not seem to be eager to send children.

November 1895

8. To Oraibi in the afternoon. Attended an Öwaqölti ceremony in the Havivi [Hawiwvi] kiva. Then visited Lolulomai's sick son. He apparently won't live much longer. The parents were with the sick. The people were very friendly everywhere. . . .

12. Snow in the morning. . . . Tawakwaptewa brought a doll again. . . .

17. . . . To Oraibi in the afternoon. Was in Lol's kiva where I talked to a number of men. We talked about God and the bible and heaven etc. Soon Lolul. [Loololma] joined us and I focused on the recent death of his son. Everybody listened carefully. But the earthly attitude of these people showed again, when they started to ask this and that. . . . It is very hard to explain something to these people, especially because I do still not have sufficient knowledge of their language. . . .

18. . . . Loluloma was here and I wrote a letter for him to Mr. Hardy concerning the Moenkope issue, namely regarding Nebecker [Ashton Nebeker, a Mormon competitor for Hopi land]. Who knows how all this will end. . . .

24. Sunday. Rode to Oraibi in the afternoon. . . . Had a meeting in the Punowa kiva with probably 30 people and Kuyongeiniwa [Qöyangayniwa]. He was very friendly and talkative. It is a bit hard to start a religious conversation with the people. And when it actually does develop there are many debates. These people are very different than for example the Cheyennes & Arapahos [among whom Voth had been a missionary earlier]. They would just quietly listen and the most they would answer would be Hm, hau etc. These here ask questions, object, discuss. Kuy. is ahead on this. He is one of the most farsighted Oraibis, and it seems as if he suspects some of the true intentions of the work of the missionaries, namely the destruction of their religious structures. He often tries to prove that some things which I tell them about are just the same as theirs. He, for example, stated this about the guardian angels; that when a good person dies his soul will rise up and if that person was bad it will go to an unknown place into the fire. But I proved to him that the Bible does not know anything about their kachina, altars, Tihponies [*tiiponis*, religious palladia], masks. . . . He again told me that Lomahungyoma's great uncle told him that a long time ago the Mokis and the Americans had both emerged from the earth. (I also had told them about the creation of mankind.) I then asked him how men got into the earth and who put them there. That amazed and disturbed him a bit. I told him that only the Bible could provide them with answers to these questions, because its message reaches back to the time even before the beginning. He got quieter, especially because he noticed that this seemed to make sense to the others. . . . He said that he could not believe two things we say: 1) That the earth rotates, and 2) what I had told him, that the dead will be resurrected. Concerning the first I did not explain much, because that is not comprehensible for any of them. Kuy. said that we then would fall into the ocean. . . . I went deeper into the question about resurrection though. . . . I tried explaining it as well as I could with my limited language skills. Kuy. finally got a bit quieter. Some were very attentive. He had been very friendly. . . .

28. Thanksgiving. I spent nearly all day in Oraibi and studied the ''Wowochimti'' [Wuwtsimt]. It was the first time that I got access to a ceremony in a Hostile kiva. And then even to one of the Ahl society, which apparently is kept very secret. I consider it missionary work to penetrate the old, heathen's ways and by doing so I am able to undermine the old prejudices and superstitions. . . .

29. . . . Went to mesa in the afternoon to [see] the first kachina (Soyal). Got there too late, though. . . . I stopped by there [the school] at around 2:30 p.m., but there were no children. I would like to know why they are not having school. . . .

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December 1895

1. . . . Rode to Oraibi in the afternoon. Again had a meeting in the Punowe kiva. . . .

5. . . . Sent mail with Lolul. He again was talking about the fact that he really would like to have an American hired at Momoshwawe [Mumurva spring, where Loololma had built a ''government house'' in 1891 after his return from Washington to Orayvi]. He said that I should write concerning this and install someone there; he also would give him a field there. At this opportunity I asked him if it is true that he wants me to leave here. He wanted to know who had said so, and firmly said that this is a lie and that he never has said so. . . .

23. . . . Went to Oraibi where people were ending the Soyal ceremony with the arriving of the Qörqökle [Qööqöqlöm] kachinas. . . .

25. Christmas. . . . Some Indians came (also Lol.) who thought that we would have our celebration together with the Indians. . . .

27. . . . I rode to Oraibi in the morning and invited all kivas to come and join the celebration. The Snake priest Massanöntieva [Masangöntiwa] announced it and all the Hostile kivas promised to come. I think they were assuming that the Lolulomai people would not be able to come, because they were supposed to attend a celebration in Lol.'s kiva. However, as Lol.'s people actually came ''en masse'', so Lomahungyoma's people stayed away. . . . There were probably 350 people here. Everything went well and everybody appeared to be happy. Unfortunately Kiwani [Kuwanyawnöm, Maasaw, daughter of Qöyangayniwa] did not translate loud enough, so that most people probably did not understand the meaning of my speech. The work with translators is not good. I hardly ever speak through translators, but I had hoped that it would make the Christmas thing easier. . . .

29. . . . Went to Oraibi in the afternoon where I had a meeting in the Havioi [Hawiwvi] kiva. There were probably about 20 people there, who were spinning, weaving etc. Was also in the Snake kiva, where they are going to have a ceremony in the next couple of days. . . .

January 1896

3. . . . Went to Oraibi in the afternoon. In the Snake & Naschabee [Naasavi] kiva they had a ceremony. Both sections, however, were in the Naschabee and so I quickly went into the Snake kiva. No one there. I was soon seen and immediately a woman with a stick jumped on the kiva demanding that I get out. But I hurriedly sketched the false gods that were set up there. Kàshhungniwa [Kyarhongniwa] came and said that I should not draw them. I then had a long conversation with him and scolded him. He gave in, feeling ashamed, and finally even got to confiding in me and allowed me to draw as much I wanted. I reminded him that I always had proved myself to be their friend and that I was the only one who had undertaken the correspondence concerning the prisoners, when they had recently been in California. . . .

4. . . . Was in Oraibi in the afternoon. They were making masks in the kivas for the big kachina dance tonight. For the first time I went to the rock ''Oraibi''. Attended ceremony in the Nashabe kiva in the evening. For the first time I was [blank] in a Lalakonti [Lakon] ceremony. Sketched their altar. When I was going home people were coming from the other mesas to the dance, which probably will go on all night. . . .

5. . . . At the Ishkiewa [Is kiva] meeting in the afternoon. Tried with a translator (Philip [Tsorngöyva, Desert Fox]), but he did very poorly. . . .

6. Wrote. In the Hawiowie [Hawiwvi] kiva in the evening, but there was no ceremony. . . .

8. . . . Went to Oraibi in the evening. Was the last evening ceremony of the Lalakonti.

12. . . . Afternoon in Oraibi. Small gathering in the Haviovi. Anakachina [Angaktsina, Long-Hair Katsinas] dance today. . . .

14. Went to Oraibi around noon. Found 12 men in the Povulkiva [Hotsitsivi] engaged in the Powalawu [preliminary Powamuy] ceremony. Stayed until evening. Very interesting.

22. . . . Powamu ceremony begins today. . . .

23. The wash is flowing for the first time in a long while. Lomahungyoma was here and complained that Kuy. [Qöyangayniwa] Shokhanyoma [Sakwhongiwma] etc. had driven him and others away. Here Kuy. is a real devil. I told him that he should go to Coll. [Collins] or to Capt. Williams. I also talked to him about school. And he [refer-

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ence must be Lomahongiwma] said that he has been thinking about sending children, something he never has said before. I am convinced that Kuy. and his companions are doing these people wrong, but it happens in such a manner that no one can prove it. No wonder they do not want to send their children.

26. . . . Rode to Oraibi in the morning. Had meeting in the Haoioixein [Hawiwvi]. People were pretty attentive. Then in the Powul [Hotsitsivi]. Went along with Lomashnawa [Loma'asniwa, Sand] when he went to fetch some sand for the altar. Lomahungyoma brought the mail in the evening. He and others had gone to Keams Cañon because of their land issues. Collins wants to come here. . . .

30. . . . It was the last day of the Powamu celebration. All the school kids from Cañon were here. Russell already cancelled yesterday afternoon's [Oraibi Day School] class. . . .

31. Rode to Oraibi and saw in and in front of the Powul kiva the last Powamu ceremonies. Now have them pretty much complete. . . .

February 1896

2. Sunday. . . . Had an interesting meeting in the Sakwalewa [Sakwalenvi] kiva. The people were pretty attentive. . . .

3. Wrote letters and then went to Lomahungyoma for a while. Nakwsu [Lomanakwsu, Parrot] outside in the fields, sketching the borders between the different clans and their fields. I am convinced that the Lol. people are doing the Lomah. people much wrong. . . .

4. . . . Later Lom. [Lomahongiwma] and I drew maps of the fields again. . . . He told me quite a lot. . . .

9. Sunday. Indians had their Koyemsi etc. dance. In the evening I was in Oraibe. The whole village was up. However, I still had an attentive gathering in the Snake kiva. . . .

13. Hâbima [Heevi'yma], Qötchwentiva [Qötsventiwa, Bow] & Lomayeshtiwa [Lomayestiwa, Spider] came in the morning. Here for breakfast.

16. . . . I went to Oraibi. Had the first meeting in the kachina kiva. I there met Sighi-ni of the Navaho for the first time, who speaks Moki [Hopi]. He disrupted the service with bawdy behavior. I was pretty mad at him.

18. In the morning on the mesa. . . . Walked around with Capt. Williams. Then long council on the dance ground. Louis & Ci-ghi-ni translators. Summary: 1. Capt. Williams praised the Friendlies because they send their children to school. That is good, that's how the government and he wants it. 2. He made the arrests two years ago, not because the ones affected had not sent their children to school, but because they wanted to stop others from doing so and had taken away fields from the others etc. 3. He values those more who have sent their children [to school] than those who do not send their children. But still, he must and will protect the rights of the others. When he then reminded Lol. that he had told him to protect everybody's rights and that he had not done so, he proclaimed that Lol. no longer is chief and that both sides should nominate 5 candidates from which 2 chiefs are going to be chosen tomorrow. Shakkuiva [Sakwkuyvaya, Badger] then brought up the Kwachakwa [Kwaatsakwa] separation issue, and Capt. Williams decided that everything that has been taken away from them by Nasinimtiva's [Nasinömtiwa, Parrot] side should be returned to them. We then walked for a little while and took pictures, and in the evening I went back there. In the Sakwalenve kiva they nominated Lomahungyoma, Yukioma [Yukiwma, Kookop], Shakkuiva, Massanöntiva [Masangöntiwa] & Nakwavaima [Nakwave'yma]. In the Ponova [Pongovi]: Kuyongeiniva [Qöyangayniwa], Wickwaya [Kuwanwikvaya], Tanaknimtiva [Tangaqnömtiwa, Maasaw], Nàioshinima [Nayusini'yma], Talassnimtiva [Talasnömtiwa].—The whole day the Capt. was pretty friendly. . . .

19. In the morning to Oraibi. . . . Then again a council. Capt. [Williams] first appointed Naioshinima & Lomahunyoma as chiefs, gave them a speech that they should keep peace, protect and respect everyone's rights etc. and then he announced that the other candidates would not be chiefs and then he appointed Nakwabeima and Tanoknimtiva as deputies and told them to stand behind the chiefs, who were sitting on chairs.

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All four had to shake hands, they even did better and hugged each other, leading to much cheeriness. The Capt. came here in the evening. Stayed the night. Sighini [the Navajo translator] was also here for the night and for a meal.

20. Capt. drove to Shongopavi where he wants to stay until tomorrow. . . .

23. Sunday. . . . Frieda and I went to Oraibi in the afternoon. Women were making baskets in the Powul [Hotsitsivi], we showed them pictures from the Bible and sang. We also sang in the Punowe [Pongovi] and talked to each other there.

24. . . . The measles are in Oraibi already. I think that Lomahungyoma's son, who I have been observing, and even little Albert [Voth's son], might have them. . . . Some are picking up medicine already.

25. Yesterday I rode to Keqötchmowe [Kiqötsmovi] and Oraibi to attend some measles patients.— Many are sick, some severely. But the people do not take care of themselves. . . . Distributed medicine. . . .

28. Naioschi [Nayusini'yma], Tobeyemtiva [Tuveyamtiwa, Snake], Navini [Nawini'yma] were here in the morning. N. [Nayusini'yma] wanted to know if they could tell some of the Oraibis not to plant at the Hotvel [Hotvela gardens], so that everyone could have their cattle there in the summer. . . .

March 1896

6. . . . Was in Oraibi in the afternoon. Talked for a while to Lol. etc. in the Ponowa kiva. Russell did not have school in the afternoon. Lomahungyoma's youngest child is still very sick. He called for the Shonopavi doctor.

12. . . . In the evening the two Moki [Hopi] and one Navajo policeman came here to take Shakkuiva [Sakwkuyvaya] and others to Collins [concerning a dispute with Kwaatsakwa's wife, Mösinömqa]. Honani was here as well for medicine.

13. . . . Police and Naioshi here in the morning, on their way to Cañon. . . .

19. . . . Yesterday Shak-Kuiwa [Sakwkuyvaya] brought Mrs. Kwachakwa's [Mösinömqa] wagon, donkey etc. back from Sighini. . . .

24. Hehea [Heheya katsina] dance in Oraibi. I stayed there for a while. . . .

April 1896

14. . . . Chief returned in the evening. Talassnimtiva [Talasnömtiwa] here. Collins has assigned the office to him [presumably referring to the factional leadership offices created by Capt. Williams—see above]. Collins had wanted children. Lomahungyoma has said (here in the council) that the friends of the Americans who want to send their children could do so, those who don't want to, however, do not have to. . . .

May 1896

1. Until noon and afternoon again at the Hemisk. [Hemiskatsina] dance. This one was serious, but the representation of the Tsotskuti [Tsutskut clowns] and ''Zuni'' was partly so obscene that I soon suggested going home.

24. Sunday. . . . Went to Oraibi in the afternoon, especially to visit old Siima [Si'yma, Badger]. Was at Miss Egan's [Oraibi Day School teacher]. Had to tell Talassn. [Talasnömtiwa] to fetch some water and wood for her and she promised that he would get paid. . . . Siima a bit better. Talked for a while in the Snake kiva about the kachinas etc. . . .

26. . . . Stauffer here. Told us, among other things, that on his own time Russell had sent a petition to Mrs. Quinton, signed by all of Lolulomai's people, that they want to have me out of here. This was during the same time when Lol. himself had asked me to install someone like me at Momashwave [Mumurva]. I do think that Lol.'s people actually do not know about this, but that Russell (maybe following Kuy.'s advice) has forged the signatures. At that time most of these people had been very friendly. Did Russell believe that the mission house still belonged to the Fr. [Franciscan?] society, and therefore hoped that with the help of Miss Evans, Mrs. Quinton etc., who all are Baptists, he could take over our positions?

June 1896

5. . . . I went into the Wikiolop [Wiklavi] kiva where the Tassap [Navajo] kachinas were preparing the dance for tomorrow. Met old Qomahoin [Qömahoyniwa, Badger, Po-

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wamuy chief] there, alone, and tried to make him conscious of all the absurdity which they usually get up to in connection with the kachina dances. . . . Got home late.

6. Tassap kachina dance. Sivihungn. [Siwihongniwa, Rabbit], Mokàhtiva [Mokyaatiwa, Rabbit] and Hali [?] clowns. Again, it was disgusting here and there, I left. . . .

28. Sunday. . . . Stauffer and I up to the mesa in the afternoon. Visited sick, watered chickens, talked to the Snake chief and others in the Kachin kiva about the One which is not [''the one who walks unseen''?]]. Talked with Lomahunyoma about the future awaiting him if he does not send children to school. He got a bit meek. . . . Also told Lom. that he should make sure that Shak Kuiwa returns Mrs. Kwachakwa's things [Sakwkuyvaya has again absconded with some of Mösinömqa's possessions as part of a dispute]. We also talked to Naiosh., he was disgusted. Maj. Williams has confused the people.

29. Very early Tavaletztiwa [Tawaletstiwa, Sakwkuyvaya's brother] came here and said that they have returned everything to Mrs. Kwachakwa. . . .

July 1896

9. . . . Wash is high. . . .

10. . . . Big rains at the east mesa, so that the east wash [Polacca Wash] has swollen.

20. Attended Si-ima's [Si'yma] burial ceremony. . . .

21. I went to Oraibi. Wash usually high now. . . .

26. Today was the Niman kachina. But I was only there in the evening. . . .

31. Drove to Oraibi in the morning to check on the Snake dance date. . . .

August 1896

1. Rode to Oraibi in the morning, still nothing specific concerning the Snake dance. . . .

3. . . . Announced Snake dance. . . .

4. Lom. [Lomahongiwma] was here in the morning. Should write a letter for Nakwaveima [Nakwave'yma], because he wants to go to Ft. Def. [Fort Defiance]. . . .

11. The Snake ceremony started today. Was already there at 5.40 a.m. . . .

12. Was in the kivas and went with the Snake priests [looking for snakes] up to Momoshwave [Mumurva]. Was very tired. It was hot.

13. Due to the almost pleading requests of the people I did not come along to look for snakes. Old Massanöntiva [Masangöntiwa] nearly cried. Lom. [Lomahongiwma] also brought them in. Someone could get bitten.

14. Again in the kivas. . . .

15. The whole day in Oraibi today. . . . The altar was built in the Ant. [Antelope] kiva. Snakes did nothing the whole day. In the evening the actual ceremony began in the Antelope kiva. . . .

19. Today is the Snake ceremony; early to Oraibi; together with Frieda. James's [George Wharton James] party only came in the afternoon. Beautiful weather. Major Williams and party came up to the mesa in the afternoon. I was there the whole day. There were about 40 white people there! By the time we had walked to Fewkes's camp and from there had taken the wagon home together with Mr. Whittaker, a big rain storm had come up and it rained a lot. The wash has been flowing for a couple of days. Volz's party here in the evening. . . .

20. I am tired. Rode to Keqöch. this morning to say goodbye to James's party. . . .

21. Volz and party home. Was at Miss Egan's in the morning, talked to Major Williams. Called for Lom. and translated. Maj. Will., Shum. [Shoemaker?] here. He therefore looked at some houses, which he could rent for Shum. He asked me to translate for him in the meetings tonight and tomorrow morning etc. I proposed that he should try first with his Navajo translator and someone of Lomahungyoma's people. He wants to invite Loms. people to come alone, so that they can talk without being disturbed, as at the last council not everything they had said had been translated by Sighini. . . . But soon we found out that Lom.'s man couldn't speak enough Navajo, so they asked me, as he had done already in the morning, to translate. Major Williams did so, and so I translated most of it. . . .

22. In the morning and parts of the afternoon Maj. Williams, Mrs. Butler & Miss Egan, as well as Stoli and wife here. At Kuy. [Qöyangayniwa] council in the evening. I was supposed to translate there as well, but

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did not. Lol. told Maj. James about trip to Washington. Much rain. Home late. . . .

24. To Shonopavi for Snake dance. Was in both kivas. . . . Fewkes's party in Shon. as well. . . . [T]here seems to be some tension between Maj. Will. and Mr. Collins. . . .

26. . . . I visited Fewkes and Stauffers in Walpi. . . . Fewkes was very nice.

28. . . . Wash very high in the evening. . . .

29. Wash very high. . . . Mr. Collins arrived. Inquired after the councils, Maj. [Williams] did not tell him much.

September 1896

1. Today the Day School started here in Keqoch. with 23 children. . . .

6. Sunday. Read, sang. In the afternoon at Keq. at the Punñamöniwas [Pongyamöyniwa, Badger], sang and talked with the people a bit about Heaven and the Savior. Kuy.[Qöyangayniwa] got mad at me, because I scolded him for not feeding his sick dog.

9. . . . The wash to the east of us is pretty high. . . .

10. . . . Many Navajos passed through here [going] to a dance. The wash is pretty high.

15. Wrote. Drove to C. Diablo in the afternoon. . . . Stayed at Honanis' for the night.

16. Honani says that the path is still too soft and that I need to drive around. I took him along and he gave me lessons in Navajo. Warm. In Great Lakes [Red Lake] in the evening. . . .

17. Arrived at C.D. [Canyon Diablo, location of Volz's store] in the evening. Windy. Late in the evening I talked to Volz about trinkets [Hopi artifacts]. . . .

21. Evening. Left here together with Lomayeshwa [Lomayesva #1, Coyote]. Nearly got stuck on the old path. No water in the Little Burro [springs]. . . .

22. . . . Wash was low so that I could cross it. . . .

24. High water in the night. Fence is gone. It came rapidly towards our [mission] station. Very worried. Cleared out shed & barn quickly. No Indian could come over. Luckily Siyaoma [Siyawma, Greasewood, Qöyangayniwa's son-in-law], Qöm. [Qömaletstiwa], and Lomahungwa [Lomahongva, Patki] were on this side to help us. Later some crossed over. We prayed that the water would lower and it did. But: I fear that we have to remodel our beautiful station, because the water tore through at 6–8 foot per hour. This certainly had a devastating effect. I left right away to tear down the barn. Qöm., Tañakhungwas [Tangaqhongva, Lizard] and Poñamöniva's [Pongyamöyniwa] son helped. Those were hard hours. Hardly had everything just been finished and now it is torn down again!

25. By evening Qöm. and Tañakhungwas had torn down the whole barn and driven the material away. Something like this is hard. . . . I wrote the first part of the report to the [Mennonite] Board. Also wrote to Stauffers to come here. . . .

26. Qöm. worked here by himself. . . . It looks bad here. Wood, posts, corn fodder etc. everywhere. . . .

28. . . . Mr. Stauffer here. Looked at the situation. We are not agreeing on the place where the dam is supposed to be built etc. . . . He wants to do it, but he does not believe that it can be done before November. Already in the morning when we were looking at the situation I thought, that we might not have to remodel at all. . . . Br. Stauffer returned home in the evening. . . .

29. Volz left. . . . Johnston party here until lunch. . . . Johnston and I went to fetch some wire & posts two miles from here, which the wash had stripped from our fence and taken there. Then drove their things to Keqöchm. Had just moved in. Ms. Johnston and I visited Talassn. [Talasnömtiwa], he does not want to know anything about dying. He says that he wants to live until his hair turns grey. Who is supposed to collect wood for his family and work on the fields etc.

30. Mr. Johnston here in the morning. Helped me the whole day. . . . Rain and storm in the west and east. So I hurriedly told people to put up some barriers at the wash. Cold. Johnston and I went to get cedar brush. . . . I am pretty worried about water again. . . .

October 1896

1. Nice weather. Worked with an Indian at the wash early in the morning. . . . Erected

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a small shed. Qöm. [Qömaletstiwa] fetched brush [for a berm to protect the mission buildings against the Wash] and set it in the earth. Major Williams and Keam stopped by here. Keam couldn't even drive up to the house (he appears to be a bit puerile). Major Williams came to the house and greeted Martha and Frieda and I walked up to the carriage and talked to Keam.—Williams does not know if the military will come here, says that Shoemaker is coming to Oraibe to take charge of the Mokis.

2. . . . Mr. Collins passed through. Drove with him to Keqochm. [Kiqötsmovi] Visited my sick Talassn. [Talasnömtiwa] I hope that man will get well again. He is one of the best Indians. Kuyowaima [Qöyawayma, Badger] set brush. . . .

5. . . . Mr. J. [Johnston, a missionary] to Moenkope, to make some investigations concerning the establishment of a [mission] station. . . .

8. . . . I am tired. Do not know for sure what God's will is concerning me going to the Mennonite conference [in Kansas]. Many Indians here. One wants this, one wants that.

[October 10th, the Voths leave for Newton, Kansas, stay for one month, arriving back at Third Mesa on November 10th.]

November 1896

12. Shom. [Shoemaker] and I and Mrs. Raush up to the mesa. Investigated fight between Tavalestiva [Tawaletstiwa] & Lol. Former wanted to chop the latter on the head, it seems in a fit. . . .

21. Wowochimti. I in Oraibi, the Keqochm. people, too.

22. Sunday. . . . Martha, I and Albert in Oraibi. Meeting in the Snake kiva.

23. Shoem. [Shoemaker] rode by early in the morning. Said they had called him to Shapaulavi, there is trouble there. Does not know what. . . .

December 1896

6. I was at Chief Naisshinima's [Nayusini'yma] with whom I talked about their heartlessness towards their cattle, cleaning the springs etc. Then I showed and explained to him and some schoolchildren some bible pictures. . . .

13. Sunday. An unpleasant day. In the afternoon I again drove out to the Navairoshi Spring and there was only a little water. They got angry in the Pongowa [Pongovi] kiva and I had a little fight with them. I preached ''Moses'' to them! In the Sakw. [Sakwalenvi] Lomahungyoma promised me that tomorrow they would go and work a bit on the spring. How can you love such people and how can you do missionary work without love! Sometimes I wish the Lord would send a proper tribunal to judge this people. . . .

14. . . . In the afternoon to the Spring. Around 38 of Lom.'s [Lomahongiwma's] people there [to clean it for the cattle to water], none from Naioshi's. . . .

15. . . . In Oraibi in the afternoon. In the Ponowa they had cooled down a bit. . . . Later Frieda and I wanted to go to Or. to attend the Soyal. ceremony, but it started to storm and rain and so we stayed at home.

16. In the morning in Or. Today was the ninth day of the Soyal. In the Pong. they were preparing the Qöoq. [Qööqöqlöm] masks. I said to them that they had lied to me that Lom's people do not want to clean the spring. Lol. and Naiosh. got pretty mad. I again told them the truth. Who knows what kind of consequences this will have. Told me also that Keams had told Collins I was no manager. They spoke against me, and that Shoem. does not believe me . . .

18. . . . Siviletstiva [Siwiletstiwa, Patki] here in the evening. Wasn't even here for 10 minutes and already had lied 2 times. I led him out of the door. I think he wanted to get pay for the mail, but he did not say a word and before I knew he had left. He said that Lolul. wants to chase me away. . . .

23. Prepared for the [Christmas] celebration in the morning. Then went to Oraibi and read out the invitation. Naiosh. [Nayusini'yma] and ? called it out, after I had personally invited every kiva. Some went to the Cañon, Loluloma too. M. [Martha] had told him that we have heard that he didn't want to come. He asked who has said that. Qöm. [Qömaletstiwa] said that he has heard that in the kiva. He said it isn't true. Then Nakwayeshtiwa [Nakwayestiwa] came by and then went along. I invited the latter to come, but he said that I had said I wanted to give the presents to the Shonopavis; why didn't I just go ahead and do that. I replied, that what I had said was that I would do that, if the Or-

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aibis do not want them. Most of them returned when they heard of our celebration.— We started around 2 o'clock.— First we sang some songs. . . . Then I read the Christmas Story and Poli explained it. . . . I was very tired.— It was nice. Am happy that the celebration is over, The Lord shall bless them! . . .

26. Stauffers here. They want to move here in 3–4 weeks to build the dams [i.e. around the mission]. But they want to live in Keqochmove, which we are glad about. . . .

January 1897

13. Early to Oraibi for the last day of the Flute ceremony. There for the day, but headache in the evening, so that I had to go home. . . . Also drew the Sakwal. [Blue Flute] Flute altar. . . .

15. . . . Shoem. [Shoemaker] came to pick up witnesses for the Lol.-Tavalestiva affair. I went with him, because I do not believe that he will get the Lom. [Lomahongiwma] people. They promised to go as well. Lol. not at home. In Cañon are Spec. Agent Shelby & Maj. Williams, who are supposed to investigate Collins, against whom they have raised charges. I think those are unfair, mean intrigues, triggered by Keam. Collins is Republican and it appears that he will leave before the change in administration. This politics is awful. Hopefully the Lord will stop this great unfairness. . . .

19. Today the Mamrauto [Maraw] began.— When I stopped for shelter on the way to Oraibi, Miss Egan hinted that they hold something against us as well. I felt worried, because you never know what such unprincipled people like Keam and Shoemaker will do. She told me a bit in the evening. She is disgusted with Keam and Shoem., and Maj. Williams is crazy. It is astonishing how unprincipled these people are acting just to get rid of Collins. . . .

26. Snow. I rode to Or. and watched how W. [Kuwanwikvaya] builds the Marau altar. . . . Big preparations in all kivas for the kachina dances tonight. . . . Stayed in Oraibi until midnight. The kachina presentation was very big. Oh, when will this heathendom be broken! It seems to be impossible.

27. Today Angakachina dance in Oraibi. I wasn't there. . . .

28. In the afternoon Fr. [Frieda] and I drove to Oraibi where the Kwan, Tao [Taw] & Nashabe [Naasavi] kiva were presenting some dances. With each group there were two girls. All the school children were also there.

29. Some snow in the morning. Windy. Oraibis had an Anàkachina [Angaktsina, Long Hair Katsina] dance from the Hanò kiva. I worked at home.

30. In the morning Miss Egan and I went up to the mesa. The Oraibis again, like two days ago, had Buffalo dances, this time from the Hanò– & Wikol. [Wiklavi] kiva, were supposed to present a Navajo dance, some girls participated. Was partly obscene. . . .

February 1897

2. Wickwaya [Kuwanwikvaya] told me today that the Powalawu ceremony had taken place yesterday.— It is a pity that I did not know about it. . . . The Indians began planting beans in the kivas. There were Indians here nearly the whole day. Some wanted to go to Flagstaff for me.— Tawaletztiwa, who is aware that he has epileptic attacks, came for medicine. He was standing outside. I told him that my medicine wasn't there. If he would come into the house, I would give him some. He did not do it. . . .

3. I started working on my Snake dance notes. Have a lot of work ahead of me. Dr. Fewkes wants to publish them together with his notes. . . . Taval. [Tawaletstiwa] promptly came here for his medication in the morning. He again had attacks last night. . . . Gave medicine to Ind.

13. Kiwanbuyama [Kuwanvuwyawma] left for Canyon Diablo. Stauffer and I went to Oraibi. Hired Talahoyama [Talahoyiwma, Bear] and Tobàyeshwa [Tuveyesva, Bear] to go with us to Flagstaff next month. I stayed there. . . . Frieda and I went to Oraibi in the evening. Initiation of Powamû children. Winter and snow. . . .

15. Talahoyoma came in the morning and wanted to have $10 instead of $8, as agreed on earlier. He accepted $9 at the end. But now I was worried about the trip to Flagstaff. So I rode out after them, after they had already left for Winslow, as Stauffer also thought, and commanded them [to adhere to the agreement]. . . .

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20. . . . For the first time water in the wash. Kiwanbuyama came in the afternoon, but hardly brought anything from the Chicago Freight [in Winslow]. We are very disappointed. He lied, said that he had to wait 4 days. Volz wrote, though, that he had been rabbit hunting with a Navajo. . . .

24. Q. chopped wood for dams. Stauffer was at home until the evening. He came very upset in the evening, frowning, wanted to know what the conditions were to build the dams. He wants to have that written down, he is getting fed up with misunderstandings, what the office said, how many Indians he could hire, how much was approved for the dams, if the money was actually there, etc., etc. I told him that the office has not given me anything in written form and that I would not want to have any written instructions anyway; that I could not do it, because I have no formal instructions, and if he wants to have such I am sorry, he would have had to say something earlier. That the office has left it to us and I leave the work on the dams to him, that I trust him that he will do his best. Naturally the office has not excused me from all the responsibility. I have told them that he believes that the dams will cost $150–$200, maybe less. He said, that he still believes that they will cost less than $150. I said, that the office has demanded to write them first if it costs more than $200. . . . I think, what Stauffer wanted today was to ensure that he is the boss in respect to the work on the dams, which he much likes. So that's why he wanted me to give him written instructions, so that he, at times when he can't be all boss can throw the responsibility back onto me. But he has not thought it through: he now has the work and the responsibility. . . . He is a good man, but very ''unreasonable''. . . .

25. . . . I wrote up my Snake dance notes. . . . The wash is now dry and it should be worked on. . . .

27. . . . With the 2 loads of heavy wood and the many [brush] mats that lay here he [Stauffer] could already make enough dams to divert the snow water if it comes. Why he does not work with the Indians and has the Indians collect the wood, I do not understand. . . . He seems to be very grumpy and mean. . . .

March 1897

2. This morning the wash was already pretty high. . . . Qöm. came late. Stayed over night. Miss Egan came with her school to the wash. She also thinks the brush is in danger.

3. Morning: The wash rises. Stauffer unloaded the wood and saw the danger himself, but left again for wood. When he had come here a couple of weeks ago, he had talked as if he was in a hurry to make the dams, so that he could leave for the farm soon. Looks like he changed his plans. Last Sunday his wife told us, that he was thinking about a position with Volz, who has asked for a license. I think that Stauffer is waiting to see what happens and that's why he is not hiring Indians so he can prolong this thing here. The Mission feeds his cattle and family. . . . The wash was pretty high all day. I wrote to Stauffer in the evening that the brush is endangered and the banks are collapsing etc. He wrote me a very harsh letter, containing some strange untruths. It was a dark hour. . . . The wash tore the banks away! . . .

4. The water was a bit lower during the day. St. came in the morning with a load of wood . . . brought some stones in the afternoon and he and Poli sank some stones and barriers into the wash. . . .

6. . . . Stauffer came here after the meal. I begged the Lord for wisdom, gentleness and patience and he answered my prayer. Stauffer first began with the sewing machine and immediately got very rude and started to yell. . . . He wanted us to come in front of Miss Egan and repeat what we had said. He accused me of being a liar, that at 4 o'clock I had ridden after Johnston to talk about Daleys, was a hypocrite, doing everything else, but what I was sent here for, one has already scolded him for not ''reporting'' me etc., etc. I sternly told him that we would not talk to him, that he talks like a rowdy. . . . He finally calmed down a bit and we were able to talk to each other in a reasonable way. . . . He charged that I only collect material to write a scientific book (!!). That I have a collection, that I do scientific research, that I was against Collins (!!) etc. When I gave him a calm and factual explanation proving the absurdity, triviality and unfairness of his accusations he became a bit quieter. Said that he was glad that he got this explanation etc.

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. . . His wife is the greatest backbiter we have ever seen. . . .

8. Letter from Miss Egan in the morning. Very insulting. . . . We are very unhappy about it. How can you be so mistaken about a person. I thought Miss Egan was honest and fair. Stauffer came here, he of course had talked to her after he had been here on Saturday (!!). [Long discourse on fight between Stauffer, Daley, Miss Egan, Martha etc. concerning sewing machine, and accusations about gossip etc.] Who knows how everything will end! . . . The wash rose pretty high in the evening.

9. . . . Stauffer came here with a number of Indians, sent them back when he saw that the wash was high. . . . He now does the work by himself and that takes up more time than it would if he had Indians to help him. . . .

10. . . . In the afternoon the wash rose higher than ever. . . .

11. . . . Oraibis had their Huh'yan kachina dance today. Some from the other mesas came over. Had a lot of trouble crossing the wash. . . .

13. It froze in the night and so there was only little water in the wash in the afternoon. A pity that Stauffer wasn't here now he could have worked on the wash. The wash rose again in the afternoon, but not as high. I talked a bit to Stauffer and he said that he couldn't stay for very much longer. I told him, that if things had not happened the way they happened, then it wouldn't even be necessary for them to leave already. . . . I told him that not only the Mennonite office, but the whole conference would be disappointed if he does not build the dams. That would amount to perfidy on his part. The Indians could have organized the material for ¼ of the costs. . . . Otherwise he was friendly and promised to fix the pump on Monday. He said that Maj. Williams and Keam had been at the first mesa. Keam had arranged a dance with the Indians, set things up etc. That's how our work is undermined. I am pretty discouraged; I am worried, also for us. . . .

15. Stauffer came with some people today; followed my advice and dumped sand into the wash, built a dam and did not even get wet feet. Why couldn't he have done this earlier? When there was less water in the wash than now?! He stayed for lunch.—He says that he couldn't make a second dam, because there is too much water; that is absurd, and a third dam for the stable wouldn't be necessary. That is absurd. If there isn't any protection there the upper dams will make a bigger curve right there. . . .

21. . . . Frieda and I drove to Oraibi in the afternoon. Just as we were leaving Maj. Williams and Louis drove by. What does he want! He only took Koyoneiniwa [Qöyangayniwa] along, drove to the mesa and Louis then brought the carriage back to Keq. [Kiqötsmovi]. . . . I told [Stauffer] that the wash was very low and that it probably will stay like this due to the cold and I pleaded with him to make the dams, to work at least for a few more days, that I then would have the work finished. He didn't want to. . . . . At the end I actually could convince him and he allowed me to direct the workers, which I did. Frieda and I had a meeting in the Ponòwa kiva. We sang some songs, I then read a translation of the story about Jesus walking on the sea. They were pretty attentive, even Lolulomai and Koy. were talkative. When we were leaving we met Major and Louis. I helped him buy eggs. He seems to be friendly. . . .

22. The wash is very low. Stauffer really worked on the dam with 10 men. Tob. [Tuveyamtiwa] and Qöm. [Qömaletstiwa] fetched some brush.—Jacob, Qöm. & Wickwaya came in the morning and told me there was talk about us in the Ponowa kiva, that I sometimes get mad with the Indians and that I have scolded them in one of the ceremonies, but most importantly that I sell corpses!! What!! . . . Q. even said [someone] had seen a box here with dead bodies and they are accusing him and Tanakhungwa ([Tangaqhongva], first, of having sold me the corpse of his child and secondly to have sold me another corpse.—He was nearly crying. I had heard here and there that some of the Hostiles had accused Tanakhungwa of selling me a dead body, but I thought that was a joke or malice, because it looked like they didn't want any of their people working for me. Soon Maj. Will. came, was friendly as usual, but didn't say a word, already wanted to say goodbye when I asked him what this is all about. But that I first wanted to tell him with

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all honesty that I didn't have any eavesdroppers at the council yesterday evening. He then asked if I knew or had heard about the ''talk'' that some Oraibis have seen a mummy in Flagstaff, that's why it is believed that the Indians do sell corpses, and that one then had said that he had seen one here with us; he then asked him, and he now said that he has only said that as a joke. He didn't believe in any of this, that's why he thought it would be unnecessary to talk with us about it.

I asked him what else they have been saying. He said that I come into their ceremonies and disturb them. I told him that I have been attending their ceremonies for 3½ years and only once had we had an argument and that was when Shoemaker ([Williams'] representative here) had told me to tell the Oraibis to clean their springs and Lolulomai's kiva didn't want to do it. That's when I told them that God is not going to hear their prayers and entreaties etc., etc. if they let their cattle go thirsty like this etc. And that actually wasn't even a ceremony, they had been coloring masks etc. and that I would do the same under the same circumstances. . . .

I asked him what else. He told me that some say that I actually have a store here and sell things to the Hostiles. I promptly got the list out documenting my purchases from the Indians for March from which he could tell that first of all, it was mostly just corn and secondly that nearly everything was paid with money.— We had traded some flour or sugar and I reminded him, that he himself had told me last winter that that wasn't commerce and that he too would keep some things for this purpose. He said that he knows he said so but he added ''I would not give them anything just now. You know, Capt. Keam is complaining about it'' etc. He smiled while saying this and one could see that he himself thought that Keams was being stingy. We asked him if he wanted to go through the house, but he sternly declined that. Why ''Capt. Keam'' is only after us and not also after others who do the same he didn't say and I regret not having asked him. The whole issue seemed to be a bit embarrassing for the Major, he repeatedly said, that he does not listen to rumors. It is his principle that if he investigates someone, that this person also has to be present.— If there is anything that I take any stock in I will come to you & let you know & then we will have an investigation. I said yes and I call court [sic, i.e., in English] & demand it.— When he shook my hand I said: I hope you are not going away with any prejudice against us. He said: No not at all! I also told him about the absurd gossip that I was Volz's business partner, that I have helped him out through a difficulty with money etc. I told him that he can see what kind of measures are used against me.— Outside he also told me, I told Mr. Keam: I could not entertain anything on mere reports, unless we could sift things down to facts.— One sees how Keam, who is an Atheist and an unscrupulous person, operates. . . . [The following day, Voth detailed other local accusations against him, ending, not untypically, with ''Who knows what they are going to start against us!'']

23. . . . I went to Oraibi today and stopped at the schoolhouse to set my watch. Miss Egan was very icy to me. Was in a few kivas, in the Hawoivi. Talassnöntiva [Talasngöntiwa] Shakwona [Sakwwunu] and others were talking about the time of the Mexican raid on Orayvi and kidnapping of children, 25 years ago.—In the kivas Häxima [Heevi'yma?] announced that they are going to have a race again.—Wrote letter for Talasskwoptiwa [Talaskwaptiwa, Sun].

25. . . . Qöm. [Qömaletstiwa] worked in the wash, Qöy.[Qöyawayma] fetched some brush and we all started putting up the network of fences around the house.—Mr. Collins and Miss Corial passed by in the evening. Latter was supposed to help Miss Egan with some sewing.—The first thing Mr. Collins said was: I wanted to see if I could smell some corpses here. So he also heard the rumors. But surely he did not believe a word. In the evening the wash suddenly rose. I see that we will have to make some more dams before the fall. . . .

26. . . . I helped Mr. Collins to bring the well driller. Talked about some things. He does not think much of Capt. Williams, says that he does not care much about Christianity. . . . He (Coll.) has reported everything about Keam to the Commissioner. . . . He believes that Keam's time will also come.— We also talked about the corpse stories. He thinks that Keam is also behind this. Keam's

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clerk, Will. has said to Kiwanbayama that I sell corpses for $10.00 but that I probably will have left the area by the time Williams gets here!!! But where do these rumors come from? I can only think of it this way: About a year ago an Indian came here and said that he had seen a carcass on the mesa, 1 ½ miles from here. I went there with him and found it to be close to a ruin. It might have been buried there a hundred years ago. Wind has blown away the sand and exposed it. The Indian must have talked about this to others, because they tell each other every little thing; some might have misunderstood that, others might have purposely twisted and embellished the story, because that was the Indian whom they later accused of having sold me the children's corpses and that's how the gossip started. Keam used this, that is, if he actually is behind this. Collins was very open to me and I think we get along well and will cooperate. . . .

27. . . . Hardly any Indians to be seen. They are spying out [of their houses] for Shaalako. . . .

28. . . . .I had a quite interesting meeting in the Ponowa kiva. Were pretty amicable and attentive.

April 1897

9. . . . In the evening I wrote letter for Nakwaweima [Nakwave'yma] and Katcinmana [Katsinmana, Eagle] to Tipton [a Mormon] concerning latter's property in Moenkope. In such matters the Conservatives prove to have more trust in us than the others.

12. . . . I then wrote [to Collins] concerning the Indian ceremonies which I had attended. We want to prompt the government to prohibit these, because they are so obscene. . . .

17. Gave out seed potatoes to a number of Indians.— Letter from Mr. Collins that an Inspector is going to come tomorrow. . . .

18. . . . Gave Easter eggs to Indian children. . . .

20. Gave Naioshi [Nayusini'yma] potatoes. Hâbima [Heevi'yma] wanted some thread; I told him that I could not sell him any, but would actually give him some, as they had been lying in Lol.'s kiva saying we have a store here. Naioshi heard it, but did not say a word. H. took the thread but not for free. . . .

22. As I did not know if we could get through to the store I decided to depart for Gr. Lakes [Red Lake] at 5.51 a.m. Mr. Volz himself was there. He had good hopes that he will receive the license [to open a store at Orayvi]. The Volzs both said that they knew Navajos in whose families Keam has children. . . .

27. Qöm. and I planted west of the wash and in the wash, drew our borders; he planted corn at Shokwona's border.

May 1897

1. . . . Cold, storm and sand. Qöm. and I built fence, Shakwaima [Sakwwa'yma] allowed us to fence another piece of ''grass''. Said, that the field in the east does not belong to Shokwona [Sakwwunu] but to him, which he actually has told me a couple of times before already.

4. . . . Wickwaya was angry that . . . I had planted west from the wash; he said that he had wanted to plant there, I have taken away his field etc. and it is on our 20 acre plot. These people are very unreasonable.

7. . . . Had called for Lomah. [Lomahongiwma] & Nakwav. [Nakwave'yma], they were supposed to clean out the government's well. . . .

8. Lomah. and 5 others cleaned the well in the wash. Nice weather. Piqösha [Piqösa, Badger] planted corn (west) and watermelons, pumpkin (north) [of us]. A couple of days ago we gave Shakwona [Sakwwunu] a plot of land on the north side for a year. He seems to be all right again.

12. . . . All those who had worked on the well came and I went with them and distributed the wood. They were very happy. They again complained about their fields being taken away. . . .

15. . . . Lomah. & Nakw. here, gave them letter for Raush [official at First Mesa] concerning Gehänge [parts for the well?] etc. I think this is the first time that these [Hostile] people have relied on the government officials to bring them something. . . .

17. Early to Walpi . . . [Raush] and Shoem. [Shoemaker] repeated that they will give the government things, which they still want to have, to Lomahungyoma people. . . .

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9. Gave 18 Indians wood at Keqochm. in the morning. Were pretty happy. Only Qoy. [Qöyawayma] was mad. The Indians then started to clean up the spring. In the afternoon Qoy. was digging fields north of the house. Sikaveima [Sikyave'yma, Reed] hoeing in the northern field. . . .

27. Ascension. Drove to Pakavi [Paaqavi]. Martha there for the first time. Looked at the gardens, held our sermon under the trees. Qöm. watched our house. . . .

31. . . . Shakwaima complained that Qötcwentiwa [Qötsventiwa, Two-Horn chief] has taken away a peach tree and 1 well. . . .

June 1897

20. Sunday. Telegram from Br. Peter [Stauffer] in the morning, that he will be coming to C.D. [Canyon Diablo] next Thursday. I rode to Oraibi taking the route around the mesa to take a look at the Moenkope path.— Did some things at home, after I had visited some in Oraibi and had shown some [bible] picture roles. It is a dark time for me; I am discouraged, ill, nervous and agitated. Oh, if I could leave. I have to get mad about so many things with these mean people. Here the doors for missionary work are not open. The people do not want it, not at all. . . .

29. Today was Anakachina dance. . . . Peter [Stauffer], Fr. [Frieda] & I in Oraibi. The Tsotskuto [clowns] wanted to strip their "G String" again and, unembarrassed, denude themselves; I did not allow them to do so and this time they obeyed. . . .

30. It did not rain. . . . After the dance the Indians went home to the other mesas, some stopped by here. . . .

July 1897

4. . . . Letter from Volz, that he got his license; from Collins that the school is supposed to be handed over to the agent and that he is supposed to be transferred to another position. That's how this bunch, Keam, Williams, & Co., are going to remove the great Collins and his excellent wife. We are really sorry for this, very sorry. Now they again are going to take measures against us as well. In the afternoon some old and young Indians came, whom we gave some Bible lessons. . . .

11. Br. P. [Stauffer] and I to Shon. [Songòopavi] Had gathering at two places with women and children. Sang and showed them Bible pictures. The people were pretty attentive, especially when I showed them the picture in which children are brought to Jesus. I told them about the joy of children and Heaven, where all the deceased children are and where we are going to meet all of them again. . . .

12. We worked on the house again. Mr. Collins came in the afternoon. He probably is going to leave. I advised him to stay. He said that he didn't much want to under Maj. Williams. Thinks about starting a trading business with Volz. He wants to make Keam look small. He said about Maj. Williams, that he is living a bad life in Ft. Def.— Was in Keqotchmowe in the evening where I talked to Mr. Coll. I advised him to write to Mr. Morgan. He would stay if things would change.

15. . . . Had called for Lomah. [Lomahongiwma] & Nakwav. [Nakwave'yma]. Raushes wanted to have them to dig the well. They said that the others have put a lot of pressure on them for accepting the wood so that they now are very discouraged. But they were going to discuss this. . . .

16. Morning. Nakwav. here and said that they would not dig. Yukioma had advised them so. I was a bit angry and told him not to talk like a little boy. It would seem as if Yukioma is the chief. He got a bit mad; it is amazing how strong the hatred between the two factions is. . . .

20. Waited for Maj. Will. who wanted to be here after breakfast, but only got here in the afternoon. Meanwhile Raush, and later Mrs. DeVore, were here. Said Nakw. has told the Maj. that Yuk. is the chief. The Maj. later said that this is a lie. Maj. came here around 1 or 2 o'clock. Volz wanted to give him his hand in a friendly way, but received a snub and a rebuke. Maj. acted like a boor. Volz like a gentleman. It was hot. In the evening we all went to Oraibi.

21. Today the Nimankatsina dance took place. Peter was in Oraibi last night until 4 a.m. Frieda and I there during the day. Peter and I there in the evening. . . .

28. What a day! Tavaletstiwa's [Tawaletstiwa] mother [Hongsi, Badger] came here in the morning saying that T. had fallen off the house and had broken his leg. P. and I went

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there and there the big, heavy man was laying with a compound fracture. He had fallen off the third floor of the house, while having an epileptic attack in the middle of the night. . . . I made [Sakwkuyvaya, his brother] ride to the doctor immediately, though. As he can only come here tomorrow Br. Peter and I had to set and bandage the leg. Lomahunyoma and his brother helped. . . . Dr. wrote that they are going to come tomorrow. . . .

August 1897

1. . . . In the afternoon M. and I went to Oraibi, taking the song books and pictures along. But first went to the sick man and found the bandage, which Dr. had put on, all loose, the fracture fully displaced. . . . The old father [Lomanakwsu, Loololma's godfather] was pretty devastated. What now!! I immediately sent a courier to Dr. McKee, saying she should come back immediately. At first couldn't find anyone; everybody believes that Taval., is bewitched and no one wants to have anything do to with him. Then home, discussed with Br. Peter and the Lord. We decided to reset the foot and to bandage it. Got the bone back in, but not too well. My trust in Dr. McKee has been shaken.—The foot should have been splinted better. I have little hope that the man will get well again.

2. Dr. & Mr. Furry arrived here in the afternoon. Rain. I rode to Oraibe in the evening and found that Dr. McKee had not even been here today, which I cannot understand. Furry was there.—Such people take it easy.—Could have gone there easily after the rain had stopped.

3. Furry picked me up for Oraibi. He, Dr. McKee and Miss Egan already had been there. Latter two waited there. The old one [Lomanakwsu] was very angry about Dr. McKee and asked why I and Br. Peter hadn't come along, he seems to trust us more than Dr. McKee. I consoled him. Dr. then started talking about amputation, but the people didn't want to hear about that. She then suggested, in front of Miss Egan, to take the patient down from the mesa and bring him into the schoolhouse so they could take better care of him. They were willing to do that, but who should help! The old father got one man. I then went to work; no one wanted to help and only after I had ripped someone's pants and had grabbed hold of some others did I manage to get 6 men together. With much effort we transported the patient on a ladder down a mile to the schoolhouse where we put up a bed. . . .

5. I am tired. Since this morning the sick man has been lucid again. I could talk to him and we talked about dying and Heaven, he appeared to be sincere and to believe the simple words. Should that not be enough? . . . He won't live much longer.

6. I rode there after breakfast, but Tav. [Tawaletstiwa] had died that night and was already buried. The old one and his son [Lomanakwsu and Sakwkuyvaya] were cleaning out the schoolroom. . . .

23. . . . All the Snake dance visitors left in the morning. Br. Peter and I packed, because we want to drive to Flagstaff tomorrow. . . .

25. . . . A new party was here: G. A. Dorsey and E. P. Allen from the Field Col. Museum Chicago and their driver. Were without supplies and so just stayed with us. Came from Alaska; want to make some excavations, in which I surely will neither encourage nor help them. That is out of my line. Drove to the mesa with them and translated for them. . . .

27. . . . Discussed my collection [of Hopi artifacts] with Mr. Dorsey. He wants to buy them, I can't and don't want to sell them though.

28. The people drove to the ruins 7 miles northeast. I wrote. Dorsey offers $150 for part of my stone objects. I cannot and do not want to sell these either, promised him, though, that if I ever want to sell them he could have them.

29. Drove to Shup. [Supawlavi] to the Flute ceremony. . . . We went into the two houses, the people were friendly. . . .

31. Dorsey packed in the morning. Accounted. Wanted to give me 5 whole dollars for 57 meals.—Finally gave me 10. I was a bit embarrassed, it seemed he was also, it looks like he is low on money.—Such people should be ashamed. . . .

September 1897

11. . . . I then went to Oraibi and found that the new year's meeting ''Yâsanlulawü''

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[*yaasanglalwa*] was being held in the Kwan kiva. So I had 2 ceremonies to attend. . . . Stayed the whole day.

12. Sunday. Was the whole night in the Kwan and Marau kiva; had an interesting and long conversation with the people. . . .

27. . . . Also had a longer conversation with Naioshi [Nayusini'yma]. He also complained that Koyon. [Qöyangayniwa] is always mad at him. I tried to convince him to stop showing such obscene things during their dances. . . .

October 1897

22. . . . Today, I bought (from Shakwaima & Shakwuna) the first real idol of a house god, a very old and much used Pöokong. for $6.00. That's an improvement. . . .

23. Owaqölte began today. I was in Oraibi very early. Stayed there for the day. . . .

30. In the morning to Oraibi. . . . Around noon, around evening and at 10.30 o'clock again to Oraibi; a total of four times, because it was the second last day of the Owaqöl ceremony. I now want to have details on this ceremony. . . . The Indians are harvesting a lot of corn and watermelons.

31. In Oraibi from 12–5 a.m. I then rode home. The poor people really have a hard time, namely the priestess Nössi [Qöyangöysi, Sand]; when is the light going to enter this deep dark! . . .

November 1897

20. Koy. [Qöyangayniwa] & Lol. here. The first time for the first one since a long time ago. Want Maj. Williams to build at Momoshwewe [Mumurva], he does not want to; is disgusted. I talked to the people and set them straight. . . . Serious discussion with Lol. and Koy. about the Moenkopi land controversy, through which a conciliation with Koy. was made possible, who had been distant for quite some time. Kiwani [Kuwanyawnöm] translated. She got married today. . . .

22. Prepared to leave for C.D. [Canyon Diablo]. But did not get done. Old Tanner [Mormon from Tuba City] came with a load of apples. I fetched Volz's donkey, as it was nearly starved and dying of thirst. Scolded the old ''Latter-day Saint'' (Tanner) about his cruelty. . . .

December 1897

7. . . . Shoem[aker] and Dr. [Deckert] back. They arrived here. Shoem. asked me if I hadn't received his letter which he had sent via Needham [principal at newly opened Blue Canyon School]. I said no! He said that some Indians complained that I had not allowed them to sell certain cattle to the Navajos, others that I disturb their ceremonies. I told him that the first statement is a complete lie, as I have never prohibited any cattle trade; that is none of my business. And the other probably refers to the first winter, in which he had told me to tell the Oraibis that they should clear out their spring, when their cattle were so thirsty and they then got mad when I told them that all their singing, bahos [*paaho*] making, would not help them if they let their cattle go thirsty like that. I explained this to him and I think he got a bit embarrassed, he himself said that the people are big liars, namely Koyonainiwa. They had indignant meetings about him at the second mesa as well. If we are supposed to work against this strong heathendom here by avoiding all opposition (!!) we better go home. In other countries the missionaries get murdered.—And how much opposition must Maj. Will. fight here!!

11. . . . Akauuschi [Aqawsi, Eagle] brought us a puppy. . . .

12. Sunday. Martha and I to Oraibi. I was very discouraged walking through the village, seeing all this squalor (physical and moral), deeply rooted in heathendom, dirt and cruelty. I felt like I should go home immediately. But we actually had some pretty interested listeners at Lomanankwusha's [Lomanangkwusa], in the Hawiowi kiva, at Kiwani [Kuwanyawnöm's house?] etc. . . .

14. . . . We were in Oraibi. Indians were weaving. An old Hano told war stories in the Hano kiva. . . .

24. Fewkes & Raush here before & after lunch. Had a good conversation with Fewkes. . . . At Dorsey's in the evening. Worked on Wickwaya's cast [for Field Museum].

25. . . . Then Dorsey with Qöm. here; had to translate, then read. It does not feel like Christmas. . . .

26. Sunday. . . . In the afternoon I had an interesting conversation with Koy., Lol., Naioshi in the Oraibi [Pongovi?].

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28. In Oraibi.—In the evening Dr. McKee & Shoem. came to Miss Egan. She had her celebration there with the Indians. . . . No Prayer, no reading, no Christian speech.

29. We started to label the Indian things, which Dorsey wants to take with him. I want to lend some things to the museum. In the afternoon Maj. Williams drove by. I was at Miss Egan's in the evening. Maj. withdrew at the greeting. Who knows what he is going to do against us. He and I at Dorsey's [field] workshop. Dorsey said, that he has said that it was alright if I sell things to him.

30. Maj. to Tuba today. I asked him via a letter about selling things and he said it was all right. We pack things. . . .

31. Packed again. In the evening Dorsey and Towakwaptiwa & wife [Nasingönsi, Parrot] here. Had to translate.—Signed the agreement. To me it appeared as if he was not really willing. . . .

January 1898

1. The new year has begun. . . . Those were tiring days; I will be glad when the collection is gone.—I went up to the mesa with Dorsey in the morning. But he did not go all the way up. I hired some subjects for him, made some visits and then hurried back home to celebrate some more ''New Years''. . . . Then we packed some more and closed the boxes. Dorsey came here in the evening; took our picture, said that I had said that Maj. Will. was sitting on the fence ''but I can tell you he is your enemy; hed [sic], foot, tail & all''. This matter is concerning me. What could this man have against me. ''He talks disrespectfully of you'' Dorsey said; he did not want to say more, though. I fear that Dorsey is exaggerating.—Dorsey has to leave tomorrow. Want to send him to Winslow.

6. A busy day. Had our Epiphany celebration today with approximately 350–400 Indians. It was beautiful. The Indians were pretty satisfied. Koy.& Lol. were also here. . . .

16. Sunday. . . . To Oraibi in the evening. 8th Lalakonti day.—The old Kuiwushi [Qöywisa, Kookop] and 3 small lads went from kiva to kiva and amid much noise and fun they brought out some kachinas with a rope. . . . Everybody was freezing and strangely shivering and some even were still barefoot. It was pretty touching. What this poor people bear for their religion!!

17. . . . Qöm. [Qömaletstiwa] told [us] that Tobeyeshwa [Tuveyesva] has been gone for 3 weeks. He had gone to the Navajos to trade with them and still has not returned. Naioshi was here in the evening and told me that, and wanted me to write to Maj. Williams. They are concerned that the man was murdered because he had some valuables with him.—He also told me that Maj. Will. has prohibited their obscene performances at the council. He therefore has fulfilled my request. Much has been gained with that. . . .

18. Clear, but cold. Towakwaptiwa took the letter for Maj. Will. A number of Indians looked for the missing Tobeyeshwa. . . .

19. Was in Oraibi. When I asked the Indians in the Ponowe kiva why so few of them were searching for the missing Indian, and also reminded them, for example, that Puhumshaima [Puhumsa'yma, Lizard] had stayed calmly in the kiva even though I told him that his child was dying at home and his wife was sitting next to it crying. Lol. got angry at me; said that I was lying; recently I had said that they were Christians, and now I say they are not, when God and Jesus come and he can see them that will be the time when he believes. . . . The others were on his side and lied, saying that I had said that they were Christians. I had told them to become Christians, told them once more what they have to do to become Christians. They have to give up their false gods, katchinas, altars, dances etc. And surely they said that they wouldn't do that. . . . I told them that I think I know why they suddenly are so mad; Because Maj. Williams has prohibited some of their bad things and because they have heard that I had asked Maj. Williams to do so. We talked some more and at the end they calmed down a bit and Lol. said that he wasn't angry anymore. . . .

February 1898

2. . . . Women sewed here. . . . Qöm. worked some, postman said that the two Navajos who have murdered Tobey. [Tuveyesva] have been apprehended. . . .

5. . . . Sikamöniwa brought the mail in the evening and said that the arrested Navajos

confessed to murdering Tuveyeshwa and that they hastily buried him.

6. Was in Oraibi in the afternoon. Had a meeting in the Hawiowi. Everything seems to be in vain.—I then went to the Ponowe kiva; Talahoyoma [Talahoyiwma, Tuveyesva's brother] and 3 others have been searching for Tobeyeshwa's body and T. found it where they had expected it to be, under a bank, somewhat covered with stones.—He took it out and inspected it. Hair and upper body were all covered with frozen blood. Wound at the back of the head and at both sides of his head and he also thinks there is a stabbing wound on the upper side of his chest, but couldn't inspect it well enough due to all the frozen blood. Right leg also cut. Piqösha [a strap] around the neck with which he was dragged away.—Nothing else. T. then buried him again. The Lord allows too much in this world.—The old father-in-law [Talashongva, Sun] of the murdered man called me into his house and asked me to write all this down. His daughter (the wife of the deceased) cried a lot.

7. Wrote letters. Naioshi came and asked me to write to Maj. Will. about how T. [Talahoyiwma] had found the murdered man yesterday. I did so. Williams will take this badly. . . .

March 1898

11. . . . Talassnimtiwa helped me with my description of the dolls for Dorsey. . . .

12. Worked on writing the labels. Talassnimtiwa helped a bit in the evening. . . .

April 1898

3. Sunday. A big storm in the morning. Hardly could make it to Oraibi. Had a meeting in the Ponowa kiva.—Visited some sick. Had a long conversation with the two orphaned children, who now have promised to go to school regularly.

5. . . . I went to Keqötchmove. Miss Egan told me that Keam and his companions already have something against Mr. Allen [Collins' successor]. . . . Naioshinima [Nayusini'yma] and Talassmöniwa [Talasmöyniwa, Rabbit] went to Keams Cañon and took our mail along. I wrote to Allen on their behalf concerning the land difficulties in Moenkopi. They wanted me to write to Maj. Williams, which I didn't want to do, though. I think the Maj. might suggest that it is none of my business. . . .

11. Naioshi and Koyon. here for pay. . . . In the afternoon I fixed the government's pump after the two factions in the village declared that they should [use the] pump.

16. Tallassnimtiwa here to ask for medicine. His grown-up daughter Shihkwapnöma [Siikwapnöm, Patki] is sick. He was pretty embarrassed. These poor people already have lost so many children. . . .

18. Volz came today to set up his store [at Kiqötsmovi; Volz has evidently finally overcome Williams' opposition to his being granted a trader's license]. . . .

19. Talassn. [Talasnömtiwa] and Talasshun. [Talashongniwa, Sand] here. Explained some Bible stories to them, whereupon the first one became quite enthusiastic. I don't want him to lead the Niman ceremony. . . .

21. . . . To Volz's store for the first time. He is digging a well and building, but not trading yet.

24. Martha and I in Oraibi in the morning. There were probably 18 men weaving in Lolulomai's Kiva, had a pretty nice meeting. Some of the old ones smoked pretty devotedly.—Maj. Will. stopped by in the afternoon. M. and I went to Miss Egan and visited him in the evening. He was very friendly.

25. Maj. Will. came here and confirmed our deed signatures [for the mission site]. He seems to want to go to Cuba. "I believe those fellows" (the Spaniards) "ought to have a licking & I am going". Mr. Volz opened his store today. Fr., Alb. [Frieda, Albert] and I went there. There were many Indians there.

26. . . . Around noon Prof. K. v.d. [von den] Steinen, Berlin, came here. He was on his way home, coming from the Marquesas Islands—he wants to buy my collection. . . .

May 1898

2. Hehea dance in Oraibi. V. d. Steinen and Pawika [Paawikya, Rabbit] there. . . .

4. . . . [Prof] v. d. Steinen and I took some photographs of some things up there [Orayvi]. Pawika brought some dolls etc. for the Prof. . . .

6. V. d. Steinen left. I drove him to Bayupki [Payupki]. He would like to have our collection for Berlin; would have liked to immediately buy some of the pieces. But I

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couldn't promise him anything; nor could I tell him prices. He nearly got impatient.

8. Sunday. I visited some people in Keqötchmove in the morning. Raush was here in the afternoon. Said, Maj. Will. has said that he won't do anything against Volz anymore.

9. Mr. Shoem. brought the field matron, Miss Ritter, here.

10. Shoem. here; was unusually friendly. Said, that Mr. Mooney would come to take around 70 Navajos and around 40 Mokis to the Omaha Worlds Fair . . .

13. . . . Miss Egan and I to Volz's. She thinks that Maj. Will. is still trying to get rid of Volz and that Raush has lied. We warned Volz. . . .

19. . . . Nakwaweima [Nakwave'yma] wanted [me to write] a letter for Volz that he should pay them more for their products. . . .

20. . . . Anak. [Angaktsina, Long-Hair Katsina] dance in Oraibi.

21. I rode to the second mesa, because Miss Watkins, who is sick, had called for me. Visited Shup. [Supawlavi] & Mishonnavi [Musangnuvi], found a Pneumonia patient in Shup. Mish. Anakachinas came home from Oraibi where they had been since the day before yesterday. Now they are going to dance in Mish. tomorrow. I am pretty angered.—The government should at least prohibit the obscene horseplay. Sikaletstiwa (chief of the Shup.) got mad at me; accusing me of sympathizing with the Conservatives. . . .

30. Stauffer offered to take our position for 3 months, if we can't find anyone [to replace us while we are away]; but he was alone. M. and I in Oraibi. Meeting with Pueblos and Mokis, pretty windy. . . .

June 1898

4. After Tan. [Tangaqhongva] had found the donkey I rode via Pakawi [Paaqavi] to the Hôtwell [Hotvela] spring and Mazoupi [Matsonpi] ruin, where I had never been before. This is a big, empty, quiet world!

13. . . . The old Nakwsu [Lomanakwsu] complained that Sikamoniwa [Sikyamöyniwa, Parrot/Raven] did not let him plant, Lomahunyoma, that a Navajo now finally has brought his stolen beads, but that he wants to have either $15.00 or 3 cows. I am supposed to help. Following Raush's invitation I went there (Keqötc.) and we talked about the matter. The Navajo left the beads in Raush's hands, but rode then to K[eam]s.C[anyon] to see Shoemaker, because he thought that his letter, ''To whom it may concern'', contained the order for $15.00.

14. Wrote letter to Shoem. concerning the field and the bead story and sent a special messenger, for whom I had to run around in the village. Nakwsu and his people, though, following my advice planted their fields, and the others let them do so. . . .

15. Shoemaker arrived in the evening. Was pretty mad and very unfair to Lomahunyoma and Raush. Made the strangest accusations. In a long conversation I had with him, I was able to prove to him the absurdity and the contradictions of his position and it seemed as if he understood and gave in; it looked like he was a bit embarrassed. He left, seemingly friendly, but who can trust him?

18. Nakwaweima said in the morning that Shoem. has left the beads here for $5.00 and has decided the land dispute in favor of Nakwsu. He therefore has actually followed my advice in both cases. He also has asked if I was selling things to the Indians for money, which they surely denied. So, prosecution-lust and intrigues still!

20. . . . Fetched some greens from Pakawi [Paaqavi]; allowed us to plant some in the little Indian field.

28. Again very hot. Rode to Pakawi for some greens. Met a sheepherder and asked him if he waters the sheep. No. Why not? Spring (Nawaiwoci) ran dry and the sheep were getting weak. But the cruel man can't think of cleaning out the spring. So for hours I helped to water a couple of sheep herds at the spring. I also looked for the chief and had it called out in the village that they have to clean out the spring tomorrow. This would have been Raush's and Shoemaker's business, who both had been here, but they don't care about this. Only receive their salary. Thermometer above 100 in the shade.

29/30. The Indians cleaned out the spring. It is very hot and there was wind in the afternoon. The cattle are thirsty.

HP010013

July 1898

2. . . . The 3 lady neighbors here for a visit. I found out that Shoemaker had formally invited the Indians, as well as the ladies, to a ''council'' (17th June) to prove, with the help of the two factions (Lol. and Lom.'s people) that I had accepted money from the Indians. One after the other had denied this, though, whereupon Shoemaker got a bit mad and said, Well, you can go home. But he himself had ''given away'', that some time ago he had given Naioshi $50 to try to buy some calico from us, which he (N.) had tried—but surely without results. ''Well you did not catch him (namely me) 'this time''' Miss Egan has said to Shoem. after the council. ''No'', he replied,''you can buy me for 75 cents. Is there another way to Keams Cañon than the one by that Mission house there''. The Lord has, again, as previously, not allowed him to succeed, but it still shows that they would like me to leave.

25. Around noon Maj. Will., Insp. Mc Laughlin and Shoemaker came. McL. is supposed to investigate the Moenkopi land disputes. In the evening I went with him to the mesa and helped him to gather the witnesses (for the meeting in the schoolhouse in the evening) and helped translate in the evening. A number have promised to go to Moenk. tomorrow, namely some women, who lived in Moenk. when the Mormons first got there (Katcinmana, Möcinimka, and I think Mrs. Tobeyeshtiwa (Talasshunsi [?]). [i.e., Katsinmana, Mösinömqa, and Tawayamsi, Lizard]

26. After breakfast went to Maj. Will.& McL. Advised latter to take along a more competent translator. I found out that he already had had a controversy with Maj. Will. concerning the translator issue. Then went up to the mesa and right enough! The men were all gone, the women were all there; however, the women were [in fact] supposed to be the main witnesses. I then had some work to get the women to go, especially because the men were gone already and had taken the cattle with them. Luckily, Maj. Will. was there and the Inspector had turned around and had come up to the mesa. So I was able to help Maj. Will a bit, whereby he also got a bit ''wild'' at the women. Finally he had to leave and asked me to do everything possible to send the women and the others along, which I then did. Got around to breakfast at noon. That's how it often goes. The people get the credit and the large salary, while the mission has to do the work.

August 1898

4. . . . Today it has been 4 years that we came to Oraibi. How much lies in time!

5. Up early. (Because of Snake dance announcement). . . . Evening messenger from C. Diablo [to find out] when Snake dance is going to be.

6. . . . Today the Snake dance was finally announced. . . .

7. Frieda and I in Oraibi. Miss Ritter was here in the afternoon. . . .

12. Tan. [Tangaqhongva] took the load of coals to the store and, as I could observe with my binoculars, he gave a ride to the whole Qomayeshtiwa [Qömayestiwa, Greasewood] family, for which I scolded him very much later. . . . Volz builds a kitchen for the time of Snake dance.

14. Got up before 4 a.m. and was up at the mesa before 5 a.m., because today the Snake dance ceremony began. The old Snake Chief was still in his house. At noon Prof. James and Maud and a grumpy Englishman came; they are camping in the wash; in the evening Dr. P. Ehrenreich from Berlin, Germany, came, who without much hesitancy accommodated himself in our house. . . .

15. At 4.30 a.m. I was already in the kiva. The people were just getting up. After breakfast Dr. Ehr. and I drove up again. Stopped at Maj. Will. who is staying in the government's building for a couple of days. He was pretty friendly. He promised to support my efforts to take Dr. Ehr. into the kiva, and so I got permission from the old priest to take E. along.

16. Was in Oraibi in the morning and in the evening. In the afternoon Maj. Will. (with Ehrenreich) was here. It rained a bit. . . .

18. Got to the kivas around 9 o'clock. In the village I met, the following (announced by Mr. Higgins): Prof. Holmes (lecturer), Mrs. Cole, her sister and an Englishman, who had joined them. Mr. Holmes wants to collect material for his lectures; Mrs. Cole wants to paint paintings.

19. Prof. James and party as well as Dr.

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Ehrenreich drove to Walpi to see the Flute dance. I didn't get to village until noon.

22. Today the Snake dance took place. I went up to the mesa early. We had 8 for breakfast. Some (Holmes, Depew etc.) stayed for part of the day with us. In the afternoon I took Frieda up. There were around 65 white visitors at the mesa.—Miss Watkins, Staufer, Johnston were here for the night. I again was the only white person who was allowed to see everything in the kivas, Dr. E. some. . . .

24. Staufer and I (we) planned his substitution [for us] in case we leave. . . . At least, we left the decision entirely up to him.

25. Staufer and I drove to Shup. [Supawlavi] for the Snake dance. Stayed over night. Needless to say I got access to the kiva ceremonies; the Snake washing was horrible. . . .

September 1898

10. Made some preparations for our vacation. . . .

11. Sunday. I was told that the Indians are going to have a so-called ''chicken-race''; I sent word that they should refrain from having it. Only a few were there anyway. . . .

12. Early in the morning Stauffer drove the last Indian things to Volz, whence they are then to be transported to C.D. . . .

17. . . . Raush went home to the first mesa, but soon returned with Sup't. of Keams Cañon School and the Agent of the I.R.A. [Indian Rights Association], Mr. Brosius (and Shoemaker, who came later). [Brosius had come to investigate the land problems at Mùnqapi]

18. Sunday. Shoem., and Mr. Brosius here to meet some of the leading Oraibis. Then left for Moenkopie. . . . Stauffer and I then had a meeting with the leading Indians of the liberal element [Friendlies]. Talked about a lot of things; among other things we also received their approval for the construction of the local [mission station?] at the mesa. They want me to use my influence in Washington to make Lomah. [Lomahongiwma] not be chief. The Conservatives had Sikaveima [Sikyave'yma] here as their spy. . . .

19. . . . In the last days we had many Indians come here whom we gave some things. Our departure seems to actually affect them and we hear, ''Who will give us medicine? Christmas presents? Milk for my sick wife? But you come back! When do you come back?''. . . .

20. Got up early. Miss Watkins and Miss Ritter here. Left at 6 a.m. . . . The trip partly strenuous. Got to Volz's around sun set. . . .

24. We arrived in Newton around 12.30 a.m. . . .

(From October–December, 1898, the Voths were in Newton, Omaha, and Kansas City. They spent 1899 and 1900 in Kansas and elsewhere, finally returning to Orayvi in late December or early January, 1901. In the interim, there are virtually no references in the diary to people or activities concerning Hopi.)

January 1901

4. M. [Martha] and I up at the mesa, visited the sick and Kiwangerutive [probably Kuwanngöytiwa, Patki] and made notes with latter about Kampmeier's raid. [In the Voths' absence, Herman Kampmeier has arrived as Oraibi Day School Principal; under orders from Hopi Agent Charles Burton, Kampmeier has begun a brutal program to round up children for the school.] Was at Kampmeier's. Had a good and sincere conversation with him. Appeared to be a bit shy and embarrassed. . . . Are going to continue the talk tomorrow. . . .

6. Sunday. Was at the Flute ceremony until 4 a.m. last night. How I wish that for once one of you could see this heathendom. But it is starting to fall apart.—I openly tell the priests that it is only a matter of years that their ceremonies will fall into tatters. Before, they would have gotten angry, but now they are starting to expect the reality. . . .

9. In the morning in Oraibi. First day of Marau ceremony. . . . Frieda is now taking lessons with Kampmeier nearly every day.

11. . . . 6.15 up to the mesa to Maraukiva. On the way back home Kampmeier stopped me, to have Nakwaletstiwa's wife arrested, because they both have advised others not to send their children [to school]. K. now wanted to immediately cut the man's hair and send him to Keam's Cañon. It soon proved, though, that the man was fully and the woman partly innocent. K. gets too angry; the people do not trust him. . . .

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12. In Oraibi in the Maraukiva. Back in the morning and afternoon. I suggested to Kamp. to announce that the women are not supposed to fetch water anymore. Today, before sunrise an old mother came to fetch water. She was half frozen. Pump was also frozen. For about 25 women I counted 5 men fetching water. So we had [the prohibition] announced in the evening. Kamp. also had called out that the people are not supposed to hide their children when he comes into the village. In the evening Frieda and I in the Maraukiva.

13. . . . Last night I was in Oraibi in the Maraukiva until 4.30 a.m. Also in the Ish[Is kiva] & Kachinak [Katsin kiva], where they were preparing for the Buffalo dance. At times there were around 150 people in the kiva and a terrible heat and smell. The dances were horribly heathen and wild. And the naked dancers, bathed in sweat, went outside into the icy night air to cool themselves off. The naked children were also taken outside like that. Today the dance took place publicly. Frieda and I were in Oraibi in the afternoon and had a meeting. . . .

14. . . . Only few men fetch water and the men protest against the new order of things. I sent some women home, empty handed. . . .

15. . . . Men are busily fetching water. . . .

17. . . . Last Marau dance. The two gentlemen and I were in Oraibi until 3 a.m., where we saw the [illegible word] of the Palhikmanas [Palhikwmamant, Nectar-drinking butterfly maidens] and different kachinas . . . and moreover the last Marau ceremony. The Palhikmanas danced throughout the day. Kampmeiers were also there.

18. In Oraibi the members of the Snake and Lakon Society made bahos. In the evening [several different kinds of katsinas] danced in the kivas. . . . Spent a while at Kampmeier's. He said that he wouldn't report Volz's story to Burton. Said, he didn't hit Palakwayo [Palakwayo, Piikyas; WPikL1G4].

20. Sunday. Very nice. M. and I in Oraibi. Powalawu. Had different meetings. I rode back there in the afternoon. . . . Had once more called out that the women are not supposed to carry water. . . .

24. . . . Around noon Mr. Burton and Insp. [illegible name] arrived. I rode to the mesa in the afternoon and stopped there. Were very friendly and the Insp. came here in the evening and stayed over night. We told him some things about Kampmeier and the circumstances here, for which he thanked us, as it opened his eyes on some things. He is not for continuing with the gunpoint policy [i.e. to get children into school]. . . .

25. In the morning I drove the Inspector to Kampmeier's. Talked long with Burton about Keam's threat to take him away. . . . Burton wants me to lobby for him in Washington. I was there again in the afternoon, Staufer also came. Talasnimtiwa was called and now the whole burro shooting [by Stauffer] was discussed. Whereupon Staufer attacked me with the most outrageous and mean lies. What gives with this man? Burton decided that St. has to pay $2.50, and will not write to the office; that does not mean, however, that I won't bring this thing in front of the office. It is hard for me to forgive this man. . . .

27. Sunday. Insp. and Mr. Burton stopped by in the morning. . . . In the afternoon Miss Anderson and I in Oraibi. Small meeting in the Tao [Taw] kiva. Made some other visits.—The mail brought the news that Queen Victoria is dying. . . . How I wish we would have a house in Oraibi. We then could have much better meetings.

29. . . . It appears that the relationship between Staufer and us has grown so bad that no further interaction is possible. . . .

February 1901

4. . . . In the morning talked to Koy. [Qöyangayniwa] for Kampmeier, who explained to us how the custom of beating children has come about. He [Qöyangayniwa] talked for hours and at the end he again wanted to insist on me not attending the ceremonies. He and the others fear that I will reveal their secrets and that they therefore will lose their influence. But I still went to their kiva and talked to him for a while and at the end he got friendly again and stepped back from his former position. I also told him that having exact knowledge about their secrets may actually be helpful and protective, as I could let other people know that they do not practice certain bad things. . . .

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5. . . . Pawiki told me, when I advised him about the inanity of their false gods, that they do not want me to attend their ceremonies, and they would tell this to Kampmeier and Burton.

13. . . . I wrote up my Soyal notes. Qöy. [Qöyawayma] worked here. Talked a lot with him. He is starting to doubt their religion. . . . There seems to be a movement among the Indians. They fear damage to their religion by my knowledge of their secrets.

17. . . . Had meeting in the Ish [Is kiva] and Ponovi [Pongovi] kiva. Indians are preparing themselves for the different kach[inas] tonight. . . .

18. Last night various kachinas. . . . I mailed my manuscript for the Soyal publication, which I had revised. . . .

21. . . . Shokhangima [Sakwhongiwma], who had wanted to come, did not come. I believe Koyonainiva [Qöyangayniwa] is behind that.

23. . . . In the morning Shakh. [Sakwhongiwma?] Lomah [Lomahongiwma] etc. here. Again had fight because of the fields.

28. . . . Kampmeier and I drove with Lom. and Yukioma [?] to latter's field. . . .

March 1901

1. . . . In the evening M. and the children drove to Staufers, who want to leave tomorrow. . . . Miss Watkins came here. Said that Keam wants to get rid of all of us. . . .

2. In the morning Koyon. [Qöyangayniwa] stopped by, for the first time since a long time. Was pretty friendly. Right then Burton came. He, Kamp. were at the mesa in the afternoon to order a quarantine onto Lolulomai's and Shokhmayoma's [Sakwhongiwma?] kivas, as applied to all the villages and to the Navajos. He also confirmed the choice for our construction site [on Orayvi mesa].—Council in the evening. . . .

19. . . . Was at the mesa during the day, vaccinating Indians. I took Misses Burll & Anderson along. The Conservatives first defended themselves, until Yukioma got his hair cut and got forcefully vaccinated. Burton, Kamp. and the ladies and I and Staufer stayed until noon.

20. Again at the mesa. All three ladies, also Needham. But again couldn't get all of them and so we sent Burton to the second mesa to get more help. . . . Vorhies and his men arrived in the evening.

21. Early in the morning the whole village was surrounded and all Indians had to meet in front of the village. We then started searching the houses, which we had to give up though. Everybody had to come by us and those who hadn't been vaccinated yet, got vaccinated; whereupon some young men who did not have a good excuse lost their hair and some children were put into school.

24. . . . Frieda and I had a meeting in the Sakwalenwa kiva. In the evening at Kampm. Talked about some paragraphs in my quarterly report. He appears to feel aggrieved, had not understood the matter. But they say it is all right and want to write so to Burton.

25. . . . An unfriendly Mr. Burton here. Said that Kampm. has sent Kog. [Qöyangayniwa] to him with the complaint I have made that the Indians should get vaccinated here. I had done so, but only because Kog. has said that K. [Kampmeier] doesn't have any points anymore. B. [Burton] laughed, and it seemed to me that he has lost some respect for K. [Kampmeier] Said he was jealous. . . .

April 1901

14. . . . Frieda, Maria and I up at the mesa in the afternoon. Small gathering at Homikini, Talohoyoma, Shakmassa [Homikni, Lizard; Talahoyiwma; Sakwmasa, Coyote] etc. The kivas are getting emptier. . . .

15. . . . Puhunumtiwa and Shokaoma [Puhunömtiwa, Lizard/Snake, and Suuqawma, Snake] here. Gave them seeds. . . .

18. In the morning Mr. Burton and Insp. Jenkins passed through. Latter asked me about Keam, the Coercive [school] policy and about Kamp[meier]. I could not tell him much. It looks like Keam has an opponent. He also spoke very severely about Kamp.'s excesses.

19. Burton back in the morning. Stopped here. Thinks Jenkins is going to report against Keam.

22. . . . A lot of Indians fetched water from the government's well. . . .

24. . . . These days many people are fetching water from the government's well.

25. . . . Qöy [Qöyawayma] was also here. Said that yesterday Koyonainiwa again asked

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him and Piq. [Piqösa] why they work here and did what I tell them to. The man is a real snake.

30. . . . Told Qöy. that if he participates at the Anakachina dance he wouldn't have to work here anymore. I am curious what he will do. . . .

May 1901

6. [Martha Voth died today, having given birth to a baby girl, also to be named Martha.]

17. The wash was pretty high in the night but now has fallen again. What a blessing for the fields, which have profited from it. . . .

July 1901

19. . . . In Oraibi in the evening. Today was Niman totokpe [evening ceremony prior to Niman dance]. Albert came along. Sus. [Voth's sister] stayed up until 11 p.m. and then woke me up and rode to Oraibi to attend the night ceremonies. . . .

20. Today was the Nimankatsina dance.

25. . . . Again no one came to herd the cattle. Qöyawaima also refused, despite all the love I have shown towards his family. The girls [his daughters] want to hold a sewing school, to give the people calico. Only one old woman showed up.—That's how boundlessly unthankful these people are. . . . Had palaver with Lol., Koyonain., Lahpoo [Laapu, Bear], Poli [perhaps Poliyestiwa, Greasewood] in the morning. They got mad at me here and there, saying bad things, especially Lahpoo. There are whites behind this. I am very discouraged and disappointed. Some hate us. It is like in China. . . .

August 1901

4. Sunday. Didn't feel well and was homesick. Had them announce that the children should come here and that they would get candy. None came. Also no one comes here anymore to play with Albert. Are they all in their fields. Is that a coincidence? Maybe Lol. and Koyon. are behind this? . . .

5. In the morning quite a bit of water in the wash. Sus. and I were in Pakawi [Paaqavi] and found our little bit of vegetable garden very much abandoned. . . .

9. Was in Oraibi in the morning. ''Blue Flutes'' priests have announced their ceremony. For the first time it looks like there are going to be two Flute ceremonies.—Some would want to bring rocks [for a mission building, probably a house near the future church on Oraibi mesa], but it seems as if Lolul. has prohibited it.—Who knows what all this will bring. . . .

11. . . . In the evening Frieda, Alb., Esther and I in Oraibi. Had 40 children and adults and our teaching pictures in the Hui [Hawiwvi?]. The old Qömaho [Qömahoyniwa] (Powamu priest) sat with us and asked some questions.

12. . . . In the morning I was in Oraibi and saw Lomahunwa [Lomahongva] and Towahoiniwa [Tuwahoyniwa, Crane] make bahos [*paaho*], again in the evening (in Talaskwaptiwa's house where Shokhany. [Sakwhongiwma], Koyon. [Qöyangayniwa] [were present]). Old priest Qömoho [Qömahoyniwa] here. Told stories about Lomahung.'s people as thieves; that they had desired the sandstorm, had made bahos with sand and packets of ashes etc. I pointed out the absurdity of this to him and he started to doubt.

13. . . . Qöm. [Qömaletstiwa] picked up some medicine for his children. Volz's Mexicans brought potatoes, barley, sugar and my Soyal pamphlets [i.e., Dorsey and Voth, 1901; copies of this volume, which includes details of ritual secrets, are thus present at Orayvi in 1901]. In the evening letter from Dorsey, I am supposed to study the Mish. Snake dance with him. I don't really know what to do. I scolded the messenger for lying to me so much. . . .

25. Sunday. Public Blue Flute ceremony. We closed and all went there. Matt. [Sumner Matteson] and Prof. James [George Wharton James] were there as well. Was in Oraibi in the morning and took measurements of the ''Blue Flute'' altar. O.P. Philips, who had wanted and was supposed to take moving pictures at the spring, did not show up. And in the evening they already had left the other spring as well. Heard that his machine has broken. . . .

26. Today we weren't up at the mesa until the evening. Mr. Burton then came and asked me to translate for him, concerning the school. I told him about how the school here was held last year. He now understands my position. I drove there in the evening, but he had already left with Kampm. But didn't

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have council, only talked to Lolul. and Lomah. Latter had been unwilling again, said their boy was sick (which I doubt). There will be trouble again.

28. . . . In Oraibi for the Drab Flute ceremony in the afternoon. Took pictures (flash) and wrote notes. . . . Matt. stayed there to be ready to come along to the spring in the morning. The people were pretty friendly.

29. Drove to the spring [i.e., probably Mumurva] with Lol., where the Grey Flute dance took place. Matt. had been there since early in the morning. . . . The celebration was better than I have ever seen. . . . I think we shot some good pictures. In the evening we were at the spring (Lananva [Leenangwva]), where Owen, [Charles] Carpenter and Staufer were. I wasn't at the mesa.

31. Throughout the day in Shon., [Songòopavi] where I took measurements of both altars (Flute). The people were very good. Got home at 10 o'clock. Matteson stayed there. . . . The people forget basically everything that they are supposed to do [on ceremonial occasions]. No one herded the cattle. . . .

September 1901

2. It looks as if I am not getting any herders. . . . The children began to attend school today. Not many went to Keams Cañon.—Nahanweima [Nahongvi'yma, Parrot] brought a sheep for slaughtering. It looks as if I am not getting any.

3. . . . Kamp. told me that he is still trying to be transferred. Yesterday had 44 children. But school is not held.

5. In the morning I tried to make the children of Shonopavi go to school. Some wanted to run away. Sent five to Keams Cañon and over a dozen to Toreva. Miss Watkins was there as well, but was very reserved. In the evening to the store to welcome the Brothers [J.B.] Epp and Quiring, who did not come though.

6. . . . Didn't drive to the store, because Volz had promised to bring the Brothers. They arrived late, tired and hungry and thirsty. . . . Was very happy that they got here.

7. . . . The Brothers unpacked and we talked, planned the construction. . . .

8. . . . Q., Epp and I in Oraibi. Had a brief conversation at old Tabeohyoma's [Tawahoyiwma, Badger] sickbed. Couldn't have a good one otherwise. . . .

9. Made a new plan for building the house [probably the chapel on Oraibi mesa], estimates etc. In the afternoon Prof. Culin from the University of Pa. here. He and I to the store in the evening. He then stayed at Kampmeier's. Now also wants to start a Hopi collection and would like me to help him organize things, order tihus [katsina dolls] etc., which I rejected though. It looks as if he receives money from Wannamaker.

10. On the mesa. Laid out our plan for the house [chapel] and made other preparations. In the evening Dr. Culin, Br. Epp and I walked around a bit. Mr. Qöyagaptiwa [Qöyayeptiwa, Sun] was willing to let us use the water from their cisterns.

11. . . . Today ready for construction. Then the old kachina priest Qömaho [Qömahoyniwa] and others protested because one of the corners of the building goes over the old kachina path. So we changed the plan. Then began with the construction. Building stones were brought. Culin and Matt. on the mesa. Couldn't get any water from the cistern.

12. The Brothers on the mesa by themselves. I drove up to the mesa in the afternoon.—The water-driver says that the women in the village are protesting about him fetching water from the pond.

15. . . . In the evening Sus, Frieda and Mr. Epp drove to Or. and to Kampmeier's. Brought the first news about the assassination attempt on President McKinley. . . .

18. Mr. Burton and Supervisor Wright arrived here. I talked about some things with latter, also about school and Kampmeiers because he asked me about it. In the evening we heard that President McKinley has died. . . .

19. Was at the mesa in the morning. In the afternoon at the store. Talked to Volz about driving wood up to the mesa. . . . Accounted with Kashyestwa [probably Kyaryesva, Patki]. Now wants $1.00 for two barrels of water.

20. Beginning of Marau celebration. . . . All three [i.e., Epp, Quiring, and Voth] were in the Marau kiva for a while. Br. Quir. appears to be a bit discouraged. For him the

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work proceeds too slowly. Kweyesh [Qöyayesva, Parrot?] brought a load of water there.

24. At the mesa in the morning. Sought out some drivers for the building stones, who promised to come. . . .

28. Marau dance. Q., Epp, Esther and I in Oraibi until noon. . . . Qöy. [probably Qöyangayniwa] passed by me on the dance ground and bumping into me said: there you are going around again, and then you say that this [i.e., Hopi religion] is worth nothing. The man seems to hate me.

29. Sunday. Br. Epp and I in Oraibi until 4 p.m. Had the New Years celebration in the Kwan kiva. . . .

October 1901

14. Br. Epp and I up at the mesa. Kwayeshwa [Qöyayesva?] built up the walls. . . .

22. For the first time in a while Epp and I worked on the building again. Were also in Hawiovi because Oaqöl began. . . .

23. . . . In the evening I sent a list of illustrations (Powamu) to Dorsey. . . . 72 films, some very, many pretty good. . . .

26. . . . Slept in our new house [chapel]. 40 were at the Oaqöl ceremony. The ceremony won't die yet for a long time. . . .

29. . . . Freight arrived, windows etc. Piq. [Piqösa] home for lunch, I went with him up to the mesa after Frieda and I had packed the harp. Br. Epp was building the chimney. I was at the Oaqöl ceremony until evening. . . .

30. . . . Today the Oaqöl dance took place. . . .

November 1901

2. Worked most of the day on the Powamu MSS. . . . . Wickwaya was here. Says, Burton has prohibited the Walpis from having the [illegible] ceremony. He [Kuwanwikvaya] said that if he is forbidden to hold the Marau ceremony he of course would obey. . . .

10. Sunday. In the morning we had our sermon, in the afternoon on the mesa. Cleaned the new house a bit, I walked through the village and invited people, so we had 43 men, women and children for our first meeting in our new house [i.e., chapel]. We should have had that earlier!

17. Sunday. . . . In the afternoon we all drove to Oraibi where we held a meeting in our new house [chapel]. There were 2/3 [sic; of the Orayvi population?], even though I only had little to time to invite and many were cleaning out the spring. Lol. was there also. Both parties were there, men, women and children. . . .

24. Sunday. . . . In the afternoon we all were up at the mesa. Had around 125 in our meeting. The number seems to get smaller and smaller with time. . . .

25. Today the Lolul. people had their Wowochim dance. Took several pictures. . . .

December 1901

8. Sunday. We all were on the mesa in the morning. Had around 115 at the sermon. . . . Kampm. brought letters from Keams Cañon in the evening. Among them also a letter from Father in which he writes that it looks like my work here is going to reach an unhappy conclusion. . . .

11. . . . In the evening the mail brought letter and answer to Elder Balzer's letter from the 4th of Dec. It again made my heart sink. So all my language and other studies, chapel construction, meetings, supposedly did not do any good for the Mission!! . . .

23. Qömanimtiwa [Qömanömtiwa, Badger] went to get the Christmas trees himself. . . .

25. . . . Letter from the office, saying that we can stay longer, but only until May. . . .

26. . . . Epp and I had a meeting at the mesa with about 50 people. . . . Lol. pleaded very much that we should give everybody something, including those who have not cleaned out the spring. It was a nice day.

30. A busy day today. Had our celebration with the Indians. There were probably 375–400 here. It was a beautiful day. The three big boxes from Alexanderwohl with many coats and jackets [?Röcken und Überröcken] made for a party. We never had so many people. Some are not going to get any, though, including Koyongainiwa, Qöyawaima etc. And also all those who did not work on Keqötchmove and Nawaiwoshi spring. We were very tired. Everything went pretty well.

January 1902

12. Sunday. Epp. and I had a meeting with 75 in attendance. Lolulomai and Wickwaya also spoke very nicely. They played cards in the Hononi kiva [This may be a mistranscrip-

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tion for Hawiwvi; Voth usually refers to Hotstitsivi, aka Honan or Honani {Badger} kiva, as Povol {Butterfly} kiva]. Oh, when will these people change! Winter Snake ceremony began today. . . .

19. . . . Cold and heavy sandstorm. In the afternoon Epp and I on the mesa. The first snowstorm, just when Wickwaya was announcing the meeting. Only 43 people came. In several kivas kachinas were being prepared. Snakes and Antelopes had their last ceremony, totokya. Former did not allow Epp to see their altar! . . .

26. . . . In the afternoon all to Oraibi. . . . Visited the Lalakontu [Lakon] ceremony (third day). . . .

29. . . . Snow in the morning. In the afternoon Epp and I drove up to the mesa, put the oven in the big room and held our meeting, which he had skipped last Sunday. Had around 70 listeners.—Epp never goes into the village by himself. . . . To my knowledge he hasn't made any visits as Miss[ionary]. . . .

February 1902

5. . . . Epp promised to write a little to the Board that my studies on religion have indeed been useful. . . .

8. . . . Powalawu ceremony. The Sisters and Brother Epp were there in the morning. . . .

9. . . . Epp and I in Oraibi. For once we did not walk through the village inviting people, but had [the Sunday meeting] announced and the bells rung, and still 120 people came. Lolul. was also there. . . .

18. . . . Burton and Dr. [Murtaugh?—Agency doctor based at First Mesa] came here. Talked outside for a while about the hair-cutting issue. B. got a bit mad, but then he took back some things, and gave me credit for having done a lot and been able to bring so many children into school. . . .

21. Worked nearly the whole day with Qöyaw. on language studies. The organ arrived today. Br. Epp worked upstairs in the house [chapel]. Sivinamtiwa [Siwinömtiwa] [came] with a letter to Keams C. which he held up. It must be Kamp. who has told the Indians that we are against the cutting of hair!! This now will probably be held against us.

22. Pretty stormy, partly snow. In the morning I worked with Homikini [Homikni] on botanical matters, to get names. . . . Epp. and I went up there [Orayvi] in the afternoon. . . . We took recorded singing for the phonograph, were in the Powamu kiva, and played the phonograph. . . .

23. . . . In the kivas they are busily making presents. I attended my sick patients. Poli promised to translate for Br. Epp, came along for a while, but then went back. So I first talked in Hopi, then Epp in English, and let them listen to the phonograph. I went down and talked to Volz . . . , also with Kamp., about the cutting of hair.

24. Epp, his sisters, and Sus. up to the mesa at 6 a.m.; today was the last Powamu day.

26. It was a pretty bad day. Sandstorm, snow, cold. Wickw. [Kuwanwikvaya] here for most of the day, telling me of the migrations of Lol.'s people and Lomah. (Bear & Spider Clans), gave me Marau information. He seemed very perturbed about this. . . .

27. . . . Was at store [Volz's store in Kiqötsmovi]. Volz trades much with the Navajo. Brought phonograph outfit. . . . In the evening we sang. Br. Epp sang various Indian songs into it. He sings nicely. . . .

28. . . . Burton came with police and he started cutting the Indians' hair. . . . Br. Epp still works on copying the Hopi/English lexicon. . . . Already got many Indians songs. Could get even more. Navajo are talking about buying weapons & and defending themselves if someone wants to cut their hair.

March 1902

1. . . . Burton and Kampmeier busily cut the poor Indians' hair in Oraibi. What a piece of civilization's work! Out of defiance and desperation the Conservatives in Noshabe [Naasavi] cut off all their own hair. . . .

2. Sunday. Burton stopped by in the morning to tell me that the Indians had their hair cut. Excellent Missionary work! The man thinks he has performed a miracle. . . .

3. . . . Last night Epp and the girls went to Tobeyamtiwa's wedding. . . .

7. . . . Volz says that the Navajo would sooner have their necks sliced than their hair

cut. Who knows what will happen to them! . . .

8. Qöy[awayma] helped with the dictionary.—Lomavent. [Lomaventiwa] from Shup. [Supawlavi] came as well. Complained, saying that he was very angry about the hair cutting. The Indians appear to be very unhappy about that.

16. . . . In the afternoon up to the mesa. 120 were there. Were pretty attentive. . . .

20. Nice day. Worked on language. Lol. here and was upset. Magic lantern arrived. . . .

22. Packed, packed [Voths are getting ready to leave]. Indians here. Quite some sandstorm. In the evening we loaded the things onto Lahpoo's [Laapu] wagon. Br. Epp and Mosh. [Masahongva] made fence. . . .

24. . . . It has been snowing since noon. Who knows if we will be able to leave tomorrow. . . . Piqösha [Piqösa] was here in the evening for supper. Also the old Qömaho. [Qömahoyniwa]. Talked to Piqösha about baptism. He said he is too bad. . . .

25. Snow everywhere. Did not feel well at all, but we still left. . . .

(This is the end of Voth's principal tenure as missionary to Orayvi. The Voths resettled in Newton, Kansas; there are few diary entries on Hopi topics from April–November 1902, except for his completion of manuscripts on Orayvi ceremonies [Snake, Owaqöl]. In November, he is asked by the Mission Board to return temporarily to Orayvi, evidently to check on Epp's progress as missionary.)

November 1902

17. Around 10 a.m. arrived in C.D. [Canyon Diablo train station]. Volz not there, my telegram did not arrive. I shall wait two days. . . .

18. . . . I left by myself at 8 o'clock. Got to Lakes [Red Lake] around 2, where I stayed the night. In the morning with Frank's [? Evidently not a Hopi man] wagon to Oraibi. . . .

19. . . . Around 3 o'clock at the store, where met Volz, Otto etc. A bit after 4 o'clock at the Mission. Friendly welcome. Kulhoya [Kyelhoya, Greasewood] and Ida [Kwaavenqa, Badger] were there. We talked a lot, especially about Epp's staying. . . .

20. . . . I did not feel well. There were already some Indians here. All very friendly. Already received first mail in the evening.—Also received letter from Mrs. Gates, which embarrassed me, as says much about the local conditions and troubles.

23. . . . Wickwaya here with us, stayed for lunch. He was very happy to see us. Read some in the afternoon and talked and then we went up to the mesa by foot. Spent a while at Kamps [Kampmeiers'], they were pretty friendly. I mostly talked at the meeting. There were 190 listeners, who also were very attentive. The work here appears to me very hopeful. And under these circumstances, Epp is away!!

24. With Moshohungwa [Masahongva] trying to find mostly singular, dual and plural forms, whereupon we drew him pictures of objects and people. Siyamtiah [Siyamtiwa, Piikyas] was also here and helped a bit. . . . I like the work, but I also see that it is a tremendous job to work with the grammar. . . .

25. Continued work. Various Indians here. For the first time also Lol. He is a bit sick. I gave him medicine. When we named rooks as an example for different grammatical forms he said: no one has rooks, we do not want them. And when we correlated singular and plural with rice he said: No one counts rice. Our way of studying overstrains their horizon. . . .

26. . . . Today the Wuwutschim dance. Studied with Mosh. [Masahongva] until noon. Epp and I in Oraibi. Visited various kivas and houses, took some pictures. In the Snake kiva they first were a bit angry, probably because I disturbed their game of cards. Talked about the hair-cutting and about me disrupting their ceremonies etc.—But they are thawing toward me. Got to Kampm. in the evening.

28. Lomahungyoma here in the morning, complaining that the Friendlies do not allow them, or more precisely, the old Kwan chief [Na'sastiwa, Greasewood/Reed], to build the altar for the Wuwutshim ceremony in the Kwan kiva. I am supposed to help them. I said that he should tell them that we are praying to the Lord for rain and that they should

HP010022

do the same and not fight each other. The altar issue is their concern. In the morning we worked with Qöy[awayma]. on proper nouns. . . .

29. Worked with Qöy. on the genitive today. Epp helped a bit. . . . In the evening worked on my Snake notes, wrote down prayers etc.

December 1902

1. . . . It looks like Kamps. are really going to leave next Thursday. . . . In the evening Burton M[urtaugh?]. and another one passed by here. We did not go over. What will they conspire there!

2. . . . It wasn't Burton, but the Dr. to vaccinate the school children . . .

4. . . . Kamp. left with Staufer for the train, probably with no tears.

5. With Qöy[awayma] on verbs. . . . Many Indians here again. . . . In the afternoon Qöy., told me a bit about their old war customs.

7. . . . To the village in the afternoon. Was at Nashabekiwa [Naasavi] for a while, where some didn't even want to shake my hand. It was soon revealed that they were still mad about the cutting of the hair. Even if they make a distinction between the government's work and us, they still put us all in one basket. Epp held both meetings without giving me a chance to say something. Jealousy?? In the evening Piqösha came to talk about his baptism. But: he fears that he won't stay firm, brings up Staufer again, and again, who wishes to be Christian but still steals.

14. . . . First Epp, then I preached the sermon. Then in the Snake and Nashabe kiva[s], where this time they were very friendly. . . .

18. Worked with Piq. [Piqösa] in the morning. Epp helped a little bit. He then with Puhunimt. [Puhunömtiwa] I with Piq. . . . I ploughed with Puhun. Gave me Oraibi version of the Snake legend, which amazed me as he usually is very conservative. . . . Epp to the mesa and read out the comm[issioner']s. decision on hair-cutting to the Conservatives.

21. . . . Wickwaya here for lunch. . . . I was a bit in the Ponogove kiva where the Soyal altars were still lying around, shield hanging on the wall. Only men at the meeting. Received a meal. Again, only Epp talked, even though he had promised me that I could talk as well. Jealousy? . . .

30. In the morning many Indians were here.—Also Qöyongainiwa, who was very angry, it seems as if he is not being supported in his advisory role to the leading players. Also not by Lolul. He again blew his own horn loudly. . . .

January 1903

2. . . . Began to revise my Snake notes. Went up to the mesa in the afternoon to see how far the Flute ceremony had progressed. Qötcventiwa here to ask us to help him, so that he won't have to send his children to school—that's what they told him in California (Col. Günther). But what can we do for the man!! Was at Qöy., in both Flute kivas, in Masangöntiwa's sister's house [probably Kwaavi, Snake, at the Snake clanhouse - Household X 593–96] etc. . . .

3. . . . Masangöntiwa here (at my summoning). Pleaded with us to help him get his nephew [probably Puhuwaytiwa #2 or Tsiyawma, Snake, sons of Kwaavi], who is being held in school in Keams Cañon, while his bride has to go through all the bridal rituals here alone. Epp and I went up because of this. Many women are still at prayer. I stayed there for the whole day at the Flute ceremony (fourth day!). . . . In the kivas very friendly.

4. . . . Was a bit at Ballinger's [Kampmeier's replacement as Oraibi day school principal]. Met Mrs. Kolp [Belle Axtell Kolp, an agent of Charles Lummis' Sequoya League, who had been sent to investigate conditions at Oraibi Day School, and Burton's activities in general] for the first time. Was in both Flute kivas. Held both meetings in the afternoon. . . . Talked to the children about the child friend, to the old about the first four commandments. . . .

5. . . . Dr. stopped by in the evening; wants to vaccinate tomorrow. . . .

7. Flute Wiokpe. I was in Oraibi the whole day. The Dr. arrived in the morning. . . . Today the Blue Flute altar was built and I was in the kiva most of the time. The people were all very friendly and agreeable. . . .

8. That was a long night. Watched the Flute ceremonies 8th day. Epp helped for part of the night; he slept for about 3 hours,

HP010023

I for about 20 minutes. I learnt and saw a fair amount. Last night some kachinas came. . . . Talked with Piq[ösa]. about baptism.

9. . . . Counseled with Qöy[awayma]. about his joining us in Kansas.

10. . . . Letter from Burton that he has endorsed my request for permission to take an Indian along [to Kansas]. . . .

11. . . . Wickwaya here. Told me that a ceremony will begin tomorrow evening and that they were pushing him to participate. We certainly advised him not to and it looks like we succeeded. If he stays away, we will see. I much doubt it, though. . . .

12. Wickwaya here in the morning and told that Loluloma and the others are pushing him to participate in the ceremony and that he should not have himself baptized. . . . Burton stopped by in the evening. I was up at Ballinger's in the evening. Had good conversation. Burton is pretty friendly. Hates Mrs. Gates [Gertrude Gates, also an associate of Charles Lummis in the Sequoya League] though.

13. Epp up at the mesa early. Today was the first Marau day. Altar was built. I worked with Puhunömtiwa on songs, Snake manuscript etc. . . . Burton and [Epp] were here for supper. . . . We three had a sincere conversation about Burton's and Kampmeier's policy, work, leaving things alone, and active engagement, until 11 p.m. It was a sincere evening. Burton made many concessions and becoming very humble, wants us to help him.

14. Worked with Puhunömtiwa on the Snake notes and songs until noon. In the afternoon I had old Qöm. [Qömahoyniwa] tell me about their last conflicts with the Navajos. Also Snake legends. Burton went home. Was here. I told him that as I now see where he stands he is not going to have an opponent in me. . . .

16. . . . In the evening Qöy[awayma] told about Tihkugwahti [Tiikuywuuti, the game-animal mother, who preys sexually upon lone men]. I am pretty homesick. . . .

18. . . . Ballengers came in the afternoon. We [went] to the mesa.—I in the Maraukiva. Had a long talk with them about Wickwaya. He appears to be pretty uncomfortable about the matter. But he had come to the meeting following my invitation. Macaveima [Qöyahongniwa, Rabbit] announced the meeting. . . . Then went to the Maraukiva and prohibited them from singing a certain bad word, which Homihoiniwa [Humihoyniwa, Lizard] and the women did not like much. Wickw. [Kuwanwikvaya] stood by me. If they did [sing it] I do not know. . . .

19. . . . Tried to classify verbs with Qöy[awayma]. Kewanaimt. [Kuwannömtiwa, Sand?] here for a while. . . .

(This marks the end of Kevin Dyck's and Eleonore Aarsen's transcription of Voth's diary. It appears that Voth returned to Kansas shortly after this date.)

As described in the introduction to this chapter, Charles Burton's tenure as superintendent of the Keam's Canyon School and Hopi Agent was marked by stringent policy applications, including attempts to ban ceremonies (Burton at one point proposed dynamiting kivas), forcible haircutting, especially for those who refused to send their children to school, enforced vaccination, and, with Oraibi Day School Principal Herman Kampmeier, rounding up children for school at gunpoint. Like Voth, Burton seems to have been or become quite unstable during his time at Hopi, forging fast allegiances with some employees and others, and just as quickly dissolving these amid bitter accusations of treachery, seeking to transfer or banish certain individuals from the reservation. Toward Hopis, Burton's racism and paternalism are never far from the surface, and occasionally break through in odious diatribes that seem extraordinarily incongruous in official discourse. But Burton's influence, as the chief representative of the government, was very important. His accounts of Navajo violence and pressures upon Hopis are a significant record of this underexamined circumstance of the Orayvi split. Burton's correspondence also records a drought and crop failure in 1902, which brought suffering to Hopis and may have provided a further occasion for factional conflict (notably about ritual measures to procure rain). And it is during Burton's tenure that the clearest source of ideological opposition (as

"friendly" or "unfriendly" to the government) between the factions comes into focus.

Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Aug. 16, 1900.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to submit the data called for . . . as follows:

Moqui Training School. This is an old and worthless plant. There is not a building in this plant that is worth repairing, though some of the material in some of them might be used in new building.

The enrolment during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, was 129, and the average attendance 123. We expect a large increase this year, and very probably by the beginning of the fiscal year 1900 the enrolment will have increased fully 100%. This increase is predicted from the fact that this school increased more than 50% last year over the previous year, and from the manifest interest that the Moqui Indians are beginning to take in education—the hostile faction having sent several children to school last year and as every power is being brought to bear on them to induce them to send their children to school, and the friendly Moquis who have patronized the schools more or less ever since the schools were established among them, are becoming more civilized, more obedient, and more in sympathy with American institutions. I hope to be able to induce the large hostile element at Oraibi to send their children to school by another year. They are already beginning to see the good of these schools but have held out so long as unfriendly to the schools and American civilization that every one is afraid he will be criticized should he make the change in regard to these matters but once the ice is broken they will all come flocking in to school. There are in this hostile faction alone at the village of Oraibi one-fourth of the Moqui population. . . .

Oraibi Day School.—There are three buildings here. One the teachers' cottage is in very good repair and is valued at about $1200.00. The schoolhouse, one story adobe building, now occupied as schoolroom, kitchen, laundry, bath room, sewing room, dining room, and bakery, has capacity of only 24. This building is in very poor repair, being almost unsafe for occupancy, and is entirely too small. It would not be advisable to make any permanent repairs on this building.

The enrolment during the year was 41, and the average attendance, 36.73. This could be doubled if proper and sufficient facilities were provided. The school is supported by the Hopi village, Oraibi, the largest of the Hopi Indian villages, with school population of about 175. All of these children should be in school.

The heating is by means of wood stoves, and about 25 cords are used. Kerosene lamps are used.

The water supply is not sufficient and is very inconvenient, some of it being hauled or carried a mile. There should be a deep well and windmill and tank here. This could be had at a cost of about $300.00.

New Buildings.—There should be erected at this place a building to be used for school session only, with a capacity of 100. The old buildings could be repaired and used for other than school purposes. . . .

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Hopi Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Sept. 4, 1900.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to again call your attention to my numerous communications of last year concerning the outrages of the Navahos trespassing on the Hopi reservation. Yesterday while enrolling pupils in this school a party of Navahos rode up to my office to talk over some trouble in which a Navaho had slain and eaten five cattle belonging to Hopi families. The Navaho confessed that he killed the cattle but refused to pay anything

HP010025

to repay the Hopis. I called the only police which was at the school and attempted to arrest the offender but the entire band of Navahos drew their guns and knives and after some fighting and firing finally got away. This has been the case every time I have tried to have a Navaho arrested. They simply will not be arrested unless the force of police is sufficient to overpower them. . . . He worked good until I started off on my vacation when he slipped away and has joined a party of outlaws who are rendezvousing in the north part of the reservation and defy the power of the police to arrest them. I sent two police to attempt their arrest and the Navahos caught one and tore his clothing off and beat him shamefully.

Three weeks ago a Navaho raped a Hopi woman and escaped.

About the same time two Navahos were stealing Hopi watermelons and when caught by the owner assulted [assaulted] the owner and beat him nearly to death and then escaped.

The Navaho Murderer is still at large. The Hopis are indignant, about this, and are rightly so. There is scarcely a week that these trespassing Navahos do not commit some outrage on the peace of the reservation, and I earnestly recommend and respectfully demand that steps be taken to remove them from the southern part of the reservation South of the Danebito wash and that U.S. Indian Agent Hazylett of the Navaho reservation be instructed to assist me with his entire police force to arrest and bring to punishment the vile offenders of the laws and regulations of this reservation.

I further recommend that I be allowed two more policemen, one for each of the mesas and two at this school and one for Blue Canon.

Also, please send me nine pistols, belts and scabbords [scabbards] and two dozen boxes of cartridges for the same. The teacher and employes must be armed or at least have arms that these outrages may be stopped.

I have written Agent Hazylett concerning these matters frequently but he does not seem to care how bad his Indians trespass or what depredations they commit. He has not often written in reply to my communications.

Hoping that this communication will be given immediate attention, as the peace and welfare of the reservation demands it, I am

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. And Special Disb. Agent.

Hopi Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Sept. 10, 1900.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to confirm a telegram sent to you this day as follows:

''I recommend that Keam and Volz be granted license to trade with Hopi Indians only''.

The reason for this recommendation is this: The Navahos come through the fields of the Hopis on their way to the store. If there are any watermelons or any thing else growing he helps himself and if the Hopi dares to open his mouth the Navaho beats him. The stores of the traders draws the Navahos on this reservation and they are settling nearer and nearer all the time to the stores and they terrify the Hopis so that they are afraid to venture from their homes. The Navaho in passing through the Hopi fields which are not fenced, allow their ponies and burros to eat the corn and the Hopi can get no redress. I desire as far as possible to have the Navaho to keep to himself and not to trespass upon Hopi soil and think this is the first move we should make. There are stores just off the reservation where these people can trade and can do so there without trespassing on the Hopis. By stopping the trade with the Navahos at Keam's and Volz's there will be little occasion for the Navaho upon Hopi territory, and the crimes of these people against the Hopis will be reduced to the minimum.

Mr. Commissioner, something must be done for the relief and protection of these people. The Navahos have imposed upon them for so long and treated them so cruelly that the Hopi will not defend himself and I will not stand it much longer, and am sure blood will be spilled and lives lost if assistance is not given us.

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Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Hopi Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Sept. 15, 1900.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to report to you that day before yesterday I went to Oraibi with Mr. Kampmier, the Day school teacher at that place, and two policemen and brought away eight of the hostile children and the hostile chief with only a very slight show of force.

The children are now very happy and contented. I am keeping the chief under surveillance and will keep him here until he stops his talk against the schools which I think will be very soon. He has already signified a willingness to have his lieutenant chief to come in and talk the matter over of sending all the children to the day school and I will have the conference next week. This must be surely a victory as he would never talk about it before. All [. . . ?] any of them would [say] would be ''You can cut our heads off but we will never send our children to school''. You will also remember that it took a company of soldiers to accomplish what we have done. I do not say this boastingly but to say how the leaven of kindness and firmness judiciously mixed will work on hostiles.

Many persons on the reservation discouraged me from trying to do anything without soldiers saying that I would never come down alive if I attempted to take the chief or the children.

Much of the success of the venture is due to the nerve and firmness of Mr. Herman Kampmeier to whom the thanks of your office is due.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. And Special Disb. Agent.

Hopi Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Oct. 19, 1900.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

Referring to Office Letter, M.48195/1900, under date of Oct. 9, 1900, I have the honor to make the following statements:

On August 21, 1900 I addressed a letter to Mr. F. W. Volz, respectfully inquiring if he had license to trade with the Hopis at Oraibi. I received no answer to this request for information. At the same time I wrote a letter to your office making the same inquiry and received the information called for. On Sept. 21, I again wrote Mr. Volz a letter inclosing bank application and bond and requested him to fill out the same if he really had no license. I sent this letter registered so that I would know if he received it and I received the registered return card with his signature but have not received an answer to my inquiries in either case.

This is a sample of the way Mr. Volz has treated me in the different matters that have arisen since I came here. I have visited his store frequently but have never met him there or any other place. He leaves his store in the care of his brother, William Volz, and a great deal of the time in the care of a Mexican—who has not a good reputation in any respect. This Mexican is reported . . . as being a gambler with the Indians and the Oraibi Indians have reported the same to me. . . . Some time last spring F. W. Volz employed some of the Indians to herd sheep for him. He became enraged at one of them and beat him up shamefully, breaking several ribs of the Indian and beating him about the head with a Mexican quirt—a heavily loaded riding whip. The only offense of the Indian was that he quit work to go home to a dance. I finally succeeded in getting this man to settle with the Indian after threatening to have him arrested and tried for his crime.

Nearly a year ago, an Indian brought me a counterfeit dollar—which I inclose—with the information that it was passed upon him by the traders at the Oraibi store. I have been

trying to get some satisfaction concerning this counterfeit money but have not been able to accomplish anything as he either neglects my communications or treats them with contempt.

The Oraibi Indians personally and through their chiefs protest against the store as detrimental to their interests in many ways. They claim that the only roads to the store are through their corn fields and that the Navahos going and returning to the store rob their melon and pumpkin patches, allow their burros and ponies to eat and otherwise destroy their corn and that they much rather that the store would not be there. Their complaints about the Navahos are perfectly true.

Under date of Oct. 5, 1900, I did write you recommending that both Mr. Keam and Mr. Volz be licensed to trade with Hopis only but your office contended that it was not fair to the trader to ask him to refuse to trade with Indians though they were trespassers but I did so with the understanding that both these gentlemen gave my office due recognition (which neither have done) and that they adhered strictly to the regulations concerning gambling and keeping their stores open on Sunday. . . .

I respectfully inquire if Mr. Keam's license has been granted?

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Hopi Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Nov. 5, 1900.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to recommend that the position of assistant teacher be created for the Oraibi day school at a salary of not less than $40. per month and that I be allowed to promote Mrs. Kampmeier to that position and to fill the vacancy of housekeeper with a good able white woman.

The attendance at this school is now 73 and new children are being brought in every day. It is the history of the 2nd mesa school reproduced. We will have 100 children there before Christmas.

Of course a teacher and housekeeper with an Indian assistant cannot cook, sew and teach in any proper way that number of children.

Mr. Commissioner, we are smashing precedents on this reservation but we are putting the children in school without resistance except for those who have an interest in keeping the Indian as he is for selfish gain or from ethnological reasons which I consider worse than any other reason.

I do not wish to pose as an ethnological iconoclast unless such ethnology and ethnologists stand in the way of the progress of the Indian, then I say down with ethnology and up with the Indian.

Mr. Kampmeier and myself have been accused of ''destroying the Basket dance'' because a few of the people did not want their children to go to the day school and were afraid to take them to the dance for fear that Mr. Kampmeier would catch the children and put them in school. We have been censured because ''if all the children go to school there will soon be no Indians''.

Now, I did not mean to write all this but perhaps it will give a little variety to the monotony of office life. Unless I am stopped by your order I intend to put every child of school age among the Hopis in school before the year ends but I must have employes to take reasonable and at least decent care of them.

Hoping that you will give this request immediate attention, I am,

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Hopi Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Dec. 8, 1900.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to inclose herewith the application and the bond of Mr. Frederick W.

HP010028

Volz, who wishes to trade with the Indians of this reservation near Oraibi.

While at Holbrook the last time I met Mr. Volz personally and he has made satisfactory explanations as to the reasons why he had not answered my communications, and also as to the passing of the counterfeit money—saying that it certainly was a mistake or simply unknown to him or to his clerks, which I am inclined to believe—also that he expected to assume charge of the Oraibi store at once himself and that he would enlarge and increase the business etc. and as he has made satisfactory explanations all around I have signed his application and recommend that his licence be granted at once.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Hopi Training School,
Keams Canon, Ariz.,
Dec. 15, 1900.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith for approval the following vouchers:

. . . and one voucher covering the cost of two boxes of cartridges, which was necessary in the arrest of criminals and hostile chiefs of Oraibi [not clear what this pertains to, possibly the arrest in September for resistance to schooling, or perhaps a subsequent event].

I respectfully request that these vouchers be approved.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agt.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Feb. 26, 1901.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

. . . I respectfully request that the matter contained therein [letters of complaint by Agency employees against Thomas Keam] is given special consideration for on the removal of this man from the reservation hangs the future welfare of the Moqui people. I do not hesitate to say, Mr. Commissioner, that his presence has been the serious drawback to the progress of these people. If he would attend strictly to his business of a trader and let the management of the Indians and their troubles to the ones appointed for such matters it would be a different thing; but he takes it upon himself to inquire into and many times to settle disputes among them as if he were agent himself. He goes often to the villages and remains over night in their squalid homes and I am sure that it is unnecessary and unbecoming a gentleman of the culture and refinement that he claims to have. He opposes the children going away to school as I showed to you conclusively in my letter, C. 441 under date of Feb. 20, 1901, thereby largely defeating the policy laid down by your office and rendering my work in many cases ineffective; he opposes the building of Indian houses down in the valley; he encourages the people in their heathenish dances and tells them that it is good; he, as is shown by the inclosed letters holds councils with the Indians on matters foreign to his business thereby assuming authority that does not belong to him; and in fact he opposes any and all plans that will render the Indians different to what they are today or what they have been for hundreds of years before.

Therefore, in view of these facts, I respectfully renew my recommendation made in my letter, C. 441 under date of Feb. 20, 1901, that Mr. Keam be removed from the reservation just as quickly as will not cause him too much financial loss.

Now, Mr. Commissioner, I feel that I have

HP010029

said enough on this question. I do not wish Mr. Keam harm, but I do respectfully demand that I be allowed to conduct the affairs of the reservation free from the intervention of this man who has controlled affairs here so long that he does not know he offends, or for that matter of any man not my superior. I have done my best, I have worked early and late, and I believe that I have fairly succeeded in overcoming a great many difficulties that have been against the good of the service here, and I regret if all must be lost through the adverse influence of this man who should know better, and does know better, but dares defy even your own policy and treats me with contempt for his own selfish ends. I have felt that this was coming for a long time and have staved it off as long as possible, but now feel that I have done my duty as I see it and now leave the responsibility with you. I do not mean to say, however, that I will shirk any duty however disagreeable, but simply that I await your instructions as I can not do a thing with Mr. Keam as he simply refuses to answer my letters and seems to think that I have no direction whatever in his affairs.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
March 24, 1901.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to report to you that I have succeeded in vaccinating all the Moquis on this reservation excepting about half a dozen new-born babies less than two weeks old and four very sick adults whom I thought to be too sick to have the operation performed upon.

I found some reluctance at the Oraibi village among the hostiles but succeeded only by surrounding the village at four o'clock in the morning by a special detail of police to prevent the people from slipping away and hiding. I also cut the hair of four men there who forcibly resisted to be vaccinated but I vaccinated them first. I also sheared one man at the first mesa who gave trouble.

The entire population consisting of 1841 persons was inspected by myself and required to pass through a gauntlet in order that the arms should be examined and if the person had not had small-pox he was vaccinated.

At the 2nd mesa, especially at Shamopavi where the last trouble occurred when the soldiers were here, there was not the slightest trouble. The people came willingly and cheerfully. I account for this largely from the influence of the day school teacher there. Mr. Voorhies has completely won their confidence and he only has to say the word and cheerful obedience is given.

One thousand two hundred and thirty-six persons—Moquis—have been vaccinated and six hundred and five persons were found that had had the disease.

About two hundred Navahoes have been vaccinated and I will have as many others attended to as we can find. They too do not seriously object as they seem to be much afraid of the disease. . . .

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
April 2, 1901.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

Referring to Office Letter, Education, 12079-1901, under date of March 22, 1901, in which you refer to Inspector Mc.Laughlin's report upon the schools and the reservation under my charge, I have the honor to make the following observations:

In the first place, I desire to say that I consider Col. Mc.Laughlin one of the most conscientious men who has ever visited my school and I do not think he would willingly leave a wrong impression in any way. In the

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following lines in which I must in duty differ from the conclusions of the Colonel, I do so with the utmost respect and confidence in his integrity and honor. . . .

Now, as to the coercive policy commented upon at length by the Inspector, I must say that he has mistaken one thing and that I admitted that coercive measures had to be used to bring the children of the 2nd Mesa into school. This is partly true and partly incorrect in so far that I admitted that a little coercion was necessary to bring the hostile children. The 2nd Mesa school was filled to far beyond its capacity at that time by the friendly children without one coercive measure. The hostiles here as well as at Oraibi have always held out against the schools in spite of all the Superintendents and missionaries and not a hostile child was ever enrolled in either the day schools or boarding schools till the latter part of last year. When pleaded with to send their children to school the invariable answer, senseless as it was, given in every case was ''you can cut off our heads but we will never send to school''. I determined from the instructions given in ''Rules for the Indian School Service'' Sec. 22, that I was empowered to place these children in school without the consent of the parents and proceeded at once to do so and we succeeded without ''cutting off their heads'' either.

Now, as to the harshness of Mr. Voorhies in his treatment of the adult Indians, I think the Inspector's informant exaggerated the matter somewhat. One or two doors were forcibly entered only when the parent was known to have hidden a child within and who would not open the door upon a courteous demand to do so. In every case the door was immediately repaired better than it was before. A pistol was used in two cases only by Mr. Voorhies, once while at Shampavi when he was expecting trouble there with three of the worst men on the reservation, who have given the government a great deal of trouble, having been in prison twice for their meanness, once on Alcatros [Alcatraz] Island and once at Fort Defiance. When going on this trip, Mr. Voorhies took his revolver with him and when these three men made a combined rush at him to throw him over the Mesa to his death on the rocks below—a hundred feet—he drew his pistol and stood them off to save his life. Yet with all these discouragements and great bodily dangers, Mr. Voorhies has succeeded in getting every child in this hostile village into his school and the people are now happy that their old fogy chiefs have been overruled, for the majority of these people were willing to send to school but were held back by a few of the oldest medicine men. The children are as happy as birds and as soon as they are brought to school and washed up and clothed warmly, they never miss a day unless sick. . . .

Oraibi Day School.

The remarks of the Inspector on this school are perfectly in line with my own convictions. He says that more room is needed but from your letter, Education, 12915-1901, of March 11, 1901, you stated that from the Inspector's report you did not deem it necessary or prudent to build any more at Oraibi. I respectfully inquire if you did not get Oraibi and 2nd Mesa mixed up. We surely do need more buildings at Oraibi and need them quick. We are living in rented buildings now illy adapted for the use to which they are put.

I agree with the Inspector that at the time that his report was written the enrollment of the Oraibi day school and the 2nd Mesa day school were abnormal and it is still so at Oraibi; but the new building is finished and equipped at 2nd Mesa with a conventional capacity according to rule, of 102, about the average attendance. I have estimated for a new building for the Oraibi school but you have refused authority, I fear through a mistake. It would certainly be a long step backward if these children were not provided for after they have once gotten a taste of education and found it good and wholesome, and now that the ice is broken through a hostile reserve of centuries I would feel like resigning rather than to give up the fight at this stage of the game. I plead to you in the name of hundreds of uneducated children to give us the necessary accommodations for the proper continuance of this great school. As I have said before almost the entire populace are rejoicing that the power and influence of the ignorant medicine men is broken and if

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we take no backward step it is broken forever. . . .

I note with interest and some concern what the Inspector says concerning my own characteristics; that I am nervous; that I am jealous of my prerogatives and cannot brook any interference of outside parties; that I am desirous of elevating the Moquis, of breaking up their religious ceremonies, including their snake dances, together with having issued an order requiring all persons coming up on the reservation to report at your office and also prohibiting all unauthorized persons from excavating among the old ruins for pottery and ancient relics, which has caused me some enimies [enemies], and from several causes a bitter enmity has grown up between myself and Captain Keam, Indian trader near the school. etc. Also that Mr. Keam has conducted a trading post for many years among the Indians; that the Indians naturally go to him for council, that they come to me and say ''Tomas'' says so and so, that the Superintendent is not doing right, Etc. etc.

In reply, to this remark I desire to say that I am jealous of my prerogatives and that I have had enough to make me jealous of such rights. The fact that a man has been an Indian trader a long time does not license him to hold long councils with the Indians and discuss matters pertaining to the government and in such meetings to criticize adversely the actions of the constituted authority of the reservation; it does not license him to oppose the taking of advanced pupils off the reservation in such a way as to frighten the parents so that they change their minds and refuse to allow their children to go after they had once given free consent; it does not license him to interfere with the children of the schools and tell them that if the pupils want to stay home for a heathen dance and participate in such dances during school hours they have a right to do so; it does not license him to keep his store open on Sundays after repeated requests from me not to do so even if Major Williams had told him years ago that he might do so, when I am the appointed Acting Indian Agent having such charge of affairs at present; it does not license him to refuse to allow me to request him to present me with his price list of goods to the Indian when complaints come to me almost daily of exhorbitant [sic] prices, and treat my official letters with contempt without answer; it does not license him to permit gambling around his premises in sight of pupils of this school who have to be at the store on errands although he had repeated courteous request not to allow this, making such answers to my appeals that ''you might as well try to keep the wind from blowing as to try to keep Navahos from gambling''; these and a hundred other things trampling my authority and self respect under foot into the dust of humility make me ''jealous of my prerogative''.

I have not tried to break up their religious ceremonious including their snake dances. I have not given the dances my approval and stood for hours in open mouthed ecstasy at a revolting and immoral and heathenish uncivilized exposure of human forms; but I have discouraged them to the extent that I have not allowed when I could prevent it of the school children dancing in naked hideousness during school hours; I did prohibit one cruel barbarous ceremony that of great hulking bucks taking a handful of Spanish daggers and whipping the little barebacks of small children some of them not two years old till the blood run down in great streams. These Spanish daggers are as sharp along the edges as knives and bring the blood every stroke. I did do this, Mr. Commissioner, and as long as I am Superintendent, I expect to do so unless you expressly forbid me to do so under which circumstances my resignation will surely be tendered. If this is breaking up their dances and religious ceremonies then I am guilty.

Now as to requiring the people coming on to the reservation to report at my office, I did so meaning that they should do so either in person or by letter that I might know whether they were pottery diggers or not. Some time ago—last spring—I wrote you that people were devastating the ancient ruins here and that Indians were desecrating the graves of Indians and selling the relics to who ever would buy, thereby ruining these places for scientific research. Your office wrote me, Office Letter, Land 14687-1900, under date of March 28, 1900, giving me the law on the subject on ending your letter thus:

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> It was thought that under the above quoted instructions prohibitory action had been taken to prevent further depredations of the character indicated upon the Moqui reservation. However as you are now in charge of this reservation you are expected to carry out strictly the said instructions of Jan. 7, 1898, and to prevent any further digging or excavating by parties who enter the reservation unlawfully. By this is meant where permission has not been granted specifically by this department for the work in hand.

I have carried out this instruction the best I could and in doing this I requested that all parties should report at my office and show reason for their presence. I know of no one who has been insulted or discommoded by this order except a man named Russell who claimed to represent Harvard and Doctor Fewkes who persisted (both gentlemen) in digging pottery without authority from your office and Mr. Keam who was thereby prohibited from collecting vast private collections of these relics for personal gain.

In conclusion, I thank your office for the courtesy which it has shown me at all times and I desire to again thank Inspector Mc.Laughlin for the fairness with which he has reported on affairs of my agency (though this very long epistle renders the foregoing statement rather paradoxical). Where we have differed, I believe we have differed honestly. I am sure that I have done my best and where I have failed, if I have failed, I have done so after using my best judgment and after giving it my closest attention. I worked early and late, more I am sure than a great majority of employes of the Indian service. But I do not count this and leave the matter for your consideration.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
April 4, 1901.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affiars,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to request authority to expend a sum not exceeding $198 in the open market purchase of the following:

1000 ft. Common inch lumber at $45.00 per K	$ 45.00
1 large sized Well Pulley-wheel at	3.00
150 days labor (Indian) at $1.00 per day	150.00
Total	$198.00

—for the purpose of digging, boarding up and putting in of a substantial stone wall, or an eight foot diametered well for the Oraibi day school.

There is a well at this place which was driven by Mr. Collins and a pump put in. It is used not only by the school but by 800 Indians of the valley. Lately the pump has entirely given away and both the school and Indians are in straightened circumstances for water.

My intention is to dig a good well and that can not be done without protection for the diggers as it is a veritable sand bank so a board wall must be built and lowered as the well is dug. Of course this wooden casing would answer for a year or two but then it would give way and the well then would have to be dug again. It is best to put in the substantial wall of not less than 13 inches and then this well will be there for all time to come. Hundreds of cattle, burros and ponies are dependent upon this well for water.

As an additional inducement for this authority, I have to report that Mr. Kampmeier and the Missionary both report to this office that many of the Oraibis are at the point of starvation. This labor will give them a chance to earn something to keep the wolf from the door. I earnestly request that this authority be allowed at once. The school must be supplied at any rate, and the poor Indians must not be left to starve.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Oraibi, Arizona,
June 18 1901

To The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to ask most respectfully that I be transferred from the position of

Teacher of the Oraibi Day School for the following reasons:

1. The facilities for conducting this school are entirely inadequate. When I took charge of this school on Nov. 20, 1899, it had an enrollment of 17. I have succeeded with the assistance of Supt. Burton and by my own efforts in building up the school until it has an enrollment of 114 children most of which belong to the hostile or unfriendly faction of the Oraibi Hopis. Nothing has been done to increase the facilities for doing the work except renting two small buildings which are entirely unfit for the purposes for which they are used.

The water supply is entirely insufficient, so much so that there is not enough to do the necessary washing and scrubbing.

The school house, besides being much too small, is unsafe to such an extent that it has been necessary for me to dismiss school every windy day. I have done this rather than be held responsible for the possibility of injuring or killing of a number of Indian children by a collapse of the building. . . .

Hoping that my application for a transfer will be granted very soon and that I will not be compelled to spend another year in this desert.

I have the honor to be your most obedient servant,

Herman Kampmeier,
Teacher, Oraibi Day School.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
April 29, 1902.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to request that a married physician be appointed for this agency to be located at the Oraibi village at a salary of $1000.00 per annum and that his wife be employed as Field Matron at that place at a salary of $720.00 per annum.

I have been studying the Moquis now for three years and I believe this step will do more for them than any other. The great need, I think is to purify the home and this can not be done until there is something done to change them to clean up their homes, their villages, to keep their persons clean and to keep clean. Dr. Murtaugh goes out all he can, but when he goes he finds a patient in unutterable filth, lying in a filthy house and in some cases so much filth around the door that it is impossible to get in without becoming befouled. Nothing short of a months work in compeling these people to clean up avails anything. We some times do this but as there is no one with authority to make them keep clean and no one who can take the time to do so, the village is soon in the same condition. My plan is to have this physician to reside in the village and with the field matron to begin at one corner of the village and compel the people to clean up thoroughly, to whitewash their houses and to bathe when necessary, and then to keep the villages and the houses clean under penalty. This is only right that they be compeled to do this as that is what every city and village among the whites do—to have such sanitary regulations as will protect the health and lives of the inhabitants.

If the physician is a resident of the village he can stay with the proposition and see that it is faithfully carried out and kept going. In the course of six months I do not believe one who knows the Moquis as they now are would know the place then. This resident physician could attend to the 2nd Mesa as well as Oraibi and the school physician here could attend nicely to the first mesa.

Oraibi with nearly one thousand people is the filthiest place in the United States. Havana could be no worse. With the work of this physician I believe that the health of the people will be much better, and the death rate decreased wonderfully. . . .

There is no field matron at Oraibi which contains as many persons as the rest of the villages together. . . .

Trusting this letter will have immediate and favorable action, I am,

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

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Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Aug. 4, 1902.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

Referring to Office Letter, Finance 39494, 1902, July 15, 1902, regarding the failure of crops among the Hopis, I have the honor to report as follows:

All the Moquis excepting a few of the Walpis who have fields in an arroya will practically make nothing this year in the way of crops. There was no rain to render the ground damp enough to plant excepting in the arroyas (not valleys). There will certainly be much suffering unless work can be provided for them.

I know of no work excepting the making of roads that will materially advance the Moquis except it would be irrigation schemes that would entail hundreds of thousands of dollars expenditure. . . .

For the real benefit of the Indians the constructions of wells will be the most useful as much of their stock dies for the want of water. Also if there were good wells dug for them out in the valley it would tend largely to bring them from the mesa.

If any of these plans appear feasible, I shall take great pleasure in estimating closely for their execution.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Aug. 7, 1902.

Sir:—

I have the honor to submit this my fourth annual report of the Moqui Agency for the fiscal year of June 30, 1902. . . .

Oraibi Day School. We have in this school the largest one of its kind and I judge that 2nd Mesa is the second largest day school in the United Sates. The Oraibi school enrolled 127 and maintained an average of 116. The school room work was not quite so good as the other schools, in some respects, owing to the crowded condition and a lack of harmony among the employes, for a part of the time. Happily this condition is changed and I look for good work throughout the coming year. Much credit is due the teachers for energy in filling up the school from the hostile element of the Oraibis.

A fine new stone school building is nearing completion at this school. It will cost when completed $3000.00. This building will increase the capacity of the school to 150. The lack of a good convenient water supply is the worst drawback to the school. Water is hauled one mile to the school. I append the Principal Teacher's report hereto.

Below is given a comparative statement of the attendance of the schools for the year 1902, as compared with the year 1899 when I took charge:

	Average attendance		
School	1899.	1902.	Increase
Moqui Training	83	170	103%
Polacca Day	24	37	34%
2nd Mesa Day	19	99	421%
Oraibi Day	23	114	395%
Total	149	420	
	Net Increase Agency Schools		182%

. . .

Missionaries. Rev. J. B. Epp and Miss Mary Mc.Lean and Miss Reeside have conducted their missions with profit to the Indians. Their relations with this office have been most pleasant. Early in the spring three plats of ground were set apart for the use of the Baptist Home Mission Society represented by Miss Mc.Lean and Miss Reeside. Two plats were given near Mashongnavi, one for the cottage and one for the chapel which they hope to build in the near future. The other plat was laid off near the first mesa where a new mission is expected to be located. A new chapel has been built on the Oraibi mesa and services are held regularly by Mr. Epp.

Field Matrons. These employes—one at first Mesa, and the other at 2nd Mesa have done excellent work. The adult Indians are encouraged along the lines of better housekeeping and other civilized habits. The new laundry at 2nd mesa will be used by the Indians for better bathing and hotter washing.

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The field matrons make clothing for the babies and the aged people—the ones who always suffer when the cold comes. In a thousand other ways the field matrons are a comfort to the Indians.

During the two months the Polacca day School was without a teacher the two field matrons, Misses Ritter and Abbott, conducted the school admirably. . . .

The Hair Cutting Episode. During the winter an order was issued to cut the hair of every Indian. Before it was done, however, a counter order was received stating that it was not intended that sufficient force should be used to cause an uprising of these Indians. Gentle but firm pressure was brought to bear upon the Moquis and every man cut his hair without much complaint except a few at Shamopavi. No force was used but they were given to understand that they must yield and they did so. Many of the Navahos have also cut their hair and if sufficient pressure is used I think in time they will all submit. Their long hair is the last tie that binds them to their old customs of savagery and the sooner it is out, Gordian like, the better it will be for them. I am fully in sympathy with the original order and only regret that there was any backward step taken in the matter. It has resulted in harm.

Small-pox and Vaccination. This dread disease breaking out at the Blue Canon School on the border of the Moqui reservation all the Moquis were successfully vaccinated, and by establishing a strict quarantine at the Moqui villages and at the Moqui schools, not a single case appeared on the reservation. . . .

Drouth. No rain has fallen this year. Many of the Indians could not plant at all owing to the hardness and dryness of the ground. Suffering is bound to come, unless means can be provided to give them work. Recommendations have just been laid before your office which will at least relieve them to some extent.

Allow me to thank you for many courtesies.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Acting U.S. Indian Agent.

The next group of documents marks the countervailing influence of Mrs. Gertrude Gates, a wealthy socialite from Pasadena, to Burton's heavy-handed policies. Gates spent several weeks at a time at Orayvi, from June 1902 forward. After Burton's transfer (under protest) in late 1904, and under Superintendent Theodore Lemmon, in 1905 the Agency adopted the "Viets-Gates experiment", that emphasized voluntary attendance at the Oraibi Day School (Viets had been transferred from Second Mesa Day School to be principal at Oraibi, following the departure of John L. Ballenger). Gates also sought to build a hospital on the reservation, and pursued this for several years. Her presence seems to have had some effect on Agency employees. Late 1902 also marks the beginning of resistance to Burton's policies by some of his employees, and his corresponding requests for their transfer. Burton lambasted Gates to the Commissioner, calling for an investigation of her presence. But, again assisted by her association with newspaperman Charles Lummis and his influence—both via his publications (*Out West* and *Land of Sunshine*) and his long personal friendship with Theodore Roosevelt—Gates held the upper hand. The conflict among prominent whites, and the contradiction between Agency policies to repress Hopi practices and the annual arrival of increasing numbers of high-society tourists to celebrate the Snake Dance, obviously sent the Orayvis ambiguous messages. Qöyangayniwa's complaint to Voth (see above, Voth diary, 9-28-1901), about his evident fascination with Hopi rituals while simultaneously denouncing them, reflects the same conflicting signals.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Nov. 20, 1902.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to call your attention to the following circumstances.

Several months ago, Mrs. P. G. Gates, whom you probably know, came to me from

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Pasadena, Cal., stating that she was sick and in very poor health and wanted to come out to the Moqui reservation and retreat from the cares of a fashionable world. As I had met the lady and her husband twice on their visits the previous two summers, I answered her that as far as I was concerned she was welcome. Her letters were beautiful and breathed a philanthropic spirit towards the Indians. She appeared only to want rest and to do something for the Moquis which I approved.

She came to Oraibi, pitched a tent and lived above the mission [?], giving out that she wanted to entertain no company, . . . absolute quiet.

. . . [illegible] I immediately sent [someone to tell] Mrs. Gates that she should not participate further in the [dances]. The same day I went to Mashongnavi, one of the villages of the [Second Mesa] to hold a council with the Indians. All had gone to Oraibi [to see] the great and unusual sight of a white woman dancing in the ceremony with Indians. I visited three other villages of 1st mesa and found all the able bodied people gone to Oraibi 20 miles away to see this dance. I could transact no business. Several of the laborers had left the new plant, giving up their jobs in order to see this action. Messrs. Kampmeier and Staufer stated that the work of years was being undone.

I wired your office the facts and in reply was advised to [tell] Mrs. Gates to cease such actions. I think she did, openly.

Yesterday, she called at my office and in the course of a two hours conversation demanded that I request of your offices an investigation of Mr. Kampmeier, the teacher at Oraibi. I asked her what the charges were. She stated that he maltreated the Indians. I asked her if she was speaking from her own observation or from hearsay. She stated that she had seen nothing herself but that the Indians had complained to her. I requested that she give me the names of the Indians and I would go out to Oraibi and investigate the matter myself and if I found that her charges were true, [I would bring the] matter before your office. She refused to do so, [demanding that] I immediately call upon your office for A. O. Wright and Inspector Jenkins to investigate Mr. Kampmeier. I refused to do so without first investigating the matter myself. She became very angry and said that she would herself prefer charges against Mr. Kampmeier, and also against me for refusing to call for the investigation. She then showed me a letter signed by Acting Commissioner Tonner calling upon agents to allow Mrs. Gates to live among the Indians in order to study their habits and customs, <u>if it did not conflict with any policies of the agent or [make] a detriment to the people.</u> This letter, Mrs. Gates did not present to me until she was on her way to Holbrook, leaving the reservation. She certainly deceived me as to her business upon the reservation. I told her so and she then admitted having a commission from the Sequoia League to investigate matters here and report to the League. This was certainly acting the spy and I told Mrs. Gates so.

Now, Mr. Commissioner, I have told you the facts of this case, and beg to be protected from underhanded, cut and dried investigations. If an unbiased inspecting official comes here, well and good, but I do not think that a superintendent or other employe should be called to account by such spying and deceiving people. I am not afraid of an investigation in the least except that as I have made some enemies by cutting the Indians' hair that I beg of you the . . . be acted upon by yourself and as . . . possible enemies . . . tried earnestly to . . . [illegible]

I am set upon by these outside spies and blood hounds in order to break up my policies and to set these Indians back years. The cry is made that I am forcing children into school. I am. They say the children are afraid and run. So the wild ones do till they are caught and taken down to the school and washed and clothed and fed. Then they come of their own accord and are not afraid. Their parents tell them great stories about the white men and the children of the hostiles are really afraid of Mr. Kampmeier till they find out that he is their best friend. These sickly sentimentalists would rather these children should remain in their filth and nakedness than the children be scared a little when they are put in school. They cry that we should follow the law of love. We tried that for fifteen years and not a single hostile child was put in school. Now, nearly every one is under educating influences and God be praised. We

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are sending an average of two classes a year to the non-reservation school and in a short time we hope to send many more for they are beginning to see the fruits of the outside training.

In conclusion, let me respectfully request that this matter be investigated by an unbiased official. A. O. Wright or Mr. Jenkins will be acceptable especially the latter.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Dec. 4, 1902.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to request that 250 vaccine points be sent me as early as possible.

We have gone over the Moquis except Oraibi, the school children and have vaccinated 500 and I estimate that we will need 250 more to vaccinate at Oraibi and the scattering Navahos as we can pick them up.

All employes are vaccinated except Mrs. DeVee [?] who resigned on that account but who is still here.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Dec. 6, 1902.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to report to you that the effects of the visit to this reservation of Mrs. P. G. Gates has done untold damage to the progress of the Indians as the following facts will indicate:—

She came here about last June as an invalid desiring rest and recuperation and saying she wanted to do something for the Indians.

Instead of resting she began a series of dances with the Indians encouraging them to such an extent many spent weeks in the useless and degrading ceremony. Mrs. Gates not only encouraged them to dance but actually donned the heathen paraphernalia and surrounded by a score or more of reeking, filthy and naked Indians proceeded for a week to ''catch the step'' of the Indian dance.

As soon as the matter was reported to me, I forbid [sic] her to take any further part in the dance. She became very angry and revengeful and proceeded at once to hold councils with the Indians not only at Oraibi but at the first mesa also 20 miles away and the following is what was reported to me happened. . . .

She began her council by stating that I had prohibited her from dancing; that it was a very fine dance and she so much wanted to learn it; she wept while telling this. She stated that the white people should be kind to the Hopis; that they should never make them unhappy; that Mr. Kampmeier at Oraibi killed the Hopi hogs when they prowled around his cottage; that that was very bad to do this; that he shot after the children when they ran away from school (this is absolutely false). Then how is Mr. Burton to be good to the Hopis? Why did he cut the Hopis hair? Why did you chiefs consent for him to cut their hair; they are the chiefs and should advise their people not to cut their hair; that they did wrong in allowing the people to cut their hair; that Mr. Burton did not have a letter from Washington saying that he should cut their hair; that it was good for them to knot their hair; that it was so very nice to have such nice long hair. Then she wanted to know what the Supt. gave them on Christmas; that white people give their friends a great deal on Christmas and if white people did not give on Christmas they were not friends. If they would come out to Los Angeles they would see what she would give them; How about the physician? Does he come to see the sick Hopis? That the Supt. was taking their children off to the outside schools etc. etc.

Mrs. Gates held these councils without our

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knowledge and consent and it caused a great uproar among the Indians. They stated that before she came they were happy about their hair, but now a great many people were talking much and very unhappy. The teacher and field matron at first mesa reported that they could not do any thing with the people, that the school children were rebellious and that altogether they were at their wits ends to know what to do.

The teachers at Oraibi reported that the Oraibis were in a state bordering upon anarchy.

I quote from a letter from Miss Sarah E. Abbott, field matron, one who has been a faithful worker among these people for over five years:

> ''Sunday Nov. 16, Mrs. Gates visited this mesa and I hear through the Indians held a council with a few of the chief men, and discussed their grievances to the effect of all the white people going away, as they were all bad, and told them that it was not good to send their children away to school, and stirred them up in general until there is a very bad influence and made them rebellious and in many ways very disagreeable. I consider Mrs. Gates a lovely woman and yet her visit here was a great mistake as she has made it very disagreeable for the field workers and I consider left such an influence that it will take a long time to overcome, and has hindered their progress toward civilization, especially in talking against the schools''.

Also, from Mr. John L. Ballenger, teacher:

> ''About Nov. 14, Mrs. Gates came to first mesa. At this time there was a dance in progress among the Indians. I did not attend the dance nor did I meet Mrs. Gates, but soon after her departure we were visited by one of the Moqui chiefs who informed us that the Hopis wished us all to go home. He said that he had been talking in the kiva and that they had come to that conclusion. When told that we were only carrying out your orders he told us that the Indians felt the same way towards you.
>
> ''Upon further inquiry of two of the chiefs I learned that Mrs. Gates (This is her evidence) had told them that the employes on this reservation did not tell the Indians the truth. I also learned that Mrs. Gates held a council with some of the chief men of the tribe.
>
> ''Now, if such is the truth, I cannot but decry the actions of Mrs. Gates. I know if the Indians lose confidence in us we cannot succeed as we should. Their children are no exception to the rest.
>
> ''It is very unpleasant for the school chiefs to come and object to things at the school and they never did so before Mrs. Gates visit. I want to say here that their dances are very detrimental to the school, as they keep the children up frequently all night for several nights at a time. Then they are sleepy and sluggish at school, besides they are almost sure to contract heavy colds from the exposure. In hopes that we may be left free to carry out the policy at the department, I beg to remain, etc.''.

Now, Mr. Commissioner, it is plain that this is not only meddling with business of ours but she has appealed to the base and backward tendencies of the Indians. As stated by the chief these people were happy about their hair and contented with things in general until this woman stirred them up, and I most respectfully but earnestly beg that she never be allowed to return to this reservation at any time nor any one else like her with such views and desires. She violated the office instruction in every particular. I refer not to Acting Commissioner Tonner's letter. She used it as a bulwark to do anything but she was very particular not to show me the letter till after she had been here five months and was leaving the reservation.

If annual visitors of this ilk be allowed to come and tear down what employes are striving to build up the remainder of the year, we had better quit trying. I have welcomed many good people here who have been a good thing for the Indians and have benefitted them a great deal but such experience as this Gates affair spoils the whole effect.

Again urging that she be forever prohibited from entering the reservation, I am

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Dec. 27, 1902.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to report the following incident and the correspondence connected therewith:

Last night after dark, the 26th, I received the following letter:

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Oraibi, Ariz.,
Dec. 26, 1902.

"Supt. Chas. E. Burton,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.

Dear Sir:—

I wish to call your attention to the fact that the trader, Mr. Volz, has some 18 or 20 indians from this place to take to Los Angeles for the purpose of exhibiting them at some kind of a carnival. I also understand that it is Mrs. Gates' doings. I am not positive in regard to the place they have been taken to but I think it is Pasadena, Cal. Mr. Staufer wrote him to get permission from you but it seems that he did not.

He took two of my school children and did not say a word about it to me. I did not even know that they were gone till today. This will make my report look worse than ever. I wish that this thing could be stopped and the Indians brought back. It is to take place on the first of January."

(Signed) John L. Ballenger,

I also received the following letter by the same mail:

Oraibi, Ariz.,
Dec. 27, 1902.

Mr. Ch. Burton, Spt.
Keam's Canon, Ariz.

Dear Sir:

I have an invitation from the people of Pasadena, Cal to attend with some Mokis [Hopis] at the flower exhibition on the 1st.

The time being so short as I have received the letter by special messenger, the day before yesterday that I wouldn't communicate with you about your permission.

I think that they will be treated allright as I will be with them I shall see that they are allright and come home satisfyd [satisfied].

Hoping that you will not be offended that I take some of the Indians to California without your permission beforehand.

I am yours respectfully
(Signed) William Volz.

This morning before day I started a telegram to Holbrook as follows:

Fred or Wm. Volz,
Canon Diablo, Ariz.

"Commissioner absolutely forbids Moquis to go for exhibition purposes. Do not allow them to go to Pasadena."

I also started by a special messenger to Canon Diablo, the place where the delegation would take the train the following letter:

"Mr. Wm. or Fred Volz,
Canon Diablo, Ariz.

Sir:

Your letter stating that you had started with a party of Moquis to Pasadena, Cal. is received. You state that you received a letter from the people of Pasadena by special messenger the day before yesterday before writing me. You had plenty of time to communicate with me regarding the matter and I have to inform you that the Commissioner absolutely forbids the taking from the reservation of Indians for exhibition purposes and that you have seriously transgressed the proprieties by taking them without my permission.

Mr. Ballenger informs me that you took two of the school children. You will therefore return the Moquis to their homes without delay."

I also gave the messenger a telegram to be sent from Canon Diablo in case the party had already taken the train:

"Do not exhibit Moquis at Pasadena. Return them immediately to their homes."

Now, Mr. Commissioner, this is a sample of the kind of people that an Indian agent has to deal with. Mr. Volz knew very well that you did not approve of that project and that is the very reason that he acted so covertly in the matter getting the Indians away before anybody knew anything about it.

I think it very probably that Mrs. Gates is at the bottom of the whole affair as she lives at Pasadena. If she is knowing what she does of your opinions she ought never to be allowed on <u>any</u> reservation again.

I hope that my action in this matter will be approved. I am not sure that I will succeed in keeping them from going as they may have already gone, but I have acted promptly in the matter. The Indian messenger was instructed to reach Canon Diablo—85 miles away in 24 hours and he will do it too, unless some accident befalls him.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Jan. 3, 1903.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to renew my recommendations of Dec. 1, 1902 forwarding the Efficiency report of the Moqui Day schools, that I be allowed to relieve Flora M. Watkins,

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housekeeper at 2nd Mesa day school and supply her place by an Indian young woman of this school, who has been in school for nine years and is thoroughly competent to fill the place.

In addition to giving the Indian girl a position which she can well fill Miss Watkins has not proven herself a desirable employe. She has attended the Indian dances in defiance to my wishes; she has opposed my policy in the hair cutting order, telling the Indians they need not cut their hair if they did not want to do so, when I told them that they must do so; she opposes the giving of hats to those who did cut their hair; she was in league with Mrs. Gates in her spying interference of the policy of the Indian Office and did not report the matter to me but seconded her efforts giving her aid and comfort; she gossips and makes trouble for really every employe with whom she comes in contact; she takes it upon herself to meddle with the affairs of the Indians more often than the other way, opposing the Superintendent's measures; and in many other ways has proven herself unfit to work among the Indians. She has become Indianized and has gotten down to the level with the Indian instead of civilizing the Indian.

Her position is only temporary and I suppose under the regulations, I could remove her and supply an Indian but I rather have the approval of the Indian office. If she could have a subordinate position on another reservation it would perhaps do but I do not believe it to the interests of the service that she remain here.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Jan. 26, 1903.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to call your attention to the following facts:

It is perhaps needless to remind you of the haircutting order which has caused so much trouble on this reservation lately. The order was carried out faithfully and with the consent of the Indians and all of them were contented and happy over the fact that they had complied with the request of Washington.

The missionaries at Oraibi were not in favor of the order from the start and told the Indians afterward that I had no right to cut their hair and so did Miss Watkins at Toreva. Then Mrs. Gates came and interfered and told them that the chiefs were bad to have allowed it and that their hair looked so much better long and that the agent was bad to make them cut their hair etc. etc. The result is now that many at Oraibi and Toreva refuse to have their hair trimmed up again and are going to allow it to grow long again so that they can carry out their old ceremonies as they used to do.

Miss Watkins interferes with my work among the Indians greatly, advising them what they should do and always along the lines of keeping their old ways, their old silver belts and beads instead of selling them and using the money for their support; some of these Indians have $100 worth of beads and belts and then clamor for wagons and something to eat. When I insisted that a young man should dispose of his silver ware and buy some good horses so that he could use his wagon Miss Watkins said that she was sorry to hear me tell him this. That they saved their wealth by having them in silver belts and beads; she takes up the work of the agent instead of attending to her duties as Housekeeper at the school. She openly opposes the plans not only of myself but also of those of the principal teacher, Mr. Viets.

Now, if I could have carried out my policy without interference and gossip of these self-imposed people, I am sure that I would have succeeded exactly as the hair-cutting desired. None of them had any right to interfere in the least and I hope that they can receive a lesson to attend to their own affairs and not meddle with the agent's. I have already recommended the relief of Miss Watkins and I hope that you will see the justice of my request. I cannot succeed with people tearing down my work as fast as I do it.

Missionaries as a rule always take the part

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of the Indians against the employes especially if the policy is to interfere with their customs. The work of a missionary is to deal with the Indian as he is and not to crowd him to abandon old customs except that they want him to change his religion immediately. . . .

I respectfully ask your advice and counsel in this matter, I have always given my support and assistance to the Missionaries, but this has pretty nearly soured me. The Indians were happy in their obedience but they now say they do not know what is right; that they were satisfied and contented before the missionaries and Mrs. Gates told them I had done wrong; that they do not know now whom to believe.

Thanking you in advance for your counsel, I am

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Jan. 26, 1903.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

After nearly four years work and study among the Moquis, I have the honor to recommend that I be allowed to forbid any school children from taking part in the ceremonies and dances among the Moquis. I recommend this after deliberate consideration and after the conviction that almost every dance and ceremony had its inception in immorality and while in some cases this phase has disappeared it is still immoral in its tendencies, the contradictions of ethnologists to the contrary.

These dances and ceremonies sap the energy and vitality of the child, take his interest from his school, lead girls to immorality's shrine and in a thousand ways degrade his or her character, opposes his progress as a future citizen.

This order if it is made will perhaps cause a howl from certain sentimental persons but it will be a very long step forward for these people. It will then continually destroy the main ceremonies and allow these people to devote their time and attention to making a living instead of making dolls and prayer sticks to tie to their horses tails to make them strong and a thousand other vagaries quite as ridiculous.

The children to do not want to dance anyway but are persuaded to do so by the old people or forced to do so in many cases.

There will probably be some stir among the Indian but I fell [felt] sure it will be alright soon if no one is allowed to come here and stir them up against my action as Mrs. Gates.

I am sure this will be the move to make and will do very much to bring the Indians forward. The schools will not have to carry the weight of these ceremonies but their whole time can be devoted to their school work. I mean that school children shall <u>never</u> participate any more in the heathenish ceremonies.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

P.S. I have seen children practically naked in the steaming kivas and after perspiring for hours run out in the cold night air sowing the seeds of consumption and other diseases. Much immorality also takes place.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Feb. 9, 1903.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor and the very great pleasure to inform you <u>that every Moqui child of school age on this reservation is in the schools</u> thereof, but thereon hangs a tale.

It will perhaps be remembered that all the children of the 1st and 2nd mesas have been enrolled for nearly two years, but that the hostile faction at Oraibi has held out against us and all of their children were not in

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school, but running naked and unrestrained in the village.

On Feb. 2nd I determined to make another attempt to get those children. The trouble has been that when we would approach the village, the people would hide their children in some underground passage where we could not find them. I took the physician along to vaccinate all children found who needed it as small-pox is all around us. I also took the general mechanic and the carpenter and five policemen. We left Keam's Canon, at 1 o'clock February 2nd to travel 35 miles through eight inches of snow and the thermometer 10 degrees below zero. We had only proceeded half way when night came [thus] the remainder of the way had to be made in the darkness and [along] an unbroken and hidden road. We finally reached Oraibi at 1 o'clock the next morning having suffered with the cold greatly. At day break we went up silently to the village and began a search through the houses for the children. As we found them we took them to a kiva near the center of the village and left them under guard of policeman. Our diligent search was only rewarded by 10 children. When we had finished, we proceeded to the kiva and started with the children. About fifty of the hostiles attacked us and attempted to take the children away from us. After struggling with them till we reached the edge of the mesa where the trail descends abruptly to the school, fearing that they would crowd us over the edge to our death, I ordered the police and employes to draw their guns, which we did and stood off the mob having none, and to get the children started down the trail to the school. One Moqui was knocked down in the struggle and several were tapped over the head with the pistols but no-one was hurt in the least.

The leaders then began to parley, saying that the Missionaries had told them that we had no right to take their children without their consent, that the law did not give us the right; that the Missionaries had read them your two orders concerning the cutting of their hair and had told them that we had no right to do it, etc. etc. Imagine if you will our position, immediately on the edge of a lofty precipice and only a trail where one could go at a time and that trail is not easy. I feared that if we turned to go down they would make a rush and push us over. Fifty against seven, two having gone with the children! After considering a moment, I ordered all to advance and drive them back. We did so and after some scuffling the Indians wavered and fell back to the village. We then turned and quietly proceeded down to the school.

That afternoon, I sent the 10 children to Keam's Canon, and the next day I secured twelve extra policemen. The next morning we proceeded to the village and arrested 17 of the leaders of the mob, and started them to the Canon also that after noon. I then had the town caller to call out from the housetops if the people would take their children down to the day school, I would not take any more to Keam's Canon school. The result was that 36 children were taken down voluntarily by the children's parents, making 46 children secured. They also promised that their children would attend every day and I think they will for that has been our experience that when once secured, cleaned up and clothed they never miss a day unless sick.

This now makes 163 children enrolled in the Oraibi school and the attendance will be about 98% of the enrollment. There are 186 in the Moqui Training School, 47 at the Polacca school and 95 at the Toreva [Second Mesa] school, making a total of 491 children at this agency in school, being 100% of the children of school age.

Our new Oraibi school house is now complete and the school has moved into it. In a few months it will be a pride to us all. Much credit should be given Mr. Ballenger, principal teacher, and to Mr. Peter Staufer, General Mechanic. These two gentlemen were untiring in their efforts and stayed with the proposition till it was successfully carried out. Credit is also due Dr. Murtaugh for good work under serious difficulties and much suffering with cold on the trip and for untiring efforts to find children who needed vaccination.

Now, I believe all this trouble has come by the officious meddling of the two Missionaries and Mrs. Gates. What right had they to take your orders regarding the haircutting and become official interpreters of that order? What right had they to say a word

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about those things at all. As I understand it these gentlemen are here to look after the spiritual welfare of these Indians and nothing whatever to do with their temporal welfare. I sincerely recommend that they be given to understand that the Superintendent and the other employes will take care of that part of the work.

I have the 17 prisoners here and will give them a fair trial tomorrow and will make further report of the action taken. I think that some of the worst ones should be imprisoned off the reservation. Two of them are old offenders having been taken prisoner by Gen. Corbin many years ago and taken to Alcatras [sic] Island in the Pacific. They were taken again from the reservation and have been twice arrested by Mr. Collins and Mr. Goodman.

I have given as clear account of this matter as I can and would respectfully ask if any action is appropriate.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Feb. 9, 1903.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to request authority to pay $42.00 to extra police used in the late trouble with the Hostile Oraibis described in my letter. . . . I used 12 policemen extra for 2 ½ days and 2 others for six days, which at $1.00 per day makes $42.00. It was necessary to arrest these Moquis as the authority and law of the reservation had been defied and officers resisted in the discharge of their duty. The matter has been successfully carried out, the children are all placed in school and everything is now quiet and tranquil. I think the matter has cost very little. Troops have been sent here for the identical purpose accomplished with only 14 police.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Feb. 12, 1903.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

Referring further to the trouble with the Hostile Oraibis, I have the honor to say that on the 9th instant, I gave the prisoners a fair and impartial trial, and discharged nine of them on promise that they would be good citizens in the future; that they would oppose the children going to school no longer; that they would not ever talk against the policies of the government any more.

Four of the remaining eight I will discharge in a few days but I believe that the other four should be kept for some weeks in order to give them a good lesson. I had thought that they should be removed from the reservation but the whole hostile element have surrendered their principle for which they have contended and there are now 175 children in the Oraibi school. I am sure there will never be any more trouble among the Moquis along that line. It is certainly broken up forever and the children will go to school every day. I think we can afford to be magnanimous and let them go to work along the . . . [illegible] lines.

For nearly four years, I have worked, assisted by efficient employes to get these hostile children into school. We have now succeeded beyond my wildest expectations because I did not believe that there were over 150 children at Oraibi besides the 50 which I have in the Moqui training school. . . .

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton.
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

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Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Feb. 12, 1903.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to confirm telegram of the 10th as follows:

''One hundred sixty-nine enrolled Oraibi school. Send another teacher immediately''.

As stated the enrollment was at that time 169. It is now 175 but I think that is about the end. The hostile faction has given up and has voluntarily brought these children. The new building is completed but we greatly need the new teacher and also an Indian to keep up the work on the outside to haul water, oversee the boys at work and to do the work necessary with such an enrolment. The sewing and industrial work such as laundry and cleaning is generally where there is such an enrolment is something fearful.

I therefore recommend that another teacher at $54.00 per month and an Indian laborer or additional farmer be allowed, the latter at $25.00 per month.

With an enrolment of 175, there will be 44 children for each teacher which will give four teachers very heavy work. The housekeeper will have to rustle lively to make clothing for 175 children, the cook has her hands full and there must be somebody to do the outside work. There are several returned students who will be glad to work for $25.00 per month.

In this connection, I recommend that the teacher's salary of $48.00 per month be increased to $54.00 per month. The work is very heavy indeed and $48.00 per month is not enough.

Trusting that this matter will be considered at an early date as we are swamped with work, I remain,

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Feb. 17, 1903.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

During the winter at various times I have made personal observations and the 1st of this month, I made a close house to house canvass of the Oraibis, where people were the shortest, and find that there is no danger whatever of famine for the whole of next year. There may be a few families whose supply will be short in the spring but as to a famine there will be none. . . .

Mr. Viets of the Toreva School has received a check for $100 for the ''starving Moquis'' and insisted in distributing it without distinction to ''long hairs'' and ''short hairs'' as he is bitterly opposed to the Indians cutting their hair. . . .

[So while having Viets' support before] I have treason again in my own camp.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
April 13, 1903.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Truxton, Ariz.

My dear Mr. Jones:—

I was very much surprised to hear that you were at Truxton and while I know you have run off to rest a while, I beg you will give me a moment or two of your time.

You will perhaps remember that you promised me that you would try to come to see us at Moqui and I really hope you will do so either now or on your way back. If not possible to do so kindly let me know when you will return through Holbrook and I will meet you there and hope you can stop off one train at least.

Mr. Lummis has made a scurrillous [sic]

attack on me through the ''Out West'' and if you can possibly do so for heaven's sake and for the sake of Justice come and see for your self. For one to be so maligned so cruelly is beyond endurance. The entire thing from beginning to end is either a malicious falsehood or a gross exaggeration and it will be easily shown up, but I would so like for you to see it for yourself.

If it would be more pleasant to stop at Winslow and I presume it would, I can meet you there and possibly Supt. Needham could come too. I can send Mr. Needham word by runner at short notice.

Everything is moving along nicely here; the schools are full and that any children are kept in school at the point of a six-shooter is preposterous.

I pray that you may find it in your power to come but if not I will trust in a higher power than Chas. F. Lummis. If you have any advice to offer, it will be gratefully received and your confidence respected sacredly.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
May 4, 1903.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to report that I have just returned from a long trip with Inspector Hesler over the reservation. In his company I made a house to house canvass of the seven villages and to my surprise we found from one to ten sacks of flour in every house besides mutton and large quantities of ''greens'' which the women had gathered. In not a single instance did we find anything like suffering, though some of the people are short of corn, but they all appear to have money to buy flour, though I think there are individual cases like in all communities where the people are not provident and consequently are short.

We also found that whole crowds of the women were meeting together to make plaques which sell from $1.00 to $4.00. These plaques have a ready sale and as a woman can make one of these in at least a week, it will be readily be seen that there is no danger whatever of a famine, or the least danger of men suffering.

I have been expending money at Mashongnavi and the other villages of the 2nd Mesa and the carpenter is now at Oraibi building a road there which will relieve any suffering there and I respectfully request that I be allowed to expend $150.00 at the first mesa to build a road from the base of the mesa to the top paying the men at the rate of $1.00 per day. . . .

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
May 13, 1903.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to inclose herewith a communication addressed to Rev. A. B. Shelley, Secretary of the Mennonite Mission Board, asking for the Recall of Rev. J. B. Epp, a missionary on this reservation, who has rendered himself persona non grata to myself and to the teachers at the Oraibi day school to the extent that the good of the service and the good of the mission work demands his withdrawal.

He has meddled with the government matters, holding councils with the Indians for the discussion of government policies, adversely criticising the work of the government teachers and of myself, thereby setting the ignorant prejudices of the Indians against us in a manner not becoming a missionary.

He has further busied himself to report adverse matters to the Sequoia League exaggerating affairs and by thus taking up the quarrels of the Indians has incited them against the lawful authority of the reservation.

I respectfully request that this communi-

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cation be forwarded to the party addressed with the approval of your office, or that the Rev. Epp be requested to withdraw immediately from the reservation or as soon as convenient.

I respectfully state that I have tried to avoid this action. I have taken the trouble to make two visits to Mr. Epp to find out if matters could be adjusted. These visits only made matters worse as he still persists in his obnoxious actions and claims he is right.

The other four missionaries have acted with consideration towards us, have conferred with me regarding the work; have at all times been courteous and have not in any way discussed matters and policies with the Indians.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
June 13, 1903.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to report that ''Out West'' published by Chas. F. Lummis has published another article reflecting seriously upon me as Indian Agent and I respectfully ask how long must I bear such slander to the ruin of my reputation.

I not only have to bear the blame for what I have done but also all my employes and incidentally am held responsible for the acts of your own office and the Secretary of the Interior. I refer particularly to the prevention of some Moquis going to Pasadena some time last winter I believe about January 1, 1903.

Only one of the Moquis went against my explicit orders and the orders of your office and I did make him work one day as a punishment because it was an exceptional case. My policeman was there with an order in writing from me that they should return to their houses but this fellow openly in the presence of 15 other obedient Moquis defied my order. If I had not punished him my authority would have been forever at an end.

I do not know how long one should stand such calumny. If I were a Kentuckian (and I have Kentucky blood) I would mop the earth with the fellow who can write such villainous lies.

In this connection, I respectfully inquire if these sneaking spies of the Sequoya League are to be allowed to come upon the reservation this summer to continue their underhand work to the great detriment of the work here. You will remember what a stir Mrs. Gates made last winter, and the ''Out West'' openly says in the June number that she was the official representative to investigate affairs here. (After claiming to me that she came for her health to rest.)

May I respectfully hope for an answer to this letter?

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Supt. and Special Disb. Agent.

The next document represents Voth's record of an interview with Yukiwma. The dating is difficult to establish, but appears most likely to be 1903—perhaps March. Loololma appears to be still alive, and while I do not know his date of death, believe that this occurred some time in 1904. The interview also refers to a time of incarceration and vaccination ''in February'', evidently shortly before the interview took place. Burton's letter (above) of February 9, 1903, indicates that time as an occasion of both an arrest (of 17 people) for resistance to schooling, and vaccination thereafter. On those grounds, and what is known to me of the dates of Voth's presence at Orayvi (I am not aware he was present in 1905), I thus reject the precise reference to Loololma's visit to Washington ''fifteen years ago'', which would indicate the interview occurred in 1905.

Yukiwma's millenarian discourse is predicated on the return of Pahaana, the elder brother, to Orayvi to judge which Orayvis have faithfully adhered to the statutory teachings delivered by Maasaw when the people emerged from the earth. Yukiwma's presentation of the Kookop clan's stone tablet to

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various government officials (see chap. 4) is evidently associated with the same message of supernatural deliverance from foreign (i.e., government) oppression. But while millenarian in tone, his voice is one of active resistance to the imposition of undesired government programs that interfere with Hopi autonomy (especially schools, land, and enforced vaccination), and to Voth's attempts to convert the Orayvis.

Voth, H.R., n.d. [ca. 1903], interview with Yukiwma

There was a time when the chief, Loloma did not want to send his children to school and wanted us to remain Hopi, but he has changed his mind and he now wants us to be Americans, and he sides with the Americans when our children are taken away from us. When we want to protect our children they are torn away and we are punished. Sometime ago a number of us were taken to California where we remained because we did not want to abandon the Hopi ways, and there a soldier chief asked us whether we wanted Loloma to be our chief, and he said to us if they would treat us that way again and take our children away again, then Lomahongyoma should be chief alone. Lomahongyoma, who was there too, said we wanted to wait until we returned to our village, and then if we were treated that way again we should throw Loloma away as our chief. This we told the soldier chief through our interpreter and he said, ''All right''. Thus we returned, and in a little while another trouble arose. They asked for our children again and they took Lomahongyoma to Keams Cañon where they cut his hair and kept him a while, then Lomahongyoma became willing to listen to the chief's talk. So they all came to Oraibi and then Lomahongyoma told us to have pity on them and send our children, he was willing. But our people did not want to send their children because we had learned it that way from our forefathers. I did not want to listen because we had not learned it that way, although Lomahongyoma was then willing.

I then got up as no one would talk and told them that although these others were the chiefs, they did not own the village here, and the land, it was I who really owned it, because I represent the old Masauwu. But no one said a word. And on this account I was then after they had gone back to the Cañon, also taken there and arrested, and my hair was cut. Then while I was there in Keams Cañon under arrest, our children were taken by force. They were dragged from the fields and from the rocks and from their homes, and if they hid away they were shot at. Their fathers and mothers were kicked and they as well as the children were dragged out and dragged to school. By and by, while I was there, Nakwaletstiwa was sent to Keams Cañon and his hair was cut, and so we remained there. We received very little to eat, only bread and water and here and there a few other things.

In February we returned and then we were requested to be vaccinated. We gathered in the school room to talk the matter over. Lomahongyoma soon declared that he would be willing to submit. I did not want to. Nakwaletstiwa did not want to. When we went home I asked Lomahongyoma whether he was really willing. He said, yes, he pitied his people. If we were willing we would not be ill-treated; we would not be kicked; we would not be punished. ''Very well'', I said, ''you think over it until tomorrow, and although you were willing tonight, your talk shall not be anything if you change your mind by tomorrow. Nobody else will be willing''. Thus we parted for the night.

Early in the morning Lomahongyoma came to my house and asked me what I had been thinking. I said I had not come to any conclusion. He said that we were the chiefs and that if I did not want it, very well, he would not either. It should be just as I said, and then even if they would hurt us it would be our fate whatever they should do to us. And then (the narrator continued), you know how things have been going and how we have been ill-treated by the Americans. Until Loloma went to Washington fifteen years ago, everything went all right, and from that time he turned and wanted to go the White Men's way, and now you people begin to talk about washing our heads (baptising them), but now those that want the Americans' way do not want to listen either. They do not want that, although they have listened to what the

White people have told them and they have been willing to follow.

Now you take this writing to the east and hand it to our elder brother, to the one who has not had his head washed, and then when he will hear about us here and find out about our trouble maybe he will come here and when he comes he will cut the heads off of those who are bad. He lives somewhere near the ocean where the sun rises. He does not wear his hair the way we do and he is not dressed the way we are, but is dressed like the White Men and he has not been baptised. For him we are waiting. Now you have heard and you have written down everything. Who could do this for us? Nobody understands us. Who will talk for us? These our people that talk English they do not talk it well. Now, you understand our language and you now have heard everything and have written it down. Now you hand this to the White Man, our elder brother who lives where the sun rises, and then he will read it and he will look around and ask who is it that is troubling those there. Then he will certainly say, ''Now let us go there and see about it''. And then when he comes here he will ask who the chief is here, and then undoubtedly a great many will say, ''We are the chiefs''. ''Very well'', he will say, ''then it is on your account that these Hopis are living so unhappily here'', and he will then cut off their heads. Then he will ask, ''Who is it that wrote it to me, that wants to go the old road, the road of the ancestors? Who is it that has not responded to the demands of the Americans, because the old manner of living is sacred to him?'' Our old village and this land here are sacred to me, but if our elder brother then finds that I am one of the powakas [*powaqa*, witch, sorcerer] too, very well, I shall be without a head also. Whatever that one says, it will be so.

If I am to be chief, very well. If not, very well too. After he has cut off the heads of the popwaktu [*popwaqt*, pl. of *powaqa*] I shall show him my writing and then when he looks at it he will say, ''Well here is your village, here are your fields, here is your mesa, this belongs to the Masauwu''. Then he will probably say that I shall be the chief, because I represent the Masauwu.

When he receives this writing he will then maybe think for us about our children. As I have been saying all the time, we want to keep our children with us. If these who want to go the Americans' way want to send them to school, very well, but we want to keep our children with us. When they come home now in summer we do not want to send them back any more. When the one in the east will hear about this and find out about this old talk, he will then say that we need not give away our children, then they will not be angry at us if we do not send them back again. But if we do not send our children back they will certainly come again and bring Navajos again to take the children from us. But we shall then take a hold of the chief also and take him to the railroad and if the chief there then says that he did not want it this way then we shall put the Keams Cañon chief into prison there. But if that elder brother of ours does not talk for us and it should remain this way, the way it is now, then I do not know. But I shall never give my consent. I am the last one that has not declared himself willing yet to abandon the way of our forefathers. I think that that one (our elder brother) will certainly respond to this. It is not we that are troubling you, but it is you that are troubling us, and I do not believe he wants it that way.

Extract from Burton's Annual Report 1904:

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
July 15, 1904.

Sir:—

. . . Oraibi Day School.—This great school is located 35 miles from Keam's Canon, and is the largest day school in the United States. The attendance has averaged over 160 for the entire year. The Principal Teacher, Mr. Glen C. Lawrence, has had a Herculean task on his shoulders and deserves great credit for carrying it so well.

One new stone building was completed during the year and the teacher with all his other duties with the help of the teamster built the walls of the large stone building 18 × 40 feet and it only needs the roof and doors etc. to make it a beautiful cottage for

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the employes. A large stone school room was built a year ago for this school which gives ample room for the 170 children enrolled.

The water supply here is inadequate, water being hauled for drinking purposes one mile from a well in the valley. Two large wells 16 feet in diameter, one for the school and one for the Moquis furnish water for laundry purposes but it is not good for drinking. . . .

Field Matrons.—These good women have done an immense amount of good. At the First Mesa, Miss Sarah E. Abbott's work shows for itself in the clean homes and yards and the higher life of the people. At Oraibi, Miss Miltona M. Keith is striving against almost despairing odds to elevate the people and encourage clean homes and better living. At this village, however, are 1000 people huddled together in a small place and a great part of them so-called hostiles, and it is slow work getting them to change their customs of a thousand years. Little by little her faithful work is telling.

General Observations.—In spite of investigations instituted by well-meaning but misled people; in spite of interferences by outsiders who desire the Indians to remain in his filth and degradation, progress is going on surely if slowly. Better and cleaner homes are in evidence, better and more civilized clothing is worn, larger houses with good doors and glass windows are being builded by the Indians with their own money and labor, the medicine man is disappearing, the dances are decreasing, and all in all I know there is some hope for the Moquis. Several young Indians will vote this coming election, being able to fulfill every requirement of the law. They can read and speak well the English language, they can hold their own in commercial pursuits, they can make a good living for themselves and their families, and why should they not vote?

I desire to thank my loyal corps of employes for faithfulness during the year. To the Indian Office I am grateful for many kindnesses and warm approval of my work and for support in my many exasperating experiences during the year.

Respectfully submitted.
Charles E. Burton,
Superintendent and Acting United States Indian Agent.

Moqui Training School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Sept. 12, 1904.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor and pleasure to inform you that the Moqui schools have had the best opening in their history. One hundred and fifty presented themselves the first day at the Moqui school and one hundred fifty at the Oraibi day school and others coming have swelled the number to 160. . . .

I desire to call your attention to the fact that the first day of last year at the Oraibi day school only 44 were enrolled and then every child had to be sent [?] after. This year no one went [?] to the Mesa and 150 came promptly in spite of the trouble we [?] have [?] had [?] with ethnologists and in spite of the trouble . . . Mr. Lawrence, the principle teacher.

Nearly all of the hostile children came back . . . [?] ran away to Moen Copi under charge of Superintendent Needham and I respectfully request that they be returned to this reservation by Mr. Needham. I respectfully protest against Moen Copi being made a ''City of Refuge'' for Oraibi children who do not want to go to school as it has been for the last four years.

Very respectfully,
Charles E. Burton
Superintendent.

The superintendency of Theodore Lemmon, from January 1905 to December 1906, sees the climax of factional conflict at Orayvi. Again the Agent's competence seems questionable, from the nature of his correspondence and official reports, and it was actively questioned by an order for his appearance in Washington in March or April 1906 (much correspondence during this period appears to be missing, or at least I have not found it). Shortly thereafter (and undisclosed to Lemmon), Commissioner Francis Leupp visited Orayvi in person in June 1906. Certainly less assiduous than Burton, Lemmon seems to

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have understood Hopi no better. While made aware at the very beginning of his tenure of the need to handle conflict at Orayvi tactfully (several communications with Bureau of Indian Affairs Supervisor Frank Mead in Phoenix indicate the Bureau was not leaving all in the hands of the Agent), Lemmon confronted Hostile leaders on several occasions. Lemmon's hand-to-hand fight with Second Mesa Hostiles in a Songòopavi street in February 1906 (in which one man was killed) directly precipitated their move to Orayvi immediately afterwards. In turn, that immigration was the immediate focus of conflict at the Orayvi split itself six months later.

Keam's Canon
Jan. 26th 1905

C. Veits [Viets]
[Principal teacher, Oraibi Day School]

Dear Mr. Veits:

The bearer, Na-qua-ha-mo-va [probably Nakwahoyiwma, Coyote], comes in claiming to have been sent by the Queen [probably Pongyanömsi, Bear] of Oraibi with a story to the effect that the unfriendly's have their bristles up and threaten innumerable dire and calamitous things from all of which I infer there is something of a family row on hands.

There are two sides to all stories and I cannot make this man any promises further than that I will see that people who try to do right shall not be driven out of the village, and that I will come out there this week and have a talk with all of them friendlies and unfriendlies. I have told him for him and the Queen to tell you their stories right away. Like broken hearted children they want to cry and talk.

I started out yesterday but overtook the drill so came back to finish up some work here. I expect to get there tomorrow night and will talk matters over with you and then if it is wise will talk with the Indians the next night.

In the meantime you can put the Indian team to work hauling coal. Would have written to you yesterday but thought I would get to your place before the mail man. Your assistant, Lahpoo [Laapu, Bear, Tawakwaptiwa's brother], seems to be the source of information as to what is to happen. I can trust you to talk with any of them you may see fit and learn all they know without telling them anything we know. There is a disposition to locate the trouble, but I hope it is in error.

Expecting to see you tomorrow night, I am.

Very truly
Theodore Lemmon

P.S. If you know a Navajo near there who would make me a good policeman I wish you would get word to him to come in there to see without letting him know why I want to see him.

[Telegram] Keam's Canon
Jan. 26th 1905

To the Commissioner of Indian Affairs

. . . I must go to Oraibi at once to see if reports of trouble from the ''hostiles'' is well-founded. . . .

Theodore Lemmon

Keam's Canon
Feb 1st 1905

C. Viets
[Principal teacher, Oraibi Day School]

. . . I want at least one Hopi policeman and will offer the work to an Oraibi man if you know one you can recommend. If I could get a good man among the unfriendly people it might be worth more to us than a friendly. Really the strongest characters are among the unfriendlies and such are the characters we want on our side.

I find the Navajos and friendly Moquis all opposed and I feel the unfriendlies are making martyrs of themselves—the old ones will die along that line as is common with martyrs but some of the younger ones may not be so ready for martyrdom but a little worldly goods may look good to them. Recommend someone to me who can be depended upon to a reasonable extent.

Theodore Lemmon

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Keam's Canon
Feb 14th 1905

C. Viets
[Principal teacher, Oraibi Day School]

[Still looking for a Hopi policeman, Lemmon has only Navajo applicants at this point] The man who came after your freight came to me last night to tell me the trouble was growing worse over the land. If they are doing anything now toward spreading the water or putting work on it in any way I will come out and read off a section of the code that will govern here to them. . . .

Theodore Lemmon

Keam's Canon, Ariz,
Feb. 17, 1905

Mr. Frank Mead,
General Supervisor,
Phoenix. Ariz.

Sir:—

Replying to yours ''In the field'' of Feb 15, directing me to have Mr. Veits [Viets] make a general report of the school, the village and the people of Oraibi, I would say I have this day written and will by first mail forward to Mr. Veits a copy of your letter directing him that it will not be necessary unless he so desires to send his report to me but may mail it direct to you which I presume to be your desire as the statement written with a pen after the letter was complete to add my views.

I have been here but a month and that has been one of continual snow and rain and part of it zero weather. I have been to Oraibi and my opinion is the . . . people were doing about the only sensible thing they could do except the few who were dancing. The others were gathered about the fires in the kivas, spinning or weaving or smoking.

I drove out over the corn fields but it was storming and the lands were covered partially with snow so that intelligent judgement was impossible. There is a quarrel on about some of the lands which I hope to adjust as soon as the weather moderates and some of the mud disappears. It is possible to get out there now but very slavish for a team and there can be no preparation of fields till the frost is out of the ground and the snow and some of the water gone.

Very Respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Supt

Keam's Canon
Mar. 1, 1905

Supt. A.H. Veits [Viets]

Dear Mr. Veits:

Charles Mo-to-ma [Tuwahoyiwma, Bear] is in here with a tale about the trouble out there and I really belivee [believe] the people known as the unfriendlies are thoroughly scared or else there are some monumental liars among them.

I guess it is best that I should come out again but I did want to wait until Staufer got back and have him to interpret as we are not liable to get the straight of the other side of this story and these poor scared people will be too scared to tell what they believe if the others are present and these let their fears run away with all the sense they have if the others are not present.

The report is now that the ''hostiles'' are supplied with ammunition and are going to make a killing. I have no fear of that but the relations are going further and further wrong. So I mean to leave here Sunday morning with Mr. Iliff, the clerk, and the interpreter and get there Sunday night unless I hear from you to the contrary.

You realize that those fellows are annoying but we don't want to let it go to a point that they get fighting among themselves or we will have to capture some of them and that might precipitate a lot of trouble and result in someone having to be hurt badly. At the same time I want them to have a fair hearing and honest interpretation and I am going to rely upon you to aid me in their getting that. If the missionary knows the language and can be present or if our trader friend who knows it can be present I would like to have one or both of them there and get the truth so far as we are able and then I will look over those fields and state things

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plainly and as fairly as I can to all people and that will have to end the matter, and then they will have to abide by the decision. As a matter of fact the ''Hostiles'' are not one bit more grasping than the friendlies but the lines must be drawn and stay there.

If you think it is best I am perfectly willing to stop on the way at the Mission and meet the unfriendly people there and greet them but not talk over matters except in open council with all present. If it would be yet better I will come out and some of us will go up on the mesa Monday and then come down and begin the invoice [sic] and keep about our business till evening and then talk the matters all over in an evening council or the next day as the case may be.

But unless I hear from you or something of such importance transpires that I send you word to the contrary I will be there with Mr. Iliff Sunday night and we will invoice the government property there while there.

Very respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Supt.

Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz,
July 23, 1905.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to state that I feel your letter of June 29, ''Education 49487-1905'' calls for a more extended report than was contemplated by your Office.

Had I not had the advantage of rather extended interview in your Office before coming here I must have known that I would be confronted by conditions rather than theories, though I find both.

. . . so long a report seems to me necessary that your Office . . . whether or not I have resorted to the proper methods to determine conditions and whether I have so learned these as to promise usefulness here. Otherwise it were better some one else be sent here . . . as an opening I would better fill I be sent there.

There is a condition existing here yet and your Office has before it the possibilities of being mislead by well meaning people who feel too deeply to judge fairly from visible conditions.

I inclose a report that sets forth matters as they appear to me.

Very respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Superintendent.

The following letter is perhaps the best example of how Lemmon's style, often elliptical and circular, makes his intended meanings sometimes difficult to grasp. I have chosen to keep this report as is, since it is quite informative of conditions at Orayvi a little more than a year before the split. Issues included concern: factional conflict over land; factional leadership; the encroachment of Navajos on Hopi resources; rivalry within the Indian Service over position and policy; the cumbersome chain of command within the Bureau and the remoteness of Washington officials which, with their changing policies, often undermined application in the field; and, again, the intervention of influential outsiders (like Gertrude Gates) in Agency actions affecting Orayvi.

Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
July 23, 1905.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Reporting conditions effecting the work and notoriety of the Moqui reservation.—Arizona.

I beg the honor of stating that I did not come here hunting trouble, that I knew it might be expected, that I am not dodging any but desire to avoid all that when overcome will add nothing to the progress of the reservation. The fact that it was to be expected, that I was endeavoring to locate the sources from which the more serious might emanate by observation will account for my comparative do-little course to date.

I have learned that though there are as

many Navajoes as Hopis on the reservation the Navajo was a comparatively unconsidered quantity. But he made known that he was here.

When I came the police had resigned to a man. Employes had been advised to arm for personal protection,—explained as follows: —

> ''Keam's Canon, Ariz. Sept. 7, 1905 [sic, should be 1904].
> Mr. C. I. Houck,
> Sheriff of Navajo County,
> Holbrook, Ariz.
>
> Sir: I beg to inclose herewith warrant of arrest for two bad Indians. Also my letter of instructions from Washington to call upon you for the arrest of these offenders. They are very bad men and declare they will not be arrested alive. They got into trouble with the Navajoes themselves and nine determined Navajoes tried to arrest them but failed as eleven of the gang pounced upon them and released the one they had already arrested and tied.
>
> They are charged with burglarizing Mr. Hubbell's store and are the ones who burglarized Mr. Cahn's store about a year ago and for such crimes it is clearly the duty of the territorial authorities to arrest these burglars. Mr. Hubbell pays taxes to the county and is therefore entitled to protection of his business.
>
> Please let me know when you will be here, by return mail. You should have at least five or six good deputies and we will reinforce you here with whites and Indians.
>
> ''Those men have threatened the lives of myself, Mr. Hubbell, Mr. Thysing and several Indians including my chief of police. We are certainly entitled to the protection of the territory and ourselves and our families are in great danger.
>
> Please act at once and bring plenty of ammunition especially cartridges for 44 caliber guns.
>
> Kindly return the Department letter for file. Kindly answer this letter by return mail as we want to know what to expect.
>
> (Signed) C. E. Burton, Justice of the Peace.

As a sequel I was informed that the two Navajo police who led the ''Nine determined Navajoes'' <u>by permission</u> were disarmed, beaten up and sent home: their arms being sent in afterwards. Supervisor Mead thinks I have more mean Navajoes than any man who handles Navajoes and if that letter indicates the spirit that has dictated the handling of the Navajoes he is probably right.

Trouble was reported between factions at Oraibi and a Navajo came to me and told me that I was to be thrown over the Mesa when I went out there. I went and spent half a day on the Mesas looking around, a part of the time alone, went into all the Kivas I could find, stayed till after midnight to a dance, and went down the trail with the ladies from the school in the early morning. I met some surliness but no demonstration that I could detect.

Trouble between progressives and conservatives over lands that had been divided on factional lines (an unwisely selected basis of division) led to messengers being sent to inform me that the conservatives were going to kill Tawaquaptiwa, chief of the progressives. He finally came in for an interview, from which I learned that he is ''friendly for revenue only'', that he claimed ownership of all the lands farmed by the Oraibis and proposed to allot it wholly in his own interests.

Later his aunt [Pongyanömsi, Bear] sent in a messenger during the night to beg me to come out and protect him as he was to be killed on the occasion of the ''Bean Dance''.

From all interviews I had learned that the friendlies denounced trader Volz and Missionary Frey as allies of the conservatives. I wrote Mr. Veits [sic] to get Mr. Volz and Mr. Frey [J.B. Frey, Mennonite missionary at Mùnqapi] to join him and if possible get the conservatives, and them only, to meet me and talk with me Friday evening and went out.

The conservatives came with Philip [Tsorngöyva, Desert Fox], a son of Lomahogioma as interpreter. Mr. Volz, Mr. Frey and others were present. The fact that Mr. Frey had to interpret gave me a chance to impress upon them that they had done wrong not to have kept some one of their children in school till it would be a reliable interpreter, that I was there and wanted to talk to them and wanted to hear from them and they could not talk or hear. That in the future this chance would come to them often and they should prepare for it. Lomahongioma was the most nervous man I think I ever saw in an Indian council.

Their stories more fully revealed the grasping arrogance of Tawaquaptiwa and fully revealed that they expected to have to submit to it. I assured them they were Hopis and as such should have their rights whether they were my friends or not, that I wanted their friendship and expected to get it by treating them as they deserved—good or bad. Then

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directed them to select one man, and but one, of their number to go with me and their interpreter to the fields on Sunday.

I left that room convinced that Tawaquaptiwa had an advisor who possessed unusual cunning.

Saturday I skirmished long in the council of the friendlies to locate this ''power behind the throne'' and finally directed them to select one man, and one only, to go with the party to the fields in dispute on Sunday to locate the line in controversy. Assured them I would attend the bean dance on Monday, unarmed, and asked Tawaquaptiwa to be with me all the time I was there.

Sunday Lomahongioma came with trader Volz as interpreter. A judge of the Indian Court [Qöyangayniwa] got in the wagon to accompany Tawaquaptiwa—this I forbade.

The official interpreter [probably Kuwanngöytiwa (Frank Jenkins), Patki] is of Tawaquaptiwa's faction and that was sufficient. A runner came to the fields to assist Tawaquaptiwa, the man I had been hunting as the advisor and who proved to be an uncle [probably Talaskwaptiwa, Sun]. I declined to proceed till either Tawaquaptiwa or his uncle left the fields. The uncle, who knew full well he had no business there, left. Tawaquaptiwa pointed out a black spot of soil on one side of the valley and a mound of shifting sand a mile or more distant on the other side as the points between which the line was drawn by agreement. Lomahongioma pointed out two rocky natural landmarks. I told them that was all I wanted and after the dance I would talk to all of them together. That each side was to select one man and the friendlies had tried to send two which was not fair. That ''Uncle Joe'' (Lomahongioma) was unfriendly but that I would treat him fair and some day he would be my friend—he said something to Mr. Volz when this was interpreted and Volz told me on the way home that he said I was treating him fair and that he was my friend.

It was possible that Tawaquaptiwa was in danger, as feared, and it might be foolhardy to risk too much. Regarding Mr. Iliff as a ''last ditch man'' I had him go on the Mesa to see the dance and keep in sight and he bore concealed arms. Tawaquaptiwa hid out like the craven he is. I went to his house and his wife plead ignorance of his whereabouts. We were there through the bean dance, but he was not.

The next morning I talked to both factions, to weed out loafers I selected a point that necessitated crossing ''the trail of the dead'' in going from the village, Mr. Staufer and Mr. Frey were present. I had ascertained that Lomahongioma is chief in some ceremonies that a number of the friendlies are participants in, that Yukioma ranks second to Lomahongioma as chief of the unfriendlies. Seeing a double tie in Lomahongioma I orated till I had him in a good humor and Yukioma in a bad humor, through Frank Jenkins, who is allied to the friendlies by birth, raising and education and the conservatives by marriage, as interpreter. I goaded Yukioma into such a state of mind that he violated laws of rank and rose and talked without waiting for his ranking officer to express himself. Conservatives showed themselves divided on him some wanting him to desist and others urging him on. When he had finished I read off the following:—

''For the present year you will farm the lands you did last year and in November or December I will call a council and we will decide on a division that will last till the shifting sands or the receding of the wash makes another division necessary.

''2. By the laws of the white man twenty years occupancy without interruption or interference gives a pretty good title, and the same rule will apply for the present on this reservation.

''3. Your religion is a matter for the consideration of the missionaries and I will have nothing to do with that or your ceremonies except as they effect your practical life.

''4. Your personal quarrels, when I must deal with them, will be dealt with as between individuals and not between friendlies or unfriendlies.

''5. The paper of legendary rights [probably one of the stone tablets discussed in chap. 4] which has been brought to me by one faction, I will respect when satisfactorily authorized, and a copy filed with me. It is to be respected as a myth but of no value as efecting practical life.

''6. Uneducated people finally sell their lands for less than their value, the more un-

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educated sell first, educated men usually hold for value therefore

''7. Your children must be kept in school, and Moen Copi children must be kept in school here, at Keam's Canon or at Moen Copi or Tuba City.''

With that I left. In less than two hours after I left I was informed that a part of the conservatives had deposed Lomahogioma and raised up Yukioma in his place. I had succeeded to the fullest measure I had hoped. I had split the unfriendly faction [note that Yukiwma's account in 1911—see below—places this transition to a moment that coincides with events in 1902 and persons associated with those 1902 events; Voth's diary for July 1897, above, contains two suggestions by Nakwave'yma that Yukiwma was considered as Hostile chief even at that point; in light of these sources, Lemmon's claim here appears a vain boast].

Yukioma is worse hurt and worse whipped than if I had broken half the bones in his body with a club. He is not chief and he knows it. He has only a small following and he knows it. He has broken the friendship between himself and Lomahongioma and he knows it, he can not be made chief only by the help of those who remained faithful to Lomahongioma and he knows it, I goaded him into making a fool of himself and he knows it. He would do anything in the world to get back to the position he had held and don't know how, I got him down and it may be possible I can help him get back. He made me one visit that he dared not admit was a visit, but claimed he was told that I sent for him. He lied and he knows it and he knows I know it. He made me another visit without excuses for doing so. On the first he told me just what Mrs Gates wrote the Office about the school children and on the second visit told me that he would have nothing more to do with the matter of the school children and his people could send their children to school just as they pleased, he lied then and there and is helpful right now in putting the Indians in such spirit that I am informed that we will have to make a fight this fall to get them into school both at the Canon and at Oraibi. Mrs. Gates and Mr. Viets are reckoning without their hosts unless we can find something to spring on Yukioma that will change his present intentions. I have some advantages of him and he knows it and he will learn that I am going to use them when I need them. It is not surprising that when man is down—way down—and don't know how to get up that he would seek an armstice [armistice] by promising to be good, and he will be good till he thinks he is up. Lomahongioma was one of the most miserable of men when he thought he was deposed and was ordered out of his kiva—the ceremonial underground room in which he is chief of ceremonies. I felt he needed consolation and help and he felt it. I felt in time he would come to me for it. There was no place else to ask it. Mrs. Gates was not on the reservation, the missionary had declared his intention to go to Moen Copi, the trader is to leave the reservation in August, Mr. Viets would leave in vacation and might not return, he could not go over to the ''friendlies'' Tawaquaptiwa is there. I know these things and knew his misery of soul, I had shown him consideration by which he and his people had been benefitted and . . . [knew?] . . . he would come to me, if some one did not meddle when he could stand it no longer. He did. I treated him kindly and cordially for I like and admire these old ''hostile'' rascals, they have about all the backbone that is possessed by the Hopis. I told him it was all right that he is still my unfriendly chief. He assured me that he is my friend but I told him no he is my unfriendly chief. He has since come to the Canon to visit me and was again cordially received. He has given me the same promise that Mrs. Gates has mentioned to the Office. I called him and Tawaquaptiwa in what to them was a very solemn council over the case of an Oraibi Indian who went crazy, and took from here to Oraibi a special interpreter in whom both could trust and was careful to impress upon them that this was a matter for the consideration of chiefs and not everybody. I got them on common ground. Lomahungioma has since told me that he knows I have to keep the children in school and he was willing to let his people do as they please about it but they do not believe in it and they will have to fight and there is going to be a show of resistance, that will have to

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be carefully managed, even from him or there will be serious annoyances.

Tawaquaptiwa,—Mrs. Gates has fairly characterized this man, had she added that he is avaricious to the limit, friendly to the whites ''for revenue only'' and an arrant, dastardly coward backed and pushed by an uncle of deep cunning the characterization would have been complete. At the same time both he and his uncle are in doubt about what I mean to do in the case of Lomahogioma. Tawaquaptiwa came to me with a question that I feel originated with his uncle, asking me why he should be friendly with the whites and do what they wanted. I told him because it was right and because if he did not the whites might not and the Superintendent would not have anything to do with him and when this happened the Navajoes would now get the best of his people and then some of his people would go over to Lomahongioma and he would be chief of a very few people. The fellow simply writhed under this thought of losing his people and sees more danger than really exists.

Mrs. Gates,—The lady was an entire stranger to me except through my knowledge of her in the Burton affair and what I had heard of her from the Viets family on my visits to Oraibi. I had learned that Mr. Viets and family were friends and admirers of hers, the wife and daughter have been visiting at her house since they were furloughed in May. I had heard that she was to visit Oraibi, and as I had not completed the census of the village I went out expecting to meet her there. Some time after I got there she drove in having driven alone from the railroad camping one night on the way with no companion save a dog belonging to the liveryman. She had entirely ignored all rules as to visitors on the reservation and included the Superintendent. I treated her as a guest of the Viets family which I believe her to have been. I had some conversation with her and decided she was actuated by pure motives of helpfulness to the Oraibi Hopis, but felt if she was given full rein in her hopes and plans she would succeed in making them the most helpless, dependant lot of beggars that cumber the earth. I feel that her travelling about over the reservation unaccompanied will result in her experiments coming to an untimely end at the hand of some such Navajo as my predecessor would characterize as a ''very bad man''. I wish I could have retained my belief in her work as a disinterested charity but recently it has come to my knowledge that she offered to loan August Vogt ten thousand dollars to put in his trading store on condition that he would take in Sam Powicki and Tawaquaptiwa as partners. Tawaquaptiwa, the man she characterizes as weak, because of his ''youth, superstitious belief, and egotism coupled with ambition to become a popular chief''. A Carnegie or a Rockefeller might devote such a sum to a charity for the benefit of a community of some eight hundred souls with out a suspicion of commercial interests back of it if were not in purely commercial lines [sic], but I have not heard of . . . doing so.

With my judgment of the business ability of Mr. Vogt and the acumen of Mrs. Gates I am led to at least a suspicion that the two Indians are mere dummies both of whom will be ruined in the eyes of their people simply to hide a nonresident partner in an Indian trading store that will bring to me and your Office in a smaller way a repetition of the Hyde Exploring expedition and trading company of the Navajo reservation. I think Mrs. Gates will not lose as much money because she has I think not so much to lose. Though Mr. Vogt has written me that he has taken out his first papers of naturalization I deem it best that the matter go a little slow till we know more of it. I inclose a letter to Mrs. Gates that may lead to a change of plan on her part or if it elicits an answer may reveal more of actual intentions. I do not object to Vogt using what money he has in getting experience out there but I do object to two Indians being made dummies for a nonresident silent partner who in the end to save her investment must finally step in and assume control and relieve the two dummies discredited among men.

Mr. Viets,—Mr. Viets and I have been personal friends for years, but I must admit that I was surprised to have him make known to me his ''soreness'' over his reduction in rank in the Service and his belief that he would have been raised to his former rank if he had only had the ''pull'' necessary and his assurance that Mr. Burton bore him animosity and

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jealousy because when Mr. Burton thought he was to be promoted to the position of Supervisor he had asked Mr. Viets if he would accept the position held by Mr. Burton and Mr. Viets had said he would. By his conversation he had made me believe that somebody else had suggested that he was the natural successor of Mr. Burton when Mr. Burton was gone. I have recently had more light on this subject all of which leads me to believe it is possible there might have been more in the fight on Burton than the commercial interests of a ten thousand dollar investment and the unselfish Christian interests of tourists. Though I recommended that Mr. Viets be appointed to the position of Inspector of Day Schools there is at least one point at which there is a wide difference in our ideas of developing manhood and womanhood in Indians and Indian youth. I believe that the Indian who has his child schooled and supported, and the child who has been supported and school [sic] have both received all that they have reason to hope and that anything other than the benefits accruing therefrom that is given is in the nature of a bribe that they have no reason to expect, and is a wrong to the recipient as well as on the part of the employe who is a party to it. My Recommendation had not had time to be acted upon in the ordinary course of business in your Office before I had a letter from Mrs. Gates telling me of the success of the plan, yet as a whole it was not my plan, further on in this report I believe I make plain that it was the plan of Mr. Viets even to the teachers appointed to the positions and I may say here without expressed concurrence on my part. I have no opposition or objection to offer, I kept quiet simply because I was going to learn if I could where the outside work was coming from.

General Supervisor Frank Mead,—Soon after my arrival Mr. Mead wrote me asking me to have Mr. Viets make a report of the condition and needs at Oraibi. I felt I would exceed the authority granted me by your Office to order this report but was willing to learn how far another might be willing to take chances on such exceeding of authority in the matter so gave Mr. Vits [Viets] permission to make it if he so desired. He made the report and sent it to me. I risked whatever might come from Mr. Mead by forwarding without suggest or recommendation sending a letter press copy to your Office. A part of the recommendation in that report is embodied in the recommendations in the letter of Mrs. Gates. Mr. Meade afterwards visited the reservation going to Oraibi without visiting the Agency, and at a later date spent the greater part of two days at the Agency. One of the days being Sunday and he being pressed for time I devoted almost the entire day to letting him do the talking. I learned in the course of his conversation that he regarded Mr. [Viets] as the natural successor of Mr. Burton and that it was his belief that such would have been the case if I had not exchanged.

(I feel that while such might have been the case for all I know the first of January when the actual exchange took place it would not have been the case in November at the time the exchange was arranged.) [It appears that out of the turmoil from the Sequoya League's accusations against Burton, his position at the Keam's Canyon Agency and Lemmon's at the Grand Junction School were simply exchanged, Burton going to Grand Junction when Lemmon came to the Hopi reservation.]

I would not detract one iota from Mr. Viets nor is there reason I should laud his predecessor when I do not know at the same time the monthly reports of the Oraibi school show that a Mr. Lawrence who signed the report for September 1904 enrolled at that school during that month 154 pupils and for the balance of the year the reports are signed by Mr. Viets and it is a fact that the enrollment did not touch the original enrollment again during the year, a telegram went to your Offices according to the records here that there was an enrollment of 160 but the certified reports fail to support or confirm it, and during a part of the year I have personal knowledge of the fact that there were children of school age there that were not in school. And I have known of the Judge of the Indian Court located there hunting up and sending in the children, he came to me to tell that he had to make some send many times and that he did not find some that he was sent for. He seemed to think it a part of his business and as he was not busy otherwise.

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I not only did not interfere with but told him to tell the father of the truants that those boys would be in school there every day or I would take them to the Canon where I could watch them. We will have them taken to the Canon is the raw-head-and-bloody-bones of that village[1], and I am reliably informed that Mr. Burton directed the field matron to act as truant officer putting her under the impression that Mr. Chubbuck and Mr. Mead decided such should be a part of her duties. She has never mentioned that matter to me and it would not have come to me but for the fact that with the amount of work she has to do some one who thought it questionable if Mr. Chubbuck and Mr. Mead added these duties and made it necessary for her to make two trips up there on winter mornings before nine o-clock to collect children for the school while school employes of equal phsical [physical] ability sat in comfortable rooms waiting to receive them when they came down . . . [one to two words illegible]. I would not suppose there was great probability of difficulty in getting the pupils in at Oraibi after some one had first rounded them up and started them and then the work was followed up with the Field Matron as truant Officer and a Peace Officer who knows every man woman and child in the village to supplement her work, yet there will be the same struggle there to enroll them this fall that there was last in my judgment. I will be glad to see Mr. Viets try it. It will be the time that either he or I will need to modify some of our present ideas. But without orders from your Office the field matron will devote herself largely to the duties of her position and if we must employe a truant officer I will recommend the employment of one at some less salary. I am perfectly willing Mr. Viets should have a ''Square deal'' and would not object to his having even more than that but for the fact that when he gets more equally valuable employes in their lines are getting less that he may have more and all have some rights. It is a part of my plan this year to have the pupils taken in school examined by the physicians this fall and only those fit for school taken in. I have sent out at least three since I came here who have died since of tuberculosis. I want numbers and attendance but not badly enough to jeopardize a whole school to hold half a dozen at its peril, and when such work is done it is very doubtful if an attendance of 175 can be maintained at Oraibi this year when only one forty seven could be maintained there last year. There seems a lack of logic in the idea that Mr. Viets can easily do this and be away from there much of the time, that he was the only element in maintaining so large an attendance last year by being on the ground all the time and yet the average for this year was less than it was the year before. With the physical examination that will best conserve the health interests of the children I feel that some will be cut out of both Keam's Canon school and the Oraibi school and will make the matter of an attendance of 175 very questionable at Oraibi as we will draw some from there and they will have less in sight. Your Office has had fourteen years of observation of the fact that I believe in a school because of what it does for manhood and womanhood and not for exhibition purposes either in the number of noses exposed to a daily count or other show material. Numbers and good appearance are essentials but an ounce of devotion to duty is worth a ton of grand stand plays ''on the gridiron'' as I measure young men and women though sport and amusement are of inestimable value.

Mr. Viets had outlined the greater portion of Mrs. Gates letter to me on my visit to Oraibi but I was not convinced it was better to carry it out at that time and I am not yet convinced the time has come for attempting it in full. I felt that a 1200 dollar man there to look after the generosities of that little place with one Indian laborer and one team to haul water was exorbitantly expensive as I have been running Indian schools. If there is so much sickness among four teachers that most of his time should be put in substituting it is high time to employ a lot of people in reasonable health, hire a cheaper substitute as a 1200 hundred dollar teacher ought to be of too much value to be held the greater part of his time in a $540 position, or if the site is so unhealthy as to make such demands it

[1] ''Raw-head-and-bloody-bones,'' now archaic, refers to an ogre, a goblin, something that frightens, and appears to refer to the phrase, ''We will have them taken to the canon,'' which ought to have quotation marks around it.

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should be abandoned in the interests of the health of the children but none of these I feel can be the case, it is simply a case of poor logic. Mr. Viets spoke to me of Miss Stanley and though I have known and liked Miss Stanley for years as a teacher I held out no encouragement, I was studying elements as related to success and failure of policy on the Moqui Reservation.

After physical examinations have been made of the children I will be much better able to decide as to the other teacher at Oraibi and the renting of the Hopi house.

Tawaquaptiwa's judgments of the value of a Principal of Day School or any other school are entirely worthless, and with the rivalry and jealousy of the chiefs there the less they have of him there the more they will get of the others who not only lead more people than he but have less of diplomacy than he. He is much safer handled politically than by continually petitioning his grace and favor.

I see nothing at all flatering [flattering] in the reference of the lady as to what I may have been helpful in bringing about, I accomplished nothing beyond what I ought to have accomplished with the opportunity that came to me.

I was not aware that the present administration is very favorable to day schools. I will be glad to see that interest pushed and glad to help push it to the utmost limit of its possibilities in the hope that we can make something of it fit to be perpetuated. As I have known Day Schools I have regarded them as an experiment that developed promise very slowly.

While I seriously question the probability of increasing and maintaining the Oraibi Day School at 175 after weeding out to reasonable degree tuberculosis but it will be perfectly safe to appoint Miss Kessel to the position that Miss Dabney E. George has been filling. Miss George left here recently in such a state of health from acute tuberculosis that the uneasiness of her friends at her undertaking the trip home was fully justified. She informed me that she expected she would go out of the service and if she did not would not come back here. She was in no general condition to write a resignation at the time she told me that . . . [one word illegible]. I asked her to write your Office on the subject as soon as she reached home. If your Office has not heard from her I fear it is because she is unable to write. Her most intimate friends here have not heard from her since she left except thro the Indian who took her to the R.R.

While I regard the new undertaking as a Viets-Gates experiment I will be glad to help it forward as much as is possible to me and glad to have one of the ability experience and convictions of Mr. Viets in immediate charge in its relations to all the Day Schools of the reservation but feel he will be much more valuable in his observations suggestions and execution of plans as to the schools of the reservation than he can possibly be on the road, in the fields, at the cleaning of the springs or on the ranges of the reservation all of which is work much too arduous for his present physical condition. As I have some very definite stock plans that have already been set in motion I will without objection from your Office have him devote some of his time to the school at the Canon as this will give me more time on the reservation to look after the Agency conditions that need my attention and enable me to determine if there is a place on the reservation where it would be advisable to build a school of 175 capacity which the Navajoes assure me they will fill for me with Navajo children if I will build it so they can put their children in school where they will not be forced to be with the Hopis.

Very respectfully
Theo G. Lemmon
Superintendent.

Lemmon took sick while visiting Orayvi in September 1905 to promote the government's efforts to increase school attendance. He appears to have spent the next five months away from the reservation, returning in January, 1906. In the interim, plans developed by Gertrude L. Gates and A.H. Viets to encourage voluntary school attendance quickly went awry, and Viets soon recommended force, proposing to draw upon the aid of twenty Navajo police. Upon his return, Lemmon sought to delay the application of

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force, but as the next letter shows, he was not averse to establishing terms of confrontation. A specific clash was developing over schooling, especially at Second Mesa, but as shown below, this directly involved Hostiles coming over from Orayvi to lend their support.

Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
Jan 29, 1906

The Honorable
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Sir:-

[Describes the failure of the Viets-Gates plan to bring in children to attend schools voluntarily in September 1905] . . . when after having been directed by me at least twice to bring those children in and they were kept out he [Mr. Viets, as Day School Inspector, a newly created role] sent a policeman and the interpreter out after the children. The Interpreter at that time was one of the Oraibis. Instead of showing a disposition to send the children in one Oraibi man who had no children in school or to put in school took up another man's affairs caught the interpreter and attempted to throw him over the side of the Mesa. In this he would have succeeded had not the policeman struck him knocking him down. The father who was present had hidden the children and refused to send them, bring them, or tell where they were so the policeman brought both the father and the man who had unwarrantedly attacked the interpreter into the Canon and both were placed in the guardhouse. Mrs. Gates assured me that if they had not been turned out as soon as they were the filling of the schools would have been completed. From this I infer that she realized this as an opportunity to use coercion and was doing it. The clerk [Lemmon was away from the reservation on sick leave during the events he is describing] was afraid he would interfere with their work yet could not sit by and see an official beaten by any who saw fit to attack but with the least punishment that savored of adequacy turned the fellows loose. It is my judgment he acted with very considerable discretion.

Then the waiting for the results of the soft sentiment methods began again and were marked by such decided failure that under date of Sept. 30th, Mr. Viets wrote the Clerk in Charge, Mrs. Gates was still on the reservation and at Oraibi:-

> ". . . Doing anything more here except to use force would be futile. I have visited every school pupil and their parents not fewer than three times and have sent the judge [Qöyangayniwa] many times also Mr. Stauffer and Mr. Epp have both talked to them yet they grow more and more obdurate.
>
> The only thing to be done now is to use *force* and *plenty* of it. It would be almost useless to send fewer than 20 Navajos. It will be necessary to surround the town in the night and take twenty children and an equal number of men.
>
> These people are on the watch and ready to take to the fields at sight of a policeman, so the place must be approached with caution.
>
> A few of the policemen *without uniforms* might camp at the traders store and very early in the morning, long before light surround the village and as soon as it is good light the rest of them go through the village and pick up the men and the children wanted. I wrote the above thinking you might want to send out at once. But in this scheme there is a big chance of a "leak" that might frustrate our plans. As there is a full moon on the 13th, it might be well to delay matters a little and have the policemen ride from the Canon or First Mesa and surround the village as soon as they get here. Then too a little delay would tend to give the people more confidence in the opinion that this demand for the children is "all talk" and they would be more likely to be at their homes. As yet they are watchful and everything must be done with caution. Not even Edwin or the Judge must be trusted until the last moment. The Judge has a daughter who is as treacherous as can be. Indeed no Hopi is to be trusted in this.
>
> Without doubt you will think I am asking a great deal but if you knew the situation here as I do you would be inclined to send more men rather than fewer.
>
> Remember that this is an old game and that these people are in earnest. They fully realize that they are playing their trump card and that if they do not come out ahead now it is all up with them. The 20 children I mention is the minimum. I think you will get many more that that number . . . .
>
> (Signed) Yours &c
> A.H.Viets."

Right there the Clerk in Charge very wisely balked. It was thought in this Office that the report that went to your Office in which the statement is made that, "It is believed that the attendance can be raised to and maintained at 175 without conflict or coercion," was made to your Office by Mrs.

Gates with the knowledge of Mr. Viets. Mrs. Gates was at the time this letter was written on the reservation and at Oraibi or believed to be there. Mrs. Gates and Mr. Epp were thought to be considerable factors in the reports to your Office in regard to the actions of Mr. Burton who had been severely criticised. To send a band of Navajos out there under any one who did not know every man of them by sight and under any one but a man who has demonstrated his ability to command and handle men was to invite outrage that would furnish more than enough to satisfy the most skeptical that the methods were not what should be used and would subject this office and yours to the severest possible of criticism that would have been richly merited. And would have given both Mrs. Gates and Mr. Epp complete mastery and knowledge of all they could desire to possess in the way of improper methods and proceedings. I hope your Office will not misjudge my feelings toward Mrs. Gates or Mr. Epp I respect both of them, and regard them both as earnest honest people who seek to do good and seek only to do good. But they misjudge and have false ideas of what is the best good of the people they would help.

This was the condition when I returned [presumably, in January 1906] to find an accumulation of work that is but partially brought up, tho I believe the end is in sight. As far as I have been able to manage matters from the office, as I have pushed the work to get it up, I have done so but the lack of work on the reservation has made some accumulation of work there.

It has given the appearance of unusual freedom and lack of restraint to both the Hopis and the Navajos. As, I feel, a partial result, one of my Navajo Chiefs planned and had carried out the attack on Agent Perry [Reuben Perry]. This outrage has run all over the reservation while the fact that I put him under arrest and sent him to Agent Perry where he is paying the penalty of his action has not traveled so rapidly.

A further result has been that Joshua [Humiyesva, 2M] a bad Hopi has been creating trouble at Shimopiva and Mashongnava two of the Second Mesa villages. He was guilty of like conduct once before, and Supt Burton sent out to have him brought in, he sent the policeman back. Again Mr. Burton sent the police and the interpreter after the fellow and he and his gang gave the Agency representatives a clubbing and sent them back, and the girl who was the innocent cause of it all is still at home and not in school. Joshua grew brave over my lack of personal work on the reservation and visited a neighboring village and told them how they ought to drive the whites from the reservation, first taking their children out of school, and keeping them out, as he keeps his out. Assured them that he was armed and that he would not be bothered, the news came to me while I was at work on the quarterly papers and the annual estimates and before they were finished one of their chiefs of the village Joshua had visited came in to take his boy out and brought a friend who wanted his boy. I assured them there was trouble ahead out there and that the children would not go out at all till I had settled the trouble Joshua was trying to make.

I got out of the chief the facts in the case, except that I have learned since that the boys were wanted to attend a war dance at that village and Prin. Higham was in the village at the time of the dance and saw some firearms thrown from the house tops to the crowd. Time to begin. I went out there and had the police reach there after night and the next morning at daylight we had Joshua under arrest and he is now in the Agency guardhouse. Before the week is gone I think his girl will be in the school. She was hid out when the arrest was made and it may take some time to find her.

I feel I am abundantly able to handle the matter a piece at a time till I get to Oraibi and if I find I need help will apply to your Office for authority to employ such help as I need.

I want to do what I must do and only what I must do to handle the situation and that without Grand stand displays. I may have to use twenty or forty Navajos but when I do, if I do, it will not be in the way of terrorizing by dashing display. I feel I have just as much time as the Indians have and if your Office will bear me out in it I will bring to bear and maintain a positive constant pressure getting partial result day after day till I get what is wanted and using only such arbitrary punish-

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ment as will get the results and will try to impress the idea that the certainty and at the same time the mildness of arbitrary punishment are two things to be counted as an element in every case.

As I came into the Agency the other day bringing Joshua I met Inspector Viets on the desert and he expressed that idea that Joshua was not apprehended any too soon and repeated the idea of taking a large force of Navajos to Oraibi and taking those there who had disregarded their promises as to returning their children when called for. That is not my idea of the method as yet.

It is a fact, however, that whatever is done will be done with the white employes or the whites and the Navajos. I believe there is not a Hopi on the reservation who can be induced to undertake to arrest and bring in any man on the reservation who would refuse to come, and half the Navajo women on the reservation could have their own ways about being arrested by any but probably half a dozen of the Hopis.

There are some children to bring up the enrollment of the 2nd Mesa school but they are little people and have about two miles to walk and the weather has been so extremely cold and the snow so deep that Prin. Higham has not deemed it wise to have them put in school and I have fully agreed with him in the matter.

Very Respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Superintendent

The events of February–March, 1906, that eventuated in the relocation of Second Mesa Hostiles to Orayvi, can only be pieced together with difficulty from Lemmon's available correspondence. Lemmon reported a conflict at Songòopavi on February 26, 1906, in which one Hopi man was killed, and another clash there on February 28th, leading to the departure of Second Mesa Hostiles for Orayvi in early March 1906. On April 20, 1906, he appears to have submitted a long report (at least he wrote a draft) detailing the events. I have not located the report in the National Archives and the relevant pages are missing from the salient volume of Keam's Canyon Letterbooks. The copy herein is transcribed from a handwritten report that may be a first draft (it trails off at the end), from the Theodore Lemmon Papers at the Los Angeles County Natural History Museum. In this report, Lemmon indicates he had encouraged the Hostiles to consider moving off and founding their own separate village. The move to Orayvi by the Second Mesa Hostiles, as noted elsewhere, provided the primary precipitating cause for the Orayvi split. The Orayvi Hostile population was augmented by ca. fifty people, all vigorously opposed to Kikmongwi Tawakwaptiwa. Their leader, Tawahongniwa (Bluebird clan), sought to usurp Tawakwaptiwa's ritual authority at the 1906 Niman (''Home Dance'') in July.

Toreva, Ariz
March 1 6

The Honorable
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Sir:-

Some time ago I arrested and took to Keam's Canon two mischief and trouble makers from Shimopiva Village. Afterwards I sent an Employe and one policeman to bring the children of these two people into school.

The employe and policeman were set upon and over powered handled rather roughly and sent home.

Yesterday I came up and went into the Kiva and tried to talk to these people without result. This forenoon I went on the Mesa to the village with one employe the three police and seven temporary police and an interpreter intending to over power those who had fought the other day. I asked them to come up out of the Kiva and talk & they refused. I then told them I would pour ammonia & Formalin, both bad medicines into the Kiva if they did not come out. They came. We quietly arrested the parties and started off. Immediately the police were set upon by surely forty people and possibly—even probably fifty people, of the Hopis. For an hour there was a hard hand struggle, a few clubs and some stones were used. I hope no one

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was seriously hurt but many are badly bruised.

It was altogether the coolest struggle of its size I ever saw. Today I admire the little hostile Hopi more than ever, and the Navajo police are admirable fellows. Only one shot was fired and that was in a struggle over a gun. I am not sure whether the Navajo or one of the three Hopis fired the shot.

I must take those fellows to Keam's Canon for discipline and to do so it will be necessary to have Navajoes enough to hold off the outsiders otherwise someone may be seriously hurt.

I have sent for the physician to see if any of the Hopis are seriously hurt. None of us are though all of us will carry a few bruises a few days.

I feel no one struck me a blow that was intended for me but I stopped some intended for others. One man so tackled me that I ordered him to let loose at the muzzle of a gun.

I will send out for enough Navajoes as specials to take these fellows in without the necessity or possibility of another melee and advise your Office further.

Very Respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Supt.

Moqui School
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
March 10, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

. . . As soon as we were beaten off I went for more men but by the time they arrived we were informed that the parties we wanted had had their forces augmented by the addition of sixty men from among the conservatives at Oraibi. We went to the village but I was convinced that to attempt to take the men we wanted out meant a killing and one that would be serious because of the numbers. I withdrew the men for the ostensible purpose of giving the besieged time to consider a proposition and that I might on a trip, then prospective, to Washington I might discuss the matter with you and learn how far you desired that these matters be carried, and to what extent you regard a killing in the carrying out of the arrests warranted.

Very respectfully
Theo G. Lemmon
Superintendent.

Hopi Troubles Report: Original of official report of the "scrap" with the rebellious Hopis at Second Mesa (Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History Collection 1034: Document 36).

Moqui School,
Keam's Canyon, Arizona,
April 20th, 1906

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir,

Replying to yours of March 16, "Education 21232-1906" relative to the recent trouble at Second Mesa, I have the honor to assure you that I have knowledge of the unfortunate notoriety gained by my predecessor, Superintendent Burton; and also his predecessor, Mr. Shoemaker, and have constantly borne the facts in mind in my work here.

In passing, permit me to remark that an intimate acquaintance with the Hopis growing out of a years dealing with them has convinced me that both these gentleman have been judged too harshly, yet I am not praying either mercy or charity in the judgement of my actions.

When I came here one of the girls enrolled and belonging in the boarding school at Keam's Cañon was not in school but was out at Second Mesa, and another of school age was not in school anywhere. I did not learn of this for some time after reporting here; and under press of matters while getting acquainted and while trying to get a long start on clerical . . . did not make the matter up. Later I learned that these girls were, at least were reported, under the control of Ho-mi-esh-va (generally known as Joshua [Humiyesva, Sun, son of Tawahongniwa, Bluebird,

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leader of the Second Mesa Hostiles]) and Se-kia-emp-ti-wa [Sikyayamtiwa, Eagle, Musangnuvi].

Inquiry developed the fact that Se-kia-emptiwa is the man who attacked Mr.Shoemaker with an axe and was by Mr. Shoemaker knocked down with a revolver falling with the drawn axe in his hand.

Homieshva had failed to return his girl to school and Mr. Burton sent a policeman out after her and the policeman was sent back by Homieshva. Later Mr. Burton sent a policeman and the interpreter after the girl and both were beaten by the above men and some others and sent back.

I learned, too, that Homieshva, his father and brothers formerly lived at Shi-pau-i-luvi under the Chief Se-ca-lets-ti-wa and were such persistent trouble makers they were driven away from the village, probably not by physical force but caused to leave. They then moved to Shi-mo-pa-vi. Either they were not allowed to make their homes in the village or were caused to move away or deemed it best not to try to get in as they built off from the others.

I deemed it the better policy not to stir up this outfit; so let the girls alone and would not have irritated them at all but for a quarrel between the two villages over their corn fields.

I did not know any of Joshua's outfit by sight and did not want to [sic] in settling the trouble over the fields. Both parties to the quarrel were dissatisfied with my adjustment nor was it possible to satisfy either without assigning to it all the land in controversy.

Joshua's outfit was a party to this. I let them alone as much as I could. When school opened in the fall I was absent—sick. The girls were not sent in. On my return I again sent the police to notify all who had not returned to come into school. None came though I waited. Mr. Viets and Mrs. Gates had spent some months working on the people at Oraibi and Mr Viets had asked for 20 police to get his pupils in at Oraibi. He had informed me that if I would get those who belonged at Keam's Cañon he would get his at Oraibi.

Mr. Viets through a report to Mr. Mead and Mrs. Gates through representations to your Office had given out the impression that no use whatever of force would be necessary to get the pupils back. I had been denied the privilege of holding here at school such pupils as I felt would not be returned by the fact that in May employes were necessarily furloughed by your office and there was no one to cook for them if held. This is not a complaint nor a fault but a necessary element contributory to a serious break in my policy. I withheld even the semblance of an application of force till Homieshva and Sekiaemptiwa, who had in no way been disturbed in their course of action, though disobeying orders gone over bold and left Shi-mo-piva and went over into one of the Kivas at Shi-pau-i-luvi and tried to stir up trouble by assuring the Indians there that they were cowards and fools for sending their children to school and doing as the white people told them. They assured these people that they had armed themselves and were brave men and their children were not in school and the white people were afraid to try to take their children in and cited the fact that they had so beaten the interpreter and police that they would not disturb them and now that they were armed the white people would not dare disturb them.

Principal Higham [Second Mesa Day School] in a quiet way rendered me most valuable service by learning from personal observation, not only, that they were armed but in a spirit of braggadocio fire arms were thrown to the crowd below from a house top during a public dance.

I learned that the Indians at Shi-pau-i-luvi had been urged to take their children out of the Cañon School first and hold them out. We were very busy in the office on the Annual estimates and I could not get out there but it was not necessary for parents at the Second Mesa came in trying to get their children home on one pretext after another.

Finally one of the more prominent men came in after his boy. This father was not one who could be counted among unfriendlies and I feared he was leaning too far that way.

I went at it systematically and learned from him that what I have written above as to the arming of themselves and the talks made in the Kiva by Ho-mi-esh-va (Joshua) and his outfit was correct. I then told this

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man that what Joshua was doing was going to stir up trouble and he had better go back home and keep out of it and tell the others to keep out of it.

We had now gotten into the first part of January. I felt that Mr. Viets and Mrs Gates had had every opportunity to convince themselves that persuasion would not return the children, who were out, to the schools. I had in the office a letter from Mr. Viets that proclaimed his position in the matter. Mrs. Gates had admitted to the Agency physician that the thought some form of coercion would need to be resorted to.

I felt that I had delayed till there was little or no danger of subjecting your office to criticism and as little of harmful, just criticism of myself, and determined to arrest and discipline Homieshva (Joshua) and Sekiaemtiwa.

It would not do to make a failure of the undertaking. It would be equally bad or worse to make a display, in common parlance a ''grand stand play''. The reputation of the men to be taken warranted a policeman for each man to be handled and one as a helper or assistant. If the two policemen arrested the two men and then one left to go after the police ponies, the one remaining could not hold the two men.

I went to Second Mesa and ordered the three policeman to meet me there after night. The Navajo police came but had been unable to find the Hopi policeman. Instead they had gotten a Hopi who spoke some English and some Navajo to come with them to show them what houses to enter.

Before daylight the Captain of police knocked at the door to Homieshva's house and entered. The light in the house was from a small fire place and was not good but better than the darkness outside. Almost instantly Homieshva recognized the police, and sprang for and secured a loaded Winchester rifle. The Captain of police was quick enough to get the gun by the barrel and prevent Homieshva from bringing the gun to bear on any of the party, and almost immediately wrenched the gun out of the Hopi's hands. By the feeble light the room was then searched for other arms or ammunition but none was found.

Two of the police then went to Sikiaemptiwa's house and entered. A struggle ensued in which some noise was made and a door broken from the hinges. The police proceeded toward the Second Mesa school where I was waiting them. The noise had aroused some Hopis who followed them but as they had gotten part way down the trail leading down the side of the Mesa the followers contented themselves with stopping at the top and calling their views of matters to the police.

The two men were brought to the Agency housed in police quarters and put to work on new police quarters containing a jail made and so located as not to endanger the hay barn from fire from police quarters.

I expected a ''nine days talk'' among Second Mesa Hopis and was not disappointed. Further action at that time would, in my judgment, find the friends of these men prepared and on the lookout. Some weeks later I sent Peter Staufer, the General Mechanic, and the Hopi policeman out to bring in the two girls.

This selection was made because of the fact that Mr. Burton had been adversely criticized for irritating the unfriendly Hopis by sending Navajo police to bring in Hopi children and the Navajoes had been overbearing and unnecessarily rough in their work. I was avoiding such a criticism by sending a white employe who speaks the Hopi language, who is one of the best friends of the Hopis to be found among white people and who is a man who does not easily or quickly lose his temper.

This man and the Hopi policeman are the two mentioned in your letter as having been ''roughly handled and sent home''. Such was the case and the action of those who handled them roughly was not only wholly unwarranted but was wholly a defiance of authority and a show of determination to so defy authority.

Either I must exercise reasonable authority and require reasonably prompt obedience to my orders when these be reasonable or I have a misapprehension of my work. Because of the criticism of my predecessor, I had for a year and more borne patiently with these trouble makers and their mischief making was growing and assuming a form that meant impairment of any efficiency I might

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possess. I felt the time had come to make some show of authority if I hoped to exercise any in the future.

There were five men in the attack on Mr. Staufer and the policeman. That I might take these I took with me seven men, called on temporary policemen, in addition to the regular force of three and Mr. Staufer. The police were directed to reach Second Mesa school in the night, but as such a sandstorm came up that one could not be seen and the wind driving the sand was very cold the police came in the late afternoon. Mr. Staufer went out in a wagon, and I followed on horseback. On the way out I met the Interpreter, who had been sent to Oraibi to assist Dr. Parselles who had been vaccinating the Indians of that village. The interpreter gave me a note from Doctor Parselles which informed me that U-ki-oma, Chief of the conservatives, had forbade the Indians of that village submitting to vaccination and asked that I send the police out and remove U-ki-oma to Keam's Cañon till he could complete his work of vaccinating.

On reading the note it was my intention to arrest the five people who had attacked Mr. Staufer and the policeman and give them to Mr. Staufer, with sufficient number of police to bring them to the Cañon; then take a policeman and go to Oraibi and adjust matters with Ukioma.

Mr. Staufer reached Second Mesa before I did. Soon after my arrival the two of us went up to Shimopiva to see how near we could come to adjusting matters without the police. We went to the Kiva where Ta-wa-hong-in-i-wa should be found if he was in the Kiva. We then went to the second Kiva to inquire for him and found him in there.

Tawahonginiwa is the father of Homieshva (Joshua), Lomawina (Dan [Lomawuna, Sun]) and Washington [Talayamtiwa, Sun]. Tawahonginiwa was the leader in the attack on Mr. Staufer and the Hopi policeman.

Mr. Staufer began talking with the men in the Kiva, partly as interpreter and partly in his own ideas. The Indians were preparing for a dance the next day. Tawahonginiwa said he wanted Washington to interpret and went after him. When he came he refused to talk. We had been there something over an hour and as it was growing dark and the storm was raging outside, and sleet had been added to the sand driven by the wind I told Mr. Staufer to tell them to go on with the dance the next day and I would come up and see it. I had been told that Tawahonginiwa did not want to go to the Cañon, and asked if he would give up the girls to go to school. He said he would not and I told him then he would have to go to the Cañon. We started to the school and Pat, one of the friendly Indians, came running after us and said, if we would come back they would talk. I had faced that storm twenty miles on horseback and then walked about two miles climbing the Mesa on the tramp and for an hour or more had tried to talk with them without success. I sent back word I would talk in the morning and we went on down to the school house to our suppers, getting there as I remember a little after eight o'clock.

The next morning I took the police and went on the Mesa expecting to see the dance and about the close of it arrest and send to the Cañon (Agency) the men I wanted. There was not a sign of life on the Mesa. The stillness was ominous, the dance was abandoned so there was evidently something else on the program. The wind was blowing and was cold. I went to the Kiva and told them I was ready to talk with them. Some one in the Kiva said they would talk with us if myself and Mr. Staufer would come down into the Kiva.

Agent Perry had been trapped and held and the soldiers called to his reservation and the Indians guilty caught, convicted and sentenced, but a report was among the Indians that Do Yal te had been sent back after being taken to Alcatraz Island.

Doyalte was the man who planned the capture of Mr. Perry. He is a chief who spends part of his time on the Ft. Defiance Reservation and has another home on this reservation. He was living on this reservation when the Perry outrage was committed. Mr. Perry wrote me of his action and asked permission for his police to come on my reservation and get him. This was given but they did not get him. He came to the Agency and I put him under arrest and told him I would have to hold him and send him to Ft. Defiance unless he would promise to go without trouble. When he consented to do so I gave

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him permission to go home and get a fresh horse, and sent the Captain of police to take him over as soon as the captain returned from another duty out on the reservation.

The Indians know Doyalte was guilty and that I arrested him and turned him over to Mr. Perry and he to the soldiers who had taken him off and now according to report he was back thus discrediting the judgement and work of Mr. Perry and myself. Under such circumstances I thought it unwise to go into that hole in the ground among some fifty people I knew to be ''less of friends than foes'' unless I wanted to live on Hopi grub and Hopi cooking till I could get help. When it comes to chances on being captured by Indians or a fight I will take the latter. I told them if they would come up I would talk with them. They would not. I told them if Tawahonginiwa would come up I would go down with him, but in that case I would have left Mr. Staufer above ground. Tawahonginiwa would not come up. He was evidently expecting treachery on my part which I read as confirmation of suspicion of treachery on his part. Mr. Staufer went down and looked them over and came up and told me the place was full and the five we wanted were in there. I demanded that they come up and go to the Cañon (Agency) without trouble, but they would not. They had had the night to plan and get ready and I expected they were stocked for a siege. We were not, and were exposed to the cold, and in our inaction were beginning to suffer from it. I had expected the men I wanted to fly to the kiva and knew if they did it would be next to impossible for the force I had to go in there and bring them up a ladder and through a hole in the top about 2½ X 3½ feet without clubbing them into insensibility; and if this was begun some man might be fatally clubbed which, of course, was to be avoided if possible. With this in mind I had taken with me an aqueous solution of ammonia—10% solution—and about 8 ounces of formaldehide.

Both bottles I had left in a handbag at the Second Mesa School determined not to use it if I could avoid it. I now sent a policeman down to the school after the hand bag. While he was gone we were getting colder. I placed a guard at the hole in the top of the kiva by which it is entered and trying the keys I had with me found one of them would unlock the door of the house nearest the kiva. I went in there, set everything back from around the fire-place and started a fire. I then told the police not to touch anything in the house but to go in there and warm. Each ten minutes I changed the guard on account of the cold. One Hopi came up out of the kiva and I ordered two policemen to go and bring him to me which was done. Soon, from somewhere in the village, came a former school boy known as Archie [Qömaletstiwa, Piikyas, Second Mesa]. I had him brought over to me. When the policeman returned with the handbag I took out the bottle of ammonia shook it up a little and poked it under the nose of first one of these prisoners and then the other. I told them that they should go down in the kiva tell those people I had some medicine there—and it was bad medicine; that I did not want to spoil the Kiva but if they did not come out of there or send up the men I wanted I would pour it down in there. Soon there was an animated discussion. I called all the police to the Kiva and went back in the house and got a pick I had seen there and began digging a hole in the top of the Kiva. Mr. Staufer called to me not to spoil the Kiva that they would come up if I would wait a little bit. I assured him I had waited long enough and would wait a very little bit. Within two minutes they began coming out. The ones we wanted were not among the first. I began to feel they were kept back to get enough above ground to protect them. One who came out picked up the pick I had dropped.

I saw I had armed him and went to him and took it out of his hand and put it back in the house where I found it. As they came out Ukioma came out with them—He was the man Dr. Parsells wanted I should take to the Cañon (Agency) till vaccination was completed—I might take him now, his presence either meant that he had come to the dance that had been abandoned or he had come as moral support to those I was after; for physically he is rather frail. As they came out Tawahonginiwa, Ukioma and some others went over by the house we had been warming in and sat down in the sun on a ledge of adobe or stone along the side of the house.

It was my plan to arrest those we wanted

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and take them down the trail and send Mr. Staufer and one or two policemen back to get the girls who were the cause of all the trouble.

I told Tawahonginiwa that he and the other men who attacked Mr. Staufer and the policemen had done wrong and now they would have to go to the Cañon (Agency) and take their punishment. That Ukioma had done wrong and he would have to go too. Mr. Staufer interrupted me to assure me that Ukioma did not belong there but belonged at Oraibi. I assured him that I knew that, but Dr. Parsells had written me of his actions and I wanted him too. I told these two they were old men and if they would go with me quickly I would send the police down and we would walk around and go down the easy trail and I would have Mr. Staufer take them to the Cañon in the wagon.

They said they would not do it. I then detailed a policeman to each man I wanted and told them to take them on. A policeman took hold of Ukioma who arose and moved off; another took hold of Tawahonginiwa by the arm and raised him up. Tawahonginiwa jerked back and sat violently down on the ledge. I could not tell whether his right foot flew up as an involuntary act or he kicked at the policeman; at any rate another policeman caught him by the left ankle and they started to pull him out of the crowd. I stopped them and stooping over took the policeman's hand from the ankle and placed it on the man's arm intending to tell him to keep the man on his feet. I was jostled and knocked about so that it was some seconds before I was erect and when I was I found myself. . . . Every policeman was attacked by one or more men. One policeman was struggling over a revolver the handle of which was held by a Hopi while two other Hopis were trying to pull all the hair out of the policeman. I feared if the pistol was fired it would put all who were armed to shooting.

I started to them to take the gun, but before I could cover the thirty-feet between us it was fired and the ball stuck in the ground in two feet of me. I was looking at it and am convinced the shot was accidental; at the same time I expected it to start a general shooting so I took advantage of an angle in a wall where no one could get behind me and stood possibly a minute holding my own revolver but without taking it from my pocket. As I stood there I saw the Hopi policeman rise from all fours to his feet staggering backward with his hands across his forehead then hold his neck and the back of his head in his hand. He was very logy. I stepped inside the house and got the bottle of ammonia that I might apply it and get him back in the fight. Before I could get to him he had recovered himself. With the ammonia in one hand and the cork in another I was charged by Tawahonginiwa who had for a weapon a large bone, ~~I had not time to observe the kind~~ he had only about 20 feet to cover and was coming fast. When in about 3 feet of me I gave every opening in his head such a deluge of ammonia that he was out of the fight till he could get done snorting and spitting. I put the bottle away and came out. No man could see all that was going on. I saw three policeman on the ground at one time, but went to the aid of the Capt. of police who was making it a point to keep near and protect me. He was then beset by four men. I struck one of them across the knuckles with the butt of the quirt (riding whip) five times each time a little harder, as I raised it again some one behind me jerked it away from me. These were the only blows I struck and here was the only time I was struck; the breath was knocked out of me by a blow from behind. Tho I did not fall when I was again firm on my feet I could not determine who had struck me and I think the blow was not intended for me. I again went to the relief of the Captain and with Mr. Staufer's aid succeeded in freeing him. Help to the police was needed everywhere. I heard the word ''bahana'' and knew some Hopi had called something about the whitemen. Mr. Staufer told me afterwards someone called not to hurt the whitemen and I was attacked only twice afterward and turned just in time to call to the Capt. of police who was in the act of shooting a man. The Capt's arm dropped to his side as if broken and he put up his gun, and again went into the fight.

It seemed to me they were making a specialty of him but never succeeded in getting him off his feet. Two Hopis had hold of one end of a stick of firewood and the Capt. had the other end. I took it from all of them with-

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out trouble and threw it back in the wood pile. Then turned to a policeman who was down and pulled two men away from him and helped him to his feet.

This was hardly done when the Capt. caught a prisoner who had gotten loose from somebody and three Hopis attacked the Capt. I went to him. Before I got there a Hopi got his hand in the handkerchief tied around the Capt's neck and began twisting. I saw they would put him out of the fight. There were then five of them. I drew a pocket knife and opened it. Two Hopis saw this act and caught me. There were two of us and seven of them. They were not trying to hurt me but I was afraid they would succeed in holding me back till the Capt. was finished. When I did get to him the handkerchief was so tight I did not dare try to run the knife blade under it but did succeed in getting two fingers of my left hand under it and passed the blade of the knife between my fingers and cut the rag. But for the fact that two Hopis had their fingers inside the handkerchief pulling against the fellow who was twisting at the back the Capt. would have been finished.

As the rag parted under the knife he was freed from the three who were pulling on it. He knocked one half a rod with his fist. I turned to see what was going on elsewhere and stood a minute or more debating whether or not to order the police to begin shooting. They were taking fearful punishment.

The Capt. had gotten a good sized stick somewhere and beat me to the man who was being most severely punished. He drew the club and I supposed would bat a Hopi over the head with it, but he struck the man across the arms, thus loosening his hold. I started to a policeman who was being dragged by the hair by two men. A woman ran in and I stopped and caught her by the wrist and pushed her out of the struggle. She said to me ''that is my brother''. I told her to keep out of that or I would take her to the guard house.

Here I was grabbed from behind and I knew Lo-ma-wi-na (Dan) was the only Hopi near enough to catch me. I pulled my revolver and put it to his arm and told him as emphatically as I know how to let loose or I would let light through him. He let loose and exposed his body and defied me to shoot, wanted to be shot then but did not want to be two minutes before when there was a possibility that he would be.

I moved on to the man who was being dragged to find that he was on his feet but there was a Hopi down on each side of him. He had knocked both of them entirely out. One of them was the Chief Ukioma. They claimed they were dead. One of them got up and lost no time getting out of that. Ukioma remained quiet. I would have examined him but feared if I stooped over him it would start the fight again and my men were worn out. I told Mr. Staufer I guessed he would come around all right and knew if he did or did not he was past my help. I called the men and we went down to the school. I then sent the policemen out with instructions to bring in eighty men to take all who had been [in] the fight. They said it would take till the second day at noon to get them there and left. The next morning report came to me that thirty men had come over from Oraibi to help the Hopis. I sent for Doctor Parsells to come over and patch up any Hopis that might need it; but during the forenoon one of the judges of the Indian court came down and told me not to let the Doctor go up there as he would not be safe. I told him we were not mad at those people to which he replied, ''I know you are not, but they are mad at you''. During the day the women were busy carrying water on the Mesa, evidently stocking up for a siege. In the afternoon Principal Higham and I took a camera and went up to the villages of Mi-Shong-ni-vi and Shi-pau-i-luvi . . . [missing line] . . . different and yet see what the feeling was up there. During the day I sent a runner to intercept Missionary Epp whom I supposed to be on his way to Keam's Cañon for his Sunday Service there. He came over but did not care to go up and talk to the Indians. He assured me he had talked to them, that they acknowledged that they promised to send their children back when I let them take them home. They had acknowledged to him that they had lied to me about it; and that it was wrong to lie; but they claimed it was in opposition to their religion to send their children to school and in that case the lie was justified. He told me they had assured him that it was not consistent with their beliefs to let the children go

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to school and each time they went they would have to fight about it and fight hard enough to appease their consciences for a year. If Mr. Epp is properly informed in the matter the Superintendent here may make up his mind to a fight each fall to get the children in and your office may settle down assured that the fight will take place and be reported each fall till the conservatives get different religious views.

Mr. Epp came on to the Cañon. About four in the afternoon the Navajoes began to arrive. In the mean time . . . [missing two thirds of line] . . . sixty allies had arrived from Oraibi. As the Navajoes and a few Hopis who wanted those people made to do as the others did came near we could see the Hopi women and children leaving the village. This meant they thought there would be a fight. I sent a detachment of 24 Navajoes up under a good leader and told him to form a line across the Mesa with his men and let no Hopi men come in or go out. With these I sent one of the few Navajoes who speaks the Hopi language. About half an hour after I took the other Navajoes and the two interpreters and went on the hill with them. When on top, I stopped the men just out of pistol range and took the Captain of police and Hopi interpreter and rode up within about ten yards of the Kiva. The Hopi speaking Navajo came to us and told us he had been informed that all the men had taken all the fire arms they had and gone into the Kiva. Tommy Polacca, a Hopi and one of the best and wisest if not the best and wisest of the tribe, had spent the day trying to get them to give up and stop the matter and in bringing me news.

When we were within ten or fifteen yards of the Kiva I sent the Hopi interpreter forward to open communications. There was no one in the Kiva. Inquiry of an old man on the housetop near brought the information that they had left the Kiva and gone around into one of the streets of the village. I asked the Hopi interpreter if he was afraid to hunt them up and tell them that I said if they wanted to avoid serious trouble to send out the five men I wanted and we would take them and go. He was not. In a few minutes he came back and said they wanted me to come around there and talk to them. I asked whom I could take with me and he said they wanted me to come by myself.

Then I issued the only order about shooting that I issued at all. I told the Captain of police that if he heard any shooting around there where I was going to call up all the men and not stop killing as long as there was a living Hopi man in the village. If there was treachery I determined to leave my successor a Hopi reservation almost without unfriendly Hopis. I then followed the interpreter around into the next street in the village. At first glance I discovered that I was in the open end of a ''cul de sac'' unless there was a side outlet I could not see at the other end. The street was probably an ordinary block in length. About half the length of the street was a crowd of men. I had observed that the friendly people of the village were all south of this street and in the other streets or the housetops. Uneasy, no doubt, but not afraid of any harm to themselves.

When I rode up to the group of men they asked what I wanted to do. Just then I wanted a little time to get acquainted with the situation and began a parley through the interpreter.

As he talked I counted those in sight twice and noted that they were not all present or accounted for. There were forty-two in sight. About the number engaged in the struggle two days before but many of these in sight were from Oraibi. I noticed nearly all the Oraibi people were on the south side of the street protected from either end of the street by two buildings that projected beyond the other buildings. The walls on this side had a very few openings in them. On the north side were the Shimopiva people, such of them as were in sight. Some were on the ground some on the roofs of the first story of the buildings on the north side of the street. There were many openings in the south walls of the buildings. Beside one of the doors were two men who had been in the attack on us. Sitting on a ladder half way to the first roof was Dan, the fellow who caught me from behind and released me when I drew a revolver two days before; near him was his brother, Washington; both where they could speedily get up the ladder and through the door into the house, where I was convinced they had their arms and companions in arms.

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I then demanded the five men I wanted. They asked me who they were. I told them it was too dark to read the names from a book and I could not say them right but I had told Tommy Polacca who they were and if they would let him come up he would say the names for me. They consented and Tommy and his son Howela came up to us and they began a talk with Tommy, as they talked I got Howela to go among them and count how many of those on the ground were from Oraibi. As nearly as he could tell there were 22. All told there were 40 which I judged they had left there to make good the number who had engaged in the fight before. That being the case there were about 22 to be accounted for.

These were probably in the second story above me equipped for battle. In that narrow street stones and bows and arrows were all that was necessary. If there were some from Oraibi in the second story then we were about evenly matched in numbers with everything in the way of position against us. If a fight started they could get some of us; and if a Navajo was killed I would not be able to control the others and there would be a slaughter. I saw it would not do to push a fight but did not want to go away with nothing. The Oraibi men on the ground said they did not want to fight and they were not armed and asked Tommy Polacca to search them. I noticed only two of the 20 Shimopavi men submitted to search. While the search was going on I told the Captain of police to send 20 men around and if possible get into the other end of this closed street. I would not have done this if I had not given up the idea of a fight ~~whatever else happened~~ as my own men would have been shooting into each other. I did it because I felt the Navajoes would see this and not break from control.

The police Captain and a Navajo chief came up to me and asked me to withdraw and come back in the morning as it was getting so dark; the Navajoes could not know each other and would fight each other as much as they would the Hopis.

''Little Chief'' [Lomayestiwa, Spider], an Oraibi Hopi, told me he was going to take all the unfriendly Hopis to live with him and the other unfriendlies at Oraibi.

As the 20 Navajoes filed into the upper end of the street there was a show of surprise and consternation among the Hopis. Almost immediately they asked that I come back in the morning. I asked if they would give me the five men I wanted in the morning but they would not promise. I told them they claimed to be brave men and when they fought with me and the police they fought like brave men but these five men were not brave. They were afraid to go and take their punishment and I believe their hearts had failed them and they wanted me to go away so they could run off in the darkness.

They assured me they would not run off. I told them they promised to bring their children back to school and did not do it, that they lied like dogs and I believed they were lying again and would run off in the dark as soon as I left. Again they assured me they would not. I told them then to give me five men and if they ran off I would take the five men to the Agency and put them in the guard house and make them work a long time and if they did not run off I would bring the five men up there in the morning and turn them loose and we would settle it afterward.

In a few moments they pushed a youth forward whom I supposed had consented to be a hostage. I told them to take him back. I had said men and was not going to take boys or women. They could not get them and I again told them they had turned cowards but they might give me three men. These they got and one of them was ''Little Chief'' from Oraibi. These I gave their supper down at the school and then Mr. Staufer and I and Tommy Polacca and Howela went into the washroom with them and talked with them till after midnight. I told them I liked the idea of all the unfriendlies living together as they and the friendlies were always quarrelling. Here Mr. Staufer suggested they build a village to themselves. This was an excellent suggestion—nor was it the only good suggestion that came from Mr. Staufer. I took that up with them and told them I was going to Washington soon and if they would pick out two men and among them and raise three hundred dollars I would take these men with me and talk about that with the Commissioner and if they could not get the money I would talk with them about it when I got back. . . .

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I am aware they can live on any part of the reservation they wish but saw I was not going to be able to get to the end of this thing soon and my people who had not been paid for three months were in sore need of their pay and I must do something for their relief and I saw nothing I could do but go on and learn what I should do, and I wanted to leave something hanging over the unfriendlies till I got back. A little after midnight I turned the hostages back and told them to talk with the others of what we had said. Sunday morning I went up to the village with the whole police outfit and told the Hopis what we had talked of in the night and told them to talk it over while I was gone. [Here Lemmon skips abruptly to events following his return from Washington; he appears to have been successful in his arrest the next day of Joshua Humiyesva and Sikyayamtiwa, and at some point after this the Second Mesa Hostiles departed for Orayvi; see Whiteley, 1988a: 104–05.]

While I was gone the unfriendlies at Oraibi got very tired of boarding the unfriendlies from Shimopiva.

On my return I released Homieshva (Joshua) and Sikiaemptiwa from the guard house and directed them to go to Oraibi and tell all the unfriendlies that they might pick the place they want to build there village and come in and report to me in ten days and I would see if I could give them the place they select. It will depend on who and how many they want to dispossess.

In conclusion I would say I am forced to write hurriedly as there is much, among other things exceptions calling for my attention, but I have written minutely and truthfully and feel if I erred in the matter it was in not pushing the matter at the time and risking consequences.

Of course, I regret the homicide resulting as reported by Dr. Parsells but that happened after we had left there and when there was not even a show of danger.

If I could get what in my judgement would be the best for all concerned and far the best for the Hopis I would bring in a company of soldiers and first take out of here Ukioma, Little Chief, Homieshva, Lomawina and Washington. I would send the two girls who have been the beginning of the whole thing to Phoenix to remain there till they complete the course of study there and I would send to Phoenix or Chilocco for three years the children of the men belonging to the five Kivas whose occupants left Oraibi and went to Shimopiva to take part.

I have the honor to recommend that this be done. As it will help those who need it and, in my judgement be sufficient salve for the consciences of many who will not send their children to school without an annual fight.

One of the Hopi boys who keeps a store at First Mesa waited till myself and the police had left and told me the next morning that about 30 men came down out of the second story of the houses on the north side of the street, as soon as we left.

[unsigned]

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Leupp visited Orayvi in early June without informing Lemmon (cf. ARCIA, 1906), as shown in the next letter by Lemmon. Lemmon's recall to Washington in spring 1906 suggests this was caused by his handling of the conflict with the Hostiles at Songòopavi. At any rate, after Lemmon's meeting with him in Washington, Leupp seems to have lost confidence that he was a credible source on events at Orayvi, and decided on a personal visit; although penned after the split, and perhaps seeking to avoid any possibility of blame on his part, Leupp's remarks (ARCIA, 1906) suggest that he had little effect on the escalating factional conflict.

Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
June 16, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of June 11th, ''Land 48300'' relative to celebration of July 4th at home and I am indeed much pleased with the idea and will see what can be done. It is along a line I have advocated for years except that I

have urged that the big celebration of the year mark the opening of school in the fall and be at the school.

The Commissioner has been on the reservation but did not come to the Agency nor call me to him so I did not meet him. I regret this very much. Upon call I could have met him and saved something over a hundred miles wagon transportation and taken him over the very ground he covered and some he did not.

There never was a time that such a trip could have been made with better results and shown more of the actual conditions; and the Indians were never nicer than now. While I was in Washington some troop of cavalry made a practice march in this direction as far as Ganado and then returned. As soon as I came back the Indians brought me word of it and asked what they wanted. I assured them I was away and knew nothing about it. They have gotten it all over the reservation that the soldirs [soldiers] started out here about Do-yal-te's trouble and heard at Ganado that I was at Washington and went back to the fort. Then came the news that Do-yal-te was killed in the Frisco earthquake so that his band has settled down to good behavior, accepted the new Chief, Sepai in good faith and promised more children for next year's school than we can possibly accommodate. I made a drive of 65 miles among the Navajoes the other day and found them in the finest temper imaginable. I was going to make a trip up in the direction from which the Commissioner could have come at the greatest saving of time and travel but delayed it expecting I would be called to meet him and bring him across and would thus accomplish the two objects at one trip.

There has been no time since I have been here that the average condition of the reservation could have been seen as well, as it is the first time since I came that the springs have been failing. I have to put in every minute that I can to get away to study the conditions at water sources and have the work done that will keep the stock alive, and have had Indians working with pay and without it for such purpose.

Heretofore they have not been willing to work even at what they claim as their own water supplies for anything other than a dollar a day. Week before last I told a lot of them that I would send an employe among them and if they would work for half a dollar a day, or one dollar with team we would go at it. They accepted the proposition and twenty one men were worked last week. This was not to save the money so much as to impress upon them that they were able to help do the work they need done and will have to come to it and had as well begin now I have more requests to go along that line than I can possibly deal with in the time that it should have attention but we will keep at it. From reports brought in some work must be done up in Do-yal-te's country to save the stock and on Monday I will start with the interpreter on a camping trip up there to learn if it is possible to developement [sic] of enough to save what it is up there. The Navajoes are in despair. Water is short and three times some of them have planted their fields to have them eaten out by the kangeroo [sic] rats, a miserable little nocturnal rodent that seems to be here in millions this year. The Navajoes are now consenting to go to work on the railroad to get money to live on next year and ten came in this morning and enrolled for that work and will leave tomorrow morning.

I would have been glad for the Commissioner to have had personal knowledge of this and the fact that a number of Hopis are now down there at work. But if he was made familiar with the fact that the conservative Hopis at Oraibi have been driving the friendlies from their lands and taking possession thereof; perhaps he will inaugurate a policy that will teach a few who would be outlaws in other lands that there is some power that must be respected.

I am aware that he is under the impression that I have not the welfare of the Hopi at heart, in which there is error. I am not ready to be a silent observer of the misstreatment and robbery of the great majority of well behaved, peaceable, really interesting and loveable Hopis while soft sentiment is wasting energy and time in futile attemps [attempts] to win to the ways of the weakly sentimental, a minority who claim they are the people and to them all else and others . . . must be subservient.

But the time with them is short and it is

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now probable that I will never see the Commissioner officially, as the opening of Indian Territory is practically assured and when that is done my interests there demand that I shall leave this and go there. But the facts here will remain the same. The Hopis as a people are really worth all that can be done for them but they do really, sorely need as a people some protection from a few of the worst of their own people, not only as to robbing them of their fields, that is the least of it, but for maintaining practices, that would hang them elsewhere and which are as polluting as is conceivable to man and it is the veriest rot for people familiar with it as some are who object to any action that promises something of retribution to these scamps, and female vagabonds. There are both polluted, immoral, unmitigated scoundrels and prostitutes among the Hopis as among other poeple, and these people know the significance of their crimes as others of their kind do. And whoever approves I have no sympathy with the sentiment that protects these people for time to reform them by persuasion while they continue to prey upon others. This is a continual condition here and is at its worst at Oraibi and yet I will warrant no mention of it was made to the Commissioner, though it is known to those with whom he spent his time there.

Very respectfully,
Theo. G. Lemmon
Superintendent

Tawakwaptiwa's account to Titiev of the move by Second Mesa Hostiles to Orayvi and the principal leaders involved is included in the next document. Again, we must bracket Tawakwaptiwa's factional bias, but his remarks on the clan association (Bluebird-Spider) of the Second and Third Mesa Hostile leaders are particularly noteworthy. When listing them individually, Tawakwaptiwa characterizes the sons of Tawahongniwa as ''Qala'' (Sun Forehead) clan, but in the first part of his discussion, he notes only Sun (in addition to Bluebird, Piqös [Bearstrap], Eagle, and Piikyas)—which is the clan identification assigned by my consultants, including members of the Sun clan at Songòopavi, to Tawahongniwa's children. Tawakwaptiwa is clear that the ongoing presence of these Second Mesa Hostiles was the immediate cause of the split, when he sought to oust them from the village (and see below).

[Transcribed from Titiev, n.d.a, notes at Household M 399–402.]

Chimopovies mixed up in the split were of following clans: Blue Bird, Piköc [Piqös] (both related to Spider), Sun, Eagle [bracketed together perhaps to suggest identity], Pikiac

Chief was in office when Chimopovy people [i.e., the Second Mesa Hostiles] got here at special request of Uncle Joe [Lomahongiwma] and Bro [Lomayestiwa] who were setting selves up as ''governors''. They stayed about a year (1905)—at once arguments began to get fiercer and hotter. Uncle Joe and bro. assigned land to these people, distributing lands that belonged to the Chief—the others (Joe etc.) simply disregarding the protests of the Chief. These people, of course, listened to Uncle Joe's orders & would not recognize Tawakwaptiwa who then went to agency to Mr. Lemon.

Lápu [Laapu] (Chief's bro, aka Taláyauoma [Talayawma]—Wu name) was working at agency & Chief told him and they spoke to Lemon. He told Lemon that he was going to make friends with whites (as his ancestors told him) & that when this happened he would get help from whites. Lemon agreed—told Chief to go home and tear down any houses that these Chimop. were putting up & to ruin the seeds they tried to plant—Lemon offering to back Chief up in the use of force. Chief, however, did not use force—fearing assassination if he did.

Came Niman and then the Snake Dance and then fuss began. The actual break was long anticipated & Chief was to get help from Coyotes of Moenk. They kept asking for date & finally he sent a message to Moenk. The Coyotes arrived at Snake dance & was supposed to take action 3 days after Snake Dance and this is the actual date of split—3 days after Sn. D. This was the date set by Chief and date when split occurred. The idea was first to drive Chim.pys back home & if hostiles tried to resist with the Chim.pvys against Chief—then the hostiles,

too, were to be driven out – Kawɛ́stima (near Navajo Mountain across Colorado River) is name of northern spot where they were to return after split. This was place where Spider Woman had led her northern faction after division at emergence.

Tawahôngniwa [Tawahongniwa] (Djoc [*Tsor-*, Bluebird], clan uncle of chief) was Shipaulavi man & moved to Chimopovy for 4 years & then got more followers and came here. He was real leader—his assistant was:

Sikyáyamptiwa [Sikyayamtiwa]—Eagle (Grace's [?] fa.)
also
Taláwisyioma [Talawisiwma]—Piköc
(sons of Tawahôngniwa—Qala clan)

Joshua Humiyɛsva [Humiyesva]
Lomáwuna [Lomawuna]
Washington Taláyamptiwa [Talayamtiwa]
Rutherford Dʊvéwai'ima [Tuvewa'yma]

At instigation of the Spider people (related clan to Djoc [Bluebird] & Piköc [Bearstrap]—these people came here—note Spiders call main leader Tawahôngniwa a Djoc man—he brings another related man Taláwisyioma (Piköc) and his 4 sons of the Qala (Sun Forehead) clan. These were the leaders.

Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz. July 5, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir—

Replying to yours of June 27 relative to a memorandum of Commissioner Leupp, as to Mr. Veits [Viets], Day School Inspector making a census of the friendly and hostile Oraibis, I have the honor to call the attention of your Office to the fact that Mr. Viets has resigned and left the reservation.

If it will be acceptable to the Honorable Commissioner I can get the work done and I believe more successfully and more reliably than Mr. Viets can do by calling upon the Field Matron at Oraibi and the General Mechanic for the work. As material for such work I have the names of the Hopis at Oraibi and have sent a list to the field matron there that she might place with each name the sheep owned that these may be dipped. Both the Field Matron and the General Mechanic each know all the Oraibis and in my judgment can do the work in a week and I would be glad that it be done before we say anything positive about dipping the sheep at Oraibi. That is going to cross some people the wrong way, not because they care for the sheep "but it is not the Hopis" and they will not do it.

Very respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Superintendent.

The battle at Songòopavi in February–March 1906 culminating in the removal by Second Mesa Hostiles to Orayvi coincided with an increase in Agency coercion. That confrontation came on the heels of an enforced vaccination at Orayvi, presumably in late February (see Lemmon to C.I.A., 4–20–1906, above), which was specifically resisted by Yukiwma, who then proceeded with ca. sixty Hostile men to Songòopavi in support of Tawahongniwa's opposition movement. Those events appear to have catalyzed the factions in Orayvi into an irreversible opposition. Missionary J.B. Epp was becoming increasingly worried, and wrote to *The Mennonite* on June 2nd to publicize conditions at Orayvi (reproduced below, slightly out of chronological order, for ease of correlation with Lemmon's subsequent response), indeed predicting some imminent dire consequence of the impasse. From the last letter (above), Viets must have resigned as Day School Inspector some time in June; it seems probable that this owed at least in part to disagreements with Lemmon (or perhaps Commissioner Leupp). Lemmon took umbrage at Epp's article, and appears to have been fast losing whatever control he may have had, especially in the aftermath of Leupp's stealth visit to Orayvi in June. Lemmon's enforced sheep dip in mid-late July coincided with his incitement of Hopis, evidently including Tawakwaptiwa, to move away from the villages by spreading fear that Statehood legislation would further crowd

Navajos onto Hopi lands and waters. These serial applications of the Agency's heavy hand suggest it was exacerbating conflict at Orayvi. In response to Lemmon's fear-mongering, Tawakwaptiwa apparently voiced an interest in moving out of Orayvi: it is not certain where exactly he proposed removing ("out above Oraibi"), but it may be significant that his brother Tuwahoyiwma relocated around this time to a fieldhouse and corral 8.5 miles northeast of Orayvi—see chap. 4.

Toreva, Ariz.,
June 2, 1906.—

Dear Readers: Those of you who have with interest followed the developments of our different mission fields, will at this time, too, be especially glad to hear a word about the present situation here on this field—the Oraibi Mission Station.

I shall refer here principally to the situation in the village; and try to show a few of the immediate *outward* consequences.

As many of the readers know, there have existed in Oraibi for a number of years two parties—political, we might term them—differing on the issue of American civilization. The conservative party (often called ''hostile'') have always been forced, by policemen, to give up their children to go to school. Often very harsh and even cruel measures have been employed to get those children; and to my knowledge only once the police have been able to get *all* the children of school age. At that time—about four years ago—great predictions were made by the teachers and Supt. that now there would be no longer a ''hostile'' party. We at the mission (Bro. Voth was visiting here) could not feel so enthusiastic over the success (!?) of having been able *once* to get all the children. We were inclined to discredit the ''Quaker Indians'' in their seemingly friendly attitude toward the white man. We rather made the discouraging prophecy, that the children of the hostiles would have to be gotten to school by police or other *force* for perhaps twenty years. Of course, we were pessimists.

But the force was withdrawn, especially is this done under the new Supt. The consequence is, that about 1/3 of the children of school age are not in school; another third are at school because they like the school under the present management of Mr. and Mrs. Viets, which is so different from anything we have yet seen in the government service. No force has ever yet held the children at the Oraibi school so well as the gentle, *honest*, and fair management of the present teachers—just now it would take a *great force* to hold them.

Some force was lately used in the neighboring village Cungohpavi, where are also a few ''hostile'' families, to get a few children to go to school. This aroused the entire party, including our Oraibis; and a skirmish ensued between about half a dozen Navajo Policemen led by the Supt. and Bro. P. Stauffer, and the ''Quaker Indians.'' The Supt. stated to me, that he regarded these Hopis no longer as cowards; but he felt that they ''meant business.''

The Supt. not knowing what to do, went straightway to Washington. He is back now for several months—no word or sign from him yet, of any kind, regarding the matter, which *cannot rest* at this stage:—The ''hostiles'' from that neighboring village have *moved* here to Oraibi; many of those Oraibis, who for sometime did not belong to any party—rather were leaning over to the friendly side—are now in the ''hostile'' camp. That now makes over 2/3 of the village conservative (''hostile''). They feel very safe and show great bravery, which is *not* being *misunderstood* by the Supt.

The friendly chief and his little party hate the others the more for it; and seeing that no punishment follows to the gross disobedience of the ''hostiles,'' and having themselves for sometime doubted the advisability of being *very friendly* towards the Americans, they now also act quite conservatively. This is very noticeable in our Sunday chapel attendance, too.

That this cannot rest thus, is evident. All eyes here are turned towards the Supt. at Keam's Canyon. All expect something extraordinary to happen. What, no one knows. To express the present situation in the words of a Hopi as he observes it—he says: ''We are all *shaking with nervousness*, day and night watching the eastern horizon, expecting the Supt. with many soldiers.''

The situation from the standpoint of the

missionary, I shall try to describe in a following No. [published in *The Mennonite* 21: 27, July 12, 1906, but containing no substantive information on the Orayvi situation].

Knowing that this is of great interest to the readers who have the work here at heart; and having privately been urged to write about the present *critical* situation I submit this to the press for wider distribution.

J.B. Epp, Missionary.

Moqui School
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
July 9, 1906

The Honorable
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Sir:–

I have the honor to inform your Office that I deem it a duty in the light of the troubles of this reservation in the recent past to hand you herewith copies of this day's correspondence between Rev. J.B. Epp and myself. . . .

I don't want your Office to get the idea that I bear Mr. Epp any ill will for I do not. I feel towards him just as I did toward the Second Mesa Hopis the day they gave myself and the police a drubbing out at the Mesa—that is there is more in him [than] there used to be. Mr. Epp is waking up to the fact that the Young Hopis could be helpful if they could read and to a yet more desirable condition and that is that the Hopis can and will, and do, lie. This is advantageous as he will be a little less ready to carry the reports of the Hopis. They are not all liars but I have not yet found a people except the Mescalero Apaches who had as large a percentage of monumental liars as these people have. He asked me to write briefly and plainly and I have done so, as well as truthfully.

In his recent article [see above] he makes it appear that the nervous system of the Oraibi Hopis is being racked to know what I will do next, that is a good condition and full of hope. My nerves are not being racked at all and yet I don't know what I will do next in that case. We are going to try to have the sheep dipped and have been lead to believe we can't do it. Then will be the time for the next step whatever it should be, but that we can easily put up to the Department of Agriculture, and when we do they will either quit or there will be a lesson taught that will not be forgotten.

Mr. Epp refers to ''our friendly chief'', Ta-wa-quap-ti-wa. As I wrote your Office a couple of days ago Taw-a-quap-ti-wa was here and spent half a day with me and went out in the buckboard with me and looked at a recently constructed reservoir and before he left he told me there was good place for another reservoir out above Oraibi, near a spring away from the Mesa and that if we could fix a reservoir there that would hold water all summer for his sheep he would build a house up there and live there all the time—nothing could well surprise me more than that he would voluntarily suggest moving and living away from the Mesa. I believe a large percentage of his people would follow his example and thus they would get where they could live, where the women would be relieved of the Herculean task of carrying water up that long heavy climb, where the men could farm three times as much land as they do because they would and could be in farming distance of it and where each acre would yield them a better harvest because the crops could be watched and cared for. It is very pretty sentiment to live above the clouds but as a practical undertaking living above the clouds and coming down ''by hand'' and going back on foot after digging out cut worms all day with your fingers don't ''pan out''.

Very respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Supt.

[Enclosure 1] *Readable copy verified by a partly legible press copy*

Oraibi Mission
Toreva, Ariz
July 9, 1906

Supt. Theo. Lemmon
Keam's Canon, Ariz.

Dear Sir:-

There are all kinds of *wild talk* making the rounds among the Hopis at present, and we

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do not pay much attention to them. But once in a while like to show them how utterly they misunderstand each other and also others; and also how miserably they lie to each other and how willing they are to believe lies.

This time I would like to hear from you what you did say to Motoona (Charles Frederick [Tuwahoyiwma, Bear]) brother to our Friendly chief about ''the Hopis having to fence in all their fields *quickly* or else they would be taken away from them''. Also ''that you do not want them to attend the Sunday services''. I shall compare your words with Motoona's, and try to show their foolishness in these and many other gossips.

Please write briefly and plainly so that their own young people can read and understand it, for I want to let them read it themselves.

Very respectfully
(signed) J.B. Epp

[Enclosure 2] Copy of letter to Rev. J.B. Epp

Moqui School
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
July 9, 1906

Rev. J.B. Epp
Oraibi, Ariz.

Dear Sir:-

So far as the Hopis attending Sunday School is concerned, I do not recall having said anything to Charles. I have said something about the Canon Missionary services but not the Mission Sunday Schools. I have the same to say of them that I have said from the beginning and that is that the Missionaries are running them.

As to fencing their fields, I told Charles that the statehood of Arizona, I thought, would result in such stock laws as will drive some ten thousand Navajoes with their stock on to the reservations just as fast as such laws can be made.

If the Navajoes are driven on to the reservations they are going to be crowded beyond the feeding powers of the pasture of the reservations and if the Hopis want to hold outlying pastures and springs the sooner they select these and go to them and build there, and stay there, the surer they will be of holding them for themselves and their children.

It is not so much a matter of fencing as it is a matter of locating and staying with their location in my judgment.

Very respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Supt.

July 18 1906. C. H. Viets, Day School Inspector, resigned some time previous to the next letter. Peter Staufer, then General Mechanic for the Agency, applied for post.

To Theodore Lemmon
Keam's Canyon

Sir:

. . .

1st, that I have spent fifteen years among the Hopis, speak their language, and know their habits.

2nd, that I have repeatedly persuaded almost the entire attendance to go to school at either Mesa.

3rd, that through the policy of persuading children by kindness to go to school I can accomplish much. . . .

Peter Staufer

Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
August 30, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir—
Oraibi Day School

The general condition of the plant is fair and adequate to the needs of the number of pupils we will probably have there for a year or two.

(1) Enrollment 143; average attendance 134

(2) There will probably be a decrease of 25 to 40 per cent. There was a decrease last year from 175 to 143 in enrollment. Outsiders had taken the matter in hand to show how easily the schools could be filled without pressure of any kind in the matter, and had

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enlisted the man who was appointed Inspector of Day Schools and pressed the matter before the Indian Office in such a way that I deemed it the part of wisdom to give . . . what then termed the ''Gates Viets experiment'' a fair trial and did so with the above results. These people are not convinced that they failed and never will be, but the certified reports show that it was not a success. There will be a decrease unless there is pressure and this should be brought to bear to the limit of good sense but without cruelty or injustice.

(3) The report of the census of this village is in the hands of the Field Matron at Oraibi. There are 924 people, at five to the family and two school children to each family shows three hundred and sixty-eight about 50 of whom are in the Boarding School and about 30 off to non-reservation schools leaving more than enough that ought to be in school to make and maintain the largest day school in the service, of children in good health. . . .

Very respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Superintendent.

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CHAPTER 20
IMMEDIATE REPORTS OF THE SPLIT (SEPTEMBER 1906)

This chapter includes documents from the Keam's Canyon Letterbooks and from Part I of the ''Oraiba Troubles'' files in the National Archives. The subject, the split itself, is self-evident, and my only interpolations concern names and identifications.

Moqui School.
Keams Canon, Arizona.
Sept. 9, 1906.

The Honorable
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.,

Sir:—

I have the honor to confirm my telegram from Oraibi Sept. 8 which reads, ''Oraibi fanaticism culminated Friday in fight. About four hundred conservatives driven from village; in camp four miles away. Believe I can delay action till Inspector arrives if prompt. Report by mail. Messenger awaits reply at Winslow, Arizona''.

I have known of the tension existing between the factions for a year. I thought to handle the matter in the collision that occurred between me and the conservatives last March but failed to make your Office realize the gravity of the situation and have felt that I was not supported. Whatever else may be learned from the situation, it has come to an established belief with me that the desire of two men and their closest followers and friends to oust and supersede the usurper Yukioma has as much to do with the trouble as either the superstitions or the hostility to ''the white mans ways''. Being convinced of this and that your Office for some reason had not a full knowledge of the Hopis as they are I determined to wait till the people themselves should take a decisive step in adjusting these matters. During my absence at Grand Junction there was a clash and a fight about the close of which one shot was fired. This I understand was over some difference over the Snake Dance. The friendlies did not participate in the snake dance this year. I expected trouble up there at the time of the dance and arranged to be present, the dance taking place on Wednesday. While we were waiting for the dance to come on Mr. Frederick I. Munsen, who has attended the snake dance here before, remarked upon the tone of Hopi action being so widely at variance with anything he had ever known. I said something to him of what I had observed and dropped the matter. I returned to Keams Canon on Thursday and was engaged in reports there. About two o'clock a messenger handed me a note scrawled on a piece of paper reading as follows: ''Street fight in progress in Oraibi. Come at once and bring Mr. Staufer''. While I was getting information from the messenger a second messenger arrived from Tawaquaptewa. Tawaquaptewa had informed me during the summer that the unfriendlies who fled from Shimopivi to Oraibi the day after the attack on me and the police had taken some of the women of the Oraibi Indians, that they were constantly making trouble and the friendlies wanted them to go away. Lomahong-ni-oma, the deposed chief informed me that the unfriendlies had taken his spring from him; another had told me that they had driven Quoinginiwa, one of the Judges of the Indian Court, from his farm and appropriated his land. I felt that with a police force of three men who had been thoroughly beaten

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by these fellows in the spring it would be useless to try to get out from among these unfriendlies any one we might want, and that each act constituted a step toward these matters adjusting themselves. About a week ago Tawaquaptewa came to Keams Canon and told me the unfriendly fugitives from Shimopivi said they were going to make their homes at Oraibi and said they were going to build houses there. He maintained there was not sufficient corn field land nor sufficient water and that neither the people at Shimopivi nor Oraibi wanted them and they should not build at Oraibi and if they attempted it the walls would be torn down as fast as they were put up. I counselled him to wait and be patient. I wanted the unfriendlies to take the initiative and felt they were going to press him to the overt act—some of them are shrewder than he is and they did force him to the first violent act.

At five minutes to three General Mechanic Staufer and I started and broke the record by reaching Oraibi before eight o'clock. While Mr Staufer unhitched the team I searched the school plant for Miss Stanley or Miss Durgin but the plant was deserted. I then went to the residence of Miss Keith, the Field Matron, to find that deserted.

We stumbled about in the dark and got the team fed and watered and while doing so met a Mr. Woodgate, temporarily on the reservation, who informed us that Miss Keith, Miss Stanley, Mr. Epp and Mrs. Gates were on the mesa and Miss Durgin was stopping with some tourists quartered near the school. We found her and were invited to supper. After supper we went on the mesa and hunted up the employees. We found Miss Stanley quartered with Miss Corey, an artist, in one part of the village, and Miss Keith, Mrs. Gates and Mr. Epp ministering to a Hopi woman who had been injured in the fight. Mr. Epp and Mrs. Gates went to Mr. Epp's. Mr. Staufer remained with Miss Keith and the injured woman and I went out on the ''firing line''. I found the village guarded though we had been permitted to stumble all over it without interruption except from the dogs. Mr. Staufer had assured me that our shoes would make known who we were and we would not be challenged.

At one of the outlying houses I found thirty-seven friendlies and as I approached I saw the guard. I sent for Tawaquaptewa. I felt it was not a time or place to tell him he had been too hasty, excitement was high and nerves were too tense to be played upon to such a tune. I called them my boys and told them I was sorry the thing had happened, but I was glad they put their arms away when told to and was glad no one had been badly hurt. Miss Keith and Miss Stanley had been there all day. They had directed the friendlies to put their guns away and not use clubs or stones. Mr. Epp gave such a direction and an Indian who told Miss Keith he (Epp) was not Washington and they wanted to hear nothing from him. Miss Keith told the friendlies that he and Mrs. Gates would both see what took place and the friendlies must not do anything they would be ashamed of as it would certainly be sent to Washington. Both Mr. Epp and Mrs Gates are regarded as allies of the unfriendly by some and perhaps most of the friendly Indians.

After the unfriendlies were driven from the village Miss Keith went out to them, saw the condition of the women and children, and then went to Tawaquaptewa and told him to let the unfriendlies come in, three at a time, to get bedding and food for them. This he allowed. There was never so friendly a battle fought. When I arrived all were as comfortable for the night as possible. It was about four miles to the camp of the vanquished so I did not go over there then. I advised Tawaquaptewa to hold out only a line of pickets and send the rest to bed. A Hopi woman near the picket line kindly offered me a couple of comforts spread by the door of her house which fronted the picket line and there I slept what the dogs would allow me till daylight.

This morning I drew up the following inclosure and sent a policeman to tell Tawaquaptewa to come down with his leading men and hear it read. I also sent for Lo-ma-hong-ni-o-ma and his leading men to come and hear it. Tawaquaptewa and his men came and agreed to it and signed it. They also informed me that it was a Hopi prophesy that all this would come about and that whichever party was vanquished must leave the village and the Hopi country forever. That they must go far to the north to the land of ''Ka-weis-ti-ma'', told of in their religious songs; that

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nobody knows where this is or when it will be reached but the initiated have such a description of it that they will recognize it when they reach it.

Lo-ma-hong-ni-o-ma did not come but sent me word that I could come up there. I was sure he would not come, could not and if by chance he were permitted to do so he would have no following. He was the chief of the unfriendlies and was deposed because of his avowed friendship to me. It was evident to the shrewd that this friendship would not prove wholesome to their cause. I felt I had the unfriendlies where we could do what had best be done and I did not care whether he came or not.

After noon Miss Keith, Mr. Staufer and I took two interpreters and went over to the camp of the unfriendlies. I had been assured that they had given away to friendlies left in the village most of their crops, and many of their sheep and goats. I had been informed by Tawaquaptewa that he had told them they could come into the village as they pleased and get their belongings. This they have been doing. He told me that he would give them four days to get their stuff and at the end of that time they must break camp and start upon their wanderings. This because just after they were driven clear of the village they had counselled and in accordance with the prophesy two lines were drawn upon the ground about fifty feet apart and Yukioma took his stand half way between them. If the friendlies could push him over the line back of him he and the other unfriendlies must go; but if he and the unfriendlies could push the friendlies over the line in front of him the friendlies must leave Oraibi and go on their wanderings.

In the camp I found some smiling but more bore the look of sorrow belonging to one leaving forever the land of his childhood. I was greeted by nearly every one to whom I spoke though I did not get off of my horse. I found Lo-ma-hong-ni-oma and told him what I heard of their proposed travels in search of a land where no white men are to be found and away to the north.

I told him I was sorry he was going, as I am; that I wanted him here for my friend. He told me that he did not want to go away from here and the misery in the old man's face testified that the statement came from his heart. A crowd gathered about us and there was no levity in it. I assured him that I had lived far to the north for fourteen years and had travelled among the Pahutes, Utes, Bannocks and Shoshones and all up through that country there are white men. I told him if he would ask for Indian school boys among these people and call my name many of them would tell him they knew me.

I told him when they left that place they had better travel two days north and then camp a long time, and send out their young men to look over the country and come back and report. That there is some very dry country to the north and the old men and the old women would get tired and sicken and die; and the little children would sicken and die. I then bade him good bye. My object was to get them to make their first stop where we can reach them and bring back such of them as do not of their own accord turn back and sue for enlistment under the banners of the friendlies. If I can muzzle Missionary Epp and Mrs. Gates as they ought to be muzzled we will accomplish more with the Hopis in the next sixty days than has been done in five years.

I rode through the camp and though I wrote my telegram after I did so I believe there are nearer six hundred that four hundred. Mrs. Gates has been bemoaning the bad treatment of the unfriendlies by the friendlies. Half a dozen estimates are that from two thirds to three fourths of the village were taken out of their houses and pushed out of the village by the remaining one third or one fourth and yet nobody hurt except an epileptic woman. Mr. Epp and Mrs. Gates believe this and believe that the arms captured from the unfriendlies without a shot being fired or an arrow being sped was because of the prowess of the friendlies. I fought some of these people when they were in fighting mood and know this is the veriest rot under the sun. Those people were shrewd enough to seduce the friendlies into an attack and then yielded. Two ladies who saw the whole thing today expressed wonder at the fact that on the faces of most of the unfriendlies was a smile during the whole of the contest. They went simply and solely because the superstitions drilled into them by some twenty-five

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old mental mummies who ought to be in prison made them afraid not to obey their infernal orders. These old mummies and some old women are all of it. There are some splendid fellows and some fine women, as Hopis go, among them and if I have my way these will be back among the Hopis inside of sixty days and freed from some of the shackles of superstition. When this is done, they will be the best of the Hopis and will compare better with the Navajos who surround them. The Hopis are a fairly intelligent Indian but they are priest ridden to imbecility in some cases.

So long as it was to all appearances merely their religion and their religious customs that were in the way there was hardly justification for handling as they deserved those who abused the majority of them. Now it is different. One of the worst of the leaders I have a count against for attacking an employee in the discharge of his duty, another a case of theft, the whole bunch for quitting the reservation.

I want a little time and a good responsible Inspector to go with me and order them back. We will be disobeyed promptly. Then we want force to bring them back. More than half of them want the same thing then their consciences will be free and we can deal with them as individuals from that time forward.

It is but natural that Mrs. Gates should endeavor to get these unfriendlies back into Oraibi. She has money tied up there in the store of trader Ward if I am correctly informed, and she will want to protect it. Such proceeding is not best for the Hopis, and when she became so involved she took the chances on the investment. Missionary Epp will probably be heard from through Mrs. Gates as he will not presume to write the Office direct. He has posed as the friend of the unfriendlies, has been their mainstay among white people and the unfriendlies have counted him on the other side. The departure leaves him with an empty chapel, and himself virtually without occupation.

Recommendations.

1. That they be brought back and required to build themselves two villages on other parts of the reservation.

This will give a chance for laying out a village that will be less unsanitary and will put more land under cultivation and divide the flocks on a wider range.

2. That the present leaders be transported.

3. That the little children all be put in the Keams Canon School for five years straight.

This will punish the parents for their misdeeds, do the children good, and relieve the parents of the burden of raising their children while they are building their village and opening corn land and developing water.

4. That the older children be sent to school at Phoenix or Chilocco for five years.

In addition to the above these will come back immune to the myths and superstitions of their people and with a knowledge of the fact that it is to their interest to stop butting into progress.

5. That a smaller village be made the home of the most superstitious and priest ridden, that the more intelligent may have homes in the better village away from the old ones.

6. That in lieu of their present chiefs they be required to elect a governor and some petty officers each year for five years.

7. When these things are inaugurated and running fairly that a new Superintendent be sent them.

8. What is done must be done promptly as winter is coming on and these people are <u>out of doors</u>.

Very respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Supt. & S. D. Agent.

Statement and Agreement
Oraibi, Ariz. Sept 8, 1906.

1. The friendly Oraibis and friendly Shimopivis do not want the unfriendly Hopis to come back into either the village of Oraibi or Shimopivi.

2. If the unfriendlies will go off to a place agreed upon and build themselves a village and make themselves fields, then;

3. The friendly Hopis of Oraibi and shimopivi will let the unfriendlies come back either to Oraibi or Shimopivi, three unfriendlies at a time, and take from Oraibi and Shimopivi any property,—horses, cattle, sheep, burros, turkeys, chickens, or implements,

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tools, utensils, household goods, or crops of corn melons or beans or any other property belonging exclusively to the unfriendly Indians; but such unfriendly Indians shall not enter either Oraibi or Shimopivi, not for more than one day, without the consent of the first Chief at this time, Sept. 8, 1906, of the village—or if he be away, then of such chief as may be in the village,—and such unfriendly Hopi will leave the village at sundown.

4. All Hopis, both friendly and unfriendly, agree that, in order that the unfriendly Indians may have lands for farms and pasture, and water, for themselves and their flocks and herds, they will exchange lands, fields and pastures with each other; both parties submitting their propositions to the Superintendent or Agent and abiding by his decision.

5. The friendly Hopis agree that they will not go into the new village of the unfriendlies in groups of more than three at a time, and then not without the consent of the Chief or assistant Chief of the village, and that they will leave at sundown.

6. Both Friendlies and unfriendlies agree that if any Hopi comes into their village from any other Hopi village and so conducts himself or herself, or indulges in such expressions as to disturb the peace, quiet and happiness of any one in the village he or she shall be asked to go away and if he or she does not do so the chief or assistant chief of the village will order him or her to do so and if this is disobeyed the Chief of the village will direct one or more men to arrest the intruder and take him or her to the Superintendent or Agent at Keam's Canon.

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1. I, the Superintendent, knowing that the two parties can not live together in the same village in peace and harmony do, on condition that those who are now in camp and outside of all Hopi villages will select a place reasonably removed from all other Hopi villages, hereby promise that, with the consent of the Indian Office, I will, at all times and under all circumstances, counsel, aid and assist the unfriendlies just as I would and do other Indians on the reservation, and to exactly the same extent I would and do other Indians whose conduct in general is that of those so removing and removed.

2. That I will go further along these lines, with the consent of the Indian Office, and will give first aid and assistance to those removing and removed by issuing to them first such tools, implements and utensils as may be in the Government storerooms, that may be useful in building the houses, storerooms, corrals and kivas of the new village, and in developing and storing water for the people of this new village till their supplies may be equal to the average of those of the older villages.

I further promise that, with the consent of the Indian Office, I will make such expenditure of money in employing the people of the new village to work in developing springs, storing water building roads and trails and furnishing such material as may be needed for making windows and doors for their buildings, and whatever may be necessary for rendering their springs and reservoirs useful efficient and sanitary.

3. That I will visit the new village from time to time, as in my judgement it needs and demands, as I do the other villages.

4. That so far as the school work among the Indians is concerned, I will deal with the people of the new village as I do with the people of the other villages, as circumstances and conditions will permit, or as I may be ordered or directed to do by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

5. I further promise that as soon as the Hopis now in camp outside of all Hopis villages shall have selected a site for the new village I will call from the other villages a number of Hopi men, and with a number of men from among the excluded go to the site and look it over and try to so arrange all matters as to avoid future friction among people who should live together in peace and harmony.

(signed—)
Theo. G. Lemmon, Supt.

Tawaquaptiwa—chief of Friendlies)
Ho-mi-hong-ni-o-ma [Humihongiwma, Desert Fox])
Na-qui-es-ti-wa [Nakwayestiwa, Rabbit]
Lo-ma-es-ni-wa [Loma'asniwa, Sand])

Ta-las-mayn-yi-wa [Talasmöyniwa, Rabbit])
To-vey-es-ti-wa [Tuveyestiwa, Coyote])
for Friendlies.

Witnesses to all signatures
Lillian Durgin.
Elizabeth Stanly.

Interpreters interpreting and signing
Lahpoo [Laapu, Bear]
Frank Jenkins [Kuwannngöytiwa, Patki]

Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
Sept. 9, 06.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor of saying that the report of affairs at the village of Oraibi will reveal to your Office that it will be very certain to change school conditions at Oraibi for the first part of the year and should for all time.

I suppose the Prin. is on the road and the Prin. for Second Mesa ought to be on the road. There is as yet no appointee for the school at Polacca.

The Polacca appointments ought to be made and the people sent in as soon as possible, and the principals for the other day schools ought to come on but aside from these I do not deem it best to send any other school room folk for a time. Cooks and noneducational employes can be used some, but it would be just as well that all shall wait except the Disciplinarian. Just before I went to the seat of war I received a note from Mr. Lewis saying he had sent the resignations of himself and wife to your Office. I think two people will do all that is necessary in teaching at Oraibi and will bring the extra teacher in here to help out till matters clear up. This school I can run up with Navajoes if we are short on Hopis so I will need the disciplinarian. I am informed that Mr. J. W. Reynolds wants the positions and I would prefer some one else.

Very respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Supt.

Oraibi, Arizona.
Sept. 10, 1906.

Supt. Lemmon,

Dear Sir:

In my opinion it will be well to send Mr. Stauffer and what police you have to the school.

Frank Jenkins talks as if they are intending to let Hostiles stay until word was received from Washington and I believe him but by all means send Mr. Stauffer tonight and at once.

Respectfully,
(Signed) Miltona M. Keith
Field Matron.

This was hurried off by Miss Kieth [Keith] in consequence of the inclosed from Epp [not included in the file] whom I understand was at that time in the village and Miss Kieth was not.

Lemmon.

Gov't O. B. Collect.
Sept 12, 06.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Wild rumors but all as quiet as could be expected at Oraibi waiting as promised for word from your Office.

Lemmon
Supt.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.,
Sept. 12, 06.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir;

I have the honor to report that I had a message at Midnight from Mr. Staufer who was sent out in response to the inclosed. He

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writes that he can not find any foundation for the scare and that the friendly Indians are waiting word from Washington as they promised me to wait.

They cannot understand why Epp should have written in as he did. It will be quiet now as Mr. Epp and Mrs. Gates are both gone and their nervousness will not set things going.

As yet the police man sent to the R.R. with the telegram has not returned. There will be some impatience if he does not get in today. He had orders to wait at Winslow for an answer and the inference will likely be that ''Washington does not care anything about it''. If the fight comes on again there will be some one hurt for some of the outs are getting sore over the thing as they have thought it over.

I believe that even a message will hold things quiet till the plans of your Office can be received and made known.

Very respectfully,
Theo G. Lemmon
Superintendent.

Telegram

Sept. 13, 1906

Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.

Friendlies drove hostiles and suspects from Oraibi. Ninety friendlies and families in village, one hundred and sixty-five hostiles and families in camp four miles out. Tension high. All waiting for Inspector asked in my telegram last Saturday not yet answered. Mailed report and recommendations Monday. Send Inspector McLaughlin if practicable. No danger to employes. Wire authority for twenty-five special police if needed to prevent conflict and protect property. Soldiers will probably be needed later.

Wire answer.

Lemmon, Supt.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
Sept. 13, 1906

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:—

I deem it a duty to inform your Office that on last Saturday night I started a Navajo policeman from Oraibi to the railroad with a message to you regarding the Hopi trouble at Oraibi. He was to get answer and hurry back, riding at night.

Today Hostin Nez, a Navajo chief came in and told me that on Saturday night two Navajoes who happened to be riding that trail found it guarded by Hopis who raised a yell and the Navajoes put their horses to their best in getting away from there. The Navajoes think the policeman was ambushed. He has not returned. If he does not get in tonight they will start a search for him tomorrow. If they should find the body of that man we can not get soldiers here too quick to save trouble that will be trouble. I sent the school carpenter to the railroad this morning with a message to you and another to the telegraph operator at Winslow to know if the message from Oraibi ever reached there.

The Carpenter will travel night and day till back here as far as his team will stand it. I may know more then than I do now. If the policeman was ambushed it will not do to make special police of the Navajoes and under the circumstances it will not do to trust Hopis so troops will be wired for as soon as I can get a message to you.

Very respectfully.
Theo. G. Lemmon
Supt.

Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
Sept 14, 1906.

Dear Mr. Staufer;

I thought of opening the school when you went out there and did not only because I

hoped to get the lumber in and get you back at the sheep dipping plant. The chemicals are billed out on that and will probably be here by the time we can get ready for them.

As I understand it from recent correspondence the Commissioner has some special plans for the Oraibi School and I believe it will be as well to let it wait under the circumstances.

Mike has not gotten back and I have sent the other Navajo policeman to look for him and help him in. I have also sent the carpenter to the railroad with a long telegram so I hope to hear something from one or the other in a few days 2 or 3. The carpenter ought to have gotten his message before the Office closed today.

You are right, there is a little bit of dissention [dissension] in the camp and it is growing. If I can get three or four sharp nights I can make terms for some of the best to get back in the village I think. I will hear again two or three days. Ask Uncle Joe to bring some men and come down and talk with me where we can have interpreters he can trust. Tell him I am not mad at them, and will let them go back to camp as soon as they please but he need not bring the Shimopivi folks. He wants back and some of the women are getting enough of it. I will come as soon as I get a message of any kind. Mrs. Gates wired and the Commissioner wired me to wire sending his message last Monday but I got it Wednesday.

He directed me to wire fully and I did so.

I am a little uneasy about Mike. The Navajoes are telling some tales and they are uneasy.

Epp ought to hide himself. He has about as much judgment as a child. These policemen to care for the hostiles. In the first place the hostiles don't need any protection and in the second if a scrap came on and these policemen out there without some one who can control them they would use the chance to pay some debts they owe some of those fellows. There would be very little surer way to send some of those fellows where the Navajoes would like to have most of them than that. He surely has shown what he amounts to.

All that he cares to say will only show the plainer where to place him as to his reliability. I believe he is honest but lacks both sense and judgment. Some women are worth several of him.

I've seen many a street fight among white where there was ten times the number of people who needed patching. As a fight this was the tamest I ever knew to have so many who could have engaged in it.

Unless something has happened to Mike it is about over but if the Navajoes are right it will be a trouble that will not be ended this winter or the Navajoes are not what I think they are.

Very respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Supt.

Telegram

Oraibi, Arizona,
Sept. 15th, 06.

Hon. Francis E. Leupp,
Commissioner Department of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.

(Personal) Twenty years factional strife between Oraibi Liberal and Conservative parties reached crisis today, by Liberals forcibly ejecting all Conservatives from the village. Agent Lemmon absent, Stanley Keith Epp, Gates secured concessions from aggressive party laying aside arms granting right of removal of personal property and retention of crops and herds. None seriously hurt. Conservatives camping Hot-Wells Spring. We advised both factions to observe truce awaiting your action hoping for your speedy presence, which I earnestly recommend. Stanley Keith reported to agent. In dispossession of houses, are aggressive hopish [Hopis] subject to penalty under Federal or Territorial Law. Is it eviction (foregoing repeated from Fridays telegram.) Conservatives are known as hostiles, Liberals as friendlies. Am leaving Oraibi today if wanted can be reached at Flagstaff until nineteenth instant hope new village be founded near enough Oraibi making practicable mission hospital site between the two, Murphys judgment sound.

Gertrude Lewis Gates.

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Oraibi, Ariz., Sept. 16, 1906

Supt. Matthew Murphy
[Western Navajo Agency, Tuba City]

Sir,

In accordance with your request I herewith submit the following report.

During the evening of Thursday, the 6th inst. I was told that on the succeeding day, Friday, the friendlies were going to drive out the She mo po vis who came to this village in the spring. According to the report they were to be driven northwards. I was just about to start for the mesa next morning when Mr. Epp came to tell me of the impending affairs and in a few moments Mrs. Gates came in her buckboard accompanied by her driver & Miss Stanley one of the school teachers. We all proceded to the mesa and found a number of men gathered beside Tewa quap tewa's house which stands almost by itself to the north of the village of Oraibi. Tewa quap tewa is the chief of the friendly people & these were his men and they were armed and seemed very determined. It seemed as tho it would be a waste of words to attempt to persuade them to lay down their guns. We called for an interpreter and Frank Jenkins (Chu hoya) was chosen. Miss Stanley spoke to them first and I then addressed them reminding them that as American citizens they had the right to talk all they wished but not the right to shoot their fellows and if the two parties fought Washington would probably send soldiers and their leaders would have to answer to the charge of murder. They replied that they wanted the soldiers to come and help them send those people away. The only reply I could make was that the soldiers would not know friendlies from hostiles and some of the friendlies might be killed. Mr. Epp then addressed them in Hopi and concluded by saying we would go over to the others and talk to them. The friendlies objected saying we might not talk the same way to the unfriendlies so we took with us Frank Jenkins and Lahpoo, a brother of Tewa quap tewa. Lahpoo wore a belt to which was fastened a revolver. Mr. Epp called my attention to this and at my request he promptly unfastened & gave it to me & I handed it to the driver of Mrs. Gates wagon supposing that when the affair was over it would be returned to him but I understand that it is still ten days later in the possession either of Mrs. Gates or Mr. Epp. As the people would not come out to talk to us we went into the house and found that the She mo po vis who had migrated to Oraibi and the hostiles of Oraibi were gathered together in this room and that about the door and in the room were about fifty unfriendlies. Lahpoo interpreted for us and we talked as we had to the friendlies and asked them to not use their guns. They stated that they had no guns with them they were at their own houses. We were just about to try to get a promise from them not to use arms or knives when suddenly a few of Tewa quap tewa's men with him at the head rushed in unarmed and demanded that we leave the room saying we had been too long. When we had started to talk to the unfriendlies we had been warned to hurry with our talk for it was getting late and they the friendlies were in a hurry. We left the room and in almost no time a commotion arose. My first impression was that the friendlies had been attacked in the room and were leaving hurriedly my next impression and it proved to be the correct one was that the friendlies were carrying out the struggling hostiles. Great commotion prevailed. The friendlies seemed to be pushing, pulling carrying the unwilling hostiles who were kicking, striking and pulling the hair of their adversaries. The unfriendlies were taken to the northern outskirts of the village and put down. I was attempting to procure a messenger to take a letter to Supt. Lemmon. In my attempts to get one I was in the vicinity of some lively scrimmaging. I saw no weapons not even sticks or stones used. When I had the messenger I went into a house for a few minutes to secure writing materials. Was gone only a few minutes but on my return the most of the men had been put out of the village.

Later in the day I asked Frank Jenkins who is considered to be the least biased of any of the interpreters what had occurred in the house after we left. According to his version Tewa quap tewa ordered the She mo po vis to leave the village where upon Ye ke oma the chief of the Oraibi hostiles said they

should not leave and that the hostiles of Oraibi would aid the She mo po vis. Tewa quap tewa answered ''You will go too, then''. Each of the few friendlies who could gain access to the already crowded room grabbed a She mo po vi to put him out and was in turn grasped from behind by an Oraibi hostile. Frank tells me that in the room the unfriendlies were about four to one.

To my surprise when I had dispatched a letter to Supt. Lemmon and was free to observe passing events the men who had been put over the line stayed there without apparent objection. Women & children gathered over there. It is said that men went to the various houses and told the inmates they must leave. I did not see this as my whole time and attention was taken in advising Tewa quap tewa to be careful. I particularly recommended him to be careful as to the treatment accorded to the women and children. That no violence should be used toward them and they must be allowed to provide them selves with eatables so there should not be suffering.

I had not previously supposed that Tewa quap tewa would be willing to hear any advice that did not accord with his own views but I found he was not only willing to hear but was ready to act on suggestions made by Miss Stanley and myself. We represented Washington to him, and he wishes to please Washington. He sent Miss Stanley, Coin, one of the best interpreters, & myself over to the hostiles side to see if they had all provided them selves with provisions. We approached the group of chiefs and stated that Tewa quap tewa had sent us to ascertain if the women and children had sufficient food. Ye ke oma, the hostile chief answered that they did not wish to obtain food for they wanted to go back to the village. We took this answer back to the friendlies and they asked what to do about the sheep and other belongings of the hostiles. I told them that all property of every description belonging to the hostiles was still theirs and after further conference it was agreed that two interpreters, Tewa quap tewa, a Moen cope leader and the white people should meet four from the other side and that the white people should deliver Tewa quap tewa's decision that the Hostiles should move on to Hoti-vella, a spring about five miles distant, and there remain only temporarily until Washington could be heard from (the friendlies wished them to move further ultimately). That the hostiles should be allowed to come into the village three at a time and be allowed to get their belongings with out any molestation or mistreatment from Tewa quap tewa's people.

Tewa quap tewa announced that no stealing would be permitted and at my suggestion, sent a guard into the village. During the day the unfriendlies came & went bringing provisions bedding, etc. As the afternoon wore on the hostiles made no move as a body either to proceed or to return. Mrs. Gates and Mr. Epp sat rather apart on a rock and several of the unfriendlies gathered about them. After a little some of the friendlies started that way and in reply to my question as to what they were going to do answered that they were going to drive those fellows on. It apparently irritated the friendlies to see the hostiles conferring with Mrs. Gates. The friendlies then drew up around the hostiles and tried to drive them on. No weapons were used. They simply attempted to force the hostiles onward by physical strength, pushing and pulling. The forces seemed to be about equal and neither side could move the other. A long discussion followed between the two factions. The unfriendlies said <u>they knew somebody had to go</u> for it is a prophecy but each wished the other to go. Finally Ye ke oma drew another line and said that which ever party was put across should go. The unfriendlies were put over and started for Hoti-vella with out more ado while the friendlies turned back.

One group of men & women loitered behind & Pole-hong iwa [Poli Paayestiwa, Greasewood] & I went to see what was the trouble. We found an old woman lying on the ground. Her daughter explained that her hip had been out of joint but the Hopi doctor had set it but she could not walk. Permission was given to take her back to her house & for the son in law to spend the night with her but he wished to go to assist his wife to camp. The old woman, Nu va um se [probably Nuvayamqa, Sun], suffered considerable pain during the short trip back to the house and soon after reaching it had a sinking spell so both Mrs. Gates and I thought

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she was about to die. She rallied in a few minutes with no restoratives but water. I had despatched Mr. Woodgate to bring a tourist physician, Dr. Scott, as the government physician was absent. He examined her and left codein [codeine] to be given in case she suffered. I stayed with her from 9 p.m. until 5:30 a.m. Saturday watching her all the time. She had a good night. She dozed until 11 o'clock when with the aid of her stick and my arm she got up and moved about. I applied the liniment to her limb & she slept soundly all night and was still asleep when I left at 5:30 a.m. Saturday. On the succeeding Wednesday morning she arose early and walked out to the camp to the surprise of every one. The unfriendlies had said that some one of the friendlies had pushed the old woman down and dislocated her hip. Dr. Scott said her bones were not injured—the hip was only bruised. One of the Hopis told me that she had had for some time a trouble with her stomach—others stated that she was subject to fits and fell on one of these. Saturday forenoon I witnessed one of the attacks of stomach trouble during which she would have fallen had it not been for support.

After the doctor had seen the old woman I made a trip to the hostile camp accompanied by one of Tewa-quap tewa's men as I wished to see that the women & children all reached there safely. We arrived after dark and found between forty and fifty camp fires I should judge. All had arrived safely and as far as I could learn all had bedding and at least enough for supper with the opportunity to procure more from the village in the morning. The camp was well situated having an abundant supply of both wood and water at hand.

We reached Oraibi again with out incident and I went to watch with the old woman. To my surprise Supt. Lemmon & Mr. Stauffer walked in about 9 p.m. I had not expected them before midnight. They spent the night on the mesa. The friendlies kept a guard out all night. So far I have made four trips to the camp and until a rain came Thursday night they were very comfortable. Since then the weather has been cold. We had been told that one of the unfriendlies sustained a broken rib so Mr. Stauffer, Dr. White and myself went out to see the man but he had gone sheep herding!

Very respectfully,
Miltona M. Keith
Field Matron

Statement of Ta-wa-quap-te-wa, chief of Oraibi ''friendlies''

Department of the Interior,
Indian School Service,
Oraibi, Ariz.
Sept. 16, 1906

I am the head man of this village. I am the head man of the ''friendlies'' not of the ''hostiles''.

I had nothing to do with the ''hostiles''; they had their own chief. The ''hostiles'' are at a spring over north; they are there because they are not friends to the white people; they were willing to leave their homes.

On the morning of the separation a crier called the friendly people to meet at my house; I told the crier to do this; I wanted the friendly people to drive the unfriendly people away from the village (Oraibi). The crier said nothing about guns; they thought of them themselves and brought them (the guns).

I did not tell the friendly Indians to use their guns; when we were ready I said: ''Come, let us go''.

I did not tell the friendlies to fight with the ''hostiles'' and I did not tell them not to fight. I went into the ''hostiles's'' room and said, ''Are you here?'' I asked for Dan [Lomawuna]; a man pointed out Dan; I said to Dan—''I told you one time to leave the village''. Dan is a Shu-pow-la-vi, lately from Shi-mo-pi-vi village; by this I meant the people who had come over from Shu-pow-la-vi and Shi-mo-li-vi to Oraibi; I meant also the unfriendly Oraibis who were in sympathy with them; we had agreed to put all the ''hostiles'' out of the village. Our first intention was to put the Shi-mo-pi-vis out; we did not agree on any thing concerning the hostile Oraibis. The ''friendlies'' took hold of Joshua and Dan, leaders of Shupowlavi and Shimo

pivi; the Oraibi ‘‘hostiles’’ helped the Shi-mo-pi-vi and Shu-pow-li-vi hostiles. The ‘‘hostile’’ chief of Oraibi, Yu-ke-o-ma, said to me: ‘‘No, I want these people to stay here’’. When the ‘‘hostile’’ Oraibis helped the Shi-mo-pi-vis, I told my people to put them all out. I saw no one that was badly hurt in the struggle. I told my people not to disturb the houses or property of the ‘‘hostiles’’.

I and my people watch the houses of the ‘‘hostiles’’ every night. The ‘‘hostiles’’ take care of their own crops. If any of the ‘‘hostile’’ Oraibis turn friendly I will take them back into my village. My people do not want to build a new village, but I do not wish to give an answer to that until I hear from Washington.

Statement of Yu-ke-o-ma, chief of the ‘‘hostiles’’ at Oraibi

Department of the Interior,
Indian School Service,
Oraibi, Ariz.
Sept.16. 1906

I am the chief of these people (‘‘hostiles’’). These people are friendly to the Government schools, but we do not want any schools.

We do not want the Government to do with the children as they have been doing.

These people have been in this camp about eight days; they lived at Oraibi before coming here. We left Oraibi because Ta-wa-quap-te-wa and his people drove us out.

My people and Ta-wa-quap-te-wa’s people have not been friendly for a long time; my people and Ta-wa-quap-te-wa’s people quarreled first about the Government schools; Ta-wa-quap-te-wa’s people wanted the Government schools, and my people did not want schools.

My people and Ta-wa-quap-te-wa’s people can live together in peace when his people agree to live the Hopi way.

My people could never believe as Ta-wa-quap-te-wa’s people believe, because we have talked about that for a long time and we have not agreed yet.

We (‘‘hostiles’’) believe that the people who live the Hopi way are the ones who will have Oraibi, but they (‘‘friendlies’’) have driven us out.

My people do not want to make a new village.

Oraibi, Ariz, Sept. 16, 1906

Supt. Matthew Murphy,

Sir,

In accordance with your request I here with submit the following report.

I was appointed as assistant teacher in the Oraibi Day School and reached here Feb. 1, 1903. The school then had an enrollment of 120. During that week 54 new pupils entered in response to an announcement that who ever brought the children voluntarily might place them here instead of at Keam’s Canyon. I remained here until the close of school in June of that year. During those five months the truants if any were looked up by the principal who carried a revolver, not to bring in the children, but because he was afraid for his own safety.

School opened in Sept. 1903 with a new principal in charge. The date of the opening of school had been announced and on that morning both the 8 and 9 o’clock bells rang and still no children. I told the principal I believed it would be best for him to go to the village and tell the children to come and as he was a stranger offered to accompany him which offer he accepted. During our walk of a mile we met three children going to school. We went to a number of houses and told them we wanted their children to come to school. At noon we went down to school and 44 were there. We continued our efforts one or both of us, usually both, going to the village once & sometimes twice a day. Some would deny having any children so we made a number of trips early before they could get off to play & thus would no longer deny having children. No violence was used and no arms carried we simply told them we wanted such & such children at school that day & in most instances they came. In some cases we went several times to the same place & then we told them if they were not in school by a certain time they would be

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sent to Keam's Canyon. Those who held off found that what we said was true. In something like a month the attendance went up to 167. Two were excused by the physician on his first visit & one in the spring. The other 164 remained in school tho out [throughout] the term with the exception of 2 who were excused to be married and one who married with out permission and was sent to Keam's Canyon School to prevent all the big girls from following her example.

The middle of November, 1903 I was made field matron but the superintendent of the reservation wished me to look up the truants and every day the principal reported to me any cases of absence & I looked them up if I reported a child sick it was excused, if not they usually went to school when I told them too for they held the principal in awe and un-excused absence was punished by work after school hours.

That work interferred [interfered] greatly with my work as field matron for the little children not only ran from me but it took time, strength and attention needed for my own work and I never could promise when I could show them about bread or any other work for fear I could not keep my promise neither could the women be certain when I would be at home. The principal both could & would have looked after his truants had he not been obliged to teach but at that time the principal taught and his school room work was excellent. Since I have been freed from assisting in truant work I have been able to do better work with the women.

The Hopis however did not like the principal and took every opportunity possible to complain to tourists who were ready listeners as the report of F. C. Churchill of his visit here in Dec. 1903 will show.

During the summer the indians [sic] complained a good deal and said they did not want the principal to return but when the day school opened 140 of the children were at the building before 8:30 a.m. with out any means being used except to have school announced by the crier. One of the pupils of the previous year had died and eleven married during vacation so only a few failed to appear & eight of those came in within a week as well as a few new little ones.

At the end of Sept. the principal was transferred and a new principal took charge & was relieved by Supt. from doing school work. The school held together fairly well but with more absentees than ever before but they did not drop out entirely to amount to much.

The term beginning Sept. 1905 I should think had an enrollment of about 130 including the little new friendly children enrolled. No new unfriendlies came in and about 12 who had been in the preceding year failed to come at all and more than ever stayed away from Keam's Canyon. There were a great many children on the mesa who should have been in school and were not. Some could in my estimation have been gotten by persistent visiting & solicitation on the part of the principal or teachers. Others not with out force.

After the trouble over schools at She mo po vi in the spring of this year the hostile She mo po vis came over here and from that time on the attendance became less & less altho some of the Oraibi children had failed to come back after the Christmas vacation. But after the She mo po vi migration the school went down persistently. This migration made a great difference in my work. For some time after that Oraibi hostiles who formerly had received me gladly in their homes as field matron would not speak when we met and some have not yet gotten over that backset. In August I was in a house, the one in which the hostiles and She mo po vis were gathered the day of the eviction, and the young women would not speak in their own house. I am sure it is no personal affair.

The Hopis liked the last school management & the children appeared very happy at school but I have never in all the time I been here known so much truancy. Even among the friendlies the children asked for excuses to stay out to go for wood or tend sheep & spent the time on the mesa.

The principal was afraid to deny a request for fear of giving offense & the having [sic] children leave school and the same in regard to school room discipline. What the school needs is a firm fearless person who persistently does as he says he will both as to punishments and rewards. I believe firmness will win in the end altho it may take time & some trouble will come up. If firmness & mildness

could go together all would be pleasant but strictness is very much needed here.

When the She mo po vis came here in the spring it was with the understanding that they would move on after a while. They however planted here & married here and the scanty water & pasturage had to go partly to their flocks so at last the friendlies could stand the presence of the She mo po vis no longer and determined to drive them out. The unwillingness of the Oraibi hostiles that they should go provoked a general eviction of the hostiles on Sept. 7, 1906. This might have occurred some time any way as the breach has grown wider and wider between the two factions and for almost two years they have not danced or held ceremonies together but since the coming of the She mo po vis who were bolder & gave the Oraibis courage the breach has seemed to be past healing.

Many of the hostile people were very good about sending their children to school & some of them were among the best and brightest we had. If the She mo po vis were taken away and also some of the leaders like Ye ke oma and a few more of the old hostiles I believe the school question might be simplified. In some cases it might be necessary to take the whole family. The removal of ten or twelve families would I believe relieve many from a yoke of bondage to old superstitions & customs.

Very respectfully,
Miltona M. Keith
Field Matron.

[Owing to the author's spelling limitations, the following letter contains a large number of errors; these have been left to stand without comment.]

Department of the Interior
United States Postal Service,
Oraibi, Ariz.
September 18, 1906

Supt. M. M. Murphy
Tuba Ariz.

Sir

In reply to your request to write out a statement concerning the trouble at Oraibi on Sept. 7.—06 I will go back to what originated this trouble. In the summer of 1890 Commissioner Morgan visited the Moki reservation and if I remember right also Oraibi, up to that time very few white men had visited Oraibi. As Mr. Morgan then took in the situation, he thought it expedient to force some Oraibi children to go to school. (Not a single one up to that time having attended the school) Some time in November of 1890 one company of soldiers arrived at Oraibi, compeled the people to line the children up and from that line of about 200 removed 60 to the Keams Canyon school. When I arrived at that school six weeks later I found these same children bright and hapy singing songs in their playrooms and was greatly surprised when I was told that these same children were forced to school six weeks before. From that date on two factions formed at Oraibi. Lololomie at that time was the recognized headman of Oraibi with out any question. Lololomie occationly visited the school and came convinced that the school would be a help to his people where upon he ever afterwards advocated the schools and incoraged his people to send their children to school and became known as friendly chief. About one half of his people turned away from him looking on the schools as a bad thing for a Hopi consequently would not send their children to school and elected Lomahungyouma as headman who became known as hostile chief. The unfriendlys kept their children away from school which were taken by the soldiers, after the first vacation the number being 12 or 15. From the date this division occurred there has been more or less contentions and quareling about fields and other matters going on between them at various times hair pulling and once an asault with an ax was made on the friendly chief.

In July 1891 four companys of soldiers took 9 Oraibi hostile leaders prisoner for interfearing with the U.S. surveyor and other peoples rights. These 9 men were kept at Fort Wingate probably 6 months when they were allowed to return fed up fat and with all the cast off soldier clothing they were able to carry, boasting what a fine time they had and how well they had been treated by the soldiers. Later in November 1894 Capt. Constant Williams again found it expedient to

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take away 20 Oraibi hostile leaders on almost the same grounds as before, having this time only two companys of soldiers with him. These 20 men were kept near San Francisco for about one year. Upon their return home they were ask and it was expected that they now were ready to send their children to school, but they still stubornly refuced saying that the soldier chief had told them, ''That they nead not send their children to school unless they were willing to do so of their own free will''. All this had its affect with some men at the other villages especially Shepal lavey [Supawlavi] where a number of men became opposed to schools and showed themselfs very unfriendly. When the Department authorized a day school building at the second mesa in 1896 these same men went down to where the building was started and ordered all the Hopi Indians which I had at work to stop work and for myself to do likewise and return to the camps. When later in 1898 and −99 the smallpox broke out among the first and second mesa people and the agency employer undertook to disinfect the villages again these same men opposed this work with such an hostile attitude that they used axes and guns to defie said employes. Again the soldiers were called out to force these men to submit to disinfection of the houses and took with them about 5 of the leaders as prisoners. But while the soldiers were on their way coming the Shepal lavey people that were friendly drove the few unfriendlys out of that villages and they settled at Shemopavey [Songòopavi] where upon the return home of the 5 men which were kept at Defiance, they persuaded men in Shemopavey to join them by taking up hostile views against the school and keeping their children out. With these men Supt. Lemmon had trouble in March of 1906 when he undertook to make some arrest for various good reasons. They resisted arrest and overpowered his police. The next day the friendly Ind. at that village (Shemopavey) drove these hostiles out and they came over to Oraibi the hostile Oraibi leader taking them among themselfs as their brothers (as they term it). Since then the contention between both factions waxed hoter every day (I need not mention has what you saw and heard yourself when at Oraibi in June last.) The friendly Oraibis tell me that the wrongs committed by the other faction became unbearable and as they had dispaired in the Government doing something to relief the strain, they thought it best to take it in their own hands and drive these men also out of Oraibi which had made them, as well as the other two villages mentioned above so much trouble. What was most offencive to Dawaquabdewa the present friendly chief is that some of the men from Shemopavey have organized with the unfriendly Oraibis and performed certain ceremony in Oraibi which Dawaquabdewa as catchina priest claims and does by ancient right and tradition hold the exclusive privilege to perform that ceremony. While all these years they had differences between themselfs yet on a ceremonial day both factions would join hands and cooperate with each other. The unfriendlys would bring their meal to friendly head (chief) when in his priestly function he would consecrate it for their use. This new organisation (as we may call it in one sense) is in my opinion the deepest cause for the recent ejection of all unfriendly Ind. by the friendly faction. While both sides claim the first right in Oraibi, it is an acknowledged fact with the other mesa people that the friendly Oraibis by old tradition hold the first and exclusive right.

Since last June I had reason to belief that in the near future there would be trouble in Oraibi but did not think of such a compleate ousting of the hostiles, rather had fear that some one would get killed as such has hapened in past Hopi history. On Sept. 7 2 oclock p.m. a runner arrived at the Canyon with a message that there was trouble at Oraibi Supt. Lemmon and myself at once started for the trouble and arrived at about 8 oclock when we found all was quiet except that men were out on guard all night. So I did not witness any of the action. I found one rather old woman somewhat hurt but was of the belief that she was more scared than hurt, before midnight she went to sleep and slept till after sun up. On the 5th day after she was hurt she walked all the way out to the hostile camp. Her own daughter who was living next door, being on the friendly side was unwilling to care for her. After Supt Lemmon had both sides quiet we returned on the 9th to Keams Canyon. On the 10th in the evening

word came again from Oraibi that the friendly faction would go out the next morning and drive the unfriendly faction out of their camp 5 miles Northwest of Oraibi.

While I felt no fear of the friendly faction breaking their word. However upon Supt Lemmons orders I started at once for Oraibi that if necessary to hold both factions back from making attacks on each other. Arriving in the Oraibi village about 1 oclock in the night I found that there had been no cause for alarm that the friendly faction had no intentions of attacking the unfriendly faction. The friendlys however were alarmed and on gard for fear of an attack & from the other side having misinterpreted the message which was sent to the Canyon. I visited the hostile camp several times before your coming here. Also ask the doctor to go out with me as it had been reported to me that one man had a rib broken, but upon inquiring found that the man was out with the sheep and not much hurt. It is not my place to suggest anything but knowing the habits of the Hopis perhaps better than any one else on the reservation, I can see in this present situation the golden opportunity of the present generation to take rapid steps in the march for civilization providing the Department takes prober action on the matter.

I am Respectfully yours
P. Staufer
Gen. Mechanic

Statement of witness, Gertrude Lewis Gates [formally dated 10-25-1906]

Concerning the Separation at Oraibi, Arizona, September 7th, 1906.

Having been present at the culmination of the disruption of the Hopi village of Oraibi on the date named above I write the following statement of my knowledge of the affair.

Gertrude Lewis Gates.

Buhunömtiwa [Puhunömtiwa, Snake/Lizard], an assistant snake priest and Hostile, or Conservative, belonging in Oraibi, came to the Mennonite Mission about 6:30 A.M. Friday, Sept. 7th bringing the Missionary and me word that Tewakwáptiwa Chief of the Friendly, or Liberal party, had the night before gathered his men at his house on the northern edge of the village, and spent the night in council and other preparation for an attack on the Hostiles to be made Friday morning; that this chief had announced to the village his intention of driving out the Shungopavi Hostiles and all others taking their part.

Immediately after a hasty breakfasting the missionary Rev. J. B. Epp and I with Ed Gannett, drove to the school cottage where we informed Miss. Elizabeth Stanley of the probability of a serious disturbance at the village, and she, with Miss. Miltona Keith, field matron, accompanied us into the village, the latter on her pony.

On the way we met Philip [Tsorngöyva], son of Lomáhongioma called the little Chief [''Little Chief'' was also used to refer to Lomayestiwa, Lomahongiwma's B], whom the Hostiles had deposed because of his several departures from the Hopi Way, instating Yukíoma, the aged leader, in his place. Philip was running to summon his father working at the Mission, owing to the danger of their family and others' being ejected from their homes all men who had gone to work early were needed at the village.

Soon after eight o'clock we arrived at Tawákwaptiwa's house and found a group of perhaps a score of his followers clustered about the chief outside his house; these were frequently augmented by twos and threes. I did not notice any Hopis wearing arms at this time; later I saw a very few with revolvers exposed. But I saw a good many belts, some empty, some partially filled with cartridges.

Miss Stanley, having been left in charge of the school, spoke to Tawákwaptiwa, Frank Jenkins, Hopi interpreting, then Lahpoo, the Chief's brother, took his place as Interpreter; she said that she had heard of his plan to drive out the Hostiles that morning, and she wished to say to him that when Mr. Leupp told the Hopis at Oraibi to settle their difficulty amongst themselves she thought he meant them to do so by council, not by fighting, and if he and his men had arms, they would better not carry them, as they might be tempted to use them, and so involve both

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themselves and others in serious consequences, therefore she advised them to give up their arms or leave them in their houses.

Miss Keith then spoke in much the same vein, adding that if Tawákwaptiwa or his men injured any one they might be arrested and punished, or the soldiers might be sent to separate and punish them if they engaged in fighting. Tawakwaptiwa and others speaking simultaneously avowed their indifference to the possibility of the soldiers being sent, even saying ''Let them come! We want them to come!''

They acknowledged having guns and revolvers and ammunition, giving as a reason for possession, self-protection, ''We are afraid the Hostiles will shoot us!''

Miss Stanley tried to persuade Tawákwaptiwa to lay aside his arms; he would agree to this only on condition of the Hostiles doing the same. She then requested him to remain where he was and keep his men with him until we had a conference with the Hostiles. Lahpoo, interpreting, said ''They will be here!'' I rather think that the Chief did not reply.

Throughout the conferences I noticed that Lahpoo took a larger part in the discussion than is justifiable when interpreting; and several times Mr. Epp who is conversant with the language, requested him to completely as well as correctly interpret both from Hopi into English and English into Hopi.

Mr. Epp also addressed Tawakwaptiwa, but directly, in Hopi; not understanding the language well enough to follow his speech I gathered from his manner and tone chiefly, that he urged the young Chief to reconsider his intentions, to act carefully, etc. . . .

As we turned to seek conference with the Hostiles the Friendlies commandingly called to us to take the same Interpreters, to say neither more nor less than had been said to them, and to hurry!

Within ten minutes we were assembled with Yukíoma and his men seated in a circle within a room in one of the Hostiles' houses. Misses Stanley and Keith again spoke in relative order, being specially careful to repeat only what they had said to the other faction, the same interpreters acting for them—Mr. Epp listening, thus insuring honest interpretation.

Although the Hostiles declared themselves without arms, (and certainly none were visible) Miss Stanley was just at the point of asking them to promise not to use arms if they had any anywhere, when the doorway was filled with men crowding rapidly into the room led by the young chief, Tawákwaptiwa, and we white folk were ordered to leave the room at once, the Interpreters calling to us loudly and pushing us out through the doorway named. The melee was beginning when I, the last ''Pahána'' going out, found myself jostled into the little plaza which with the streets entering it seemed full of excited Hopis running toward the house we had been assembled in, and I heard Ed Gannett advising us ''Better get out of here; there's liable to be a scrap!''

Mr. Epp and I remained on the edge of the scrimmage several minutes and I saw six or eight of the older Hostiles, leaders, being dragged out of the house by the arms, legs, and hair, three or four, and in some cases more of the attacking party seizing one victim. Four or five of them dragged one Hostile aside from the center of excitement and there pounced upon him with feet and fists, kicking and beating him fiercely. Seeing a group of young men insulting and maltreating old Yukioma the Hostiles' Chief, I reproved them and was rudely shoved toward a wall by Johnson, one of the most ''progressive'' younger Friendlies. The Hostiles resisted such treatment but were overpowered by numbers at this stage of the day's doing. Soon a shout was heard and some one interpreted it:

''It is finished; Yukíoma's son is killed!''

This was proven untrue, as no one was killed, nor seriously hurt so far as I know [Qötshongva, Sun, Yukiwma's S, was knocked unconscious], save one woman a bit later, but it checked the wild behavior of the Friendlies somewhat, and Yukíoma was released; seeing him on his feet and apparently unhurt, I passed on through the village to a large plaza northward across one end of which the surging, struggling stream of humanity poured fourth from the village, past Tawákwaptiwa's house, and out to the open a few hundred yards from the village limits; men, women and children being driven, shoved, dragged, pulled, led by Tawakwap-

tiwa's followers, those resisting having their clothing torn and getting bruised and scratched, but the majority going passively carrying burdens on their backs, the men with set faces, the women and children crying and affrighted. The young men most active as Tawakwaptiwa's lieutenants ran rapidly back and forth between the village and the open escorting or driving out individuals and families, hurrying all along, excitedly calling commands to the ejected and to one another, looking wild-eyed, and exhibiting the real fanaticism of their souls, for this Separation rests upon several causes, one of which lies deep in the traditions of their mysterious, pagan religious belief. Both factions claim that it had to be their fathers having predicted it, said the Hostiles; and, ''The Hopis have always done this way now and then, two chiefs cannot rule the same village; one must go'', etc., said the Friendlies, so showing their adherence to ancient custom, innocently unmindful of the historical record failing to show any disruption of Oraibi since 1540!

Qöyángainiwa, the ''Judge'', handed his belt of cartridges, 45s or 44s, to the missionary and his son in law, Lahpoo, gave his belt and revolver to Ed Gannett with the request to keep them for him until he wanted them, to let no one else have them. Another man running past thrust a knife into my keeping; I saw a Hopi on horseback carrying a sword!

For several hours, from about 10: A.M. to 3: P.M., the Hostiles stubbornly held together near the village, and were at intervals charged upon by the Friendlies in the fruitless endeavor to dislodge and drive them on to Hotwello, a spring three or four miles north, on the opposite side of the mesa.

Between these bloodless charges interspersed with much scolding, insulting yells, and wordy effort, some of the Hostiles providently packed household goods and provisions from their recent homes, evidently permitted or at least not interfered with by Tawákwaptiwa who, as the day waned, lost his fiery spirit of aggression and self-importance, and seemed to listen more attentively, even anxiously to the timely word of the white people present. He acquiesced to my proposition to let Miss. Stanley, Miss. Keith, Mr. Epp, and me go to the Hostiles for purposes of arbitration, and we went, calling out Yukíoma who came with his characteristic gentle, dignity of manner attended by Lomáhongioma, the ''little chief'', and one other, listened courteously to all we had to say and as courteously but firmly refused to accept our proposals or to act upon our suggestions. Mr. Epp interpreted.

Tawakwaptiwa agreed to let the Hostiles return by threes to the village to procure their personal and household effects, provisions etc., if they would move on out to Hótwello to camp. He also agreed to let them retain possession of their herds and crops.

From a slight eminence on neutral ground I counted the men of both parties young and old excluding boys, and concluded that there were present on Tawakwaptiwa's side about seventy five men, fifteen of whom were summoned from Moencopi for this event, according to Políhongwa [Poli Paayestiwa], a Hopi trader from Moencopi.

Twice counting the Hostiles I approximated the number of men on Yukíoma's side at ninety. Mr. Epp counted these also, agreeing with my count. A few men from both factions were in their fields or out herding earlier in the day, and some probably remained there.

About 3: P.M. I saw Yukíoma quietly leave the knot of men surrounding him and walk toward the Hotwello trail; the cause of his change of mind I did not learn; all of his people then moved after him as rapidly as possible. Later in the day Miss. Keith with Frank Jenkins, followed them to Hotwello to look after the welfare of the women and children, the aged, the sick, and any others who might need care; returning in the evening she reported their safe arrival.

Soon after the Hostiles' departure I saw an old woman trying to walk toward the village; she was supported by two men, one a son, or son in law, all Hostiles. Upon inquiry I was told that she had been hurt by some one of the Friendlies throwing her upon the rocks. She moved with great difficulty—agony every step; assisting we managed to take her to her own door and I remained with her several hours. The Government physician not being about a visiting doctor of medicine was called who with the missionary examined her, and left medicine, an opiate, for her. At

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one time the field matron and I thought her dying but she rallied under simple restorative attentions. Five days later she was living. Her daughter in the adjoining house refused to keep her in any way, nor would she lend necessaries to those nursing her mother. This is an example of one of the worst features of the Separation: family estrangements. Husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters forced to foreswear relationships and family responsibilities, intermarriage between families of different factions having been common, and adults having transferred allegiance from one party to the other.

Supt. Lemmon arrived in the village some time before midnight of this day.

Sept. 9th Mr. Epp and I drove with Ed Gannett to Hótwello, taking a few sacks of flour, some coffee, sugar, salt and baking powder to distribute to those in need. One man had come down to the mission to tell us of his own desperate need, and from him we learned that others had scanty supplies and would soon require help. Those who accepted supplies from us did so only on condition of being given opportunity to work for payment of the amount presented. Some who wanted flour could not bring themselves to accept it on any conditions, so conservatively Hopi are they, so proud, and also submissive to the opinion of their fellow conservatives.

The accompanying photographs show the character of the Hótwello Camp; I counted between forty and sixty little semi-circular brush shelters reinforced with blankets, shawls, scraps of old canvas, gunny sacks, etc. They had no tents. Some took refuge under the rocks of the Mesa's rim. All whom we approached were cordial in their greetings and hospitable offers of peaches, melons, mutton, etc., and all seemed to accept their situation most cheerfully. So long as this fair fall weather prevails they can camp at Hotwello without special menace to the general health, but when the November storms set in there will be much suffering amongst them, poorly clad as they are and unaccustomed to exposure such as camping in the open involves. They may be driven by the hardships to attempt retaking their own in the village, then there will be serious clashing between the opposing factions.

The night of the 10th of Sept. Qöyángainiwa, the Judge, came to the mission to get his cartridges and belt, saying that Tawákwaptiwa expected the Hostiles to attack the village early the next morning. Mr. Epp was absent, so Qöyángainiwa demanded the ammunition from me. After an hour's argument and persuasion I succeeded in sending him home without the cartridges, his fears at rest. The attack was not made.

Respectfully submitted by
Gertrude Lewis Gates,
South Pasadena, California

Tolchaco, Arizona
October 25th 1906.

Statement of witness Harold Betts [ca. 9-18-1906]

I arrived on the scene of action just as the Indians were gathering together outside the Pueblo to go in force and drive out the so called unfriendlies. The so called friendlies were well armed while the others were scattered about the Pueblo ignorant of what was going on. The few Americans present advised the Indians to use no fire arms or weapons of any discription [description] as the Government would not stand for it. So they laid down their arms and started in a fierce scrimmage knocking down and dragging old men and women who could hardly walk from the Pueblo—they kept this up all morning until every one was outside. The evicted then gathered in the open and the two parties held a council in which the evicted naturally wanted to return to their homes where they had spent their lives most of them being old men and women.

The Missionaries thought it best . . . [illegible] . . . convert them and they were opposed to the schools etc so that might the Indians drive them further on and they camped about six miles from here near a spring where they put up rude dwellings of brush and sticks.

Most of the men are old and can not stand much hardship.

There seems to be a homesick feeling amongst them all which is most natural, women and old men crying for their homes etc fields etc.

Several babies have been born in the camp during their stay there and the nights have been quite cold for the past two weeks.

They are hardly strong enough in number to build another Pueblo without help from some source as most of them consist of old men and women. They have faith in the Government letting them return to their homes.

Oraibi is practically deserted.

Harold Betts

Statement of witness A.M. Woodgate [ca. 9-18-1906]

I was in Oraibi at about 9 am on the morning of Sept 7. The Friendly Hopis had already driven out all but a few of the unfriendlys. I saw one old woman thrown out of a house onto her face but could not see by whom.

The unfriendlys were now several hundred yards from the town and were being pushed by Friendlys but there were many halts and some of the old men were very roughly handled but I believe none were badly hurt. The women and children were left alone after this tho' it looked as if they would not have been had there been no Americans present. Many of the women & children were crying and very frightened and many were much too young to leave their homes some being born only a few days. After a long talk much hair pulling and tearing of shirts the unfriendlys moved off to the spring where they are now living.

The whole affair appeared to me to be more cruel, unreasonable & unjust . . . [illegible] I do not think that any reasonable man could think otherwise tho' it may in the end be of great advantage to the unfriendly Hopis if they can be induced to establish new homes in a better place.

From all I can learn from the Hopi the dispute has to do with their own religion and nothing to do with the US School as most people think. It appears that the unfriendlys are against the School because the Friendlies favor it and the Friendlys favor it because they think it gives them the support of the Government.

A. M. Woodgate

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Arizona
Sept 18, 1906

Dear Mr. Leupp:—

Your telegram rec'd last evening. I have asked each white person who was on mesa the seventh instant to write you what they "saw and know" of recent trouble. I think all letters will go forward in next mail. Miss Cory had written you at length [letter not located]—she read the letter to me. I requested her to leave my name out as the part I took was very small. Mrs. Gates, Miss Keith, Mr. Epp and I went to mesa together. Found both parties in Council. We first spoke to Friendlies. Indians were armed, even our good Laphoo who works at school. I told them by what authority I was there—being in charge of school at present. That I had a letter from you the week before saying you were now thinking of them and planning for them. That you did not mean that they should fight, in order to settle their troubles. (They had gotten the idea from some service that you wanted them to settle their own troubles.) I told them they must put off all firearms and knives—if they carried them they might be tempted to use them, and that would bring them into great trouble. I emphasized this. Then Miss Keith spoke more at length. She is writing you what she said. After Mr. Epp had spoken a few words in Hopi, I told interpreter to tell the Chief, Tawa kwap tewa to keep his men right there, until we went to the Council of Unfriendlies that we would say the same words to them. Lahpoo said, "Oh they'll be here". He told us to be quick, but I did not know that at the time. (The Friendlies all followed and obeyed their Chief as one man.) Mr. Epp was still speaking in the Council of Hostiles when the Friendlies came pushing into the room. They told us to go out. We had hardly gotten off the steps when the Hostiles were dragged out, some by the hair, others were carried by four. There was a funny side to it, tho' I did not see it until afterwards. Really, one third of the village carried out two thirds, and set them on the rocks beyond the village limit. I do not understand why the Hostiles did not

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resist more, unless they are fatalists, as some think. They had laid off their weapons of all kinds before beginning the fight. After the city was cleared of all Hostiles there were several hours of inactivity. The Hostiles sitting on the rocks in the hot sun and the Friendlies standing around in groups guarding them. Late in the afternoon a grand rush began all along the line and the Hostiles were pushed further on. We counseled the Friendlies all day to be careful and not crowd and hurt the women and children. They agreed to let the Hostiles come back into the village, three at a time, and get all their things. After another pushing and pulling, the Hostiles walked rapidly away until they were out of sight. I am told that they drew two lines on the rocks parallel to the city and agreed that the party first pushed across the lines, must go away. We staid right with them all day and Miss Keith and I staid on mesa all night, fearing there might be trouble in the night. She and Mr. Staufer sat up with a woman who was slightly hurt on rocks. Early in the day Miss Keith had sent for Mr. Lemmon. He and Mr. Staufer came about 9 o'clock that evening. Mr. Epp and Mrs. Gates helped in every way they could during the entire day. Mr. Epp, knowing the language, was of great service, sometimes speaking to the interpreter, when he did not tell us all he should. I saw some men laughing as they were being taken out of the village—looked like it was a huge joke. But the women I think realized what it meant to leave their comfortable homes and go to barren rocks. My school is nearly all over in the Hostile camp. I am thinking of turning Hostile myself, then may be you will put me with them. It is hard to give them all up but I hope to stay at Oraibi. I have had very many interruptions since I began this letter but I am sure you will get every detail as so many are writing.

I am glad Mr. Murphy is here. If there is any way I can serve you I shall be most happy.

Sincerely yours,
Elizabeth C. Stanley.

Oraibi Mission Station
J. B. Epp, Missionary
P.O. Address: Oraibi Mission, Toreva, Arizona
Freight and Express Address: Winslow, Arizona.
Oraibi Mission, Toreva, Ariz., Sept. 18th 1906

To the Hon. Francis E. Leupp,
Com. of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Report, of what I saw and heard at Oraibi, on the day the ''friendly'' party drove out the ''hostile'' party from their homes—on Sept. 7th.

On the morning of this day one of the hostiles came to the Mission and told us that the night before many people had gathered at the friendly chief's house, and that different ones had said that they were going to drive all the hostiles from the village. While he was yet speaking, another hostile came to the Mission telling that it was announced publicly that morning, for all the ''friendly'' met together at their chiefs house. There upon Mrs. Gates, Mr. Gannet and I went up to Oraibi. On the way we told Misses Stanley and Keith of what we heard. The latter had heard of it already and had her pony saddled to go up. Miss Stanley went with us. We found the ''friendly'' men gathered at their chief's house, many of them armed with guns, revolvers and knives. Misses Stanley, Keith and I spoke to them about laying down their arms, because it was unlawful to carry arms. They said, that they would do so, provided the ''hostiles'' would do so. They then sent two representatives with me, over to the house, where some of the ''hostiles'' were gathered, who had heard of what was going to be done to them. These ''hostiles'' said that they had not thought of using arms. While we were yet speaking here, the ''friendly'' chief and a number of followers entered the house (not awaiting our return to them), unarmed. The ''friendly'' chief asked for one of the ''hostile'' men who had come over to Oraibi from a neighboring village. At the same time some one in his party ordered all the white people to go out. While standing outside I saw the ''friendlies'' drag the ''hos-

tiles'' from this house where they were gathered, first and then from the other houses. Not only those were dragged out, who had come over to Oraibi lately from the neighboring villages, but the Oraibi hostiles also.

They pulled them out by the clothes, limb and hair, especially those who resisted. Some also beat the hostiles on the head and kicked them, which seemed unnecessary. By and by the hostiles were more willing to go, and they began to lead them by the arm. The women of the hostiles were ordered out with their children. They had their bundles packed before hand it seemed, for they were all ready to go. Some women were pushed and kicked because they were slow. I saw only one woman being pushed so hard that she fell.

At 11 o'clock about, all was done, and the hostiles gathered just outside of the village, towards the N. W. Many of them going back and forth after some of their possessions.

Right after dinner the friendlies rallied, to drive the hostiles on. The latter resisted. They could not push them an inch. After very loud debating for about an hour or more, the hostiles packed up and left, going towards the N. W. to a spring where they still are.

The friendlies promised us that they would protect the hostiles' property in the village and allow them to go to their fields and homes to get what belongs to them.

After that I hear the friendlies talk of driving the hostiles on, for fear they might come back. And although they promised not to make trouble they may, on some sort of an excuse, attack the hostiles again. And then more serious results may follow.

Respectfully,
J. B. Epp. Miss'y

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Arizona.
Sept. 20, 1906

Supt. Matthew Murphy,
Tuba, Arizona.

Dear Sir:—

I was on mesa Friday the seventh instant. Miss Keith, Mr. Epp, Mrs. Gates and I attended both Councils. The Indians were advised and commanded to lay aside all firearms and other weapons and to settle their troubles as peaceably as possible. Mr. Epp was still speaking in Council of Unfriendlys when the Friendlys came hastily into the room—told us to go out, and began at once to drag out the Unfriendlys. For some minutes there seemed to be a good deal of passion displayed—their faces were pale and somewhat distorted, but when the Council chamber was cleared and these men had been placed on the rocks beyond the village, others were brought out in a very mild way, a great deal as one would drive cattle. I did not see the women taken out of their houses, but they passed by me on their way. Some of the children were crying and all looked more or less frightened. I saw only one woman pushed rudely as she was going out. Some of the Unfriendly men were laughing. Two young men passed me, each saying to the other, in English, ''I am taking you out''. Later in the day, when it was hot out on the rocks, an Unfriendly woman touched me on the shoulder and made signs for me to follow her. She took me far out among the Unfriendlys to where her husband was sitting with a consumptive boy in his arms. The child wanted water. They went with me to the spring which was inside the Friendly lines—they were there for half an hour—later they were driven back. Soon after this the last rush came and they, with all other Unfriendlys, were soon out of sight.

Very respectfully,
Libbie C. Stanley.

Department of the Interior
United States Indian Service,
Western Navajo School,
Tuba, Arizona.
Sept. 20, 1906

Hon. F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to offer the following information in explanation of my telegram to you, dated Sept. 13.

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I heard of the disturbance at Oraibi on the 8th from a Navajo. I immediately went down to the Moencopi Village to get the facts and to warn those Indians to keep away from Oraibi and to have nothing to do with any disturbance that might occur there.

I found some of the Indians who had been at Oraibi when the trouble occurred; they assured me that it did not amount to any thing; that the friendly Oraibis had expelled seven men from Shimopivi and that the hostile Oraibis had taken no part in the affair.

I went to see Mr. Frey, the Missionary, and he had the same information that the Indians had given me.

I started to Flagstaff on the 11th without hearing any thing further from Oraibi; when I arrived at Flagstaff on the morning of the 13th, I found your telegram awaiting me there; my reply was based on the information stated above.

Very respectfully,
Matthew M. Murphy Supt.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Western Navajo School,
Tuba, Arizona.
September 20, 1906.

The Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

In obedience to your telegram dated Sept. 10, I went to Oraibi to investigate the trouble that had broken out there between the ''friendly'' and ''hostile'' factions of that village.

I began the investigation on the morning of Sept. 16, by requesting statements from employees and others who have had an opportunity to become acquainted with the conditions at the village of Oraibi, and I requested that they not only give the facts in regard to the outbreak that occurred at the village on Sept. 7th, when the ''friendlies'' expelled the ''hostiles'', but to give any facts, which, in their judgment had a bearing on this disturbance.

My recommendations are based upon these statements, and upon those of the chiefs of the factions, and upon my own observations while at Oraibi, on this and former occasions.

After hearing the statements of the head men of both factions, I proposed to each, that both parties vacate Oraibi, and that both parties choose new sites near water, and build new villages. This proposition was rejected by both parties, as each thought that the other should be put out.

I found the friendly faction in possession of the village of Oraibi; this faction consists of 67 families comprising 90 able bodied men; they were assisted by friendly Hopis from other villages in the ejection of the ''hostile'' faction.

As, is shown by his own statement, the friendly chief, Ta-wa-quap-te-wa, assumes the whole responsibility for the ejection of the ''hostiles'' from their houses in the village.

I had ample proof that his followers regard his word as the highest law, and obey him implicitly. They would obey his orders, before they would those of any Government official.

The friendly chief expects to take the initiative from now on, and relies on the support of the Government in whatever he does, as the reward for his friendly attitude.

I found the ''hostiles'' about four miles north west of the village of Oraibi, encamped near a small spring; they had erected rude shelters of stone and brush, which gave them some protection against cold, but would afford no protection against snow or rain; this camp numbers 102 families, comprising 165 men; old men and old women were very much in evidence in this camp; it was reported that some of the old people had great difficulty in reaching the camp after being ejected from the village; it was also reported that one old man could not be found; I saw no marks of violence except on one old man who had lost most of his hair; these people received me as kindly as did the friendly people, and if I had not been told I could not have distinguished one faction from the other, except that these people acknowledged their opposition to schools. The camp was swarming with children, and a storm, such as is liable to occur next month, would inflict much suffering on these children and on the

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very old people; these people are accustomed to sleeping in warm rooms, and with very little bedding; the exposure of the open camp, poorly provided as they are with bedding and clothing, will, no doubt, result in many deaths and in much suffering, when the cold weather comes on.

The school physician accompanied me on my first visit to the hostile camp and was every where kindly received.

I did not learn of any destruction of property during or since the recent trouble; but there would, undoubtedly, have been loss of life, as well as destruction of property if Mr. Epps [sic] and others had not interfered on the morning of the eviction.

I was not instructed to consult with Mr. Lemmon, and I did not do so; consequently, I do not know what Mr. Lemmon has recommended in this case; I accorded Mr. Lemmon and his representative the courtesy due the Superintendent in charge, and was treated most courteously by Mr. Lemmon and his employees.

In view of the facts as stated above and as contained in the statements attached, I have the honor to make the following recommendations:—

(1) That the tribal government of Oraibi be abolished; that the chiefs of both factions be deposed; that the village be placed under the jurisdiction of an Indian judge, to be appointed by the superintendent in charge, subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; that the term of office be one year.

(2) That the officer must not interfere with religious ceremonies, in his official capacity, except to suppress immoral practices, by order of the superintendent.

(3) That the leaders of the hostile faction, and any others whose influence and conduct is exerted to retard the progress of the tribe, be removed from the country; that the leaders, especially, Yu-ke-o-ma and To-wa-heng-ni-wa, be permitted never to return to the Hopi country.

(4) That Ta-wa-quap-te-wa, chief of the friendly faction, who is still a young man, be sent to a non-reservation school for a period of three years, or until he acquires a sufficient knowledge of the English language to enable him to carry on an ordinary conversation.

(5) That the other members of the hostile faction be returned to their homes in Oraibi, after they have acknowledged the authority of the judge provided for in recommendation (1) above.

(6) That the Indians who resisted arrest and assaulted the Indian police at the Village of Shi-mo-po-vi be appropriately punished, as that act has a direct bearing on the recent trouble at Oraibi.

(7) That Charley [Talasmöyniwa, Rabbit], the prospective chief of the Moencopi Village, be arrested and imprisoned for having sent armed men to assist the Oraibi Indians, in defiance of orders to the contrary.

(8) That regular soldiers be sent to Oraibi to carry out these recommendations, or any other policy that may be adopted; loss of life would undoubtedly arise from the use of Navajo police.

(9) That no time be lost in restoring order at Oraibi, as delay will not only cause suffering among the Indians in the new camp but will very likely lead to further lawless acts on the part of the friendly faction.

(10) That a definite policy for dealing with these Indians in the future, be clearly outlined to them, and that this policy be strictly adhered to.

(11) That the lands belonging to these Indians be surveyed and allotted to them at as early a date as possible.

(12) That the Indians in all the Hopi villages be disarmed, and a penalty be fixed for having or carrying rifles or revolvers without having obtained a permit from the Superintendent.

Very respectfully,
Matthew M. Murphy
Superintendent Western Navajo School,
detailed to investigate and report on trouble among Indians at Oraibi.

Papers attached:—
(A) P. Staufer, Gen'l Mechanic
(B) Miss Keith, Field Matron
(C) [Miss Keith, Field Matron]
(D) Tawaquaptewa, friendly chief;
(E) Yuke o ma hostile [chief]
(F) J. B. Epp, Missionary

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(G) Miss Stanley, Teacher.
(H) Mrs. Gates, Visitor.
(I) Telegram—authority.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Ariz.
Sept. 20, 1906

Supt. Matthew Murphy,
Tuba, Ariz.

Dear Sir:—

According to your request I submit the following:—

During the past year I have observed that many of the Hostiles are very friendly when out of sight of their companions. In the schoolroom I could not have told the Hostiles' children from the Friendlys'. All seemed equally happy and contented. An Unfriendly boy of seven, did most of my interpreting.

I most earnestly recommend mild but very firm discipline for these Hopis. When I came here, one year ago, Mr. Viets kindly allowed me to pursue my own policy as to excusing pupils. When they came to be excused, I told them they had two days of each week to play and they must come to school the other five. They remained, and after coming into schoolroom there were no sullen faces. I remember one little boy wanted to go rabbit hunting and tried to look very cross—I could not keep from laughing whenever I looked at him and soon he was smiling; and that was the end of his resentment. I have also observed that the children of Friendly need quite as strong government as those of the Unfriendly.

During the years 1903 & 1904 the average attendance of this school was 160. During the past year nearly 130.

Very respectfully,
Libbie C. Stanley.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
Sept. 20, 1906

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your telegrams pf [of] the 15th and 16th.

I received the telegram of the 15th on the evening of the 16th and the next morning started the official interpreter over the trails on horseback with instructions to report to Supt. Murphy and obey his orders. I did this because the hostile people had sent me word that they could not depend on the interpreters that are at home in Oraibi as they all belong to the friendly faction. I then ordered a load of feed sent to Oraibi and started for there myself.

Mr. Murphy had held his interview with the friendlies and started for the hostile camp when he sighted me in the distance and sent a messenger to tell me to come up if I desired. I could appreciate Mr. Murphy's position knowing the man as I do. I followed him to the camp, greeted him and assured him that I was there to be of any assistance that I could. Further that there was not a particle of anything but the best feeling on my part, and his part in the matter would in no way effect the personal friendship existing between us. I found him going a little further than I went in my report but not further than I can heartily endorse nor further than I would have suggested had I not be positively assured by ex-Supervisor Mead that it was in opposition to your plans and wishes. This information has not been given to Mr. Murphy.

I visited the hostile camp with him. There will be suffering and disease there as the cold comes on.

He had a talk there and made an appointment for the next morning when I visited both the village and the camp with him. I used your telegram to me to impress that he was duly authorized to investigate; and as-

sured the friendly Indians of the friendship between Mr. Murphy and myself and that anything they would say to him would be all right. This they did not fully credit for reasons that Mr. Murphy will probably make clear.

I received your telegram of the 16th, by special messnger [messenger] just after we had returned from the hostile camp, where Mr. Murphy had just thoroughly gone over the matter of sending the children to school. I do not wish to anticipate Mr. Murphy's report but as explanation of my course, in which Mr. Murphy agreed with me, I must say that the usurping chief, Yu-ki-o-ma, assured Mr. Murphy, as he did you, that when his head was cut off he would cease his opposition to sending the children to school. We were then assured by individuals that their chief spoke for them.

In the light of these facts I decided, and Mr. Murphy agreed with me, that it would not only be entirely useless to try to get those children into school till I have a force to go and take them but it might result in getting the children out of the way. So I directed the friendlies to send their children down to school Monday morning. Miss Stanley and Miss Durgin will do what they can with the school till some one arrives to take the place of principal.

I sent word to the hostile camp that school would begin Monday morning and I wanted the children sent in. Further then this I do not deem it wise to go.

I do not deem it best to undertake to take these children with a force of Navajo police in the light of the assurance in your telegram that soldiers will be sent. I can take the Navajoes and take any Hopi alive, though I might get him dead. If the Hopis should make a resistance that would result in wounding a Navajo and leaving him on the filed [field] making an outcry, I believe no man who can not speak Navajo fluently, rapidly and forceably would be able to so restrain them as to prevent unnecessary slaughter. And I fear this would subject your Office to criticism that may be avoided. I have not employed the Navajoes and do not expect to do so unless it should become evident they are necessary to protect Government property, unless you deem it best that I should try putting thise [these] children into the schools by such force. I can so get some and possibly all of the children; but after their success last spring I believe the Hopis will put up a fight and a sturdy one—as I have never flaunted a red flag so I have never carried a white feather. The only fear is that it will result in the loss of life that may otherwise be avoided. Were they any other than the Hopis I would recommend that it be tried. But these people are more widely known and though badly spoiled are held in a peculiar position as Indians by the hundreds of visitors who come to them annually and who see only the holiday side of the Hopi. Knowing their position in the public mind just before I came to them it has been a constant struggle to get what the Government ought to have and yet save your office from criticism on my account. So far as any criticism of me is concerned I do not care a rap. And if you deem it wise to take the Navajoes and bring those children in they will come as fast as we can get to them, and the soldiers will be perfectly welcome to come in and look over the field and put it to rights afterward.

Whether my earnest approval of the sentiment of your telegram is worth while or not; yet I will presume to say that I most heartily approve it for the sake of the Hopis. They are a good people and the trouble does not come from them, not from the masses of them. The masses of them simply bow in superstition to a lot of ambitious, merciless priests, one of whom flaunted his disregard of the lives and comfort of his people in the face of Superintendent Murphy the other day in a way to disgust Murphy and bring the crimson to his cheeks, nor was this the regularly constituted chief in accordance with the customs of the Hopis but one who had usurped the position within the past two years.

I made Mr. Murphy acquainted with the regular but deposed chief and at Mr. Murphy's request he came to the store that night ostensibly to sell some goat skins, and gave us an hour's talk. He is not in sympathy with the present course and knows enough of the witchery of the inner circle not to fear and obey. He would not have left but was pushed from the village because the friendlies were afraid for him to stay.

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I think it may be necessary to administer some reprimand to the friendlies for disobeying me and taking matters in their own hands and ejecting the hostiles from the village but the time is not yet. Again, Tawaquaptiwa, chief of the friendlies yesterday told me of a plot to have the attack begin from the other side by his assassination and gave the names of the women who originated it and those who were disseminating it as is mentioned further on. This can be investigated and if well founded should have a mittigating [sic] effect as he claims he had to act at once in self protection, and drove the whole party from the village while he was at it. I have been made aware of the existence of another plot of which he has no knowledge, originating at the Second Mesa and with the same object and one of the most devoted Indians to the missionary services at Second Mesa is reported at the front of it. Matters would probably have been in definite form here in a little while if he had not lead in action.

Mr. F. I. Munsen and Mr. E. S. Curtis—who bears your permit of March 27th, to visit the reservation—both felt and knew something of the strain existing. Mr. Curtis came by the office as he went out and earnestly advised that I send you an additional report urging that soldiers be sent at once. Mr Curtis had only the best of the Hopis at heart, and had learned something and felt much. I did not act on his suggestion. I was positive I could prevent loss of life and start dissention [dissension] in the hostile camp. There were but two men to account for and I could account for one he did want to go to the hostile camp and could not stay in the village so he went to a Navajo though he says he went to Zuni. He has since professed a change of heart and enrolled under the flag of the friendlies, a woman has done the same thing and there are eight more thinking and hunting recruits in the hostile camp.

I give the list of leading obstructionists below. Some of them have been to prison for similar acts before. The deposed chief, my personal friend among the hostiles was sent at that time. I would have him spared annoyance this time. They promised if released that they would not interfere with the schools and Lo-ma-hog-ni-o-ma as far as I can learn has lived true to his promise but the others came back and proclaimed that they were told by the military commander that they did not have to send their children to school in spite of the protests of the interpreter they made this believed. I would save the one who was true and reinstate him in the position of which Yu-ki-o-ma has robbed him. The man who will bear what I know he has borne for the sake of his word is a pretty safe man.

Obstructionists.

Yu-ki-o-ma—the present usurping chief was once arrested and imprisoned for his obstructive tactics and promised then as he has promised me since not to again interfere. He now declares that when his head is cut off he will then stop trying to interfere. This man has no children of school age but has two sons that have children.

Ta-lang-ai-ne-wa, [Talangayniwa, Kookop]—formerly a prisoner, 3rd in rank. No wife. More defiant and aggressive than the second in rank.

Lo-mi-es-ti-wa, [Lomayestiwa, Spider]—formerly a prisoner. No wife. A brother of my friend, Lo-ma-hong-ni-o-ma, This man after his brother was deposed, robed [robbed] his brother of his ceremonial regalia to farther humiliate him. When I had a clash with the people at Shimopivi, Yu-ki-o-ma was there and when I went up with the Navahos and withdrew them lest I start a slaughter, this man was there and it was he who came to the front and assured me that he was going to take the hostiles from Shimopivi to Oraibi. He is one to whom it was proposed to build a separate village for all hostiles, but he took them to Oraibi.

Na-qua-wey-ma, [Nakwave'yma, Eagle] is an outspoken follower of the above three, and in case of the removal of Yu-ki-o-ma is a possible successor of Yu-ki-o-ma, and as such would be no better and possibly worse as he has a wife who is as bitter as he is. This man has a married daughter and two children of school age who have been in school but who under the attempt to keep up the school by persuasion failed to get in last year.

Quo-ya-ho-ee-ni-wa, [Qöyahoyniwa,

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Sand]—relative and clan brother of Na-qua-wey-ma [in fact, they were only clan B-i-L to each other; Nakwave'yma was married to Hooqa'ö, Qöyahoyni-wa's MZD]. The latter was at the Shi-mo-pi-vi clash and was one of the men taken by me to the school house, ostensibly as a hostage but in reality to get some of them where I could talk to them. At midnight I had an agreement to undertake certain things, and dismissed the hostages and sent them to the village. I have not heard since of but one of the proposed plans and that, they decided, was impracticable to them.

This is the man who some years ago attacked Campmeyer when Campmeyer was gathering children for school. Campmeyer afterwards caught him down by the school and tied him to a post and cut his hair. His wife [Tala-hepnöm, Squash] is as troublesome as he is. Their two boys were kept out of school last year.

Tay-ay-va, [Tawaventiwa, Reed]—This man is the one who executes the mandates of Yu-ki-o-ma, and is a possible successor of him. His wife [Polihongqa, Rabbit] is a true consort in trouble making. They have four children, two of whom were kept out of school last year. This is the man whom the clerk had arrested and brought to the Canon last year for attacking the policeman and interpreter when they were sent out to send the children in to school.

Kat-ka, (Lame Hand) [Tuwanömtiwa #1, Greasewood]—This is a single man who is one of the fighting men of the obstructionists, and has no personal reason for his work.

Na-qua-lets-ti-wa, [Nakwaletstiwa, Reed]—a brother-in-law of Yu-ki-o-ma, the sister and wife [Qöyahongsi, Kookop, Yukiwma's MZD] are energetic in helping out Yu-ki-o-ma. This woman is the one who once hid her daughter from school officials by digging a hole in the floor of the house, putting the girl in the hole, covering it over and spreading the meal on the cover.

They have two sons who with their wives are active obstructionists. The father and husband, Lo-mang-wy-a-va [stated relationship unclear; man intended may be Lomangöyva, Sand], is one of the two brought to the agency last fall by the clerk for attacking the policeman interpreter.

Coo-yi-wish-a, [Qöywisa, Kookop]—a possible successor of Yu-ki-o-ma, consequently an active helper who has an active helper in his wife [Humikwapnöm, Greasewood]; also in two grown sons [they only had one known S—Tuvengyamtiwa]. One son a possible successor of Ta-lash-on-e-wa- [Talaswungwniwa, Greasewood, Tsa'k-mongwi]. The boy, Te-vaing-yank-te-wa [Tuvengyamtiwa], has been active in opposing the schools by ridicule and by accomplishing measures by duplicity. His wife [Sihongnöm, Desert Fox] is a true helpmeet.

Ta-lash-wong-on-e-wa [Talaswungwniwa, Greasewood] was cryer for Lo-lo-lo-mi, the greatest chief the Hopis have had in the memory of man. When Lo-lo-lo-mi became friendly to the schools Te-lash-wong-on-e-wa espoused the other side and yet retains his position as the official crier for the usurping chief, having abandoned the deposed chief.

Gash-hong-on-e-wa, [Kyarhongniwa, Spider]—with two others conspired to rob the present chief of the friendlies, Ta-waquaptiwa, of his ceremonial position in order to take his rank and its duties from the friendlies. He manufactured for himself all the paraphrenalia [paraphernalia] of the priest and declared himself the father of the people who belonged to Ta-wa-quap-ti-wa in that rank. And the wife of Gash-hong-on-e-wa [Kuwankwapnöm, Greasewood] declared herself the mother of these people– but the people thought differently.

Na-ach-shu, [Lomanakwsu, Parrot]—the second of the conspirators.

Lo-mai-ec-te-wa, [Lomayaktiwa, Rabbit]—the third of the conspirators.

Keox's wife, [Siyawnöm, Coyote, W of Qötsventiwa, Bow]—a thorough hater of the whites. When the soldiers came she it was who carried bows and arrows to the warriors that they might be sup-

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plied to fight the soldiers,—some how I can't blame her for it.

Lo-mi-ec-ti-wa's wife, [Masangyamqa, Kookop]—is something of an obstructionist but probably because she is related to Yu-ki-o-ma. She has a daughter whom Mr. Burton had promised to excuse from school last year and whom I excused on the promise. The daughter was a good girl and a good girl in school; but then it is a fact that one of Yu-ki-o-ma's daughters is one of the best women on the reservation and speaks English well, and keeps her child in school and asserts that the soldiers ought to take Yu-ki-o-ma away and keep him away because he is active in opposing the best good of the Hopis.

Poon-ya-quap-ti-wa, [Pongyakwaptiwa, Badger]—a speech making agitator who used his ability in making speeches to bring about the conflict that meant the separation of the parties, and the departure of one party from the village.

Murderous women

Ta-wa-quap-ti-wa's followers say that Na-va-hong-in-im (no children) [Nuvahongnöm, Reed, D of Heevi'yma] and Ta-wy-ah-nim [Tawayawnöm, Lizard, lived next-door to Nuvahongnöm] (no children but keeps three of her sister's [Tawayamsi] children and keeps them out of school) got Bo-ho-may-nim [Puhumöynöm, Piikyas] and Koits-hong-she [Qötshongsi, Piikyas, Z of Puhumöynöm] to tell some of the unfriendlies to assassinate Ta-wa-quap-ti-wa and word of it was brought to Ta-wa-quap-ti-wa whereupon he decided that he had waited as long as he dared and immediately proceeded to drive the whole unfriendly outfit out of the village.

The above are the Oraibi leaders, and the remarkable thing in it lies in the fact that they are nearly all people who are related to Yu-ki-o-ma, or who have been advanced politically by his usurpation or will be advanced if his dynasty can be made to last till he gets out of the way naturally and they can succeed to the next step. It is this political feature I desire to bring out. The superstitions and the religion have little or nothing to do with it, Mr. Epp and Mrs. Gates to the contrary notwithstanding. It is to be expected that if Yu-ki-o-ma can have a dream that will advance him and his followers he will proceed to dream, as any of the rest of us would. If he can have a revelation along the same lines it is to be expected that he will have it. If he can interpret a prophecy in such a way that it means fastening him in the highest position among his people he would have to be a bigger fool than he is not to so translate the prophecy. I maintain and here set forth good ground for the statement that this is less religious and superstitious than it is political. At the same time if the people were less priest ridden and superstitious they too would see through this political work.

To bring these fellows to terms is not an over-riding of any men's religion or an interference with it. Mr. Epp and Mrs. Gates would see this if they knew more of our own politics. This is political with these opposing Indians and there has been more than enough of it and it ought to be handled without gloves.

SHIMOPIVI PEOPLE AT ORAIBI

The history of these is but a repetition of political undertakings and intrigue.

Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa [Tawahongniwa, Bluebird]—the leader was living at Shipau-u-livi when that village became friendly to the schools. He took up the other side and sought leadership. He was so continuously troublesome that the Indians drove him out of the village to Mashongniva. Here he began the same thing and the Indians drove him and his family out of there and they went back to Shipau-u-livi. Was again driven out and went to Shimopivi and he and his family built on the outskirts of the village. Almost immediately he attempted to usurp the place of the first man in Shimopivi. This led to trouble that has been continuous till the clash at Shimopivi last spring when he and his family went to Oraibi, where they began agitation to drive Ta-wa-quap-ti-wa, the chief of the friendlies out of the village that Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa might take the ceremonial priesthood and rank that has belonged to Ta-wa-quap-ti-wa- since the death of Lo-lo-lo-mi. This is the interference

with the religion of the Hopis and is by a Hopi, and no one but the Hopis have interfered with it so far as I can learn. He has attempted to take the ceremonial priesthood and lands that belong to Ta-wa-quap-ti-wa.

Pa-cush-ia [Talawisiwma, Bearstrap, i.e. ''Piqösa'' clan]—there are two by this name, one [Piqösa, Badger] a native of Oraibi and a very good fellow, the other a man who went from Shimopivi to Oraibi last spring and is a creature and follower of Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa.

Josh-hong-wa [Kyarhongva, Bluebird or Spider]—a creature and follower of Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa.

Lo-maowi-na (Dan) [Lomawuna, Sun]—son, and called by the Indians the mouth of Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa. Dan gives assurance that even the white people cannot make him stop talking, and none but an executioner can. It was his wife [Nu-valetsnöm, Bearstrap] who in the fight at Shimopivi cried out urging the Indians to kill myself and the General Mechanic.

Ho-mi-es-va (Joshua) [Humiyesva, Sun]—son of Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa, and the man who beat up Burton's police when they were sent out to send the children in to school. The man who was with his chum went to the Second Mesa Kivas urging the people there to go in and get their children out of school when they had been quietly placed there, and then take up arms and kill the white people and maintain their rights. When this failed he and his chum went to the Second Mesa on the occasion of a dance and threw fire arms and ammunition among the people and urged them to take them and use them as men ought against the whites. It was for this last act that I went to the Second Mesa with the police and put the two of them under arrest and kept them for about three months at work here at the Agency.

O-ma-na-qua, [Sikyayamtiwa, Eagle]—son-in-law of Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa. The man who attacked Superintendent Shoemaker with an axe and who was knocked down by Shoemaker with a revolver as he approached with the drawn axe. The chum who has played Jonathan to Joshua's David in all the undertakings to work out the political uplift of Tawahongniwa.

Jos-wis-i-o-ma, [Tsorwisiwma, Patki?]—one of the leaders in the Shimopivi fight and the man who clubbed the Hopi policeman on the occasion.

While Joshua and his chum were in the guardhouse here, the father and his followers were stirring things up out there at the Second Mesa. To stop it I sent a Hopi policeman and an employe out there to get the daughter of Joshua who belonged in school and had shown sauciness to the Field Matron. The girl was not touched but the following men fell upon the officers and a fight was necessary to get away from there.

The attacking parties were Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa, Bo-shi-ma [Lolma'iwma, Sun], La-ma-wi-na (Dan) [Lomawuna], Yo-ye-wy-te-wa [Yoywaytiwa, Bearstrap], Lo-ma-ye-qua [probably referring to Sikyayamtiwa, Eagle], Te-wan-i-ee-ma [Tuwani'yma (Louis), Bearstrap], and Ta-li-emp-ti-wa (Whashibgton [Washington], son of Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa) [Talayamtiwa (Washington), Sun]

These constitute all the leaders and if these and the facts in regard to them do not reveal that the whole thing is political and not religious, then I need to go back into politics and review my early teachings. The religion is brought into it only to work upon the minds of the less astute, and that the effects of the superstitions may be called into service.

Very respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Superintendent.

Tuba, Ariz.
Sept. 20th, 1906

To Supt. M. M. Murphy,
Tuba, Ariz.

Report

Of my observations as to the development of strife between the two parties—''friendly'' and ''hostile''—at Oraibi, which strife came to a culmination on Friday, Sept. 7th 1906:—

I came to Oraibi in Sep.t 1901 as mission-

ary of the Mennonite Church. For several years previous I had read about these two factions differing on the issue of the ''white man's'' civilization. On my arrival I found them so. The principal question seemed to be the schools very likely because this was before them 10 months of the year, and affected every family with children.

The men of the ''hostile'' party, with few exceptions, wore partly or entirely ''white-[man's] clothes'', about which the ''friendlies'' would constantly tease them. Then the ''hostiles'' continually blamed the ''friendlies'' of being the ones who called in the school, the police, and everything else belonging to the ''white man'', which the ''hostiles'' do not want. So there is among these ''hostiles'' less feeling against the Government; such feeling is rather against their ''friendly'' neighbors.

The ''friendlies'' hate the others—as they say because they are not friendly to the ''white-man''. This I could never understand, because to my observation the ''friendlies'' were and are friendly only for the Dollar and for the conveniences derived from being thus friendly. And therefore I could never get to a satisfactory conclusion by debating this question with the ''friendlies''. I have, therefore, been suspecting among these ''friendlies'' a different cause for disliking the ''hostiles''. I find so far, that the ''friendlies'' begrudge the ''hostiles'' of every benefit they get from the ''white-man'' (some have wagons; haul freight etc; many work a great deal for white people). These benefits are detracted from the ''friendlies''—of course. I have seldom—lately very seldom—heard a ''friendly'' speak of the school as a benefit, but as an obligation.

Another reason, which strengthens my belief that the cause for disliking the ''hostiles'' is this ''begrudging'' rather than the fact that the ''hostiles'' are not also friendly:—I find in 9 cases out of 10 the Hopi giving me either a wrong reason or else a secondary reason for his actions—in fact, very seldom does he (the Hopi) state the real reason for any of his actions, to a ''white man''.

Besides that, nearly every government employee and missionary to whom I have spoken about this being the real cause of hatred on the side of the ''friendlies'', agrees with me.

But the ''friendlies'' have—to my present recollection—never said anything about driving the ''hostiles'' out. I only heard them everlastingly quarrel, between themselves. The ''friendlies'' asking and demanding of the ''hostiles'' to discontinue getting benefits from the ''white-man'', unless they would send their children to school.

Anyone acquainted with the Indians knows that they have more traditional reasons than any ''white-man'' ever finds out, for actions of the kind that transpired at Oraibi on Sept. 7 inst; as well as for smaller deeds. This has lately cropped out more distinctly here NOW. However much or little weight this may have with the Office of Indian Affairs, it plays a great part in the thought and motives of the Oraibi ''friendly'' party. In the same way do the ''hostiles'' stand on traditional ground.

The immediate cause leading to the wild action of the ''friendly'' party of Oraibi is, to my observation, very clearly an insident [incident] that occurred of the neighboring village of Shumópavi and some of the consequences of it:—

In Febr. or March of this year some of the ''hostiles'' of that village resisted the Supt. and his policemen in the effort of getting some girls to go to school (or getting some guilty persons—whichever it was). A number of our Oraibi ''hostiles'' assisted in that resistance. One consequence was that those Shumópavi ''hostiles'' (about 8 families) left their homes and were taken in by the Oraibi ''hostiles''. In what way, and under what conditions they left and came to Oraibi, Supt. Lemmon will know. The chief of the ''friendly'' party of Oraibi, Tawá Kwaptiwa, who is also village chief, claims, that he allowed these fugitives to remain in his village (Oraibi) only for a short time—as I understood it, until planting time (in May or June). Tawá Kwaptiwa and his party claim also to have understood from Supt. Lemmon, that government would settle this affair before planting time and that Supt. Lemmon was going to Washington for that purpose.

Supt. L. did go to Wash. and returned. Nothing definite was said nor done. No one arrested or punished, as usual, for resisting

the police. These fugitives remained from month to month at Oraibi, planting there, and using of the very scant supply of water, and in different other ways making themselves very obnoxious to the ''friendlies'' of Oraibi. Meanwhile our Hon. Commissioner, Mr. Leupp, came and told the Oraibis that he had not come to settle this affair, in fact, that he did not know anything of it, while the Oraibis knew that Supt. Lemmon had been at Wash. to tell this to the officials there. Furthermore they understood Commissioner Leupp, that such affairs among themselves—they should settle themselves. After that the friendly chief brought home from Supt. L. repeated assurance (true or not true) that he, Mr. Lemmon, would not do anything in the matter until word would come from Washington.—So then, recalling again and again to their minds the words of Com. Leupp, to settle such affairs themselves the ''friendlies'' (on Sept. 7th) took this matter in hand and drove out the ''hostiles''.

Respectfully,
J. B. Epp

Telegram

Sept. 29, 1906.

Lemmon, Supt.,
Keam's Canon,
Holbrook, Arizona.

Promptly arrange to have one or more of the houses on the Mesa, or one of those at the foot, turned to use as a hospital for the sick Hostiles in camp. Wire promptly your action.

(Signed) LARRABEE.
Acting Commissioner.

Sept. 29, 1906.

Reuben Perry, Superintendent,
Navajo Training School,
Fort Defiance, Arizona.

Sir:

In the ordinary course of business it is probable that it would be some time before you could assume the duties of your new position of Supervisor. However, Commissioner Leupp is extremely anxious that these duties be assumed as promptly as possible. Therefore, Sam B. Davis, Supervisor of the Indian Schools, has been ordered to Fort Defiance for the purpose of relieving you as Superintendent as soon as your bond as Supervisor has been approved. If you have not already attended to the preliminary details of this bond, it should be done at once. As soon as it reaches this Office and has been approved, both you and Supervisor Davis will be wired accordingly, when he is to relieve you as Superintendent.

To expedite matters Mr. Davis is expected to reach Navajo as early as possible, in order that together you may go over the property and have everything in shape for him to receipt to you on the day you receive telegraphic notice from here to that effect.

As soon as you have qualified as Supervisor you are directed to proceed to the Moqui Reservation and there assume general control and direction of the Oraibi situation, taking up with Superintendent Lemmon and other persons the correspondence from this Office. Go thoroughly into all the details of the situation and make a report promptly on conditions, together with your recommendation in the premises.

Acknowledge the receipt of this communication.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) C. F. LARRABEE
Acting Commissioner

[No date, probably late September]

Dear Miss Kieth [Keith],

I heard more in the village! It is as urgent as I can make it!!:—

They are going to drive the Hostiles away as sure as they drove them out and tomorrow morning too! They claim that they understood Mr. Lemmon, that they can go on acting [sic] Hopi way until word comes from Washington, and they surely will do so! Believe me.

Send word to Mr. Lemmon at once. Even if some Hopi has gone already. Don't trust any Hopi; send an American by all means—

You may send this note along.

(Signed) J. B. Epp.

CHAPTER 21

THE ARRIVAL OF SUPERVISOR PERRY AND THE ARMY (OCTOBER 1906)

This chapter includes documents taken principally from Part II of the ''Oraiba Troubles'' files in the National Archives. Again the subject matter is self-explanatory.

Triplicate
Oraibi Ariz Oct 1 1906
Agreement to Rent or Lease

I, Ca-i-ma-na [Qa'ömana, Reed], hereby agree to rent or lease to Superintendent Theo. G. Lemmon, for use by the U.S. Government as a hospital my one story stone house standing northwest of the Oraibi School plant, for a compensation of two dollars per month from date for a period of not less than three months, nor more than twelve months at the option of the Government. Subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Ca-i-ma-na her x mark

Witnesses
Libbie C Stanley.
Lillian Durgin.

I hereby certify that I have carefully interpreted the above to Caimana and know that she fully understands the same.

Nellie Kewani
[Kuwanyesnöm, Maasaw]

Department of the Interior
United Indian Service,
Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
Oct 4, 1906

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir;

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of Sept. 29th, relative to the hospital for the Hopis in the Hostile camp. Upon receipt thereof I wire you (Oct 2.) ''No sick yet reported in the hostile camp. They will not use hospital except by force. Leave for Oraibi at once to arrange for hospital.''

I have just returned having made such arrangement as is indicated by the inclosed submitted for your approval and the necessary authority to proceed. The woman owning the house has some stuff in it she will have to move and by dating the lease the first, this moving will be covered. If you have some form that will be better suited please send a copy and it will be dated as this is and filled and signed and sent in.

The one house provides for the first that would come or any that will come till it is full and if there are any or more than it will accommodate possibly another house can be gotten at the foot of the mesa. We can not take those people into the village without trouble with the friendlies.

I asserted that the hostiles would not use the hospital because the arrest of Yu-ki-o-ma at Shi-mo-pi-vi last spring for stopping the vaccinnation [vaccination] at Oraibi the day before was one of the elements in the Shi-

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mopivi fight. He will not permit his people to be attended by the whites where he can possibly help it. The only case of sickness we can hear of at the hostile camp so far is a woman that has been dying for months of consumption. She will probably live longer there than in a Hopi house.

Very respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Superintendent

Education

The Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington,
October 4, 1906

Mr. Reuben Perry,
Supt. Navajo School,
Fort Defiance, Ariz.

Sir:—

Referring to Office letter to you of September 29, directing you to go to the Moqui Reservation as soon as you have qualified as Supervisor, you are advised that Commissioner Leupp, having before him the reports of Superintendent Murphy and other persons cognizant of the troubles at Oraibi, had formulated the following program:

(1) That the Shimopovi immigrants, who appear to have caused all the trouble, be ordered to go back to their own village and leave the Oraibis alone;

(2) That the Oraibi Hostiles, except Yu-ke-o-ma and To-wa-hong-ni-wa, be permitted to return for the winter to Oraibi, on their pledge to behave themselves peaceably, and a like pledge from the Friendlies to treat them peaceably; this to be with the understanding that it is a temporary arrangement, merely to avoid suffering for the old and weak during the bad weather, and that before spring the rest of the program will be worked out by the Government;

(3) That Yu-ke-o-ma and To-wa-hong-ni-wa be given their personal effects from Oraibi, including their season's crops, and permitted to give these to their families for subsistence purposes, but themselves be notified that as disturbers and inciters of their people to resistance against the Government they must leave that part of the country—the Hopi country—at once; their refusal, or their return after going, to be punished by imprisonment—this time without any pleasant accompaniments but on prison fare and at hard labor;

(4) That Ta-wa-quap-te-wa be required to learn English and thus fit himself for the good citizenship and official position to which he aspires; and that he be given his choice between going to a local school or a non-reservation school for this purpose;

(5) That Ta-wa-quap-te-wa be deposed from chiefship, though allowed to retain his priestly orders, until he has fitted himself, by acquiring enough knowledge of English to be able to speak and understand fairly the language of the Government, for the headship of his people which he assumes to undertake;

(6) That the old Friendly Judge whom I met last summer, and whose name has escaped me for the moment; and a Judge chosen from the Hostile side by the Superintendent or the inspecting officer who may be in charge of the reservation when this program is put into operation; and the Teacher in charge of the Oraibi school, shall constitute a commission for the temporary government of the pueblo—the Teacher presiding of course—until a new order of things is established, or in any event until the coming spring;

(7) That the ringleaders of the rioters who resisted arrest or otherwise interfered violently with the police in discharge of their duty at Shimopovi last spring (or whenever that riot occurred) be removed under arrest and imprisoned in a military prison or prisons, on prison fare and at hard labor, for such terms, not under one year, as their respective bad conduct seems to justify;

(8) That any others besides the Hostile chiefs already mentioned and the Shimopovi ringleaders, who may, on later investigation ordered by the Indian Office, be proved to be a trouble-making element, shall be banished or imprisoned;

(9) That regular troops be sent to Oraibi to preserve order while these arrangements are in progress and to make arrests as indicated here or as directed by the Superintendent or inspecting officer in charge;

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(10) That the whole Oraibi populace be notified that the Government intends to have their children sent to school somewhere, just as white people are required by their governments to send their children to school somewhere, till they have learned enough to take care of themselves properly and to start them on the road to citizenship; that they be given a free choice between sending them to the day school, or sending them to Keams Canyon; that when they have decided this point, their decision be properly attested and then that they be compelled to stand by their decision, so that the children shall not be shifting about;

(11) That the same notice be given, and the same option extended, at Shimopovi;

(12) That at both villages the parents who refuse to send their children to the day school shall be considered as electing in favor of Keams Canyon; but that the officer who carries out this work of obtaining their decisions shall not be anyone connected regularly with Keams Canyon School, as this whole business must be kept as free as possible from even a suspicion of unfairness—the only compulsory feature of it anywhere being the demand that the children shall be given a schooling in one place or another;

(13) That especial pains be taken to make the Indians understand that the Government has reached the limit of its patience with the old way of handling all these matters among the Indians, and that hereafter the Indians will conduct themselves reasonably like white men or be treated as white people treat those of their own number who are forever quarreling and fighting among themselves;

(14) That steps be taken at once to examine the law as to the land ownership of the Hopi Indians, and, if there be no obstacle, their land be allotted by the usual process; or, if more legislation be required, that the necessary items be prepared for action by the Congress at its coming session;

(15) That in announcing the decree of the Government to Yu-ke-o-ma, he be reminded that I reasoned with him last summer at the night council on the plaza of Oraibi, and tried to show him the folly of his course, and that his only response was an insolent defiance; that I reminded him then of the kindness of the Government towards his people, and its effort to raise them out of their ignorance and helplessness by giving them a school where their children could go and come every day, by protecting them from the intruding adventurer and by averting taxation from them; and that in now looking to this Government for help, when he has always treated it with contempt, he is acting the part of a coward instead of a manly man.

[Additional copy of instructions in Oraibi Troubles II—not re-transcribed here.]

After these instructions were formulated, the Commissioner, referring to a statement in the report of Superintendent Murphy that a number of the Moencopi Moquis under his jurisdiction, in defiance of his orders, had gone over to Oraibi and taken part in the riot there, said they should be punished for their disobedience of orders, as such conduct should be checked.

The Commissioner has thus been very explicit in outlining his policy in connection with these troubles, and relying on your courage, discretion and tact, has committed it to you for execution. You should carefully read this letter so as thoroughly to understand what is desired, and what is expected of you in this emergency.

The War Department will be requested to place the services of Captain H. O. Willard and a military force from Fort Wingate at your disposal, to go to the Moqui country as soon as you require them. The request for troops being granted, you will be wired to that effect by the time you are ready to go to Moqui, and then you will notify the commanding officer of your readiness.

It is desired that at an early date you will consult with Superintendent Murphy concerning the conduct of his Moquis in disobeying his orders, and taking part in the Oraibi troubles. After you have agreed on the proper disposition of this branch of the case, and the punishment to be inflicted, wire your recommendation to the Office.

Of course you will not leave for Moqui until you have qualified as Supervisor, but your arrangements should be so perfected that no delay will occur in going immediately after the receipt of Office telegram informing you that your bond has been approved.

Meanwhile, the situation should carefully be studied, and your plans made as far as possible for carrying out the directions of the Commissioner when you reach the field of action.

As your time doubtless will fully be occupied with this matter, it is not expected that you will assume charge of the reservation and school or relieve Superintendent Lemmon, who has resigned, unless orders to that effect are sent you. Of all matters relating to the particular scope of these orders, you will assume direct and immediate charge.

The Commissioner suggests that Mr. Epps [sic], the missionary, be invited to accompany you and your interpreters on your visits to the Indians, to correct any misrepresentations. Mr. Epps knows the Hopis and will be of assistance to you.

Acknowledge the receipt of this letter, and wire when you have forwarded your bond as Supervisor, and to whom, so that its approval may if possible be expedited here.

You should not fail from time to time to keep the Office in touch with the situation and its phases.

Very respectfully,
C. F. Larrabee
Acting Commissioner.

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
October 5, 1906

The Honorable,
The Secretary of the Interior.

Sir:

Bitter and irreconcilable disagreements and contentions between two factions of the Hopi Indians known as the ''Friendlies'' and the ''Hostiles'' living in the Oraibi village on the Moqui Reservation, in Arizona, culminated, on September 7th last, in the forcible ejectment from the village of the entire party of Hostiles by the less numerous, but resolute, Friendlies. No fire-arms of any sort were used in driving the Hostiles from the Mesa, but some of them appear to have been very roughly handled, and it is believed that but for the timely intervention of the Government employes and the resident missionary, a bloody fight would sooner or later have resulted.

The troubles between these factions are the outgrowth of religious and political differences, are of long standing and, as is always the case, are most bitter. What most concerns the Office, however, is that the Hostiles absolutely refuse to allow their children to attend school and, of course, the Government will not tolerate this, and is determined that they shall go to school somewhere.

Mr. Commissioner Leupp has given much thought to the solution of this matter, and, after conferring with the President, has formulated a plan having that end in view.

I enclose herewith a copy of his program, which, it will be seen, involves the use of troops to preserve order during the progress of these arrangements and to make the arrests which it is his purpose to have made. By his direction I laid the matter before the President on Wednesday last, the 4th instant, and received his unqualified approval of the program and oral instructions to proceed at once, through the proper channels, to secure a sufficient military force to carry it into effect.

In pursuance of the President's direction, I have the honor to recommend that the War Department be requested to give the necessary orders for the desired military assistance.

Supervisor Reuben Perry, who is now at the Navajo Agency, Fort Defiance, Arizona, has been selected to carry out the Commissioner's plan of action, and will proceed to the Hopi Country probably within a week or ten days.

It is not to be understood that the so-called Hostiles are in armed hostility against the Government, and it is hardly thought that they will offer forcible resistance against the Supervisor, backed up by the military.

According to the reports we have, there are 102 families in the Hostile camp, about 165 being male adults, many of whom are old and feeble. The Friendlies in the village on the Mesa number about 67 families.

The officer to be sent in command of the troops should be an experienced, level-headed man, and I beg leave to suggest that Capt. H. O. Willard, Ft. Wingate, New Mexico,

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who admirably conducted the arrest of certain lawless Navajos, several months ago, is well fitted for the work and would be most acceptable to this office. Besides, he is near by the Agency, making it easy for Supervisor Perry to confer with him in arranging their plans. It is greatly to be hoped that Capt. Willard can be detailed for this service.

I further recommend that the War Department be requested to issue orders to the proper officers to have the troops in readiness to start for the scene of the troubles on the call of Supervisor Perry.

It is important that the War Department should keep this Department advised of its action in the premises, in order that Supervisor Perry may be promptly informed.

As to the strength of the military force to be employed, that is a matter which should be left to the Military Authorities.

Very respectfully,
C. F. Larrabee,
Acting Commissioner.

Department of the Interior,
Washington.
October 6, 1906

The Secretary of War.

Sir:

I transmit herewith for your consideration, a copy of a communication from the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated the 5th instant, regarding the bitter disagreements and contentions between the two factions of the Moqui Indians known as the ''Friendlies'' and the ''Hostiles'', living in the village of Oraibi on the Moqui Indian Reservation, in Arizona.

As will be seen from the Acting Commissioner's report, one of the results of this condition of affairs is that the ''Hostiles'' refuse to allow their children to attend school. It will also be seen that Commissioner Leupp has given to the subject much personal consideration, and, after conferring with the President, has formulated a plan for the solution of the difficulty.

A copy of the Commissioner's program, which has received the approval of the President, is herewith enclosed for your consideration.

As this program involves the use of troops to preserve order during the progress of the arrangements contemplated, and to make certain necessary arrests of rioters referred to therein, I have the honor to request that the necessary orders be issued by your Department for the detail of a sufficient military force to assist in carrying the same into effect, and that the force so detailed be directed to be in readiness to start for the scene of the troubles upon the call of Superintendent Perry, of the Navajo Agency, Fort Defiance, Arizona, who has been selected by the Commissioner to carry out his plan of action, and who will proceed to the Moqui Reservation within a week or ten days.

Your attention is particularly invited to the remarks of the Acting Commissioner as to the fitness of Captain H. O. Willard, Fort Wingate, New Mexico, for the service desired.

I will thank you to promptly advise this Department of your action in the premises.

Very respectfully,
Thos Ryan
Acting Secretary.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Navaho Indian Agency,
Fort Defiance, Arizona,
October 11, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Referring to Office letter ''Education'' of Oct. 4th, 1906, concerning the work at Oraibi, I have the honor to advise the Office that as soon as I can possibly get my property in shape and turned over, I will leave for Oraibi and I believe that if Capt. H. O. Williard is to have charge of the military forces from Fort Wingate and if this arrangement has not been completed, it should be taken up with the War Department soon, for I understand that Capt. Williard is away on leave of absence and does not expect to return for some

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time and it is my opinion that the military forces should be on the ground as soon as possible, as their presence will make negotiations with the Indians easier.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry
Superintendent.

Headquarters
Department of the Colorado,
Denver, Colorado,
October 12, 1906.

Mr Reuben Perry,
Superintendent Navajo Agency,
Fort Defiance, Arizona.

Sir:

Under instructions from the War Department, I have directed that a troop of cavalry be held in readiness at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, for field service to answer call if made by you upon the Post Commander for troops to aid in preserving order and in making arrests of troublesome Moqui Indians at or near Oraibi, on the Moqui reservation in Arizona. When troops are needed please communicate direct with Commanding Officer, Fort Wingate, New Mexico, who will respond promptly by sending a troop. If more than one troop is deemed necessary by you to assure application of your program in effecting settlement of the trouble please wire me here.

Very respectfully,
Constant Williams,
Brigadier General,
Commanding.

For
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

War Department,
Washington,
October 12, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Secretary of the Interior.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, transmitting copy of a letter from the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the matter of the condition existing among the Moqui Indians on the Moqui Indian Reservation, Arizona, and in response thereto to inform you that, agreeably with your request, the commanding general, Department of the Colorado, was on the date of receipt of your letter directed to detail a sufficient military force to assist in carrying into effect the program formulated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs after consultation with the President as a solution of the existing difficulty.

Very respectfully,
Robert Shaw Oliver
Acting Secretary of War.

Telegram
October 12, 1906.

To Supt. Moqui School,
Holbrook, Arizona.

Your letter Oct. 4. received. Secure building near Oraibi for hospital from Indian woman, and say to her she will be paid two dollars a month for it while in use. No lease required. Letter follows.

(Signed) Larrabee,
Acting Commissioner

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
October 18, 1906.

Reuben Perry,
Supervisor of Indian Schools,
Keams Canyon, Arizona.

Sir:—

I inclose copy of an official order addressed to you by Brigadier General Constant Williams, who has directed that a troop of cavalry be held in readiness at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, for field service to answer call if made by you upon the Post Commander, etc.

Very respectfully,
Acting Commissioner.

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Department of the Interior
Formerly P.O. Dep't B'ld'g,
Corner 8th & F Streets, N.W.,
Washington, D.C.

TELEGRAM

Dated: F-Defiance, Az 20
To: Commr Indian Affairs
Received at: 3.18 pm
Oct 20 1906

Am leaving today for Oraibi.

Perry.
Supervisor.

Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
Oct. 21, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir;

I beg the honor of handing you herewith a manifold copy of a letter that the next mail will carry to Mr. J. B. Epp, a Mennonite missionary on this reservation. The letter explains itself largely, but I wish to add that Mr. Epp can not confine himself to his own affairs. If an Oraibi Indian wants something and wants to avoid such obligation as he feels coming to the office will place him under he has only to go to Epp to get a letter. This makes it necessary to deny the request.

I fear your Office might not understand, as Mr. Epp should, the expression: ''I believe you are the direct cause of this feeling on their part''; in that I refer only to the friendlies. They have no use for him, and he knows it. He has posed as the friend of the hostiles without, I really believe being able to see that the whole scheme of these people is political, but the friendlies know this and think that he should know it. As a consequence they, I am reliably informed do not attend his services, and now that the hostiles are out of reach he has no occupation except such as we can give him by gathering the people and making them sit and listen to him.

I have the honor to request that I be authorized to act as I may deem best in the matter as I suppose the permission for Mr. Epp to talk to the pupils came either from your Office or possibly from Mr. Viets, as it did not go out from this office. In this connection I would ask that whenever Mr. Epp has established such relations with the Indians at Oraibi that he can, by his own efforts and those of his friends secure an audience of twenty-five per cent of the number of pupils now in the school he be allowed to make weekly talks to the pupils, in English for half an hour each week. But until he can establish such friendly relations as to show that Indians are willing to hear him I am decidedly of the opinion that he is but adding to the bad feeling when we force him upon them, and there is enough of that now.

I have no objection to his remaining or the reservation, but have denied him the use of the chapel of the boarding school, as I would the other schoolrooms till better relations are established.

Very respectfully,
Theo. G. Lemmon.
Superintendent.

Telegram

Dated: Oraibi, Ariz. Oct. 24
To: Commr Indian Affairs

Received at: Via Holbrook
(Where any reply should be sent.)
Oct. 29 1906

Arrived here last evg had talk last night with friendly chief. Go to hostile camp today. Will be about one hundred more pupils of hostiles than reservation schools can accommodate. Recommend all hostile children twelve & over be sent to non-reservation schools of their choice. Please wire your desire this matter.

Perry. Supr.

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Department of the Interior.
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Arizona,
October 25, 1906.

The Honorable
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

. . . I have the honor to advise the Office that, upon my arrival, I called to see Rev. Epp and invited him to visit the village and camp of the two factions with me and told him that his services in keeping check on the interpreters would be of great value, but he said his going along would be detrimental to his work and that he preferred not to go.

Yesterday I drove to the camp of the Hostiles and talked with Yu-ke-o-ma, the chief of the Hostiles, he desires his people to return to the village and that the chief of the Friendlys be beheaded so the trouble as he says would be ended for all time. I visited this camp to-day again and took the Friendly chief along but the talk ended with the request of Yukeoma that the Friendly chief be beheaded. These visits have helped me in getting acquainted with the people, the village and camp and the desires of both sides. I am now ready to enter actively into the work of carrying out your desires as stated in Office letter of the 4th instant and shall do so as soon as the troops arrive and they should be here this evening tomorrow.

The matter of sending the Friendly chief Ta-wa-quap-te-wa to school has been settled by his consenting to go to Riverside for a term of three years. He desires his wife and two children to go with him but he does not desire to leave until the trouble is settled and he should not be required to. His strongest desire is to do and have his people do as the government may direct, and when told that going to school would be a benefit to him, he agreed.

Yu-ke-o-ma, unlike the Friendly chief, says he and his people desire the old way and that they are opposed to schools and the white man's way and all they desire the government to do for them is to return them to the village, behead the Friendly chief, bother them no more about schools and let them have their own way. He urged me yesterday and to-day to cut the Friendly chief's head off and end the trouble.

Relative to sending Ta-wa-quap-te-wa to the Riverside school, I would recommend that Supt. Hall be instructed to place transportation for him and his family and that the superintendent be made acquainted with this case and that he be requested to allow Ta-wa-quap-te-wa to wear his hair long and dress as he desires. It is my opinion that Ta-wa-quap-te-wa will soon desire to dress and have his hair as the other pupils do.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry,
Supervisor.

Department of the Interior.
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Arizona,
Oct. 29, 1906.

The Honorable
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report the arrival, on Saturday the 27th instant, of troops H and K, 5th cavalry and that arrangements were made with the Hostiles on the evening of the 27th and the morning of the 28th to have all men congregate at the school to hear the decission [decision] of the Government relative to the settlement of the trouble between them and the Friendlys at this place. The Hostiles were told that it was better to have their men come to the school for the purpose of settling the trouble than to have the soldiers go to their camp where their women and children were and that some of the women and children might be hurt should it be necessary for the soldiers to go to their camp. They agreed and most of them came to the school about 10:00 A.M. Sunday the 28th.

I opened council by telling them the mistake they had made in following Yu-ke-o-ma blindly and not accepting the good advise given by you on your recent visit to this place. I explained in detail what you desired

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me to say to Yukeoma, then deposed him from chiefship and had him placed under arrest, told him and his people that he was to leave the Hopi country forever. His official advisers who have been ringleaders in opposition to government schools, etc. and who would take his place in carrying on his hostile ideas were also placed under arrest after giving them an opportunity to agree to conform to the desires of the government and after their having declined. Following are their names:

1. Ta-wahong-ni-wa, [Tawahongniwa, Bluebird, 2M]
2. Ta-lang-ai-ni-wa, [Talangayniwa, Kook-op]
3. Lo-mi-es-ti-wa, [Lomayestiwa, Spider]
4. Na-qua-wey-ma, [Nakwave'yma, Eagle]
5. Quo-ya-ho-es-ni-wa, [Qöyahoyniwa, Sand]
6. Tay-ay-va, [Tawaventiwa, Reed]
7. Kat-ka [Tuwanömtiwa #1, Greasewood]
8. Na-qua-lets-ti-wa, [Nakwaletstiwa, Reed]
9. Ta-lash-wong-e-ni-wa, [Talaswungwniwa, Greasewood]
10. Jas-wis, [Tsorwisiwma, Patki?, 2M]
11. Ta-lash-mong-e-wa [Talashongniwa, Sand]
12. Na-hong-a-va, [Nahongvi'yma, Parrot]
13. Kooch-hoi-u-ma, [Qötshoyiwma, Sand]
14. Ma-sa-hong-ie, [Masahongi, Reed]
15. Kooch-ven-ti-wa, [Qötsventiwa, Bow]
16. Pon-ya-quap-ti-wa, [Pongyakwaptiwa, Badger]

All of these parties and, in fact, all of the Hostile men say they will not change their way and it seems as though every step will have to be made by force. With regard to the disposition of the prisoners whose names appear above, I recommend that Yu-ke-o-ma and Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa be sent to prison in the first place and afterwards relieved on their promise of never returning to the Hopi country. If these men are ordered to leave the country before being taken to a prison remote from this reservation, they will return and will have a following and cause more trouble. The remainder of the list, excepting Tay-ay-va, Kat-ka, Na-hong-a-va, Kooch-hoi-u-ma and Pon-ya-quap-ti-wa who should go to school for not less than three years, I recommend be sent to some military prison for a term of three years.

The Shimopovis who resisted the Superintendent and police last spring at their village have been arrested and it is recommended that they be sent to prison or school for a term of three years; viz:

Prison.

1. Gosh-hong-wa [Kyarhongva, Bluebird/Spider, 2M]
2. Pa-cush-ia, alias Pa-la-wis-si-o-ma [Talawisiwma, Bearstrap, 2M]
3. Lo-ma-wi-na [Lomawuna, Sun, 2M]
4. O-ma-na-qua (Se-cia-emp-ti-wa) [Sikyayamtiwa, Eagle, 2M]
5. Bo-shi-ma (Lo-lo-ma-i-o-ma) [Lolma'iwma, Sun, 2M]
6. Yo-yo-wy-ti-wa [Yoywaytiwa, Bearstrap, 2M]

School.

1. Jos-hong-a-wa or Jos-wy-ti-wa, [Tsorwaytiwa, Patki, 2M]
2. Ho-mi-quap-ti-wa [Humikwaftiwa, Bluebird, 2M]
3. Homi-es-vi (Joshua) [Humiyesva, Sun, 2M]
4. Te-wan-i-i-ma [Tuwani'yma, Bearstrap, 2M]
5. Ta-la-emp-ti-wa (Washington) [Talayamtiwa, Sun, 2M]
6. Ho-ma-leps-ti-wa (Archie) [Qömaletstiwa, Piikyas, 2M]

All of the persons whose names appear on the two foregoing lists say they will continue to oppose the government effort among their people, and while my recommendation places the term of imprisonment rather long, the time is no longer than will be required for their followers left on the reservation to grow away from the old way and get a good start along progressive lines. During three years, these old people who are sent away will lose some of their influence and following; while the young people, who are recommended for school and who should be sent to some non-reservation school, preferably Haskell or Chilocco, would learn something of the white man's way, become more progressive and on their return be a great benefit to their

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people. If these young people are sent to school, those of them who have families should be allowed to take their families; and their wives, and children of proper ages, should be given the same training that they and other pupils receive. I believe sending these parties to school will accomplish more toward advancing these people than any other method of dealing with them.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry,
Supervisor.

October 29, 1906.

Reuben Perry,
Supervisor of Indian Schools,
Oraibi, Arizona.

Sir:—

Your telegram of the 24th instant, notifying me of your arrival and talk with the friendly Chief, has been received.

In answer you were wired to-day as follows;

> ''Your telegram twenty-ninth answered by letter to-day. Meanwhile send fuller report after having seen Hostiles yourself''.

In your telegram you said that you were going to the Hostile camp that day, and that there will be about one hundred more children of Hostiles than the reservation schools can accomodate. You therefore recommend that the Hostile children of twelve years or over be sent to non-reservation schools of their choice.

With reference to the transfer of the Hostile children you are instructed as follows:

(1) All children of twelve years or over who wish to go to any non-reservation school, and whose parents are wiling for them to go, should be transferred.

(2) All the children of the Hostles [Hostiles] of twelve years or over who wish to go to Phoenix Indian School, Arizona, whether the parents are willing or not, shall be transferred, and you will make the necessary arrangements for their transfer with the Superintendent of the Phoenix School.

(3) The remainder of the children of these Hostiles I desire you to make such disposal of, within the reservation, as may seem best to you.

It is possible that some of the children now enrolled in the Moqui schools wish to go to non-reservation schools, and that their parents are willing for them to go. If there are any such cases, you will comply with the wishes of the parents and make the necessary arrangements for the transfer of the children to the school selected, reporting the facts of course to this Office, and filling the vacances [vacancies] as per instruction (3).

It is desired that you forward, at an early date, your recommendation for so increasing the facilities at the Oraibi and other day schools on the reservation that ample accomodations may be provided for all children of school age.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner.

Department of the Interior.
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Arizona,
Oct. 30, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to confirm my telegram of the 29th:

> ''Would you approve modification of section two, your letter of 4th so as to permit women and children of Hostiles only to return to village for winter, men not to return but to begin work on new village or villages as soon as sites can be selected? Seems impossible for men of both factions to live peaceably in village and troops will probably have to remain as long as Hostile men are allowed in village on be [sic] required to return to settle trouble.
>
> Seems easiest and most permanent settlement for men not to return but groups of ten men can be admitted to village and to visit families at a time.
>
> Capt. Holbrook, Commanding, after studying situation with me and talking to both factions concurs in above recommendation.
>
> Yu-ke-o-ma, Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa, other ringleaders and Shimopovis who resisted arrest and interfered with police are now under arrest.

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Recommend Lieut. Lewis return Fort Wingate with one troop and prisoners pending the disposition of prisoners, other troop in command of Capt. Holbrook remain here until all matters are adjusted. Messenger awaits answer at Winslow.''

To-day, in company with the teachers of school and others, I went to Hostile camp and took the census.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry.
Supervisor.

October 31, 1906.

To Perry, Supervisor,
Winslow, Arizona.

Your telegram thirtieth October received, and your plan approved. Would only caution you to see that Hostile men who go to build new village are protected as far as possible from danger of sickness from exposure while without houses. Must leave much to your discretion, and have full confidence that aided by Captain Holbrook's advice, you will be able to work out solution of trouble.

(Signed) Leupp,
Commissioner.

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CHAPTER 22

''RETURN TO ORAYVI OR GO TO JAIL''—SPLITTING THE HOSTILES (NOVEMBER 1906)

This chapter's documents are drawn principally from Parts II and III of the ''Oraiba Troubles'' files.

[Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs]
Washington[, D.C.]
November 3, 1906.

Superintendent,
Sherman Institute,
Riverside, California.

Sir:

Reuben Perry, Supervisor of Indian Schools, is now on the Moqui Reservation for the purpose of settling the troubles which have arisen between the ''Hostiles'' and ''Friendlies'', under my special instructions. A part of the plan I am carrying out contemplates the transfer of Ta-wa-quap-te-wa, the ''friendl'' [friendly] chief, to a non-reservation school for the purpose of fitting himself for the duties of the position he is filling.

I am now in receipt of a letter from Supervisor Perry, who is at Oraibi, Arizona, in which he says,

> ''The matter of sending the 'Friendly' chief, Ta-wa-quap-te-wa to school has been settled by his consenting to go to Riverside for a term of three years. . . . '' [see Perry to C.I.A., 10-25-1906, above, chap. 21]

On receipt of this letter you will communicate with Supervisor Perry at Oraibi, and place transportation for Ta-wa-quap-te-wa and his family as requested. Supervisor Perry will inform you when he is ready to send them to your school for enrollment. Note particularly what is said with reference to the chief's request to wear his hair long and to dress as he wishes. You will accord him this privilege.

Acknowledge the receipt of this letter and notify me when you place the transportation, and when the party arrives at the school.

From time to time after this enrollment you should make reports with reference to his progress, etc.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner.

Department of the Interior.
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Arizona,
Nov. 3, 1906.

The Honorable
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to confirm message of this date:

> ''Have consulted with Supt. Murphy relative to Moencopis assisting Friendlys. We recommend that prospective chief, Frank Se-impt-te-wa [Siyamtiwa, Piikyas] and family be sent to Riverside school for three years.''

After talking this matter over with Mr. Murphy, I agreed with him that sending Frank Se-impt-te-wa to school would prepare him for citizenship and as a proper leader for his people. He will succeed to the chiefship upon the death of an aged woman [Nasilewnöm, Piikyas] who holds the position at the present time. In fact, Frank does to some

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extent exercise authority now and did advise his people to go to Oraibi for the purpose of helping the Friendlys and this against the order of Supt. Murphy. Mr. Murphy believes no further punishment should be given the Moencopis and I concur with him in that opinion.

Relative to sending this and other men to school, I would respectfully suggest that the superintendents where they are sent be instructed to treat them as pupils and not display them as prisoners or chiefs, as the glory of such display would tend to destroy what it is hoped to gain by sending them to school.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry.
Supervisor.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Arizona,
November 5, 1906.

The Honorable
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to confirm message of equal date, as follows:

> ''Returned Shimopovis to village Saturday after taking seven pupils from their number. Collected eighty-two children from Hostile camp Sunday. Am sending all to Keams Canon school. Impossible to board them here. Necessary to use soldiers to return Shimopovis and collect school children. Hostiles still oppose desire of government. One troop will move prisoners to Keams Canon to-day and hold them awaiting orders. It is hoped that Hostiles will accept terms after prisoners leave''.

Yesterday morning, Capt. Holbrook and myself spent an hour or more in explaining your desires to the Hostiles and trying to persuade them to put and keep their children in school and do as the Office desires but all our efforts proved fruitless. The camp was then surrounded and 82 school children taken. They had told us the day before that we would have to take all children and they had prepared for us by sending a large number away.

These people were told that, if they would agree to keep their children in school and would live peaceably with the Friendlys, they could return to the village and have their children with them and at the day school, otherwise the pupils would be sent to boarding school. Not one was willing to accept the terms, yet all these people are friendly and seem kindly disposed until they are asked to do something the government wants done. Then they say they want to be let alone and to have their own way, do not want to do or live as white people but in the old Hopi way.

The children seemed to welcome the soldiers and did not hesitate to say they were glad to get back into school. Not one of the children cried when being taken from parents.

The Hostiles are a stubborn people and, unless they agree to something in the near future, I fear I shall have to submit recommendations, on account of their harsh nature, may shock the Office.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry
Supervisor.

Telegram

Oraibi, Ariz.
7. Nov
Via Holbrook

Comm. Indian Affairs

Held council with hostiles this morning. Offered permit men to take families and return to village, who would agree to keep children in school, and obey orders of gov't, about 25 accepted, but 53 refused. The latter were placed under arrest & are held by troops. Will move them to Keams Canon 9th. Awaiting orders. Recommend their sentence be 90 days hard labor and longer if they then refuse to accept terms. Work to be done on roads in Navajo country between Fort Defiance and Keams Canon. Request Supt. Keams Canon be granted authority to employ 15 Navajo police to guard men and oversee work, and authority to feed prisoners. If they can be spared from Ft Defiance, request that Whanagana Nez, Captain Belone, Klah and Needa Clowey be ordered to report to me for duty connection this work. Something of the nature necessary to break the rebellious spir-

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it, by time order for troops to return Wingate can be issued by War Dept think their further stay will be unnecessary.

Perry.
Supervisor.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Arizona,
Nov. 8, 1906.

The Honorable
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

. . . Nine children in addition to the 87 heretofore reported as having been sent to Keams Canyon and who are still there have entered the day school, and I believe more will be in to-day and to-morrow. It appears that the ''backbone'' of the trouble is broken, and if the measures recommended in dealing with the prisoners are carried out, I believe the future course of these people will be along progressive lines. The sentimentalists and those who desire to prevent or retard progress for the sake of art should have but little or nothing to do with these people in the future. Such people get but one side of the Indian character and are liable to do much harm while honestly believing they are helping the poor down-trodden Indian.

I inclose herewith copy of what I have required Indians to sign before permitting them to return to the village. I will file the original with signatures in the Office at Keams Canyon as the same may be needed for future use. It seems that the Hopi Indian does not attach much solemnity to his promise over signature even though made to the government. In this respect he seems to differ from other tribes.

Since coming to this place, I have had a number of conversations with Rev. Epp, resident missionary, concerning the trouble and the relation of missionaries to the government and the loyalty they owe the government and its representatives. Mr. Epp seems to think that if asked by an Indian as to whether an employee is a good person, that he cannot answer in the affirmative unless the person in question is a professing Christian and says that, in all such cases, he has told the Indians what the bible requirements for a good man are and allowed the Indian to draw his own conclusions. I suggested that, if a man is moral in the narrow sense, is not profane or vulgar, he should tell the Indians, he is a good man. Mr. Epp did not exactly agree with me but I think he will be more careful in the future about making derogatory remarks about employees, and will probably support the government institutions in the future, which he has not done in the past.

Recommendations:

1. That the Office let resident missionaries and all visiting people understand that they are not to discuss employees or institutions with the Indians nor hold investigations without authority from the Office;
2. That any man who has signed and agreed to requirements as shown on paper inclosed herewith and who violates same or any part thereof be severely delt [dealt] with. Such a lesson is necessary to teach these people the solemnity of a promise made to the government.
3. That the police force for this reservation be increased to six men and the superintendent in charge be directed to pay especial attention to the keeping of order at this village and that he see to it that all children of school age be kept in regular attendance.

I shall report later relative to the manner in which your program for this place has been carried out.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry,
Supervisor.

[Agreement signed by the Hostiles returning to Orayvi, not dated, but probably November 8, 1906]

We, the Oraibi men and heads of families of the faction usually called Hostiles, each for himself and family, hereby agree and promise, as follows, to-wit:

1st. That, if all families are allowed to return to the Oraibi village for the winter, we will live in peace and harmony with the fac-

tion known as Friendlys, during the time our families are allowed to remain in the village;

2nd. That we will place all of our children of school age in school and keep them in school until they reach the age of 20 years unless excused from attendance by order of the Superintendent of the Reservation;

3rd. That we will go to work, when directed so to do by the Superintendent or other representative of the government, and build houses for our families at such place or places as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or his representative may direct;

4th. That, in the future, we will obey any and all orders of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or his representative;

5th. That we will submit to and obey the orders of the parties named by the Superintendent or Inspecting Official to control and govern the village during our temporary stay and to any orders of the superintendent of the reservation;

6th. That our new homes, villages and conduct shall be governed in accordance with the desire of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs;

7th. That we agree, each for himself and family, to do whatever work may be required by the field matron toward keeping the village and houses in a clean and healthful condition.

8th. That we agree to accept, hold and cultivate whatever lands may be given us by the allotting agent who may allot the Hopi lands at some future time;

9th. That we agree to assist in carrying out the foregoing and in apprehending the bringing to justice any Hopi who does not obey the same.

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
November 9, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Secretary of the Interior.

Sir:

Referring to previous correspondence relative to the plan recently adopted, with the approval of the President, in dealing with the Oraibi situation in Arizona, I have the honor to repeat for your information a telegram received late yesterday afternoon, from Supervisor Perry, dated Oraibi, Arizona (via Holbrook), November 6, as follows:

> Returned Shimopovis to Village Saturday after taking seven pupils from their number . . . [see Perry to C.I.A., 11-5-1906, above]

A previous letter from Supervisor Perry (dated October 29), announced the arrest, with the aid of the military, of some twenty-nine (29) Indians, eighteen (18) of whom he recommended be sent to prison, the eleven (11) remaining to be sent to school.

Referring again to his telegram, above quoted, the only question demanding immediate attention is as to the proper disposition to be made of hostile prisoners (some 18) taken to Keams Canon under military escort, where they are to be held to await orders from Washington.

I should not have favored proceeding to this length with the more troublesome element in the Oraibi pueblo, had not every ordinary means been exhausted to convince them of the folly of their course. They have had a good sized day school placed convenient for their use at the foot of the mesa on which they make their home, so as to avoid as far as practicable the separation of children from parents and give the elders themselves a chance to come daily within the sphere of civilized influences. It has been carefully explained and patiently repeated to them that the Government, in insisting that the children of the pueblo must be permitted to acquire the rudiments of an education, is only taking kind measures for their protection when they have to mix with the white people who are moving continually nearer to them, and that the same thing is demanded of the white children themselves as a preparation for citizenship. They have had impressed upon them the fact that under the civil laws of Arizona, a parent is liable to fine and imprisonment if he persists in refusing to let his children attend school. To all of this the sole response of the Hostile Indians has been a contemptuous demand that the Government and all the white people shall go away, so that the Hopi children may

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not be ruined by learning anything of white civilization.

When matters came to a final issue and force had to be used to compel obedience to the righteous and humane demands of the Government troops were called in only to assist the local representatives of the Indian School Service in preventing the shedding of blood. The commanding officer appears to have acted with the greatest consideration, and to have aided Supervisor Perry with discreet counsels, sharing the Supervisor's pity for the unfortunate victims of their own superstitious blindness. Only the ringleaders in the long Hostile agitation and the final struggle have been arrested; and it is hoped that their separation from their followers may have the effect of breaking the spell which has bound the recalcitrant element for years and of restoring normal conditions to the pueblo. It will be a case of the few being confined for the sake of emancipating the many. The prisoners will have their fate in their own hands; and by abandoning a resistance which they will soon discover to be not only ineffective but foolish, most of them can earn their return to freedom and home.

Meanwhile, all the children and not a few of the adults of both sexes, will be provided for in our schools—those of their own choice as far as practicable. The education of the Friendly leaders will be undertaken also, to the end of bringing both factions to a sensible state of mind when they are allowed to come together again. The discipline to which all will be subjected will be made as kindly as is consistent with firmness and the cultivation in them of a wholesome respect for the supremacy of our great Government which belongs to the red man as well as the white. There will be no interference with the religious beliefs of the Indians, or with their innocent ceremonies and customs; the sole purpose underlying the Government's intervention is to improve their condition by preparing them to hold their own amid the social changes which the steady advance of Caucasian civilization is bringing upon them.

It is contemplated, as a part of the progress to which I have referred, that the prisoners should be ''imprisoned in a military prison or prisons, on prison fare, and at hard labor, for such terms, not under one year, as their respective bad conduct seems to justify''.

It is perhaps needless to say that while I wish these prisoners to receive, and believe that the military establishment will give them, the very best of treatment, I do wish to emphasize to their minds the fact that imprisonment for wrongdoing is not a mere holiday excursion. Previous experience has shown that Indians of this same tribe when confined at a distance from home, but lightly worked and highly fed, have returned with a sense of having simply had a good time, assured their friends that it was a fine thing to be imprisoned, and advised others to seek arrest. In fact, while I was personally visiting the pueblo of Oraibi, I came across one man who boasted that he had been a prisoner and enjoyed it; and his contemptuous reference to any association of punishment with such an adventure as he had satisfied me of the utter futility of going through an empty form of chastisement in the case of persons as ignorant as the Oraibi Hopi. This will explain my desire that the prisoners should not be specially favored as to table fare or allowed any laxity of discipline as regards their compulsory labor while under sentence.

I have the honor, therefore, to recommend that the War Department be requested to give the necessary orders for the accomplishment of the plan proposed, and that the place or places of confinement of the Indians shall be as far distant from their present homes as it is possible to take them without seriously endangering their health by an extreme change of climate, and that strict orders be given that they be kept at hard labor and on prison fare during the period of their confinement.

Very respectfully,
(signed) F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Ariz. Nov 12, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir;

I have the honor to confirm message of equal date as follows:

''Visited hostile camp with troop yesterday captured twenty-eight school children and took twenty-one men who defy Government orders. Recommend men for woek [work] on roads. As soon as disposition can be made of all prisoners troops' work will be done, and they should be returned to Fort Wingate''.

Every effort possible has been put forth to cause these people to see that they are in the wrong and to persuade them to cease their opposition to the Government, but they are stubborn and absolutely refuse to make any terms. If the Government expects obedience in the future it will be necessary to complete this work by carrying out all the punishments recommended.

Quite a number of the hostiles have accepted propositions made by the Government, returned to the village and placed their pupils in school. They seem happy over their decision and all the children are pleased to be in school and do not hesitate to say so.

On yesterday morning all of the women were taken from the hostile camp down to the school, but after the children and men who would not sign were taken from the group, the women were sent back to the camp and told that they would have to spend the winter there unless they would agree to obey the orders of the Government. They have built a number of good houses and will be comfortable until spring.

Referring to my recommendation that the hostiles be employed for ninety days to work the roads in the Navajo country, I have to advise the Office that Superintendent Lemmon informs me that the roads between his school and Holbrook are in a bad condition, and these are the roads over which the freight for the Agency and School is transported, and that he has asked for three hundred dollars to make some badly needed repairs. I, therefore, recommend thatthes [that these] men be employed to put this road in good condition.

Very respectfully
Reuben Perry.
Supervisor.

Telegram
Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.,
November 13, 1906.

To
Perry, Supervisor,
Oraibi (via Holbrook), Arizona.

Answering your telegram via Gallup twelfth reporting additional arrests in Hostile camp, your recommendation is approved. When troops are no longer needed you will so notify the officer in charge, and meanwhile the War Department will instruct him as to his relief. Telegraph this Office when the troops leave you. In all you do avoid unnecessary harshness to the Indians and keep constantly before their minds the fact that the Government is their best friend, that it is much wiser than they, and that its measures are taken solely for the good of themselves and their children.

What has become of the plan for using Hostile men to build new village? Mail full report as soon as possible covering all your operations to date of your writing, showing number, sex, and age of Hostiles returned to Oraibi; also number, sex, and age of Hostiles still in camp and what provisions for present comfort and plans for protection and subsistence during winter.

(signed) LEUPP Commissioner.

Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
Nov. 13, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir;

I have the honor to inform you that last night there reached the Agency from the camp at Oraibi seventy-one (71) prisoners; and these with one sent down earlier make 72 prisoners to be fed. The estimate for the Agency is only about one eighteenth of what will be required to feed these people for ninety days.

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It is my understanding from Supervisor Perry that these men are to be worked on the roads for ninety days accompanied by nineteen policemen. At the end of that time they are to be given an opportunity to sign an agreement to comply with the demands of reasonable authority and those who do not are to be put back at the work and kept at it til they are ready to stop their opposition to the government.

I therefore have the honor to recommend as follows:—

1. That seven thousand pounds of bacon be added to the supplies furnished this Agency and shipped immediately under existing contracts.

2. That the Superintendent here be authorized to call upon the contractors for any amount of beef or flour necessary to the subsistence of these people and within the 25 per cent limit of the contract. It is not presumed they will be fed beef more than twice a week but the police will need to be fed if they are held.

3. That one thousand pounds of hard bread be shipped immediately under existing contracts.

4. That four hundred pounds of beans, two hundred pounds of dried prunes, fifty pounds of coffee and two hundred pounds of sugar also two hundred pounds of salt be shipped immediately under existing contract.

I wish that this might have awaited the arrival of my successor but a letter from him today informs me that he can not now say when he will reach here. And it will not require much delay in the shipment of the above to make him so short in his subsistence as to seriously cramp him in his schools—which is certainly not desired. Running the children from the hostile camp into the boarding school has already drawn upon the subsistence for that school beyond what was contemplated.

As these men are to be worked away from their homes both for the better handling of the men and where the work is needed, it occurs to that some kind of shelter should be provided if reasonable health conditions are to be maintained. I therefore recommend that your Office purchase and ship to this Agency:—

Four tents 14×24, 10 oz. duck, complete with poles and pins, zinc lined holes for 6 in. Stove pipes, for sleeping tents of prisoners and policemen.

One tent 9½ × 12, 10 oz. duck, complete with poles, pins, fly and floor cloth, zinc-lined six inch hole for stovepipe, for foreman.

It is not my desire to treat these people with sickly regard, on the other hand I know it is not the desire of the Office to jeopardize their health. We will have zero weather and six and eight inch snows before the ninety days are up unless there are very unusual climatic conditions here.

Very respectfully,
Theo. G. Lemmon.
Superintendent.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Keams Canon, Arizona,
November 17, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Referring to Office letter of the 4th ultimo giving outline of work to be accomplished in an endeavor to settle trouble existing between the Friendly and Hostile factions at this place and to Office message of the 13th instant instructing me to report what had been accomplished to date, I have the honor to report that an effort has been made to carry out your orders and to state briefly below what has been done, following your outline as closely as possible in making this report.

1. The Shimopovi Indians were returned to their village on the third as reported in my letter of the 5th instant. Their children have all been placed in school, excepting one young man who is held for work on the roads on account of his refusal to attend school as directed to do.

2. All Oraibi ‘‘Hostiles’’ who have agreed to obey the orders of the Government in the future have been permitted to return to the village for the winter, but with the understanding that they will be moved out in the spring and have new homes of their own

building. The ''Friendlies'' have promised to live in peace with the returned Hostiles and most of them will not object to building houses down on the level.

3. Yu-ke-o-ma and Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa were arrested October 28th and the former deposed from chiefship, both were notified that they would never be permitted to return to the Hopi Country. Their crops and personal effects are being disposed of in accordance with your instructions and their desire. Peter Staufer, General Mechanic, being instructed to ascertain the desire of these and other prisoners with regard to their property and to carry same into effect. Mr. Staufer is well acquainted with these Indians, and inasmuch as Supt. Lemmon has resigned and will leave the reservation soon, I believed him to be the best qualified employee to look after the disposition of said property. The arrest of these two men and 26 others was reported to the Office in letter under date of October 29th.

4. Ta-wa-quap-te-wa, the chief of the ''Friendly'' faction, on learning that you desired him to go to school for three years or more for the purpose of learning English and fitting himself for the position of leader among his people, readily consented to go to the Riverside school for a term of three years and left on the 15th instant with his family and 22 pupils from the Oraibi day school, the consent of parents and pupils being obtained largely through his influence.

More of the ''Friendly'' children will go to Riverside in a few days and some of the ''Hostiles'' to Phoenix.

5. The requirements of this section of your program; viz: the deposing of Ta-wa-quap-te-wa from chiefship was carried out by effecting his transfer as stated in the first preceding section and by the establishing a board of control to govern the village as hereinafter reported.

6. The establishing of a temporary government for the pueblo, as required by section six of your outline, has been effected by having the Indians of both factions understand that the teacher in charge of the day school, the ''Friendly'' Judge Quoing-in-iwa [Qöy-angayniwa, Badger] and Ke-wan-imp-te-wa [Kuwannömtiwa, Sand], a bright young man selected by me from the ''Hostiles'', are to form a Board of Control for the village.

The position of judge or laborer at $7.00 per month should be created and this young man appointed to same. Paying him something will have the effect of showing him and his people that he is treated as well as the ''Friendly'' judge and he will be impressed with the fact that he has become a part of the government machinery. I recommend that the Superintendent be instructed to take this man up on his agency rolls.

In this connection, I desire to add that the new government seems to be running smoothly. The only suggestions I saw fit to make were that the judges consult the teacher frequently, keep the children in school and arrange to have all ceremonies take place on Saturdays so as not to interfere with school or the Sunday service of the Missionary.

7. The arrest of the parties who violently interfered with the police at Shimopovi last spring was consumated [consummated] on the 28th ultimo and said prisoners with the Oraibi ringleaders in opposition to the Government left here on the 14th instant for Fort Wingate, to be disposed of in accordance with your order and by the War Department.

8. You state ''That any others besides the Hostile chiefs already mentioned and the Shimopovi ringleaders, who may, on later investigation ordered by the Office, be proved to be a trouble-making element, shall be banished or imprisoned''.

This has been partially carried into effect by placing under arrest 70 Oraibi men who hold out in opposition to the Government, they to be required to work on roads, etc. for a term of ninety days or longer if they do not change their attitude. These men remain stubborn and passively defiant. They receive the message that the government desires to help them and wants only obedience about as the Chief Yu-ke-o-ma received your advise when you visited this place, however, it is believed that in time they will change.

9. The two regular troops, under command of Capt. Lucius R. Holbrook assisted by Lieutenant Lewis arrived Saturday, October 27th, and greatly assisted in all of the work. Captain Holbrook is a kindly disposed man and did all in his power to convince the In-

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dians that they were in the wrong and that the government could not tolerate their attitude and tried to pursuade [persuade] them to desist in their opposition to the government and schools. His services aside from commanding the troops were very beneficial.

One troop returned to Keams Canon on the 5th with the 28 prisoners, being under command of Lieutenant Lewis. This troop and Officer rendered satisfactory service in making arrests, collecting children and guarding prisoners.

In this connection I would respectfully suggest that the War Department be informed of the satisfactory service of Officers and troops.

10. All of the people of Oraibi have been informed of the intention of the Government to have their children attend some school and to have them behave themselves as white people are required to do. They were given their choice but all excepting a few rejected all schools, therefore, most of the children were sent to the Keams Canon school but the small ones belonging to parents who afterwards agreed to keep them in school are being returned to the day school. The children whose parents will not agree to keep them in school anywhere, if there be any such by vacation time, should not be allowed to go home for vacation but should be kept in the boarding school the entire year.

11. All the Shimopovi children are in the day school at second mesa or Keams Canon, excepting one young man who promised to enter the boarding school after helping his folks to return their belongings to their village, but he refused to do so and is held for road work. None of the Shimopovis have or will agree to keep their children in school, however, they made no resistence when the teacher demanded the children who were returned from Oraibi for school and they have been in regular attendance since.

12. Your requirements relative to allowing the parents to elect between the day and boarding school has been carried out by permitting those who would agree to keep their children in school to select the school. Only a few selected and their selection was the day school where their children were placed. All other pupils were sent to Keams Canon under my order, but as stated in section 10, some of these pupils are being returned to the day school. No one connected with the boarding school has been permitted to suggest or solicit pupils for said school.

13. I have taken especial pains to have the Indians understand that the Government has reached the limit of its patience and have endeavored to have them understand just what is expected of them in the future.

In this effort my work has been partially successful only, and the 70 men held for road work are as far from obedience and reform seemingly as their people ever have been. They believe they will be released in ten days or two weeks and are encouraging each other to hold out in disobedience for awhile and say they will be allowed to go without any reform or promise. Yukeoma, the hostile chief, has encouraged all the prisoners in the belief that this affair will terminate as their troubles have in the past; that is, they will be kept in prison for a short time and then allowed to return to the reservation. He told his people that I was not telling the truth when I informed him and them that he and Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa would never be allowed to return to the Hopi country. The Office order requiring him to leave the Hopi country forever is a good one and should be strictly adhered to.

14. I have presumed that the Office will examine the laws relative to allotting the land in severalty. I have told the Indians that their lands are to be allotted and there seems to be but little or no objections to such action.

15. In council and before his arrest, I told Yukeoma the way you tried to reason with him and all that you suggested that should be said to him and have from time to time explained to these Indians what you have suggested and what the Government intends to require of them. It is my opinion that they will believe when they learn the facts to be true and this knowledge will necessarily have to come from cold, hard experience. They seem to hold the Government schools and all white people in contempt and, as they put it, will live by the traditions of their forefathers and in the old ‘‘Hopi Way’’.

This problem is not yet settled but there is

no further need for troops; but if the Government obtains obedience, it will be compelling these 70 men now held to work or remain in prison until they change their way.

Relative to the Moen Copis disobeying their Agent by sending armed men to assist the Oraibis I have before reported that this matter has been disposed of to the Satisfaction of Superintendent Murphy by requiring Frank Si-emp-ti-wa, the prospective chief, and his family to attend school for a term of three years. They left on the fifteenth for Riverside California.

November 19, 1906.

I spent the day yesterday talking with the prisoners and explaining why things must be done as the Government desires and that their disobedience must be punished in order to convince them of the power and right of the Government over them. I did this by separating a few of the men from the entire number, talking with them and getting them to repeat the conversation to the others. This was the first time any interest has been shown in the idea of building a new village. I was encouraged to believe that these men are beginning to think seriously about their condition and to believe that the mental change so much desired is beginning to come. They seemed to think that ninety days rather a long time to work for their disobedience. I told them that I would suggest that the time of the men who work well and assure us that they will be obedient in the future be shortened a little and the time of those who do not so conduct themselves be extended.

The organization of the police has been completed and the time of the prisoners began today.

In order to enable the police to handle so many and to prevent the necessity of any being injured in case of an effort being made to escape, I have locked them together in twos. They will be separated as soon as we believe it can be safely done.

The Hostiles have had many sympathizers among the residents and visitors to the reservation but these people have been able to see the justice of the stand taken by the government. Some of these parties have been invited to talk to the Indians and assist me in getting them to see that they are in the wrong. In all such cases, the white parties have been convinced of the stubbornness of these people and that any reform must, at least, be started by force.

The Hostiles who remain in the camp have built comfortable homes, have harvested or are harvesting their crops, are near wood and water and will pass the winter as comfortably as they would in the village.

A site for a new village should be selected and the water supply ascertained. The village for the Hostiles should be some distance from Oraibi so the range for the stock of the two factions will not be so burdened and for the further reason that they will live more in peace if separated some little distance.

I shall in the near future examine what are considered desirable locations and submit recommendations concerning same, and I recommend that the Superintendent be instructed to ascertain the quantity and quality of water for domestic use.

Of course the foregoing plan would contemplate the building of a new day school for the Hostiles and it seems to me that it would be well to have the two day schools and reduce the capacity of the one at Oraibi.

I further recommend that the Government furnish doors, windows, lumber for floors and door and window casings and roofing for the new houses. Of course the houses should be built of stone or adobe and laid up in adobe mud. Similar houses were build some years ago by a number of the Friendlies and they seem to be very comfortable and the owners seem to take good care of them.

I wish to suggest that all Indian houses should have fire places and chimneys. The fire place furnishes the most satisfactory method for ventilating an Indian house for the reason that the doors and windows are generally not used for the purpose.

In the foregoing, I may have gone beyond what the Office desires in the way of recommendations, but I have stated what I believe to be the best for these Indians.

The Indians from the Hostile Camp have been disposed of as follows.

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Sent to Fort Wingate by soldiers:	28 men,
Kept prisoners, Keams Canon:	70 ″
	98
Returned to Shimopovi:	3 men,
	19 women,
(Placed in Second Mesa School)	4 school girls,
Do.	2 ″ ″
(Under school age)	11 children
	39
Returned to Oraibi	41 men,
	42 women,
(Placed in day school)	14 boys
Do.	27 girls,
(Under school age)	25 children
(Excused from school on account poor health)	2 boys,
	151
Keams Canon School:	48 boys,
	40 girls
	88
Yet in Hostile Camp:	7 men,
	63 women,
(Under school age)	21 children,
	91
Total	467.

It is next to impossible to get a correct count of the Hostile camp for the reason some are out harvesting crops and the Indians there will not furnish any information. I think there are a few more belonging to the camp than this shows but this is not far from correct.

Complying with instructions contained in Office letter ''Education 94878'' of October 29th asking for recommendations for increasing the capacity at the Oraibi and other day schools so as to furnish accomodations for all children of school age, I have the honor to state that about 20 more pupils will be transfered [transferred] to nonreservation schools.

I then recommend that forty of the Oraibi pupils now at Keams Canon be returned to the Oraibi day school and placed with parents if possible; if not possible, that they be entered as boarding pupils. I believe in two or three weeks' time the forty pupils can be placed with their parents who have and who will return to the village and I have directed that they be returned as fast as possible. In case it becomes necessary to have boarders at the day school, one or two more employes will be required and it will be necessary to rent two Indian houses and fit them for dormitories or store the school goods in them and use the store rooms for dormitories.

In case the pupils are disposed of as above suggested, the schools on the reservation will have enrollments about as follows:

Boarding school,	180;	First Mesa day school,	55;
Second Mesa day,	111,	Oraibi day school,	155 to 160.

Very respectfully submitted,
Reuben Perry,
Supervisor

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
Nov. 18, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir;

I have the honor to inform you that on Nov. 15th, eight girls and fourteen boys of school age, were with the consent of the parents, the children and my approval transferred from this reservation to the Training school at Riverside, California.

These were puils [pupils] from among the friendly Indians at Oraibi and went with the chief of the friendlies, Ta-wa-quap-ti-wa at his request. There are twelve or fourteen more who will follow him to that school in a short time. This is a slight relief to the congested conditions of the schools here but there is need of much greater relief and everything is being done that can be done to get others away that these schools, especially the Keam's Canon school can reduce its numbers to something near sanitary conditions, and good working order.

Very respectfully
Theo. G. Lemmon
Superintendent.

HP010134

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
November 20, 1906.

Reuben Perry,
Supervisor of Indian Schools,
Oraibi, Arizona.

Sir:

Your letter of the 8th instant has been received. You enclose a copy of the statement which you have required the Indians to sign before permitting them to return to the village. While it may be true, as you say, that a Hopi Indian does not attach much solemnity to his promise over signature even though made to the Government, yet your actions in securing their signatures seems to be the best policy that could be pursued at the present time.

Your suggestion to the resident missionary, Rev. Mr. Epp, concerning the trouble, and the relations of the missionaries to the Government, and the loyalty they owe to the Government and its representatives, is a good one, and, if carefully followed by all concerned, will remove one of the causes of friction.

Your recommendations, with clerical errors corrected, are:

1. That the Office let resident missionaries and all visiting people understand that they are not to discuss employes or institutions with the Indians, or hold investigations, without authority from the Office.

Necessary instructions for carrying out this recommendation will be communicated to the Superintendent in charge of the reservation, and he will be directed to see that all persons affected thereby have full notice thereof.

2. That any man who has signed and agreed to requirements, as shown on the paper enclosed, and who violates same or any part thereof, be severely dealt with.

You may clearly and forcefully tell the Hopi Indians that any violations of the provisions of the paper which they have signed will be dealt with severely.

3. That the police force for this reservation be increased to six men, and the Superintendent in charge be directed to pay especial attention to the keeping of order at this village, and that he see to it that all children of school age be kept in regular attendance.

The necessary authority for the employment of this extra police force will be taken up, and when allowed the Superintendent in charge will be instructed accordingly.

Your letter of November 10th also has been received in which you say—

> Referring to my recommendation that the Hostiles be employed for ninety days to work the roads in the Navajo country, I have to advise the Office that Superintendent Lemmon informs me that the roads between his school and Holbrook are in bad condition, and these are the roads over which the freight for the Agency and School is transported, and that he has asked for three hundred dollars to make some badly needed repairs. I therefore recommend that these men be employed to put this road in good condition.

This recommendation meets my approval.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner.

[Telegram]
20 Paid Govt
Via Kingman Ariz

Fort Mohave Ariz Nov 20th '06

Supt Lemmon,
Keams Canyon Via Holbrook A. T.

Will arrive at Holbrook twenty eighth professor Lemmon has been advised.

Miller Supt.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Sherman Institute, Riverside, Calif.,
November 26, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

By reference to letter Education 96579-06, dated November 3, 1906, I have the honor to

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report that the Hopi ''Friendly'' chief Tawaquaptewa, and Frank Sewenimptewa, and families, together with a party of pupils of school age, arrived at this school a few days since. The Chief very soon discarded his village garb and donned the school uniform. He also had his hair trimmed within a day or two after his arrival; it was done upon his request. He made application for a hat. He falls in line with the rest of the pupils and attends school regularly. I have placed these married men and their families in two large rooms which adjoin. They seem to be contented and happy. The Chief does not wish, however, to attend either Protestant or Catholic Services, nor has he been urged to do so. It was one of the requests, I believe, that was made that he should not be made to listen to a Preacher or a Priest, and unless directed by the Office to the contrary, he will be permitted to use his pleasure in the matter.

Very respectfully,
Harwood Hall.
Superintendent

CHAPTER 23

SCHOOLING/PUNISHING THE LEADERS: RIVERSIDE, HUACHUCA, AND CARLISLE (DECEMBER 1906–JANUARY 1907)

This chapter includes documents principally from Parts III and IV of the ''Oraiba Troubles'' files.

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
December 5, 1906.

Reuben Perry, Supervisor,
Keams Canon, Arizona.

Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th ultimo, giving an outline of the work accomplished and to be accomplished in the endeavor to settle the trouble existing between the ''Friendly'' and ''Hostile'' factions on the Moqui Reservation.

I have given this report careful consideration and appreciate your earnestness and common sense in carrying out as you have so far the program which I outlined for the settlement of these troubles. You seem to have grasped in nearly every instance the underlying principles governing me in dealing with these conditions, and your report meets my approval. In considering it, however, several of the items merit more than passing notice.

You say that the Oraibi ''Hostiles'' who have agreed to obey the orders of the Government in the future have been permitted to return to the village for the winter, but with the understanding that they will be moved out in the spring and have a new home of their own building; that most of them ''will not object to building houses down on the level''. I do not quite understand the phrase just quoted. Who asks them to build houses on the lowland? It occurs to me that you may have been misled as to the policy of the Office by the traditions of past administrations. I have never had, and have not now, any objection to the maintenance of pueblos on top of mesas if the Indians choose such sites because they would rather have the better air and the comparative protection from the fierceness of the sand storms, in spite of the hardships of trail-climbing and the inconvenience of remoteness from the scenes of their daily labors. Equally, I have no objection to their building ''down on the level'' if they would rather do so.

Referring to the establishment of a temporary government for the pueblo, as required by Section 6 of my outline, you say: ''The position of Judge or Laborer at $7.00 per month should be created and this young man (Ke-wan-imp-te-wa) appointed to it''.

The appropriation of Indian judges has been practically hypothecated, but I am considering a readjustment of this branch of the Service after the first of January. It may be possible then to establish the position of Judge at $7.00 per month, as requested by you. Meanwhile you may employ him as a laborer at $7.00 per month until it can be determined whether funds are available for paying him as a Judge. Authority for this purpose will be requested from the Secretary of the Interior, and when it is received the Superintendent of the Moqui School will be directed to take him up on the Agency rolls as such laborer.

Your suggestion that the War Department be informed of the satisfactory service of Captain Holbrook and Lieutenant Lewis with the troops under their command will be carried out; and the appreciation not only of this Office, but of yourself and other officials of

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the Government, for the tactful manner in which a difficult situation was handled by them will be communicated to the proper military authorities.

Inform the Superintendents of the Moqui School and of other schools having Moqui children whose parents will not agree to keep them in school anywhere, that the children will not be permitted to return home for vacation but must be retained in the boarding schools the entire year.

You say that the problem is not yet settled, although there is no further need for troops; but that, if the Government obtains obedience, it will be by compelling the seventy men now held to work or remain in prison until they change their ways.

I should prefer that no definite statement be made to these people as to the future, because, although the present administration of the Indian Office might be entirely consistent in carrying out its own program, its successors might not approve of it, and the Indians in their ignorance would not understand the change—the mutinous element accepting it as a victory for themselves, and the others regarding it as a fresh sign that the accusations brought against the Government, of vacillation and bad faith, were true. If no definite statement as to the future is made to the Indians, they will have no reason to attach such improper significance to a mere difference of opinion between successive administrations.

On this general head I have suggestions from various persons to the effect that your prisoners might be profitably employed at a distance from home. It seems to me that if we announce now that they will be kept at work for a stated period, and later deem it advisable to send them off to work in another field, they will be likely to take that as a change of base and think that they have forced the Government to abandon its policy at least to some degree.

I am awaiting with much interest your report on one proposal to employ these Indians elsewhere, and have asked Mr. Dagenett's opinion on some of the suggestions offered.

You say that in the near future you will examine what are considered desirable locations and submit recommendations concerning the same. Meanwhile, you recommend that the Superintendent be instructed to ascertain the quantity and quality of water for domestic use. I think your investigation and examination of these sites would be a help to the Indians, but I should avoid going too far toward coercing them into accepting any site selected by a white man. They doubtless have a definite conception of what they want themselves, and I should leave them large room for the exercise of their own discretion.

You say that the foregoing plan would contemplate the building of a new day school for the ''Hostiles'', and that it would seem well to you to have the two day schools and reduce the capacity of the one at Oraibi. I wish to give the ''Hostiles'' a separate day school connected with their new village, provided there are any children to go to it. But, as I understand the situation, those who will go into the new village are opposed to our educating their children, so that the children will have to be sent away to boarding school; whereas, those who have yielded on the school question are now living at peace in the old village of Oraibi, and I don't know of any reason for removing them from there as long as they behave themselves. As an independent proposition, a reduction of the Oraibi school to the dimensions called for by the attendance would be approved, as it would be in the line of what we are trying to do everywhere.

As to furnishing doors, windows, lumber for floors, window casings, etc., for the new houses, I should be disposed to go as far as I properly can for any ''Hostiles'' who go peaceably to another place and start a new village. I object, on principle, to issuing building materials, just as I object to issuing non-emergency rations, except in return for labor or other services from the Indians. If it can be arranged for them to give a quid pro quo, I want it done. In all such matters the tact and discretion of the officer having the work in charge are bound to count for a great deal.

You are urged to co-operate actively with the Superintendent of the reservation in the performance of the duty of selecting sites, etc.

Your suggestion that all Indian houses shall have fireplaces and chimneys is a good one, but at the same time I am not forcing

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these things on anybody. I should rather have such improvements come as the product of natural evolutionary forces, than arbitrarily to compel their adoption. If one or two of the Indians could be quietly induced to set an example of this kind, others probably would fall in line more readily than if the Government undertook the reform as a compulsory measure of its own; and when any change for the better comes from within it comes to stay and spread, because the Indians look upon it rather as something of their own devising than as an imposition by the conquering race.

Very respectfully,
(signed) F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner.

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
December 6, 1906.

Supt. Sherman Institute,
Riverside, Cal.

Sir:

Your letter of the 26th ultimo has been received, in which you say that the two chiefs, Ta-wa-quap-te-wa and Frank Se-wen-im-te-wa, with their families and a party of pupils of school age, had arrived at your school.

The information you give as to the attitude of the ''Friendly'' chief is very gratifying. Your action in permitting him to absent himself from religious services is approved. My object in sending him to Riverside was primarily to have him learn English, the language in which the Government frames its laws and transacts its business, so that he can be, when he returns to his people, in a position to fulfil intelligently his obligations as a chief, and conduct their negotiations with the authorities at Oraibi and in Washington. Incidentally to this, it is hoped that he will pick up a fair idea of the civilization and the social order with which, in his future intercourse with his white neighbors, he must perforce sustain relations.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner.

War Department
Washington,
December 7, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Secretary of the Interior.

Sir:

Referring to previous correspondence on the subject, I have the honor to inform you that instructions have been issued to-day to the Commanding General, Southwestern Division, to have the eighteen Moqui Indian prisoners confined at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, which is as far from their present homes as it is practicable to take them without seriously endangering their health by an extreme change of climate.

It is expected that all expenses for the transportation of the Indians and of the necessary guard and for the subsistence and keep of the Indians while in confinement will be borne by the Interior Department.

Very respectfully,
Wm H. Taft
Secretary of War.

The next letter alludes to a plan proposed by Ralph P. Collins, formerly of the Keam's Canyon School, to relocate all Hostiles to Rocky Ford, Colorado. It had been the custom for several years for some Hopi students to go to Rocky Ford, where Collins was now based, to work in the beet fields. The proposal was taken seriously, as Perry's letter, and several following, indicate.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Navaho Indian Agency
Fort Defiance, Ariz.
Dec. 18. 1906.

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Office letter ''Education 102095-1906'' of November 23rd last.

You state ''As you are aware the Office must be extremely careful not to create a di-

ficiency [deficiency] in the funs [funds] appropriated, and authority should first be obtained in all cases requiring any considerable expenditure to carry them out. Meanwhile, I suggest that you review the situation now and inform me approximately what funds seems likely to be necessary for the Government to expend for the benefit of these Indians, for what purposes they are needed, etc. I am aware that at this time only an approximate estimate can be given, but that will be sufficient to furnish the Office with some idea of the relation of probable expenditures to the funds now available''.

Replying to same I have the honor to state that in case the Oraibi hostiles are required to build a new village or villages as heretofore recommended and the Government feels like helping them, about $20,000.00 would be required for purchasing lumber, doors and windows for the construction of their houses and sinking wells to furnish a domestic water supply.

Of course the foregoing contemplates the same assistance as was given a number of the friendly families some years ago when they were induced to come down off the mesa and build houses on the level, but if the Office does not care to require as good cottages as were built by the friendlies some years ago roofing and flooring can be eliminated and the cost reduced to about $15,000.00. Only a portion of this expenditure would be necessary during the current fiscal year, say $7,500. This amount would enable the majority of the material to be purchased and the work to be started.

In the light of Office letter of the 5th instant and the plan to transport these people to the neighborhood of Rocky Ford, I presume that the Office is not desirous of rendering much assistance in the way of constructing cottages, however, it does seem to me that they ought to be furnished doors, windows, sufficient dimension stuff to support roof, and nails for new cottages, in case they are required to build.

I believe these people are ready to make a step in advancement and if encouraged by being furnished these articles they will build more comfortable homes and their opposition to the Government will cease. In fact the opposition now is greatly checked and will remain so if the Government continues to enforce obedience and takes steps to improve the condition of the people, and show the hostiles that they will receive the same treatment accorded the friendlies when they show the same disposition and attitude toward the Government and schools as is shown by the friendlies.

I recommend that this estimate be considered in connection with the plan for taking these people to Rocky Ford and if all or a portion of the hostiles are removed to Rocky Ford revision should then be made in this matter.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry.
Supervisor

The next letter shows that Horton Miller was now present at Keam's Canyon, having been appointed to take over the Hopi Agency from Theodore Lemmon, as one result of the split. Lemmon remains at the Agency through the end of December, however.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Navaho Indian Agency
Fort Defiance, Ariz.
Dec. 18, 1906.

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Office letter ''Education 104206-1906'' of the 5th instant.

I note what the Office says concerning the building of homes on the mesas or in the low lands and will govern myself accordingly in case I am returned to the Hopi country, however I believe there would be but little objection on the part of the Indians to building in the low lands.

While in my letter of the 17th ultimo I said low lands, in reality I did not mean the lowest lands but that their villages should be built in sheltered places off of the mesas but rather in what is known as a second valley where they would be protected from winds and the hardships of trail climbing would not

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be imposed upon them where they would be near plenty of water. If these conditions existed their homes could be kept much more cleanly and in a better hygienic condition, and it seems to me that it would be wise to encourage but not coerce the Indians to accept such locations. I probably got the idea that it was desired by your Office for them to build in the valleys from the fact that a number of the Indians had been encouraged to do so in the past.

I have written the new superintendent at Hopi requesting that no discussion of future plans as to the disposition of the men or the location or building of villages be had with the Indians until these matters are settled by your Office. I have also advised him and the superintendent now in charge that the children belonging to the hostile faction will be kept in school during vacation unless the parents of said children agree to keep them in school in the future and to return them at the expiration of the vacation.

I have written you in letter of equal date regarding the plan of Ralph P. Collins for removing these people to the Rocky Ford country and furnishing them employment in the beet fields. I believe his plan should be considered and disposed of before other plans for working out the question are taken up.

I have looked over the country to some extent with Mr. Miller endeavoring to learn the possibilities and conditions and with the view of selecting a proper site for the proposed village for the hostiles, and if I am to return to the Hopi country, more can be done in this line but, as you suggest, I believe the Indians should not be coerced into accepting a site for a village disagreeable to them, but I do believe it would be to their advantage if they were influenced by officials to select a proper site where opportunities for progress and better living would be furnished.

Relative to my suggestion that the plan reported in my letter of the 17th instant would contemplate the building of a new day school for the hostiles, etc., it should be remembered that said letter was written before the matter of sending these people to Colorado was considered. Of course, if they go away their children should be schooled in boarding schools, but if they remain on the reservation, I have no doubt but what these people will agree in time to keep their children in school and quite a number of them at least will want to have them in a day school near their village, and it seems that such a desire when they show the proper attitude toward the schools, should be considered.

Relative to permitting those who have yielded on the school question and who are now living in the little [?] village of Oraibi to remain, I have to say that section ''2'' of your letter of October 4th indicated to me that it was the desire of your Office to separate these people and that the return of any of them to the village was for the winter and as a temporary arrangement and I so informed the people. I quote below said section—

''That the Oraibi hostiles, except Yu-ke-o-ma and To-wa-hong-ni-wa be permitted to return <u>for the winter</u> to Oraibi, on their pledge to behave themselves peaceably, and a like pledge from the Friendlies to treat them peaceably; this to be with the understanding that it is a temporary arrangement, merely to avoid suffering for the old and weak during the bad weather, and that before spring the rest of the program will be worked out by the Government''.

I note what you say as to furnishing doors, windows, lumber for roofs, window casings, etc. for new houses. I believe this material can be furnished the Indians without any bad results, they understand of course that they are to do the labor in connection with the building of their own homes. Furnishing this material would be considered by these Indians as a part payment for their old property in the Oraibi village, it would also indicate to them that the Government will be as kindly disposed to their people as it is to the friendlies when they show a willingness to accept the guidance of the Government and comply with its desires.

Relative to the requirement for fire places in the buildings, I would say that I was prompted to make this recommendation from having been in Navajo homes and also in a newer and more improved Hopi houses where stoves were used exclusively and found the air to be foul and ventilation absent. This condition is not an Indian policy but a supposed mark of civilization and ad-

vancement suggested or imposed by white employees.

I do not for a moment believe that the Indian will object to having his fire place and I mentioned the matter as a suggestion to guide the superintendent and his employees than as a requirement imposed upon the Indian.

I have gone over the Hopi situation with the Superintendent Miller and believe that he understands it quite well and in reality see no necessity for my immediate return to the reservation, however, there may be reason in the near future.

Please advise me at this place.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry.
Supervisor

In the following letter, Commissioner Leupp suggests Supervisor Perry has not fully grasped his plan. He re-articulates his policy to ''civilize'' the Hopi, including the possibility that the Hostiles will be relocated to Rocky Ford to work as farm laborers in the beet fields.

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
December 28, 1906.

Reuben Perry,
Supervisor of Indian Schools,
Fort Defiance, Arizona.

Sir:

I am in receipt of your three letters of the 18th instant concerning affairs at Oraibi and the proposition to remove Oraibi Indians to Rocky Ford to work in the beet fields.

I think you have somewhat misapprehended the aim and tenor of what has been said in recent Office letters regarding the Oraibi situation. If you understood the general policy of the Office, the matter would shape itself logically in your mind and you would see the relations of all the parts of the correspondence to each other. I will try briefly to make my position plain.

I have always been opposed to the Idea of forcing civilization upon any untutored man. Civilization is something which must proceed from the inside out, if it is to be a real and not a merely specious change. It is true that environment has a great deal to do with perfecting civilization, but the civilization itself is an inward response to the invitations, incentives or inspirations proceeding from without. Civilization must be kept distinct in one's mind, also, from the necessities, economic or social, of any given situation. A man living on a desert island, entirely by himself, might, with the aid of good books, become a very civilized being in the larger sense of that term without having any knowledge of mathematics or even of writing, if what he absorbed from his reading awoke within him a responsive emotion and a purpose which he had character enough to carry out. He might become a person of rather rare refinement and mental culture without having learned one or two of the arts which in our more highly organized society we consider necessary to enable a person to get on with his neighbors and to cope with the conditions that surround his life.

I spoke of civilization ''in its broader sense''. In its narrower sense and in the light of its etymology it means, of course, the degree of cultivation requisite to fulfilling one's duties to society—that is, the equipment of a citizen. I also spoke in another place of the necessities of any given situation. One of the necessities of a place in the civilized world, where we are in touch with other men and subject to constituted authority, is the attitude of respect for and obedience to law; and one of the first demands made upon the citizen and the non-citizen alike, under the law of universal prevalence in our country, is that the child who is to become an active participant in the country's affairs a little later must have the rudiments of an education, not only to fit him for participation in the community's business, but to keep him out of the poor-house or from otherwise becoming a public charge. In cities, certain regulations are strictly enforced in regard to ventilation, fire defences, a pollution of the water supply, the preservation of the drainage and sewerage system in tact, etc., which from the nature of the case we do not attempt to enforce to any great extent in rural or remote settlements.

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Now you will see what this reasoning leads to. One of the first things I did atfer coming into office was to throw to the winds the old rules, and abolish the statistical tables, concerning citizen's dress and other folde-rol of that sort. I should not ask what an Indian wears, any more than I should ask what a white man wears, as long as he keeps within the limits of decency and behaves himself. Costume is, after all, a purely conventional growth. Every people is assumed to have found out by centuries of experience about what will suit its needs in the matter of dress. If the Turk is more comfortable in his baggy trousers or the Chinese in his pajamas I have no quarrel with him. If you put the Turk into Broad Street, New York, as a curb broker he would soon discard his baggy trousers for others more convenient for rapid work. It is to be presumed that the Chinese, placed in certain situations where his pajamas are ill suited to his needs, would in due course exchange the pajamas for something else. But those matters are purely matters of evolution.

I look in the same way upon the question of habitation. A tepee, which can be packed up whenever the weather or any other condition makes its present site disagreeable, and carried to a place where its surroundings will be more satisfactory, has a great many features in its favor, particularly for people who live as the Indians have lived for generations and are still continuing to live to a very large extent. Certainly, housing in permanent domiciles at the present stage of the Indian's developement [sic] has not in all cases proved a success. When an Indian has been raised to that point of cleanliness and hygienic care of himself and his family, where he can look out well for the inside of his house, I am always glad to see him cease to be a curio in the landscape and adapt himself to the general practices of the white people about him. But I should never attempt to force him into anything of that sort. The tepee dweller thrust into a house, at once goes to the opposite extreme in his habits of life; and, from having a home which automatically ventilates itself, he proceeds to fill up every chink and corner through which a bit of the fresh air can enter, till presently he becomes as tender as the average white man, and a good deal more susceptible to the diseases which cluster about ill-ventilated places. Infectious disorders spread with great rapidity through an entire family housed after the modern fashion, unless the family has first been sufficiently instructed in the ways of keeping a dwelling to avoid pestilential conditions. Any sudden change is perilous.

I think I have made plain to you now what I am aiming at in regard to the new homes of either of the two parties who choose to leave Oraibi and settle somewhere else. Where Mr. Murphy and I should disagree—although I assume to know no more than he does about it—is in the first place on the question of forcing the two factions back together for a permanent home. They probably could not live in peace. To me it makes no difference which faction leaves Oraibi, but I felt as if the logic of the situation pointed to the departure of the Hostiles, as the Friendlies had already evicted them. If the Government had kept its hands off entirely, what would have become of the Hostiles? That is a question which Mr. Murphy does not pretend to answer.

In my judgment, if they had determined to return to Oraibi some of them would have been killed; and, as I understand it, the Hostile faction could not bear a very great many killings, as its ranks are not physically overstrong now. What would have happened in case they had been driven off again? Necessarily they would have had to go somewhere else to find a home. Now, whether they choose that home at the Hot Wells [Hotvela], or over on some other mesa, or on some knoll of the low lands, I care little or nothing. I agree with you in thinking, and I believe I have distinctly stated in my correspondence, that it would be well for the Superintendent, and for yourself as Supervisor, to assist the Hostiles in any way that you can in selecting a new site for their home. All I have demanded of them at any time was that they should send their children to school, and that demand I made upon the Friendlies equally, and every civilized white government makes it upon every man and woman within its jurisdiction, no matter of what race or color. I think I should limit the punishment of the Hostiles, if practicable to do so, to their ninety days' work on the road—except

of course the ring-leaders who were driven out of the country altogether. I should give them the opportunity of saying whether they would like to go to Rockyford and work there or not. But as for requiring them, or requiring the Friendlies if the Friendlies prefer to leave Oraibi, to build on the low lands, or to build houses of other construction than those in which they have been living, or, indeed, in any way to force upon them brand new habits of life, I should not be willing to stand for it. I should try to help them to see what was a wise and good thing to do, and bear very firmly in upon their minds the fact that I was pointing out these things for their own good and not for any good the Government would receive, explaining each point as thoroughly as possible; but after all that was done I should leave the ultimate decision to them, with the understanding that if they did not prosper under their new conditions they must not blame the Government for it.

I notice that you assume that there is a discrepancy between a statement contained in an Office letter of October 4 and later references to the separation of the factions. If you will reread the letter of October 4 you will find that its drift was in the direction of avoiding the forcing of the situation at any point except in extreme cases. I did not say that at the end of the Winter the Oraibi Hostiles who spent the winter in the old village would be driven out from there. I was very careful to avoid saying anything of that kind. What I did lay stress upon was that any arrangement made now for the purpose of meeting the exigencies of the situation that we were immediately confronted with, should be understood on all sides to be merely a temporary arrangement. I had no means of knowing, for instance, whether the factional disturbances might not be healed by spring, in which case the two factions might live in Oraibi until the end of time for anything that I should do to disturb them. But I wished to place the compulsory re-admission, by the Friendlies, of those Hostiles who asked for readmission to the village, upon the distinct logical ground that it would be only an act of mercy and of temporary necessity to let them return for the winter, and that on their part they were to be under pledge to keep the peace.

The only criticism I have to make upon your argument regarding handling this case, is that you viewed the attitude of the Office from the narrow rather than the larger lines of its policy. If you will read all the correspondence in the light of the big principles which the Office is trying to impress and to illustrate in this Oraibi case, I think many difficulties which present themselves to your mind now will disappear. You took hold of, and have handled, the situation at Oraibi very creditably indeed. It has been the general remark in the Office that you were obviously the right man in the right place. All I wish to have you avoid now is getting too restricted a view of either the situation close at hand or the lines of reasoning followed at headquarters. And it is for this reason that I have gone so extensively into the subject in this letter.

In your letter of the 17th instant you make suggestions relative to the building of a new day school for the Hostiles, and say that if these people go to Colorado their children should, of course, be placed in some of the boarding schools, but that if they remain on the reservation you have no doubt they will agree to keep their children in school.

If they elect, after being given an opportunity to express their wishes, to go to Rockyford, the question of providing schools for their children will be considered. It seems, however, that if a sufficient number go to the beet fields they will remain there probably until the first of October, and you may say to them that arrangements will be made to give them a little day school as near their habitations as possible, provided they will give the Government satisfactory assurance that they will keep their younger children in the school when it is ready. Whoever is in charge should promptly look over the situation and see whether quarters can be rented for day school purposes, or a cheap structure built.

If, on the other hand, rather than send their children to such a day school, they prefer to place them in Grand Junction or some other boarding school, no objection will be raised.

For the purchase of lumber, doors and windows for the construction of their houses, and the sinking of wells to furnish the domestic water supply, you think that about

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$20,000 would be required; but you add that, if the Office does not require cottages as good as those built by the Friendlies some years ago, the roofing and flooring can be eliminated and the cost reduced to $15,000, of which only $7,500 would be required this year.

As this estimate is predicated on recommendations which you made before submitting the plan for employing the Indians at Rockyford, I would rather not take this matter up until definite information is received as to the number who are to go to the beet fields.

In your letter of December 18 confirming your message of that date you say that unless otherwise instructed you will, after seeing Mary Y. Rodger, return to the Navajo Agency on the 31st, finish your work at that place and request instructions as to the future.

It is preferred that you return to the Moqui as soon as possible and there take up these unfinished matters with the Superintendent, and in the light of this letter make a definite report with recommendations.

Very respectfully,
(signed) F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner

Department of the Interior,
Indian School Service,
Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
Dec. 28, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir;

I have the honor to inform you that while confined to bed with a case of pneumonia at the Second Mesa Day School, from whence I have just returned, Quavenca [Kwaavenqa, Snow, 2M], a woman of Shimopivi, formerly living at Oraibi, but married to one of the Hostile Shimopivis while these were stopping with the Hostiles at Oraibi came to me with the following statement:—

''When the Hopis (hostiles) were taken prisoner and sent away with the soldiers we were told that the young men would be sent to school. My husband, Ki-wan-i-i-ma [Tuwani'yma, Bearstrap, 2M] was one that they said would be sent to school somewhere and we were told that we would be sent with them. The men were sent to Keam's Canon and then somewhere else. The soldiers came up to the camp and made us all go over to Shimopivi.

''My husband had raised corn at Oraibi this year and he did not gather it because the soldiers took him and sent him away and I was sent to Shimopivi and the horses and cattle ate up all the corn. I have no corn and no beans and no food only what they give me in the village. And I want to know if we have to try to live that way, or if we are going to be let to go to our husbands to school?''

I had to tell her that I did not know what the intentions of the Honorable Commissioner were in the matter. This morning she came to me in the Office and again asked me about it. I am just out of bed from sickness and have had no other time to investigate the matter. She informs that exactly the same conditions exist in the case of Ma-ho-i-ma [?], and baby, husband and father Jos-wy-te-wa [Tsorwaytiwa, Sun, 2M], and Si-cia-wis-nim [Sikyawisnöm, Bluebird, 2M] and baby, father Washington, and whose Indian name I believe to be Ta-li-emp-ti-wa [Talayamtiwa, Sun, 2M]. These women, Qua-ven-ca informs me, want to go to school now as they want food and want to be with their husbands.

It is my belief that an investigation will show that they have lost their crops, and that they are in need of food. I have no desire in the world to intrude in this matter and only write that I am writing that your Office may be informed of the facts as the Indians claim, and as I believe investigation will show them, to exist. I feel that such hardships were not intended by your Office and that you should be put in possession of the facts—or what I believe to be the facts in the case.

If I may suggest, nothing better can be done than put these young people in school as originally intended by Supervisor Perry. Even if the husbands return here at once it will not change the condition of poverty and a year must pass before crops can be grown. If my recommendation in the matter is of any

value to your Office under the conditions then I earnestly recommend that these young people be put in school and at some time returned at a time of year that they can grow crops for sustenance the following year.

We are now closing the papers and will make the transfer with the close of the year, and I will be going out, these women would, they say, gladly go with me, and I will willingly take them either to Haskell or Chilocco if it be the wish of your Office that they go there as I know them to have been told that they would.

When I am out of the Service so that there can be no feeling that I am actuated by any motive other than the welfare of all concerned if a statement of some things that I believe would be helpful to your Office in the mixed condition that exists here would be welcome to your Office I hope you will command me in the matter and I will cheerfully give you some information that I believe will be helpful, a part of which has come to me within the past few days.

Very respectfully,
Theo. G. Lemmon.
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service
Navaho Indian Agency
Fort Defiance, Ariz.
Jan. 3, 1907.

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

. . . within a very few days I will proceed to the Moqui reservation to carry out your desires.

I am very glad to have your letter of the 28th ultimo as I feel that it will be a great help to me in the future, not only at Oraibi but in general, and I am very thankful to the Office, and the Commissioner especially, for taking the time and giving the consideration necessary for furnishing me with all the information contained in said letter.

There are a few more places on this reservation that Doctor Harrison and myself should visit together and we will endeavor to do so in the next few days.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry
Supervisor

The following letter indicates that those prisoners to be sent to Carlisle remained, as of January 1907, detained at Fort Wingate. The prisoners sent on to Fort Huachuca in southern Arizona were evidently transported there in December 1906.

The Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Navaho Indian Agency
Fort Defiance, Ariz.
Jan. 3, 1907.

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith copy of a letter written to the military secretary at Denver, Colorado, by the commanding officer at Fort Wingate concerning the eleven prisoners now held at Fort Wingate waiting orders from your department. These eleven were recommended for school instead of imprisonment on account of their being young men and it was believed that school would be better than prison for them.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry.
Supervisor

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
January 7, 1907.

Superintendent Moqui School,
Keams Canon, Arizona.

Sir:

I am in receipt of a letter from Ex-superintendent Lemmon dated December 28, in which he says that Quavenca, a woman of Shimopivi, formerly living at Oraibi but mar-

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ried to one of the hostile Shimopivis, informed him that her husband Ki-wan-i-i-ma, who was taken prisoner and sent away with the soldiers, would be sent to school somewhere; that her husband had raised corn at Oraibi this season but did not gather it on account of the soldiers taking him away; that she was sent to Shimopivi, and the horses and cattle ate up all the corn; that she has now only the provisions which are given her in the village, and she wishes to go to school with her husband. She added that the same conditions exist in the cases of Ma-ho-i-ma and baby, husband and father Jos-wy-te-wa, and Si-cia-wis-nim and baby, father Washington (Ta-li-emp-ti-wa), and that these women wish also to go to school with their husbands.

On this information Mr. Lemmon suggests that these young people be sent to school as originally intended by Supervisor Perry.

As you are aware, it is not my intention to impose any greater hardship on these people than is essential for good discipline. Make an investigation of the statements made by Quavenca to Mr. Lemmon, and if the facts are as reported there will be no objection to granting the request of Quavenca and the other women. Report promptly, and give the names of the schools to which the husbands have been or are to be sent, the names of the wives and their ages, number and names of children in each family, and their ages, and if each of the mothers will voluntarily request to be transferred to school.

On receipt of this information the subject will be taken up with the several superintendents in regard to their enrollment as requested.

Very respectfully,
(signed) F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner

The following telegram suggests that, rather than having been chosen by Leupp, Carlisle Indian School, Pennsylvania, was actually the preferred option of the prisoners, from among several possibilities.

Telegram
Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.,
January 11, 1907.

To
Perry, Supervisor,
Fort Defiance, Arizona,
Via Gallup, New Mexico.

Make necessary arrangements for sending the eleven Hopi prisoners recommended for school, now at Fort Wingate, to any Government school they may elect. The Superintendent of the school selected will be authorized to arrange transportation and you will so inform him.

Report your action.

(signed) Leupp
Commissioner

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui School.
Keams Canon, Arizona.
January 14, 1907.

The Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir;—

Referring to Authority granted in your letter of September 15. 1906. ''Accounts, Auth. 101086''. I have the honor to inform you that 15 police privates have been on duty since November 15th, under this authority, and as the 90 days sentence of the Hopi prisoners will not expire till Feb. 18th, it will be necessary to continue a part of the irregular police on duty. Mr. Tucker, foreman in charge of the prisoners, thinks 5 policemen will be all that is necessary after the 14th instant.

Please grant authority to employ 5 irregular police privates at $20.00 per month each from January 15, to February 19th 1907.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

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Telegram

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
January 15, 1907.

To
Superintendent,
Indian School,
Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

You will make necessary arrangements with Supervisor Perry for transfer to Carlisle of eleven Hopi prisoners now at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, Supervisor is advised of this order.

(Signed) Leupp,
Commissioner.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Navaho Indian Agency
Fort Defiance, Arizona,
Jan. 17, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Referring to message of the 14th instant informing the Office that the eleven prisoners at Fort Wingate selected Carlisle for their school I have the honor to state that all arrangements for their transfer and an escort were made before I left the fort yesterday.

I have just arrived at Fort Defiance and find some mail pertaining to my affairs at this agency. I will remain here tomorrow in order to answer the same and will proceed to Keams Canyon on the 19th.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry.
Supervisor

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
January 23, 1907.

Superintendent,
Moqui Indian School,
Keam's Canon, Arizona.

Sir:

On November 10 last Supervisor Perry recommended that the Hostile prisoners be employed for ninety days in working on the roads in the Hopi country, and on November 20 I approved his recommendation. Again, on December 28 I wrote the Supervisor as follows:

I think I should limit the punishment of the Hostiles, if practicable to do so, to their ninety days' work on the road—except of course the ringleaders who were driven out of the country altogether. I should give them the opportunity of saying whether they would like to go to Rockyford and work there or not.

It is noted in your letter of the 14th instant that the term of the prisoners will expire on February 18 and that it will be unnecessary to continue the full force of 15 police privates until that time, but that 5 irregular police privates should be continued at $20.00 per month each from January 15 to February 19, 1907.

You are therefore advised that the relief of the 10 police privates on January 14th instant is approved, and you may continue the 5 until February 19 at $20.00 per month, as requested.

You will report on the work done by these prisoners, what roads have been improved, etc.; also what answer was made to the option given them to go to Rockyford.

If Supervisor Perry is on the reservation, confer with him with reference to these matters.

Very respectfully,
(signed) F. E. Leupp.
Com.

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Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui School.
Keams Canon, Arizona.
January 28, 1907.

The Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir;—

. . . Quavenca, Ma-ho-i-ma and Si-cia-wis-nim called on me a few days ago and requested an interview, where no one else could hear what was said. At this meeting Quavenca, who talks fairly good English, made a statement to this effect; we felt bad and wanted to be with our husbands when we called on Superintendent Lemmon and asked him to arrange for us to go to school. We made statements to him concerning the lack of corn and other provisions, because we were willing to do anything in order to be sent to our husbands. Now we have changed our minds and we do not want to go away to school or any other place but we want to stay at Chimopivi and we hope our husbands will come back to us sometime.

Quavenca talked Hopi to the other women and seemed to be explaining to them the questions, regarding their conditions and desires, as I asked them. . . .

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

The next letter signals the real beginning of Horton Miller's involvement with factional issues at Orayvi. Perry had been briefly recalled from Fort Defiance. Miller was to remain Agent for almost four years. Perry records the Hostiles' rejection of the proposal to remove to Rocky Ford to work in the beet fields. It is significant, notably to the materialist explanation of the split discussed in Chapter 4, that Perry indicates the Hostiles would still be able to plant in their old fields—i.e., including in the Oraibi Valley—despite having removed to Hotvela. Perry also points out that Tawakwaptiwa was attempting to influence events in Orayvi—particularly regarding fields (see Miller's letter of May 25, 1908, below)—via the mail. Perry recommended sending someone to Sherman Institute to stop him from doing so, and on February 8, 1907, Perry was directed to go to California in person, taking Frank Jenkins (Kuwanngöytiwa, Patki) with him (see chap. 24).

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Keams Canon, Arizona.
January 30, 1907.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir;—

Obedient to instructions contained in Office letter ''Education 112323, 112324 and 112074, 1906'' of the 28th ultimo, I have the honor to report my return to Keams Canon, on the 20th instant, for the purpose of taking up unfinished matters with the Superintendent and certain Indians.

On the 21st, Supt. Miller and myself went over some of the correspondence, and on the following day, laid the proposition to employ the prisoners in the beetfields at Rocky Ford, Col. before them, explaining as fully as possible the advantage such a program would be to them, but they refused the proposition. At this meeting the Indians were assured that the Government desires to be kind to them, but they would be required to keep their children in school as the Friendlies do.

On the 23rd, I talked to them again and they declared their intention to oppose school and said they would not keep their children in school and they do not desire to make friends with the Friendly faction. They say the Friendly Chief, Ta-wa-quap-te-wa, told them that the schools are for his people and not for the Hostiles. When at Oraibi, I warned the Friendlies against making such statements and they said they would not in the future.

On the 24th instant, Supt. Miller and myself went to Oraibi and on the 25th held a council with the Friendlies and returned Hostiles now inhabiting the village. There had been some friction between the factions over what is known as the Flute dance, the Friend-

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lies claiming that the other faction had no right to have this ceremony. It further appeared that the Friendly Chief, before going away to school, named his brother to rule the village during his absence and they were not inclined to obey the teacher and judges in matters pertaining to village affairs. They requested the dismissal of the old friendly Judge but seemingly all their reasons for desiring to dismiss him were good reasons why he should be retained in the position.

They were told that the Government did not desire to interfere in any way with their ceremonies but wished them to settle such matters among themselves; that their new chief could not be recognized; that the teacher and judges are to govern the village and must be obeyed; that the old judge would not be dismissed but must be treated with respect and obedience. They promised to govern themselves in accordance with the foregoing.

I then asked them how they had been getting along since the return of some of the Hostiles to the village and if they thought they would make friends and the Hostiles who had returned and are keeping their children in school would be allowed to remain in the village. They stated that their chief, who is away at school, would have to be consulted before they could answer and that his desire in the matter would be theirs. They were told that the chief would be in school for a term of three years and could not have anything to do with their affairs during that period at least. They say they look to him for guidance and have been receiving instructions from him by mail. They suggested that Ta-wa-quap-te-wa could be seen and whatever he would agree to they would do. Of course, it would seem like attaching much importance to Ta-wa-quap-te-wa to consult him in such matters, but they will recognize him as their leader, even though the Gov't. does not, and the letters he is sending his people keep matters in an unsettled condition. It might be well to have some Official take one of the Friendly Indians to Riverside and talk over these affairs and see that he sends no such letters in the future as he has been sending in the past.

The Hostile parties, who returned to the village, have been very orderly, kept their children in school and obeyed the teacher and their young judge. They desire to remain in the village if the Friendlies become willing.

Mr. Staufer, who has been among the Hopis for a number of years and who understands the language well, visited the prisoners yesterday and talked over school matters, etc. but they hold out that they will not agree to any thing or make any promises until their Chief Yukioma returns to direct them. Notwithstanding the fact that these Indians have been told that Yukioma would never return to the Hopi country, they believe he will return and that he and his following will be able to take possession of the village and eject the Friendlies.

The prisoners, when released, will return to Hotevilla (Hot Wells) where they had their camp. They have water and wood at this new village and are near enough to their old fields to cultivate them.

I have said nothing to the hostiles as to extending their term of work, but as their children are to be kept in school during vacation unless they promise to return them, it would seem unnecessary to extend the time much beyond the original ninety days, which will end February 18th.

As these people will return to Hotevilla where they have already built some fairly good houses, no great amount of material will be needed to assist them in providing habitations, but they will need some and a few of the Friendlies who desire to move down off the Mesa and build will need some material. It, is believed, the way matters are turning, that about $2000.00 worth of material will be sufficient to meet the requirements at present and that the Indians can be required to pay something in labor for what they receive.

I have gone over all these matters with Supt. Miller and he understands the conditions as well as I do and will be able to handle the affairs. I see no further need of my remaining on this reservation and therefore request instructions.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry.
Supervisor

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CHAPTER 24

RELEASE OF THE PRISONERS, ENFORCED SCHOOLING AT KEAM'S CANYON, AND THE RESUMPTION OF ALLOTMENT (1907–1908)

This chapter includes documents from February 1907 to August 1908, principally from Part IV of the ''Oraiba Troubles'' files, with some additional letters from Keam's Canyon Letterbooks for this period.

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
February 8, 1907.

Reuben Perry, Supervisor,
Moqui Reservation,
Keams Canon, Arizona.

Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo, reporting your return to Keam's Canon for the purpose of taking up unfinished matters with the Superintendent and with certain Indians.

As the prisoners in conference with you and Superintendent Miller rejected the proposition to go to the beet fields at Rocky Ford, Colorado, there is no occasion to pursue that branch of the subject further. Your statement to them that the Government desires to be kind to them, but that they will be required to keep their children in school, as the Friendlies do, was well advised. I am determined that their children shall go to school, and shall expect you and Superintendent Miller to place this decision in the strongest light possible before those who oppose the program. If they persist in their unfriendly attitude to the best interests of their children they must expect to take the consequences of obstinacy. I intend to deal with them as gently as they will permit, but I shall not countenance any opposition to the plan that has been formulated for the government of the Reservation, with the essential features of which they are well acquainted.

Your warning to the Friendlies to refrain from making any more statements to the Hostiles that the schools are for the children of Friendlies alone, was timely. They must understand that the Government expects them to live in harmony with the other faction, as far as it is possible to do so.

As you told the Indians, the chief delegated by Ta-wa-quap-ti-wa to act during his absence cannot be recognized, for the present at least, and they must obey the teachers and judges in matters pertaining to village affairs. The old Friendly judge will not be dismissed because of the reasons alleged, for, as you say, these are good reasons why he should be retained. As the Indians promised to govern themselves in accordance with your explanations of the wishes of the Government, you may express to them my appreciation of their recognition of the duty they owe to themselves and their children.

You suggest that it would be well to have some official take one of the Friendly Indians to Riverside to talk over their affairs with Tawaquaptewa and tell him he must not write his band any more foolish letters. These suggestions seem to be judicious, and you are hereby directed to select an Indian and proceed with him to Riverside, California, for the purpose of interviewing Ta-wa-quap-tewa, at the expiration of your visit returning the Indian to his home. You will take proper vouchers for expenditures incurred on behalf of the Indian and submit them to the Office for payment.

You say that the Hostile parties who returned to the village have been very orderly

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and have kept their children in school, obeying the teacher and their Indian judge. I hope that the Friendlies because of this, will become reconciled to the situation and treat them properly. You may say to the Friendlies that while the Government recognizes their kindly disposition toward itself, they must not forget that it is interested in the Hostile faction as well; and that, if they wish to merit a continuance of the Government's confidence they must so act toward the other faction as to remove as far as possible any cause for friction, especially as long as the Hostiles obey the instructions heretofore given.

Suggest to Superintendent Miller and Mr. Stauffer that in every way possible they must impress the prisoners with the fact that their chief, Yu-ke-o-ma, cannot return to the reservation; that it is useless to continue in opposition to the well defined policy which has been outlined for the government of the Indians; and that they must recognize it, or it may be necessary to adopt sterner measures than those heretofore taken.

As you say that the Hostiles will return to Hotevilla, where they have already built some fairly good houses, and that no great amount of material will be needed to assist them in providing habitations, you may direct Superintendent Miller to submit an itemized, detailed estimate for the $20,000 worth of materials which you think will be sufficient to meet the requirements of the Hostiles and those Friendlies who wish to move off the mesa. Of course, Superintendent Miller will require the Indians to pay something in labor for what they receive, as you suggest.

A copy of this letter will be sent to Superintendent Miller for his information, and his estimates will receive proper action when received here.

After your return from Riverside, if there is no further occasion for you to remain on the Moqui Reservation, wire the Office and orders will be given you as to your future movements.

Very respectfully,
(signed) F. E. Leupp
Commissioner

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui School.
Keams Canon, Arizona.
February 13, 1907.

The Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir;—

Referring to your letter of January 18th "Education 6444-1907" I have the honor to report that the Hostile Oraibi prisoners have been employed in working the roads in the vicinity of this agency since early in December. They built a new road out of the Canon in the direction of Holbrook for about 15 miles and which has shortened the distance from here to Holbrook 3 or more miles besides being a much safer road. They have also repaired the roads for 7 or 8 miles up and down the canon.

They are good willing workers and Mr. Tucker, the foreman in charge of the gang, says he has only been able to locate one shirk in the party. They are pleasant fellows and have given no trouble at all. They appear to be perfectly trusty but do not seem inclined to make any promise for supporting the schools. . . .

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
In the Field
March 1, 1907.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report my return from Riverside where I went under orders from your Office dated February 8th last "Education 12442-1907".

The interview with Ta-wa-quap-te-wa and the Indian taken down by me was satisfactory and I feel certain that matters at Oraibi

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will move sommthly [smoothly] on account of my talks with Ta-wa-quap-te-wa. I will make a report later.

On my return and learning that conditions had not in any way changed, I wired you as follows, under date of the 28th ultimo:

''No change in conditions Moqui reservation requiring me to remain longer. Request instructions''.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry,
Supervisor

As the next sequence of letters shows, the Hostiles imprisoned and working on the roads at Keam's Canyon were kept longer than the 90-day sentence—which officially began on November 20, 1906, and expired on February 18, 1907—because they refused to give in to allowing their children to go to school. Six prisoners did consent, at least notionally, and were released on March 15th, but the remainder were kept at Keam's Canyon until April 3rd, after Reuben Perry was directed to return to the Hopi Reservation from Fort Defiance in late March, when they were released even though they still refused to accept the school. Thus most of the prisoners spent almost five months incarcerated or under arrest—from November 9, 1906, to April 3, 1907.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui School.
Keams Canon, Arizona.
March 5, 1907.

The Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir;—

I have the honor to report that Supervisor Perry, General Mechanic Staufer, and myself held a council with the Oraibi prisoners detained here on the 16th and I told them, using Mr. Staufer as an interpreter, the contents of your letter of February 8, ''Education 12442-1907'' and explained to them that you are determined that their children shall go to school, that their children were now in school, happy and contented and that if they would state to us that they would not in the future oppose the schools or stand in the way of the Hopi children going to school that we would let them go home, that we would arrange to furnish them some material to help them make houses for themselves they to give a certain amount of labor in return for the material furnished them and that we would do what we could to assist them.

One of the men said they did not want any schools, neither did they want anything to do with the white people. Supervisor Perry then asked if some of the others would not accept the conditions offered but not one would say that he would favor the program or accept the proposal. They all thought they would be allowed to return to Oraibi after the 90 days expired and seemed to think no questions would be asked and no promises required.

We thought it would not be advisable to let them go home without some kind of a promise from them of good behavior in the future.

Since the 15th ultimo the prisoners have been working in the vicinity of the school.

They built a restraining wall in front of the school plant and have done considerable grading and leveling about the grounds.

I have been among them when they were at work and in most cases found them pleasant and working as if they were interested in the work they were doing.

Two or three have asked me when they were going home and I have in each case said you may go when you agree not to stand in the way of the Hopi children attending school.

I have explained to them that it was because they opposed the schools, and would not permit the Hopi children to attend school that they were being detained here. That I did not bring them here, neither did I have authority to let them go unless they agreed to the plan of putting the Hopi children of school age in school, that I was directed to feed them and keep them employed.

Saturday morning, the 2nd instant Hooker Hongeva, our Judge from the first Mesa asked if he could go and talk to the prisoners stating that he was sorry for them and would like to try to get them to see that it would be to their advantage to agree with the plan.

I told him that any one of them who would state to me that he would not in the future oppose the schools would be allowed to go home.

They all came down to the office prepared to go home and the Judge said they were ready to go and asked me to talk to them.

The Judge stated that they were all anxious to go home, that they would not make any trouble in the future and would not be unfriendly to the whites, and the prisoners with one accord said ''Oh yes'', signifying their approval of this statement.

I said to them, ''that is good'', One of them said they wanted to get ready to plant their corn, and they wanted to do many things at home, that they wanted to take their children home to assist them with work.

I told them the smaller children could go if the parents lived near enough to the school at Oraibi and would promise to let them attend the day school there.

Some of them said they did not want their children to attend school and when they got them home at vacation time they would not let them return to school. They were informed that no children would be allowed to go out for vacation under such circumstances, and after talking with them for some minutes I found they were as determined as ever to not agree to anything. They want to return home but they don't want their children to go to school.

Different ones of the party had something to say during this meeting but it all amounted to the same thing.

They said they were going home any way and I told them they could go to work if they were not ready to comply with the conditions to obtain their release. They refused to go to work and did not move until the Police were instructed to start them. After that they went to work with more interest than they had displayed for several days.

The authority contained in office letter of January 29, 1907 ''Education 6444-1907-Authority 103407'' for the employment of irregular police expired on February 19. We have continued the five police privates on duty, and I respectfully request that the authority be granted for the employment of five irregular police privates at $20 per month for such time as they may be required.

The Authority for the employment of a white foreman in charge of the prisoners will expire in a short time, and I request that authority be granted for the employment of a white foreman at $4.00 per day for such time as his services may be required.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui School,
Keams Canon, Arizona.
March 22, 1907.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

The conditions were such that it was absolutely necessary to increase the number of extra policemen in charge of the Oraibi prisoners in order to prevent an outbreak.

Five of the prisoners came to the decision that it was to their interest to comply with the requirements of the Government and have promised to not interfere with the Hopi children attending school. When these five men left the camp those remaining became very sullen and their position seemed to be such that it was thought they might attact [attack] and overpower the foreman and the five policemen guarding them.

Please authorize the employment of the five additional policemen at $20.00 per month from March 20th. for such time as their services may be needed.

This is in addition to the white foreman at $4.00 per day and five extra policemen at $20.00 per month requested in my letter of the 5th. instant.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

HP010154

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Fort Defiance, Arizona,
April 5, 1907.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to confirm message of yesterday, as follows:

''Hopis were released on the third. Am on way to Blackrock''.

Upon receipt of your message of March 19th, I proceeded to Keam's Canon and there received your letter of equal date. I then proceeded to Oraibi and took twelve pupils from the day school and enrolled them in the boarding school, these being children of the prisoners held at work.

Upon my return from Oraibi, Superintendent Miller informed me of the message received directing that no decisive measure be taken until your letter was received. Your letter was received by Superintendent Miller on the second, and after going over the matter and the situation, we decided the proper thing to do was to send the men home.

After I left Keam's Canon for Fort Defiance some two weeks ago, six of the prisoners promised to support schools in the future and were released by the Superintendent. Their going home seemed to make the others more stubborn and necessitated the employment of a larger force of special police, but the men had become quiet and had been working well for some time and we thought it unnecessary to prolong the period of their service so I released them as stated in message.

Before releasing the men, I told them that the Government had hoped to be able to arrange matters so they could have their children with them during the vacation period, but as they had refused to give the Government any assurance that their children would return to the school at the expiration of vacation, we would be compelled to keep all of their children in school during the coming vacation, and in the future unless they changed their attitude. They seemed glad to go home. I told them that we wanted them to behave themselves and be happy and they said all right.

Little frivolous matters are coming up all the time at Oraibi and to the Indians seem to be of great importance and they have to be settled, but I believe it is the intention of Superintendent Miller to have Mr. Staufer stationed there permanently. He speaks the language well, has the confidence of both factions and I believe will be able to keep all outside affairs in good shape, while Mr. Mattin the teacher is a man of good judgement and, I believe, will be able to keep village and school matters under control.

It has occurred to me that Hotevilla (Hostile Camp) is rather a large settlement to be without a Government representative and it seems to me that it would be wise to have a policeman stationed there. If one of the Hostiles would agree to serve in that capacity, I believe his employment would be beneficial.

I believe Superintendent Miller's good judgement guided by the broad and wise outline furnished in Office letter of December 28th last will enable him to handle the situation, however, the Hopis are the most uncertain people I have ever had anything to do with, and it is impossible to predict what the situation will be in one week from date.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry,
Supervisor

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
April 20, 1907.

Superintendent Moqui School,
Keams Canon, Ariz.

Sir:

A letter has been received from Supervisor Perry, in which he says that the Hopis were released on the 3d instant, which action is approved.

The supervisor says that after he left Keams Canon, some two weeks prior to the date of his letter, six prisoners promised to support the schools in the future, and were released by you, and on his recommendation this is approved.

Based on Supervisor Perry's report of March 7, he was on March 19 wired as follows:

> ''Your plan to keep hostiles at work for definite time, then let them go and inform them that children will positively not be allowed to go home this coming vacation nor in the future unless they change their attitude, is approved''.

Taking this order in connection with the report that six of the prisoners promised to support the schools in the future, and were released by you, the question arose in the Office whether, in view of their changed attitude, it would be wise to permit the children of these to go home during vacation. With many other Indians the answer would be simple; but the Hopi's peculiar temperament makes me hesitate; and before taking any action I wish to be better advised. As you are the officer who will be held responsible for carrying out the general lines of policy I have adopted in dealing with these people, your recommendations will be of great weight.

Consult with those persons in your neighborhood who are familiar with the Hopi and are in a position to give you good advice. It might be that if the stubborn majority were to see the children of the more sensible minority returning to their homes for vacation, and the parents enjoying the reunion, the spectacle would have a beneficial moral effect. I would rather reach their reason through their affections than by any species of physical force; and if they can be brought to see that I am making no demand upon them which is not made by every white government upon the white people subject to it, and that it is both pleasanter and more profitable to do right than to be stubborn for mere stubbornness's sake, the exhibition I have suggested may possibly produce a further break in the ranks of the recalcitrant. However, it is on these points I wish your candid judgment.

The Supervisor says that little frivolous matters are coming up all the time at Oraibi, which to the Indians seem to be of great importance and have to be settled, and he believes it is your intention to have Mr. Staufer stationed there permanently. Mr. Staufer is borne on the rolls as general mechanic at $900 per annum; and while your action in assigning him to duty temporarily at Oraibi will be approved, please inform me what arrangements are to be made to have the duties of general mechanic performed.

The Supervisor adds that it occurred to him that Hotevilla is a rather large settlement to be without a Government representative and that it would be wise to have a policeman stationed there; and that if one of the hostiles would agree to serve in that capacity he believes it would be beneficial. This idea of the Supervisor appeals to me, and I wish you to take up the matter at an early date and see if you can not get one of the hostiles to act as policeman. If it is necessary to authorize an additional position for this purpose, you may submit your recommendation.

Very respectfully,
Commissioner

Moqui School.
Keams Canon, Arizona.
May 9, 1907.

The Honorable
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir;—

Replying to your letter of April 1, 1907, ''Land'', relative to the allotment of lands to the Indians of the Moqui Reservation, I have the honor to state six townships and a few fractional tracts were surveyed 15 or 16 years ago, few if any of the posts marking the surveys could be found at this time for much of the land is covered with shifting sand which is continually changing from one location to another, piling up several feet deep, in many places. It is upon these shifting fields that the Hopis grow their corn.

There is an area half a mile wide and fifty miles in length along the Oraibi wash about half of which is suitable for cultivation. About the same amount of land along the First Mesa wash is suitable for cultivation. The productiveness of all this land depends largely upon the sand conditions which are very unstable.

I have the honor to suggest that before any action is taken in regard to alloting [sic] this land it would seem advisable to provide a

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permanent supply of water sufficient for domestic purposes for the benefit of each location. This could be accomplished by providing wells about half a mile apart along the wash at a cost of $50 for each well.

The claim of the Santa Fe Pacific Railroad Company to certain lands in the vicinity of the Hopi villages is of great importance in connection with the allotment of lands to the Hopis. The different villages being in possession of and claiming certain tracts of land is worthy of consideration, also the springs and grazing lands are of much importance.

The Navajos have control of the range on every side within a few miles of the Hopi villages and will no doubt figure in any settlement of land that may come up.

The conditions on this reservation are perhaps very different to those prevailing on any other reservation and for this reason I trust may be fully understood before any decided action is taken in the matter of allotments.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui School.
Keams Canon, Arizona.
May 14, 1907.

The Honorable,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir;—

Referring to your letter of April 20, 1907, ''Education 26609-32658-1907'', I have the honor to state that the six prisoners who promised to support the schools in the future and were released by me, were told that they would be permitted to take their children to Oraibi, and send them to the day school there. This was done to place them on the same footing as the others who had returned to the village, and under instructions from Supervisor Perry.

The four children sent to Oraibi with this party have been attending the day school regularly, since their return.

Mr. Staufer, General Mechanic, has devoted most of his time for several years to the work among the Hopi villages, and while he had a room at the Moqui School, and made headquarters at Keams Canon much of the time he was out at one of the villages, assisting the Hopi in their work, or in charge of the construction of some building or some other Government work, and it was thought that he could perform the duties assigned to him to better advantage if he were stationed at one of the day schools. He can cover the field as easily from Oraibi as from either of the other villages and can come to the agency when his services are more necessary here than elsewhere.

The suggestion of the supervisor that a policeman be stationed at Hotevilla is a good one and an effort is being made to find a suitable man, among the hostiles, who will accept the position, and the matter will be taken up when one is found.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller.
Superintendent

Moqui School and Agency,
Keams Canon, Arizona.
July 18, 1907.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Replying to your communication of May 27, 1907, ''Land 46383 1907'' and of June 27, 1907, ''Land'', relative to the allotment of lands to the Indians on the Moqui Reservation, I have the honor to state that the land on the reservation which has been surveyed covers about all the land now cultivated by the Hopi Indians and lies within sight of and near to the villages. There is much of the surveyed land that is not adapted to dry land cultivation and for this reason is not used by the Hopis.

A great part of the land upon the reservation that would be suitable for the agricultural purposes is located in the unsurveyed

parts of the reservation entirely in possession of the Navajo Indians, who have their cornfields along the washes, much as the Hopis do.

Along the Oraibi Wash wells can be put down for about $50 each and I suggest that 20 to 30 wells be provided before any attempt is made to allot lands to the Oraibis.

It is not known whether water can be acquired in the First Mesa Wash as easily as it can be in the Oraibi Wash and it would be necessary to prospect that part of the country before an estimate could be made as to the cost of constructing wells in that locality.

The people of the First and Second Mesas have their fields along the First Mesa Wash.

The hostile faction have established a village and are constructing permanent houses at Hotevilla, a spring on the edge of the Mesa overlooking the De-neb-i-to Wash, where some lands suitable for agricultural purposes are located.

The Navajos have fields in all the washes named, and use the range within 5 to 10 miles of all of the Hopi Villages, and have had possession of this territory for many years.

The Navajos have located near springs where they make their homes, care for their stock and cultivate their fields.

While this reservation is known as the Moqui Reservation fully two thirds of the area contained in the reservation is in possession of Navajo Indians.

In my opinion the Hopis would make little use of the lands now in possession of the Navajos if they were free to take them, for many fear if any of the Hopis will remain long away from the villages.

I have talked with some of the young men about the probability of the lands being alloted to the Hopis and also to some of the whites on the reservation, but I have not mentioned the subject to the older Indians.

The general opinion is that it would be hard to find a Hopi who would select or accept an allotment.

The control of their fields, orchards and grazing lands is vested in the clans, of which there are a number in each village. No one, not even the best informed Hopi, seems to know the exact status of the minor clans but the authority of the chief of the ruling clan is supreme in each village, and when he issues some order prohibiting any person from planting a crop that person will make no effort to raise a crop until permission is given by the chief.

The most advanced Hopi believes this clan way of controlling their land is the only right way.

The whites on the reservation who know the Hopis best say if the allotment of land comes upon the Hopis at this time it will probably require strong measures to cause them to occupy the land selected for them or to conform to the rules covering individual ownership.

Mr. Staufer and Miss Abbott who have been long with these Indians say the matter of allotment to the Hopis is one that should be carefully and deliberately considered, for the Hopis have no desire for allotment and do not understand why the control of their lands should be taken away from them.

I am of the opinion that if the lands are to be alloted at this time it would be well to have a special Agent take the matter up with the Indians, for the reason that I have not been on the reservation long enough to gain a personal standing with many of them and I fear several of the friendlies will turn hostile if the allotment issue is forced upon them.

Mr. R. P. Collins of Rocky Ford, Col. understands the conditions, knows the Indians and has as much of their confidence as any one has and would probably be as good a man as could be found to undertake this work.

I am perfectly willing to take the matter up with the Indians if you desire it, but before doing so I wanted the Office to understand that it was a subject that would be distasteful to the Indians and would probably cause friction in connection with the attendance at the schools.

Mr. Staufer would be a good man to look over the lands for the Moencopi Indians.

If he is detailed to that work we should have a good mechanic in his place for there is much work at the day schools that we had intended to have Mr. Staufer do.

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If there is any further information that I can furnish or any thing that you desire me to do in the matter of arranging for the allotment of this land please advise.

Very respectfully,
Horton H Miller.
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui School and Agency.
Keams Canon, Arizona.
August 18, 1907.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Referring to your letter of July 1st ''Education'' I have the honor to submit the following report relative to the Oraibi prisoners who were detained at Keams Canon, when I assumed charge of the affairs of this agency on January 1st 1907.

There were 70 Hopi men of the hostile faction of the village of Oraibi in camp near the agency guarded by 15 policemen under the supervision of a white foreman who directed the men in the work of repairing, improving and building roads in the vicinity of the agency.

I frequently went among the men while they were at work and found them good workers, peaceable and seemingly contented, until a council was held with them at which Supervisor Perry, myself and Mr. Staufer talked with them regarding their future attitude towards the Government Schools, and informed them that it was the intention of the Department to keep their children in school somewhere.

The prisoners said they had no use for schools and would not consent for their children to attend school.

When pressed for a reason for their attitude in this matter of schools they said their chief told them not to consent for their children to attend school and they would not do so until his head was cut off.

While Supervisor Perry was gone to Riverside to talk over the situation regarding the Oraibi fields with Tewaquaptewa, the young judge, Kewanimptewa, came over from Oraibi to visit relatives among the Hopi prisoners. He explained to them how foolish they were in assuming such an attitude towards the Government and advised them to change their attitude and come with him to the Agency and ask to be allowed to return to their families. Six of the men came in and were released on March 15th and were permitted to take 4 small pupils to Oraibi promising to keep them in attendance at the Day School, which they did until the close of school June 30th.

When the remainder of the men were released they went direct to Hotevilla and began to construct homes and arrange for gardens near the new village.

I have visited them in their new village and found them working to improve their homes and surroundings.

A number of the parents have visited their children at the Moqui School but as a rule they are rather timid and shy and do not have much to say to the employees.

They are kindly treated and the policy of the school has been to let them enjoy the visit with the pupils without noticing them any more than seems necessary.

The 70 pupils kept at the Moqui School during the vacation are making satisfactory advancement in the Industrial Departments of the school and are enjoying the special advantage they are receiving.

It is possible to give them much more personal attention than when the other pupils were here and the individual instruction is doing them a great deal of good.

A few of the larger boys have been excused for a short visit to their homes for special reasons and have returned promptly to the school.

I do not anticipate any trouble in keeping the children in school but the hostile faction would continue to oppose school and try to prevent any other children from attending school.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

HP010159

The next letter indicates the release date for 16 of the 17 imprisoned at Fort Huachuca, as October 18, the day they arrived back at Keam's Canyon (one, Qötsventiwa, had been released earlier, on June 23, 1907, said to be suffering from "nervous dementia"). Of the 16, seven were from Second Mesa, and returned to live in Songòopavi. The nine (or 10 including Qötsventiwa) Orayvis rejoined their families at Hotvela. Thus, despite the repeated insistence of Commissioner Leupp and Supervisor Perry that Yukiwma and Tawahongniwa were to be banished from the Hopi Reservation for life, both returned less than one year after their arrest. The news of their release, however, evidently did not fully register in Washington for more than six months, as subsequent letters show.

Subject: Relative to release of 16 Moqui Prisoners.

Moqui School and Agency.
Keams Canon, Ariz.,
Oct. 19, 1907.

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Referring to your letter of the 27, 1907, "Land 74682/1907, File 17b, 4" I have the honor to report that sixteen Moqui prisoners were delivered to me on the 17th instant and were on the morning of the 18th given permission to go to their homes.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
May 1, 1908.

Subject
Present status of Oraibi matters.
Report on prisoners, etc.

Superintendent,
Moqui Training School,
Keams Canon, Arizona.

Sir:

I hereby confirm Office telegram to you of yesterday, as follows:

Wire immediately number of Hopi and Shimopovi prisoners now confined in military prison. Advise by letter names of all placed in prison, and terms, and names of any who may have been discharged.

Make full report promptly on present status of Oraibi matters.

What the Office wishes is a full, clear statement concerning the Hopi and Shimopovi Indians who were placed in the military prison at Fort Huachuca in the fall of 1906 on account of resistance to the Government in the recent Oraibi trouble. Give the name and tribe of each of the 15 prisoners placed there, being careful to have the names exact; the term of imprisonment of each; record of each as a prisoner, and present health. If any have been discharged, give the names and date of discharge, and what their behavior has been since release. Tell also whether the whereabouts of Yu-ke-o-ma and Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa is known.

In addition I should like a general resume of conditions on the reservation during the past year as regards the attitude of the former Hostile party on the question of school attendance. A prompt response is desired.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) C. F. Larrabee.
Acting Commissioner

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui Agency,
Keams Canon Arizona.
May 25, 1908.

Subject: Present status of Oraibi matters, report on Hopi prisoners, etc.

The Honorable,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

In compliance with instructions contained in your telegram of April 30th and your letter of May 1st, "Education", I have the honor to offer the following report:

On May 6th, I wired:

"Replying to yours of thirtieth ultimo, just received, no Hopi or Shimopovy Indians are now confined in military prison. Report will follow in mail as soon as data can be obtained".

HP010160

There is no record in this office of the names of the men sent to Fort Huachuca, nor the date upon which they were placed there.

On June 23rd, 1907, Kooch-ven-ti-wa, a Moqui prisoner, was returned to the reservation from Fort Huachuca and went to his home. This man was said to be suffering from nervous dementia, but appeared to be sane enough when he reached this agency.

On October 17, 1907, the sixteen Moqui prisoners, named below, were delivered to me at Keams Canon, by a military escort from Fort Huachuca, Viz.:

Bo-shi-ma [Lolma'iwma, 2M].
Ma-sa-hong-ie [Masahongi].
Gosh-hong-wa [Kyarhongva, 2M].
Na-qua-wey-ma [Nakwave'yma].
Lo-mi-wi-na [Lomawuna, 2M].
O-ma-na-qua [Sikyayamtiwa, 2M].
Lo-mi-es-ti-wa [Lomayestiwa].
Pa-cush-ia [Talawisiwma, 2M].
Ma-qua-lets-ti-wa [Nakwaletstiwa].
Quo-ya-ho-es-ni-wa [Qöyahoyniwa].
Ta-lang-ai-ni-wa [Talangayniwa].
Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa [Tawahongniwa, 2M].
Ta-lash-mang-e-wa [Talashongniwa].
Yo-ke-o-ma [Yukiwma].
Ta-lash-wang-e-ni-wa [Talaswungwniwa].
Yo-ye-ti-wi-wa [Yoywaytiwa, 2M].

and were on October 18th, permitted to go to their homes. The men seemed to be in good health at the time of their release, and the escort informed me that they had been a well behaved lot while at the Fort and had not given any trouble on their trip home.

The only disturbance among the Hopis since the return of the prisoners has been the usual disputes regarding the ownership of fields, and these are among the friendlies themselves as well as between the two factions.

Yo-ke-o-ma, named in the list above, is Yu-ke-o-ma, the Chief, and he is living at Hotevilla, the new village established by the hostile faction after they were driven from Oraibi.

Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa and the other Chimopovy men went to their village upon their return from Huachuca, and are living there. Very little has been said by the other people of the Chimopovy village regarding the return of Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa, but some of the men at Chipaluvy, a village on the same mesa, claim fields that Ta-wa-hong-ni-wa has planted, and of course they would prefer that he and his crowd should move to Hotevilla where the other Hostiles reside.

The seventeen men, who have returned to this reservation from Fort Huachuca, are all of the Hopi tribe, and are now and have been since their return in good health.

The hostile faction are still opposed to schools, but the children of this faction, enrolled in the Moqui Boarding School, have been permitted to visit their homes during the present year for a few days at a time, and have usually returned promptly at the time they promised to, and in the few cases where they were late in returning, usually had some reasonable excuse.

These people have had the same consideration shown them, that has been shown the other patrons of the school, and this year have consented for ten of the larger boys to go to Rocky Ford to work in the beet fields. Last year they would not consent for any to go.

I think, if the parents agree to return their children at the beginning of school next fall, that we would have no trouble in securing their attendance at the boarding school, but there are some younger children in the village of Hotevilla, that should go to school some where next year, and it is thought they will protest against enrolling them, but I am of the opinion these can be enrolled without any serious trouble.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui Agency,
Keams Canon, Arizona.
July, 16, 1908.

Subject:
Children of Hostiles remain at school.

The Honorable,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Referring to my letter of May 25, 1908, relative to the attitude of the Hostile Oraibi

towards schools, I have the honor to report that previous to the close of schools for summer vacation, notice was sent out from this office that the pupils in the Moqui Boarding School would be allowed to go home on June 27th, for a two month vacation.

A number of the parents and relatives of the pupils were present on the morning of that day to take charge of the pupils.

I had the Hopi interpreter explain to a few of the Hostiles that the children would be excused to go home for a two month vacation, to return on September 1st when school would open again. No promise was exacted of pupil or parent or any one, but after the pupils had been lined up and excused, one of the hostile men came and said to me ''if they took their children home, they would keep them and not return them again''. I told him that all of the children could go home for two months, but when school opened in the fall all of the children would have to return. He said they would take their children home if they could keep them, but they would not bring them back to school. I told him that all of the children would have to return September 1st, when school opens again. The representative then returned to the Hostile delegation where they counciled [sic] for an hour.

At the close of the council, several of the pupils who had made ready for the trip home came back to the school. In some cases a good deal of persuasion on the part of the parent or relative seemed necessary before the child would return. Some of the children pled with their parents to be allowed to go home, but the delegation had evidently decided to not take any of the children home, under the circumstances, and the pleading of the children was of no avail.

A few of the children of the Hostile party went home before the council, and one of this number, a girl ten years of age, a general favorite at the school, returned in a day or two.

On July 1st, the matron and disciplinarian reported 31 girls and 29 boys, a total of 60 pupils, present at the school.

Since then several of the relatives of these children have visited at the school, and four of the larger boys have gone home and returned at the expiration of their leave.

I understand the ultra Hostiles say they will never put their children in school, nor give a promise to do so, but all of the hostile children in the Moqui School, except two or three small girls, have gone home during the year for one or more visits, and have generally returned at the time promised, usually four days from the time of leaving the school.

Some of the hostile men told me a few weeks ago that food was rather scarce with them now, and said that they had only small patches of corn planted this season, because it was hard to clean the fields in time for planting.

The children in school are well and appear to be happy.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
August 21, 1908.

Subject:
Unchanged attitude of Hostile Hopis with regard to attendance of their children at the Government schools.

Superintendent,
Moqui Training School,
Keams Canon, Arizona.

Sir:

Referring to your report of the 16th ultimo, concerning the attitude of the Hostile Hopi parents concerning school enrolments and attendance, it is noted that they refused to take their children home from the Moqui Training School for the vacation months because permission to do so was conditioned on their return to the school in the fall, and that 60 of the children remained at school on July 1st.

It seems also, that, although ''the ultra Hostiles say they will never put their children in school, nor give a promise to do so'', the children who were allowed to go to their parents at any time during the year were sent back to the school without protest when the time had expired.

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In your report of May 25th you say:

> These people have had the same consideration shown them that has been shown the other patrons of the school . . . [see Miller to C.I.A., 5-25-1908, above].

Although from your report very little change in the attitude of these Indians can be detected, there is encouraging evidence, in their prompt compliance with the rules in the matter of returning their visiting children to the school, of a growing respect for the Government's authority over them. For this reason I do not anticipate any concerted resistance to your efforts to place the smaller children in school. I should not insist upon taking any whom you judge to be under seven or eight years old.

You should keep the Office advised as to conditions, among these Hostiles particularly, and report the results of your efforts to get the children into school.

Very respectfully,
F. E. Leupp.
Commissioner

CHAPTER 25

THE SECOND SPLIT, THE FOUNDING OF PAAQAVI, AND MATTHEW MURPHY'S ALLOTMENTS (1909–1910)

This chapter includes documents principally from Part V of the ''Oraiba Troubles'' files, with some additional letters from Hopi allotment files for this period in the National Archives (Record Group 75—Central Files—Moqui ''313'' files).

After Tawakwaptiwa's return from Riverside, California, in June 1909, relations between Friendlies and Returned Hostiles deteriorated. As noted above, Supervisor Perry had visited Tawakwaptiwa in 1907 to attempt to stop him communicating by letter with his allies in Orayvi and seeking to subvert the ''Board of Control'' (consisting of the Oraibi Day School Teacher, the old judge Qöyangayniwa, and new judge Kuwannömtiwa). Upon his return, Tawakwaptiwa also faced Matthew Murphy's allotment program, which he appears to have alternately resisted and participated in insofar as he sought to have his family allotted in the prime floodwater farmlands on the Oraibi Wash where the lands of the *kiikyam*, the principal Bear clan family, were located (see chap. 4). Although this is not entirely clear, it appears there was another flare-up of conflict between Tawakwaptiwa and Lomahongiwma over the Flute ceremony; in 1907, only the Blue Flute society, led by Lomahongiwma, had performed in the ceremonies at Orayvi. In August 1909, it appears (see Talayesva, 1942) Tawakwaptiwa was able to prevent the Blue Flutes from performing publicly, while the predominantly Friendly Grey Flute society, under Lomahongva (Patki) held a ceremony based at Mumurva, the spring where some of Loololma's family continued to reside (rather than at the main spring, Leenangwva, that was under the ritual authority of the Spider clan). When it was decided to hold initiations into the Wuwtsim sodalities in November, this became a flashpoint between the factions (see Whiteley, 1988a, 1988b), resulting in the Returned Hostiles leaving to found a new village at Paaqavi.

The Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Arizona.
Oct. 29, 1909.

Supt. Moqui School,
Keams Canon, Arizona.

Dear Sir:

It seem that the Oraibi situation is getting somewhat serious, Tewaquaptewa has threatened to drive out the Hotevilla faction, also the former judge, Quoinginiwa and his sons and daughters and families. This threat seems to have led Roland [Ngahutiwa, Maasaw] and Seyouma's boy [Hootiwa, Maasaw] to draw revolvers on the chief and others who were in Pawiki's [Paawikya, Rabbit] store last Wednesday evening. At present I cannot give you a full report, nor can I vouch for the truth of every thing, as it has been told by Tewaquaptewa's followers. Therefore, I can give you at present only the above report of the affair, which I have gathered from Mr. Epp mostly.

Very respectfully,
(Singed) C. A. Gossett,
Prin. Teacher

HP010164

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui Agency,
Keams Canon, Arizona
Oct. 30, 1909.

Subject: Oraibi situation.

The Honorable
Commissioner of Indian Affairs
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

On the evening of the 27th instant, Kewanimptewa [Kuwannömtiwa, Sand], Nasequaptewa [Nasikwaptiwa, Badger], Secavama [Sikyave'yma, Reed] and Sematchkuku [Sumatskuku, Lizard] from Oraibi visited this office and reported that Chief Tewaquaptewa of the Oraibis had called a council, which met on the night of the 26th instant, in a house in the village of Oraibi, for the purpose of talking over conditions in that village of Oraibi, and that thirty-two men of the hostile faction, who returned to the village of Oraibi after the disturbance there three years ago under a promise to respect the Government's authority over them in the future, were present. Chief Tewaquaptewa had many of his followers, both men and women, present and they stated that they did not desire these returned hostiles to remain in the village. Kewanimptewa, the leader of the returned hostiles, was asked if he or any of his followers had any thing to say, and he says he went over and offered to shake hands with Tewaquaptewa but the Chief refused to shake hands with him. Kewanimptewa says that he stated to the council that he understood Tewaquaptewa was willing to be friendly with those who had returned to the village and that his people did not desire to make any trouble. The delegation said they were sure the friendlies would undertake to drive them out of the village during the coming month because there was to be a ceremony for the initiation of some of the young men. They asked that we help them to hold their residence in the village.

I told them that when they returned to the village of Oraibi, it was with the understanding that it was a temporary arrangement for the winter only, which was made to provide shelter for those driven from the village who wished to return under promise of living there peaceably until spring, that we would not undertake to make them live in the village if they desired to go elsewhere, and that we would take no part in their ceremonial controversy, but if any one did bodily harm to another, the offender would be subject to punishment under the law. I advised them to go quietly about their affairs and to avoid congregating for councils or other purposes, for fear that their meeting might be mistaken.

They did not appear to be satisfied with the advice given them, for they thought that the Government would see that their residence at Oraibi was uninterrupted because they returned there under an agreement with a Government official.

It has generally been understood that when Tewaquaptewa returned, he would handle the affairs to the satisfaction of his most ardent followers, and soon after his return from Riverside, he told me of his plans and of what he expected the Government to do for him. He says supervisor Perry promised him a house, well, wagon and other articles which were to be given him when he returned from school. I explained to him that he undoubtedly misunderstood Mr. Perry, because no arrangement had been made to build houses for any of the Indians on the reservation, neither had any promise been made that wagons <u>or</u> any other articles would be issued to any particular person, but that we had wagons and other articles to issue to deserving Indians, who showed a disposition to make use of them, in return for labor, and if he could use a wagon and harness, it might be issued to him as to any other Indian, but that no promise would be made until the articles were ready for issue.

While I was at Oraibi the latter part of August, a delegation, headed by Tewaquaptewa, demanded the dismissal of Quoinginiwa, the old friendly judge, and the appointment of some one they might select to his place. I told them that the position of judge was an important one and that we could not promise to appoint a man they might select, but if the position became vacant, they might suggest some one, and the matter would be given consideration. A few days later, the old judge informed the principal teacher at Oraibi that he wanted to be relieved from duty,

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and the Oraibi people selected Sewanimptewa [Siwinömtiwa, Patki], a very radical and aggressive fellow, for the position. I felt that it would not be safe to intrust him with any authority and that he would not be satisfactory to the Indians, and stated to them that I preferred Tewaquaptewa, their chief, should be judge. Feeling that it would be a good plan to give Tewaquaptewa some responsible position, I directed the principal teacher to see him and tell him that he was my personal selection for judge at Oraibi, and that I felt he could do much good among the people in that village if he would accept the position of judge. He accepted the position and went on duty September 1st. It is reported that Tewaquaptewa's followers have stated that Rev. J. B. Epp, missionary, Mr. Armijo, trader, the old friendly judge, Quoinginiwa, his sons and daughters, and their families are to be driven away from Oraibi as well as the returned hostiles. This threat seems to have caused Rowland Nehoitewa, the son of Quoinginiwa, and another relative to attack Tewaquaptewa in Pawiki's store at Oraibi recently but no serious harm was done any one at that time.

In my opinion, Tewaquaptewa is a harmless sort of a fellow and would not make any trouble, but there is in his party an aggressive element that has been dissatisfied because some of the hostiles returned to the village of Oraibi, who will not be satisfied until these people are made to leave that village, and I do not doubt that an attack will be made upon them before very long.

I shall be very glad if the Office will give me instructions as to what position is desired that I take in this matter.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

Moqui Agency
Received Nov. 2, 1909.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Arizona.
Nov. 1, 1909.

Supt. Moqui School,
Keams Canon, Arizona

Dear Sir:

The Oraibi situation does not clear up much. I have been trying to find out as near as possible about when the trouble is expected to break. Tewaquaptewa's brother, Bert Frederick [Sakwwaytiwa #2, Bear], is now away, but is to be back in twenty days and the chief has threatened to drive Kewanimptewa's party out, if they do not move by that time. While I put very little confidence in what he says, yet other conditions seem to indicate that if the Oraibis really aim to drive Kewanimptewa's party out, it will be within a short time.

The initiating ceremony, in which the young men of the village are initiated into certain of the secret ceremonies, is to come off soon, or at least the Hopis want to hold it soon. Tewaquaptewa's party do not want to initiate any of Kewanimptewa's followers. As this is one of their most important ceremonies, and as it is necessary for people to vacate certain parts of the village on the night of the ceremony, it is not desirable to have reactionary people there. From what Frank Jenkins has said, the Oraibis do not want Kewanimptewa's party there at that time. While I do not expect an outbreak for three or four weeks or more, yet some are to such a heat, that the least move might start the whole thing. Tewaquaptewa dropped a few hints to Rev. Epp, which indicates that some of the whites here might be in danger in case of an outbreak.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) C. A. Gossett,
Prin. Teacher

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Moqui Agency,
Received Nov. 2, 1909.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
General Conference, Menonite [Mennonite] Mission.
Oraibi, Hopi Station.
Toreva, Arizona,
Nov. 1, 1909.

Supt. H. Miller,

Keams Canon, Arizona.
Dear Sir:—

I have been urged by Government employees and others here at Oraibi to make a few statements to you referring to the situation here in the village. Personally, I want to do this to relieve myself of the responsibility, which rests upon me, if I know anything on the subject which the officials may not know.

The aroused conversations going on in the village tell me that possibly (no, very likely!) another skirmish will soon take place between Tewaquaptewa's people and the now so-called Kewanimptewa's people. The latter are to be removed from the village, if not by the Government then surely by the Tewaquaptewa people.

Besides that, certain undesirable white people are to go. The trader (Mr. Amijo), the missionaries, and individual Government employees—all who do not ''dance to the chief's piping''.

Having been through all of what took place here three years ago, I for one do not believe, that this is idle talking; but I must believe that they mean much of what they say. Probably they mean more than they say; for the Hopis under similar circumstances usually say only enough to be able to say, that they have told us so. Then, if he gets any kind of encouragement he will act. Thus, unless matters be thoroughly investigated soon, I fear that some very undesirable (likely bloody) scenes may be enacted. Individuals are now meeting each other at the point of revolvers and several have been reported to me that they carry concealed weapons.

We have heard from their own lips, that if they get up a ''mob spirit'' again, no one can guarantee to the safety of the white people, who are living near. Especially if the latter should in any way interfere—as we did three years ago.

I have seen the Hopis enraged—and others here have seen them—and if they add to that a drug, of which they know, which makes them forget fear and makes them dangerously mad; then I do not care to be near them. Although otherwise a Hopi's courage sinks into his shoes at a straight reproving look, however under a mask or under such drug-influence, the Hopi will act beastly. Under a mask alone he is not himself any longer.

The time to interfere, on the part of the Government authority, is now! before they continue too far in the dangerous way. For a week they will be busy husking, but after that they are free to give attention to other things. In about two weeks the chief's brother, Burt Fredericks, who lives mostly at Zuni, N. M., will return to Oraibi, and then something is to be done! But the bomb may burst any day!

You will pardon if I take the liberty to suggest a few things to you and give you a few cautions.

It seems to me that carrying arms ought not to be allowed, indeed ought to be forbidden under penalty of law, even among Indians!

Such threatening talks as are going on here, right openly, to kill one another, ought they not to be most strictly forbidden? It is quite clear that Chief Tewaquaptewa is being influenced by old priests of the ruling clans, who fear that they will not get everything and that everything will not remain tributary to them—this accounts for all the opposition in Tewquaptewa's party. That chief's brother from Zuni seems to be stiring [stirring] up the minds every time he comes. Ought not Government affairs be carried on by men appointed by the Gov., such as Kewanimptewa, who looks after Gov. affairs; and not by priests like Tewaquaptewa, who look after family and their own personal interests. Let Tewaquaptewa remain chief priest—that is what he is any way.

Then may I caution you to be very careful, that the Hopis do not get permission from you, such as you do not want them to have. They will ask such indirect questions and get your answer, which they pass on from one to the other until it is positive permission. Thus they did with Supt. Lemon [Lemmon]. In

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some such way they may get out anything they like to have—if you are not exceedingly careful. You may be sure, if during these days they come to you with all kinds of questions, that they mean to get permission from you, which they know they would not get, if they asked free and open questions.

So, please, come out here as soon as you can, and look over the situation yourself.

It seems to us grave and needs speedy attention.

Yours very respectfully,
(Signed) J. B. Epp.

P. S. Please use this information without using my name—it would seriously hurt my work in the future.

Moqui Agency,
Received Nov. 3, 1909.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Arizona.
Nov. 3, 1909.

Supt. Moqui School,
Keams Canon, Arizona.

Dear Sir:

Have been expecting you out every day. The situation here, I think, demands your immediate attention.

I firmly believe it will be necessary to have troops within a short time, not only for the safety of the Indians, but for the whites as well.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) C. A. Gossett,

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui Agency,
Keams Canon, Arizona,
Nov. 3, 1909.

Subject:
Oraibi Situation.

Personal.

Hon. Robert G. Valentine,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

From all indications, the situation at Oraibi is becoming very complicated and it is thought by those who are best informed that a climax will be reached in two or three weeks. It is reported that Tewaquaptewa's people intend to remove the returned hostiles from the village of Oraibi unless the Government require these hostiles to move out of the village. They also say the old friendly judge and all of his family must leave Oraibi, that the missionary and the trader and their families must also go, and that certain individual Government employees are not wanted there.

I am going to Oraibi tomorrow and will try to get an understanding of the situation, and if possible, prevent a clash between these parties.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

Oraibi Chapel,
Nov. 5, 1909.

Supt. Miller,
of Moqui Reserve.
Sir:

We are on our way to Moencopi and may not return for a long time. The entire situation on the reservation is unsafe.

Herewith all our mission property is placed in your care.

There are cows and chickens who need attention. The rest you know.

Yours very respectfully,
(Signed) J. B. Epp,
Missionary in Charge.

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Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Arizona.
Nov. 5, 1909

Subject:
Mission Property.
Rev. J. B. Epp,
Moencopi, Arizona.

Dear Sir:

Complying with your request, we are taking charge of the mission property at Oraibi and will undertake to care for it, to the best of our ability under the conditions it was left in, until you can arrange to have a representative sent here to care for the mission. I respectfully request that you take steps to place some representative here and have the one selected report with as little delay as is possible, for I am sure some one on the ground could give better attention to the mission than we can. We are bringing the cows to the school this morning and will make some provision for the chickens. I do not fear for the safety of the mission property except that it needs the attention of some person who can look after the details of managing such a place, and it is not possible to place a white representative at the mission for this purpose.

I suggest that you send some one who is entirely disinterested in the Oraibi situation, to take charge of the mission as soon as you can.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) Horton H. Miller,
Superintendent

Moqui Agency,
Received Nov. 13, 1909.

Moencopi, Arizona,
Nov. 8th '09.

Supt. H. Miller;

Dear Sir:—

You will pardon the poor hasty note which I sent you from Oraibi Chapel. I was so nervous after the discussion with the Oraibis about our mission work that I could not write anything very intelligent (and I am not sure yet if I can do it now).

I left two Oraibi men in charge of our station, but they may get frightened and leave. So, will you, please, take charge of the matter, having some one there to watch. We had to leave on account of our personal safety, which we feel you cannot give us with the few policemen at your command.

The two milk cows might be taken to some school where they can be milked.

Please, correspond about this matter with Rev. C. H. Wedel, Newton, Kansas, who is president of the mission, and also Rev. J. B. Frey, Tuba, Arizona, who may come over to Oraibi some time.

Hope you can handle the situation at Oraibi, but feeling that your police is entirely too few.

Yours respectfully,
(Signed) J. B. Epp

Telegram

Education—
Administration.

November 12, 1909

Perry,
Superintendent,
Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Conditions similar to those with which you are familiar have arisen at Oraibi. Go immediately to Keams Canon, under same authority as that heretofore conferred upon you. Investigate and report action necessary to meet conditions. Wire when you start.

(Signed) F. H. Abbott,
Acting Commissioner

Telegram

Education—
Administration.

November 12, 1909

Miller,
Superintendent,
Gallup, New Mexico.

Superintendent Perry ordered to Keams Canon with authority to make investigations

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and if possible settle Oraibi controversy. Render him all assistance necessary.

(Signed) F. H. Abbott,
Acting Commissioner

[As it turned out, Perry's wife was ill, delaying his departure from Albuquerque; while he offered to leave for Orayvi around November 20th, by that point the situation was largely resolved.]

Department of the Interior,
United Sates Indian Service,
Moqui Agency,
Keams Canon, Arizona.
Nov. 12, 1909.

Subject:
Oraibi Situation

The Honorable,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

This will confirm my telegram of the 11th instant, as follows:

> ''Oraibi situation is being adjusted. Letter giving details will follow''.

I have the honor to refer to my letters of October 30 and November 3, and to report that I reached Oraibi on the evening of the 4th instant. Upon my arrival, the Principal Teacher told me that affairs appeared to be a little easier than they had been a few days before. He said Rev. Epp had inquired for me a short time before I arrived, but had gone up into the village to spend the night, preparatory to getting an early start the next morning for Moencopi, a Hopi village near Tuba, Arizona, where the Mennonites have a mission. On the morning of the 5th, at about 8:30, a messenger gave me a note from Mr. Epp, in which he stated, ''We are on our way to Moencopi, and may not return for a long time. The entire situation on the reservation is unsafe. Herewith, all our mission property is placed in your care. There are cows and chickens who need attention. The rest, you know''.

The messenger gave me a key, which he said was to Mr. Epp's mission. I went to the mission and found an old Hopi man who had been left there to care for the chickens and to look after the place while Mr. Epp and family were away, presumably for three or four days. We had the two cows removed to the day school and the principal teacher agreed to take care of them. The chickens were left in the care of the old man, who is, I understand, the only convert the mission has among the Hopis [Kuwanwikvaya, Lizard].

I learned from Quo-you-wy-ma [Qöyawayma, Badger], who delivered Mr. Epp's note, that Tewaquaptewa's followers held a council in the kiva early in the morning of the 5th, and that Rev. Epp, Quo-you-wy-ma and his brother were present. He says the Chief asked him if he wanted Mr. Epp to stay around here, and that he answered, ''you are the chief, and it is for you to say whether you want him or not''. The chief's uncle, Telash-quap-tewa, the ruling priest of the Bear Clan [sic: Talaskwaptiwa, Sun clan, was, of course, an affine in the Bear clanhouse], of which the chief is a member, said he did not want Mr. Epp around there. Quo-you-wy-ma says he told Tewaquaptewa, ''You are the chief; we are willing to do as you want us to do''.

Quo-you-wy-ma has been working for Mr. Epp, and it appears some of the Tewaquaptewa faction want to deprive him of his standing in their faction and class him as a Hostile.

The old friendly judge is also in bad standing with the Tewaquaptewa faction, and they have heaped ridicule and insult upon him and his family for several years, because he has been too progressive for them. He called upon me on the evening of the 6th, and stated that he was very sorry because he and his family were to be driven from their homes. He said he did not know that he or any of his family had done any serious wrong, that they had tried to live as the Government wanted them to live, and were willing to do any thing the Government people wanted them to do.

I told the old judge that he and his people did not have to leave their homes, and that, if any one should attack them and do them harm, that one would be punished according

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to the injury he did. After this assurance of support, the old judge retired.

Kewanimptewa, the young judge, who became leader of the returned Hostiles, when they agreed to recognize the Government's authority over them, was present when the old judge stated his case, and, after the old judge retired, stated that he was very sure the Tewaquaptewa faction would drive them out again and that his people did not want to be treated as they were three years ago. I explained to him that when his people returned to the village of Oraibi three years ago, it was a part of a temporary plan the Government had arranged, whereby those of the Hostile faction, who would agree to certain conditions, might return to Oraibi for the winter, in order that their families might have comfortable quarters during the cold weather. I read the agreement to him and also the names of the fifty-three men who signed it, and explained that we did not know what they would decide to do when spring came, neither did we care how long they remained in Oraibi if they could live there in peace, but the plan for their return was only to furnish shelter for their families for the winter.

I told him that Tewaquaptewa told me that he (Kewanimptewa) had said to him on the morning of October 27, 1909, that, since the two factions could not live together, at Oraibi, in harmony, it would be better for his faction (the returned Hostiles) to select a new location, build new homes and move there quietly as soon as possible after the houses were finished, and Tewaquaptewa told me that he replied, ''It would be well for them to do that way''.

Kewanimptewa said he was mad when he made that statement to Tewaquaptewa, but if I wanted them to move, he and his people would leave Oraibi. I told him I did not want them to move, but if they could not live at Oraibi in harmony with the other faction, it would probably be a good thing for them to move out and build comfortable homes for themselves in a new location where they could live as they desired without having neighbors to quarrel at them. He asked, ''If we move to another location, will I be allowed to remain in the position of judge, (His present position is laborer at $10 per month.) and if any thing happens to my people, will the Government help them and protect them?''

I told him the Government tried to help and protect all of the Indians without regard to their tribal misunderstandings, that all of their trouble had been on account of their ceremonies and that the Government would take no part in this controversy, unless someone did bodily harm to another, or the conditions were such that some one would be injured unless protected by Government authority.

He said if I would select a location for them, they would begin preparation for the construction of their new houses at once. I told him I would not make the selection, but would go with him any time he might state. He said he would go in two days and show me a place they had talked of where there was plenty of water. He said if they moved to this new location, they would like for the Government to build a school at that place for their children, who were now attending the Oraibi Day School, because the distance whould [would] be too great for their children to go to Oraibi to School. They would also like for the Government to furnish them tools to work with and, if possible, some doors and windows for their new houses. I told him we had tools that could be issued to them, that I would recommend the establishment of a day school for them and would ask for authority to purchase doors and windows for their new houses. He said the place they had in mind was about a mile from Hotevilla, that he had many friends in that village, that some of their children might want to attend the new school and that it was possible some of the Hotevilla people might want to build homes in the new village.

He said he had talked the matter over with his people, and they now understood that the Government was trying to help them, and they were willing to do any thing the Government wanted them to do, that they would like to have lands allotted to them before lands were alloted to the Oraibis and they wanted me to ask Mr. Murphy to allott them first.

He said they wanted to build a village nicer than any of the other Hopi vllages, and they would be glad if I would help them to plan the new village.

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I told him we were pleased to have any of the Indians build comfortable homes for their families, and would be glad if some of the Hotevilla people would join them in their support of the Government's plan to put all of the Hopi children in school, that I would ask Mr. Murphy to allot their lands as soon as possible, and would give them such advice as I could in regard to the construction of their new homes.

On the morning of the 8th instant, I went with Kewanimptewa and Secavama [Sikyave'yma], a head man of his faction, to look at the location they had selected. I found it to be a very desirable site for a village because of the bountiful supply of good pure water. There are five springs on the side of the mesa and it is one of the few places in the Hopi Country where I have seen running water.

After I had inspected the springs, Kewanimptewa gave me thirty-two beans representing the number of children of their faction now attending the Oraibi School and asked that I recommend the establishment of a school at Bä-cä-bi, (this being the name of the spring where their new village is to be located), for these pupils and such others as would attend from the village of Hotevilla which is located across the mesa about one mile distant.

He also gave me twenty-four beans which represented the number of young married women (heads of families) who would build houses at the new village, and stated there would also be old men and women who would come with their sons and daughters to this village.

On the morning of the 9th instant, I sent a messenger to ask Tewaquaptewa, and any of his head men who desired, to come to the Oraibi Day School in order that I might talk to them. Tewaquaptewa came and I explained the plan for the Kewanimptewa faction to leave Oraibi, as follows:

(1) The Kewanimptewa faction have decided to leave Oraibi, and will begin work to-day preparatory to constructing new homes at Bacabi, the place they have selected for their new village.
(2) They will leave their families and personal effects in Oraibi until their new homes are ready for occupancy.
(3) They are to have such timbers as they want out of the houses they now occupy and from the houses vacated by the hostile faction when that party left Oraibi.
(4) The members of the Kewanimptewa faction are not to be molested in any way, but are to be permitted to come and go, to and from Oraibi, at will, during the time they are building their new homes and are to be allowed to move their personal effects as well as any part of their present houses whenever it pleases them.
(5) After they leave Oraibi, they are to be permitted to return, to visit such friends as they may have in that village, without hurt or hindrance.
(6) Old Judge Quoinginiwa and his family, Quoyouwyma and his family, and all other persons living off the mesa are not to be disturbed in any way, but are to be allowed to remain in the homes they have built off the mesa and go about their affairs without molestation, and that old man Wickeywy [Kuwanwikvaya], who was baptized some time ago and who is now staying at the mission, must not be troubled in any way.

I further explained to Tewaquaptewa that Rev. J. B. Epp had gone from Oraibi and had placed all of the mission property, including the chapel and mission buildings, in our care, and that it would be protected as Government property while it was under our care, that, when a representative of the mission society came to take it over, it would be returned to the society. I also explained to him that it was good for them to have a licensed trader who would buy their products and sell them such supplies as they wanted to buy from him, that I had found the two Indian stores closed nearly all day on the previous day, and that it was a convenience for the people to have a white trader who kept his store open during business hours on business days, and that Mr. Armijo was there for that purpose, that he was in no way responsible for their misunderstandings and ought not mix in their village affairs. Finally, I told him that

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if any harm was done to any one connected with Kewanimptewa's faction, old Judge Quoinginiwa's family, the missionary's family, the trader's family or any other person, or the property belonging to, or in the keeping of, any of the people named, the one inflicting the injury or harming the property would be punished under the law, according to the nature and extent of the offense.

The chief said he would tell his people what I said.

The following persons were present when this plan was presented to the chief: Mr. Gossett, principal teacher in charge of the Oraibi Day School, Frank Jenkins, policeman, and Harold Youkti [from First Mesa], official interpreter.

In order that the Office may understand the situation, copies of letters relative thereto are submitted, as follows:

From Principal C. A. Gossett, Oct. 29, Nov. 1, and 3. Rev. J. B. Epp, Nov. 1, 5, and 8,and my letter of Nov. 5 to Rev. Epp.

I have asked Tewaquaptewa to tell his brother Bert Frederick when he comes to Oraibi that he was acting like a rattle-brain, and needed some good advice, and that I wanted to see him and give it to him before he got into serious trouble. I will try and quiet him down when I see him.

In conclusion, I have the honor to recommend that a day school be established at Bacabi for the children of the Kewanimptewa faction, and such of the Hotevilla children as would attend it; that lands be allotted to the Kewanimptewa faction without delay, and, if possible, doors and windows be furnished for issue to them to use in the construction of their new homes.

It is possible there may be some difficulty in working out the plan, and I shall be very greatful [grateful] for any suggestion or instruction the Office may offer to guide me in the adjustment of the Oraibi situation, or any other matters that must be dealt with among these queer people.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

Tawakwaptiwa's account of the Returned Hostiles and the second split is recorded in Mischa Titiev's census notes. Again, it shows Tawakwaptiwa's factional bias, but is valuable nonetheless for his characterization of the events.

[Transcribed from Titiev, n.d.a: notes at Household S 549-51]

Chief admits: At first Uncle Joe was good man until he decided to carry out the instructions of the Spider Woman against the Bear & thus the legends go back so far and indicate Spider vs. Bear struggle for supremacy. He told the people that with the power of Spider Woman he would give them a better life than the Chief could. They said Chief couldn't bring rain & plenty & couldn't take care of his people. He was taught to keep and admit this humble attitude and not to show off.

The Kokops, too, had a tradition that there would be a split at which time they would side with the Spider faction & so when time came these two joined forces and turned against the Bear. After getting to Hot. the 2 leaders split their following, each attacking the other—Yuk saying that uncle Joe would lead his faction to the No. (Spider Woman) where it was cold etc. Thus they split again, Uncle Joe coming back to Oraibi, where it was feared that he would again stir up trouble and make further divisions so he was driven out again and went to Bakaβi.

At Bakaβi Uncle Joe and Kuwannimptiwa [Kuwannömtiwa] quarrelled & struggled for supremacy and Uncle Joe got old and died. Kuwannimptiwa took the lead without dispute. Uncle Joe and Kuwannimptiwa were together when they went to Bakabi and founded that village.

Kuwannimptiwa and Chief were both Govt policemen. K told Miller, the Agent, that he wanted to take his people as a leader to Bakabi & to rule them there. When Uncle Joe heard this Uncle Joe stepped aside & let Kuwannimptiwa become the chief.

Before they left for Bakabi, Kuwan and Chief had a talk: it was decided that Chief would continue Hopi ceremonialism, while

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Kuwan was supposed to lead his faction to Christianity, but he didn't keep his word & tried to revive Hopi ceremonialism on pattern of Oraibi. Uncle Joe was on Kuwan's side of the quarrel—Uncle Joe gave up his ceremonies, became private citizen at Bakabi.

Kuwannimptiwa's first claim to fame was as Govt policeman and judge, tho' not as important as Qöyángainiwa, and thus came to thirst for power.

Main judge was Qöyángainiwa (Real Badger, former Kaletaka)—he was main one & govt appointment.

Perry, when he decided to send Chief to Riverside for 3 years to ''learn the white man's ways'' appointed Kuwannimptiwa to be acting Chief at Oraibi in Chief's absence. Uncle Joe failed to take his faction off to Bakabi. At this Kuwan got sore, spoke up strongly, accused Joe of lacking the manhood to go thru with his plan of removing to Bakabi & said ''If you won't do it, I will''. Perry, hearing this and sensing Kuwannimptiwa to be a good ruler & so Perry appointed Kuwannimptiwa to look after his faction, getting $6.00 a month, in Chief's absence. Coin [Humiventiwa], also $6.00, was to be acting leader of Chief's faction, being told that he would resign this office at Chief's return. When Chief returned, he got Coin's job & the $6.00 per month. Then Coin returned to be a common person.

At that time, Coin being Lolol's interpreter, Chief wanted him to rule in his stead while Chief was at Riverside. Also Coin was an eloquent Hopi speaker.

Coin & Kuwann were acting chiefs in Tawaq's absence & both factions lived peaceably side by side until Chief's return in 1909. Soon after this, the Bakabis were driven out (before 1 yr. had elapsed). Bakabi faction under Kuwan—changed minds about going to B & promised to live peacefully under his rule, abide by his decisions & make no more trouble. K offered to shake hands on it but Chief refused, said they had all agreed that this element would leave on Chief's return & told him to go. Bert [Sakwwaytiwa #2] & Chief insisted that they leave & soon after harvest of 1909 they went to Bakabi.

Telegram
Education—
Administration.

November 13, 1909

Perry,
Superintendent,
Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Cannot expect you to leave your wife and have wired Miller to know if situation at Oraibi is too acute to await ten days for you to come. Will let you know result later.

(Signed) C. F. Hauke,
Chief Clerk

The following letter shows that Missionary Epp had returned to Kansas, from the time when he sent his letter from the Mùnqapi mission to Miller on November 8th.

Newton, Kansas,
Nov. 18, 1909.

Supt. Miller,
Keams Canon, A. T.

Dear Sir:

Yours of November 5th came to hand. Thank you for taking my hasty note so kindly.

I shall at once write the Board to send a man to live at the station until we can return. Meanwhile, will you kindly keep an Indian there—the best you can find—possibly a policeman. I am sure the Mission Board will bear the expense. The man can live in the wash house, which is unlocked. If you leave the key to the house with the Oraibi Day School people, then we can correspond with them about some things in the house. I hope we can soon find a white man to come out. Shall be glad to hear anything about the development of the Oraibi affairs.

Yours respectfully,
(Signed) J. B. Epp

Telegram

Collect Govt Via Gallup
Keams Canon Arizona 11/19-09
Commr Indian Affairs,
Washn D.C.

Oraibi situation appears to be adjusting itself.

Miller,
Supt.

[Mennonite Conference Board]
Newton, Kansas.
Nov. 20, 1909.

Hon. Horton H. Miller,
Superintendent.

Dear Sir:

In response to your favor of the 13th instant, I would beg leave to say that I see no way of sending someone from here to Oraibi, in order to take charge of our station, for some time. A party altogether unacquainted with a position of that nature would in the first critical moment be at a loss what to do, and some one with suitable experience we are unable to find. So I think that the way you have kindly taken hold of our affairs at Oraibi will very likely be the best that can be devised under existing circumstances. If a Navajo policeman be intrusted with the watch and guard of our property, it ought, I think, be as safe as it can be made. I certainly hope, however, that this most deplorable interruption of our work will soon be at an end, and our missionary be able to return to take up his work again unmolested by that faction of the Hopis that would apparently like and desire nothing more eagerly than to exterminate every Christian influence among them as thoroughly as possible. Any effort that you, dear Sir, would make in order to secure the personal safety of our mission workers so that they may take hold of our station again will be highly appreciated by our mission board and the whole general conference that is supporting our work in Arizona.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) C. H. Wedel

The Mennonite Board of Foreign Missions.
Rev. C. H. Wedel, Pres.
Rev. A. B. Shelly, Sec.
Rev. Gustav Harder, Treas.
Quakertown, Pa.,
Nov. 22,

To the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Rev. J. B. Epp, the missionary of our Board at Oraibi, Ariz., writes, that on account of the hostile and unsettled condition of the Hopi Indians he was obliged to leave his field and that he has given the mission property there, as well as his own private property, into the care of the Indian agent while he is away.

If the Indian Department therefore can do anything to protect this property against the depredations of the Indians and to remove the unrest among them so that our missionary will find it safe for himself and his family to return to his station it will be highly and gratefully appreciated by our Board.

Very respectfully yours,
A. B. Shelly.
Sec. Mennonite Mission Board.

Newton, Kansas.
Nov. 27, 1909.

Supt. H. Miller,
Keams Canon, A. T.

Dear Sir:

Of course, our mission board does not think of giving up the mission at Oraibi at this time, as the leading men at Oraibi wish it, and they think it will be done.

May I present to you a plan, and may I look for a speedy answer. My plan at present is this; that Prof. C. H. Wedel of Newton, Kansas, who is president of the mission

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board, or any one other member of the board, come with me to Keams Canon at Xmas time, Mr. J. B. Frey of our Moencopi Mission, P. O. Tuba, Arizona, who has been stationed at Oraibi for two years also be called over, then you, Mr. Wedel, Mr. Frey and myself meet the principal men of Tewaquaptewa's party, either at Keams Canon or Oraibi, the latter place preferred, in council and talk over the Oraibi Mission matter. But we must be sure that the Oraibis will be quieted down sufficiently so that they will listen to argument.

Write me please what you think of this plan or present a better plan if you can think of one.

Accept our thanks for taking such good care of our mission property and stock.

Yours very respectfully,
(Signed) J. B. Epp

[Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.]
Dec 4 1909

Education—
Administration

Care of Mission Property.

Rev. A. B. Shelly,
Secretary Mennonite Mission Board,
Quakertown, Pennsylvania.

Sir:

The Office has received your letter of November 22, 1909, asking that the Government protect your Mission property at Oraiba, Arizona, against the depredations of the Indians, and that it take measures to remove the unrest among the Indians so that your missionary will feel it safe for him to return to his station and take up his work there again.

Superintendent Miller of the Moqui Reservation advises the Office that the conditions at Oraiba seem to be adjusting themselves. From the record the situation does not appear to be very serious, but a close watch is being kept of all matters in that vicinity. It would be well, however, for you to place someone in charge of your property as soon as practicable, for the reason that there is no Government employe at the Agency who can be detailed to give it constant attention. For the present it is safe.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) F. H. Abbott,
Assistant Commissioner

Telegram

Department of Indian Affairs,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui Agency,
Keams Canon, Arizona,
Dec. 4, 1909.

Subject: Present status of Oraibi affairs

The Honorable
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

This will confirm my telegram of even date, as follows:

> ''Kewanimptewa's faction voluntarily moved to new location two weeks ago. Men, women and children are constructing homes. No disturbances or rumors of trouble since my report of November twelfth''.

In order that they might carry on the construction of their new homes to the best advantage, nearly all of the Kewanimptewa faction moved to the site of the new village, two weeks ago. The men prepare and lay up the stone walls and the women mix the mud and plaster the houses. About thirty children of this faction have been attending the Oraibi Day School, but went with their parents to the new location which, being five miles away, prevents them from attending the school. These children are of great help to their parents and, in my opinion, should not be required to attend school until their homes are completed.

As directed, a day school site will be selected and reserved and suggestions for the erection of school buildings will be forwarded in a short time.

Very respectfully,
Horton H Miller
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui Agency,
Keams Canon, Arizona,
Dec. 8, 1909.

Subject: Oraibi Mission

The Honorable,
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Referring to my report of November 12th on the Oraibi situation, I have the honor to forward, herewith, copies of correspondence relative to the Oraibi Mission. Rev. Epp's letter of November 18, 1909, indicates that a white man would be sent to care for their mission. From Prof. Wedel's letter of November 20th, it appears that no one is to be sent until their missionary can feel that it is safe for him to return. Rev. Epp's letter of November 27th proposes that a council be held at this place and a talk be had with the principal men of Tewaquaptewa's party, either here or at Oraibi, but states, ''We must be sure the Oraibis are quieted down sufficiently so they will listen to reason''.

With all of this information before me, and the knowledge that there never was any sufficient reason for Mr. Epp to leave his post on this reservation, I wrote Prof. Wedel, President of the Mission Board, Newton, Kansas, under date of December 4, 1909, that I believed the conditions at Oraibi justified a change in their representatives at that place. I offered this suggestion without any intention of placing Rev. Epp in a wrong position before the Mission Board, for I have not the slightest ill feeling toward him. I know of the many kind deeds he and his good wife have done in caring for sick and needy individuals; I also know something of the effort he has made to acquire a knowledge of the Hopi life, including the language, but in my opinion, it is most necessary to the success of the mission work, or for that matter any other work, that an official representative should be free from alliance with any faction, where a community disturbance is brewing. I have no desire to charge Mr. Epp with intentionally allying himself with the so-called hostile faction at Oraibi, but every effort that he put forth to gain their confidence and any sympathy he offered them had a tendency to lessen the interest the other faction had in him and his work, which I understand, at best, was not enough to create much of a following. The fact that the chapel is located adjoining the village of Oraibi would appear to justify the missionary in directing considerable effort to the work in that village, which I understand he did, but the disadvantage of trying to maintain a satisfactory standing with the three factions appears to have been too much for Rev. Epp. In my opinion, when he let the ruling priest at Oraibi frighten him away from his mission station, his power for usefulness at Oraibi became so impaired as to be almost, if not altogether, beyond restoration.

I am sending a marked copy of the ''Bethel College Monthly''. containing an article from the pen of Rev. Epp, which acknowledges his inability to cope with the Hopi as a diplomat.

I do not feel justified in recommending that Mr. Epp be not allowed to return to the Oraibi station as a missionary, but I feel that it is my duty to present the facts to the Office, and I suggest that Prof. G. H. Wedel, President of the Mennonite Mission Board, Newton, Kansas, be made acquainted with the situation.

I am writing Prof. Wedel and Rev. Epp by this mail that the matter has been referred to your office for suggestions.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Keams Canon, Arizona
Dec 10, 1909

Subject:—
Allotments to Kewanimptewa's faction

The Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

In reply to Office telegram of Nov. 30. 1909 ordering me to allot lands to Kewan-

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imptewa's faction I have the honor to call your attention to the following obstacles which will have to be removed before this work can be accomplished.

1st It is not known where Kewanimptewa's people are to have land.

2nd All the farm land in the Oraibi Valley north east of the site of the new village is occupied by people from Oraibi, Hotevilla and by Navajos.

3rd There is grazing land for 202 people within a radius of 7 or 8 miles of the new village, and the Hotevillas have the best right to this.

4th Part of the lands in the vicinity of these villages is railroad land and can not be allotted under present instructions.

5th The presence of a band of Navajos, in the country south west of Oraibi, who are said to belong in Mr. Maxwell's reservation.

When these obstacles are removed or adjusted the work of allotting the land will occupy but a short time.

Kewanimptewa and his people have held lands in Tp 28 N. Range 16 East which is south of Oraibi; the possession of this land has been one of the chief causes of contention between the factions in Oraibi.

I have the honor to inclose under separate cover, a map showing the location of the three villages, Oraibi, Hotevilla and the new village. The new village will contain about 130 people. This map shows the quantity and the kind of land within a radius of several miles of the new village.

I respectfully await further instructions.

Very respectfully,
Matthew M. Murphy.
Sp. Allotting Agent

[Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.]
Dec 18, 1909

Oraibi Affairs.

Horton H. Miller, Esq.,
Superintendent Moqui Agency,
Keams Canon, Ariz.

Sir:—

In accordance with your letter of November 12, setting out the proposition of Kewanimptewa to vacate the village and establish his band at Ba-ca-bi, provided school be furnished for the children and that his people be allowed to remain at Oraibi unmolested until buildings were ready for them at Ba-ca-bi, you were telegraphed on November 30 as follows:—

> ''Your recommendation of twelfth approved. Select day school site. Have it reserved. Send description and suggestions for erection of buildings. Allotting Agent Murphy directed to allot Kewanimptewa faction at once''.

A telegram was sent to Mr. Murphy, Allotting Agent, on the same date, as follows:—

> ''Consult Superintendent Miller and begin immediately allotment of Kewanimptewa faction in vicinity of Bacabi. Also survey and reserve day school site which Superintendent may select''.

On December 6, the following inquiry was made by telegram from the office:—

> ''Have you written agreement with Kewanimptewa properly signed and witnessed? Report promptly by letter concerning agreement your letter November twelfth''.

Your telegraphic answer of December 8 makes no statement concerning a written agreement. Your letter of November 12 indicates a proper disposition on the part of this hostile band, but the agreement should be reduced to writing. I am pleased that the difficulty will not reach any great proportions. You should continue close supervision, however, so that no disturbance may arise between the two factions.

Rev. A. B. Shelly, Secretary of the Mennonite Mission Board, has written the Office relative to the care of the Mission property during this trouble, and for your information there is enclosed a copy of Office letter to him of December 4. You will, of course, accommodate the Mission people as far as you are able and hold the Indians responsible for any damage that may be done to the property in the absence of the missionary.

Keep the Office informed of the progress made in providing homes for the Kewanimptewa faction at Ba-ca-bi.

The concluding recommendations in your letter of November 12, are approved, viz:

> ''That the day school be established at Ba-ca-bi for

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the children of the Kewanimptewa faction and such of the Hotevilla children as would attend it:

"That lands be allotted to the Kewanimptewa faction without delay, and if possible, doors and windows be furnished for issue to them to use in the construction of their new homes".

Please make at once estimate for the number of doors and windows that which will be required. Give also the capacity of the day school which should be established and all other data necessary for Office action.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) F. H. Abbott,
Acting Commissioner

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui Agency,
Keams Canon, Arizona,
Dec. 31, 1909.

Oraibi affairs.

The Honorable
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Replying to Office letter of December 18th, I have the honor to state that the matter of allotting lands to Kewanimptewa's faction is under consideration, a site for a day school will be selected and reserved, and an estimate of the material and labor required to construct a day school plant will be submitted. A request for authority to purchase doors and windows for issue to these Indians, submitted under date of November 20th, was approved on December 22nd. These articles will be purchased as soon as possible and issued to individual members of the Kewanimptewa faction in return for labor.

Under date of December 4th, I reported that Kewanimptewa's faction voluntarily moved to new location in order that they might carry on the construction of their homes to the best advantage.

Referring to the inquiry, "Have you a written agreement with Kewanimptewa?", I have to suggest that there appears to be some misunderstanding regarding the signing of an agreement.

The plan that I reported as having provided for the adjustment of the Oraibi affair was not intended as an agreement, but was to protect the Kewanimptewa faction from further persecution at the hands of Tewaquaptewa's people until such time as they could provide shelter for their families at Bacabi.

Kewanimptewa's people had all signed an agreement about three years before, at the time they were allowed to return to Oraibi, in which they promised to live in peace and harmony with the friendlies while they remained in Oraibi, to put their children in school and keep them there until they should reach the age of twenty years, unless excused by order of the superintendent and to go to work when directed by the superintendent or other representative of the Government and build houses for their families at such place or places as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or his representative might direct. They promised to, in the future, obey the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or his representative, and to submit to and obey the orders of the parties named by the superintendent, or the Inspecting official, to control and govern the village during their temporary stay and to obey any orders of the superintendent, or the Inspecting official, to control and govern the village during their temporary stay and to obey any orders of the superintendent of the reservation. They further promised that their new homes, villages and conduct should be governed in accordance with the desire of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. And each, for himself and family, promised to do whatever work the field matron required of them toward keeping the village and houses in a clean and healthful condition. They also agreed to accept, hold and cultivate, whatever lands might be given them by the allotting agent, who might allot the Hopi lands at some future time, and to assist in carrying out the foregoing and bringing to justice any Hopi who does not obey the same.

Fortunately, I found this agreement at Oraibi when I went over there to try to adjust the trouble between the Kewanimptewa and Tewaquaptewa factions. I read the agreement and the fifty-three names attached to it to Kewanimptewa, and I am sure this record of their promises, given at the time they returned to Oraibi, and the fact that it plainly

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showed their return at that time was only a temporary arrangement to protect them from the cold of the coming winter, helped them to decide to move from Oraibi. I cannot see where any good could come from asking these people to sign another agreement.

The plan I presented to Tewaquaptewa was only to let him and his followers know that Kewanimptewa's faction, the old judge, the trader and the missionary and their families would have such protection as the law affords any peaceable subject if harm was done any of them by Tewaquaptewa's followers. I made it very plain to Tewaquaptewa that his contempt for the above named people did not justify banishing them as he seemed to think it should, but that they had the right to peaceably go about their affairs, without hurt or hindrance, and if anyone undertook to prevent them from doing so, that one would be punished according to the nature and extent of the offence.

Supt. Perry wrote me that while he was in Washington, he went over the Oraibi situation and suggested that an effort be made to get Tewaquaptewa to sign the agreement. I wrote him, some days ago, that I was sure if he was on the ground and understood the situation as I do, that he would see that no good could come from such action.

In my opinion, the Oraibi situation is in better condition now than it has been at any other time in the last three years.

I urgently recommend that the matter be allowed to rest. We will continue to keep in touch with the situation and report any change should one occur.

In a recent communication from Rev. J. B. Epp, he stated that he would return to Oraibi soon after the holidays, but would await information from this office before coming on the reservation. I wrote him that, so far as I knew, there was no objection to his returning to Oraibi.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Keams Canon, Arizona
Feby 12, 1910.

Subject:—
Kewanimptewa's faction at Oraibi.

The Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to report that I will reach the territory of the Kewanimptewa faction of Oraibi, in the regular course of work, in about ten days.

I have not been informed that any one has been authorized to adjust the difficulties that I reported as being in the way of this work.

I am informed by Supt. Miller that these Indians are anxious to begin work on their new fields.

I have found that it always leads to complications, if Indians are given any license to take possession of lands, that later, might be claimed by Indians with a better claim, so, I have not authorized Kewanimptewa's people to do anything in advance of allotments.

Very respectfully,
Matthew M Murphy
Spl Allotting Agt & S. D. A.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui Agency,
Keams Canon, Arizona.
Feb. 19, 1910.

Education-Administration.
Oraibi.

The Honorable
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Replying to Office letter of the 31st ultimo, I have to advise that no expense was incurred in caring for the Mennonite Mission property during the absence of Rev. Epp. He

returned early in January and is now in charge of the mission.

I will keep the situation in mind, and if any thing occurs to indicate that Mr. Epp might stir up trouble, will make prompt report of the matter.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Keams Canon, Arizona
April 18, 1910.

Subject:—
Kewanimptewa faction.

The Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to again call attention to the importance of definitely locating the lands to be allotted to the Kewanimptewa faction.

I will be through with the villages, Tewa, Chochomovy, Mashongovi, Sepowlovi, and Shemupovy, in a short time.

It is my plan to then take up Hotevilla Kewanimptewa and Oraibi in the order named; but, this can not be done until the disputes between the villages are settled.

I can adjust these matters if authorized by the Office to do so, but I would prefer to have this matter adjusted by some one not connected with my work.

I have the honor to state, however, that there will always be more or less wrangling between the three villages if they are left in their present locations; if any change in location is to be made it should be done at once, before the Kewanimptewa faction becomes permanently located.

This change of location could have been effected a few months ago much easier than it can be done now, but in a few months more force will be necessary to effect any change.

I have refrained from taking any part in the disputes between the factions, but the time is near, when my work will have to be suspended unless a settlement of the difficulties is effected in the meantime.

Very respectfully,
Matthew M. Murphy
Spl Allotting Agt & S. D. A.

[Office of the Commissioner
of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.]
May 13 1910

Allotments to
Kewanimptewa faction.

Matthew M. Murphy, Esq.,
Special Allotting Agent,
Keams Canon, Arizona.

Sir:

The Office has received your letter of April 18, 1910, wherein you again invite attention to the importance of definitely locating the lands to be allotted to ''The Kewanimptewa faction''. You say you propose to take up the question of allotting the Hotevilla, Kewanimptewa and Oraibi villages in order named, but that these allotments cannot be made until the disputes between the villagers are settled, which you allege you can adjust if authorized to do so, preferring, however, to have these matters settled by someone not connected with your work.

Office letter of February 7, 1910, in response to yours of December 10, 1909, regarding early allotments to the ''Kewanimptewa faction'' directed you to take no further steps to comply with the instructions given in Office telegram of November 30, 1909, regarding allotments to these Indians. This direction was based on the report of Superintendent Miller in charge of the Moqui Reservation, dated December 31, 1909, wherein he expressed the opinion that it would be advisable to permit this matter to stand in its present status.

In his report of December 31, 1909, Superintendent Miller refers to his telegram of December 4, 1909, wherein it is said that:

> Kewanimptewa's faction voluntarily moved to new location two weeks ago. Men, women and children

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are constructing homes. No disturbances or rumors of trouble since my report of November twelfth.

It is assumed that the ''new location'' mentioned is where the Indians should be allotted, and where they want their permanent homes.

There are apparently no reasons why the question of locating the Kewanimptewa Band cannot be disposed of satisfactorily by friendly co-operation between you and Superintendent Miller. Any attempted adjustment of the trouble reported by you must be taken with the full knowledge, consent and co-operation of superintendent Miller, who is held responsible by this Office for the proper administration of the affairs of the Indians under his jurisdiction.

In this connection attention is invited to circular No. 375, dated December 17, 1909, regarding the necessity for more earnest co-operation between allotting agents and other field officers of the Indian Service.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) C. F. Hauke,
Chief Clerk.

Department of the Interior
United States Indian Service
Moqui Agency,
Keams Canon, Arizona,
Sept. 26, 1910.

Land-allotments
Factional dispute

The Honorable,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Replying to Office letter of the 15th instant, I have to advise that I was told by Allotting Agent Murphy a few weeks ago that the Office had instructed him to take no action in the matter of allotting the Indians in the vicinity of Oraibi without consulting me. He suggested that if the Oraibis who were cultivating fields above the Mennonite Mission would give up their fields and take agricultural land below the mission, there would be no trouble in allotting lands to the Oraibis and Kewanimptewa's band. At his suggestion, I saw the Oraibi Chief, and explained to him that it would simplify matters if the men would exchange lands, as suggested by Mr. Murphy, and that I thought it would be to their advantage to do so. The Chief seemed to think this a good plan. A short time after I had this talk with the Chief, Mr. Murphy wrote me that the six Oraibi men had refused to give up their fields and take other lands below the mission, and that the whole matter would have to be gone over again. I was not well at the time, and could not go to Oraibi, but suggested to Mr. Murphy that he do what preliminary work he could without agitating the situation in the immediate neighborhood of Oraibi, pending the adjustment of the situation.

He informed me that Kewanimptewa's band would take wild lands up the valley if they had assurance that a diversion dam would be put in the wash, making it possible to flood the new land which they would take. Under date of Sept. 10, I wrote the Office relative to constructing a diversion dam, as suggested by Mr. Murphy. The construction of this dam would simplify the allotment of lands in that vicinity, and would be of material benefit to the Indians.

I do not believe that there need be any further trouble between the factions of Oraibi, Bacabi and Hotevilla. There will be minor complaints from time to time of damage done to growing crops, and such other matter as come up between Hopis all over the reservation.

I recommend that steps be taken to provide the dam or levee as suggested by the Allotting Agent.

Very respectfully,
Horton H Miller
Superintendent

Hotvela's resistance to school and allotment continued under the administration of the new Hopi Agent, Agent Abraham L. Lawshe, who arrived shortly before the next letter was composed.

Department of the Interior
United States Indian Service
Moqui Agency,
Keams Canon, Arizona,
November 4, 1910.

The Honorable,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:—

There is a noticeable decrease from last year in the attendance of the Moqui Boarding School. The attendance on November 3rd last year was 171. This year November 3rd, it is 118. The decrease is mainly from among the larger boys and girls who are most needed, and is due to the active opposition of Chief Yukeoma of the so-called hostile Indians living in Hotevilla, from which place a large number of the boys and girls were enrolled last year.

Recently, with my concurrence, late Superintendent Miller sent Chief Kewanimptewa of Bacabi, formerly a partisan of Chief Yukeoma, but now earnestly active in his support of the Government, with Policemen Frank Jenkins, Tom Polacca [First Mesa] and Nelson Oyaping [First Mesa] to Hotevilla, with instructions to visit Chief Yukeoma and the various families at his village having children of school age, and endeavor to persuade them to place such children in school. They were especially cautioned by Superintendent Miller to refrain from using force, but to use all of their powers of persuasion. Chief Kewanimptewa has many relatives at Hotevilla, whom it was believed he might be able to influence.

The following report of the effort has been made by Policeman Frank Jenkins through Principal Teacher Freeland at Oraibi:

> ''The policemen have gone to Hotevilla and Frank gives me the following report: Kewanimptewa talked to the chief and told him what they had come for and that it was under your (Supt. Miller's) direction. That he had not talked long before Yukeoma began and did all the talking. He said that his path is not with the friendlies and that he can not consent for the children of his people to go to school and leave the Hopi ways. He knows that the path he has chosen for himself is a hard one and that he realizes that they must suffer for the stand they take. That they have plenty of food for their children and that if the people are to be his followers they must not send their children to school. He told the policemen that they were at liberty to go to any of the houses and talk to any of the people and that if any of them wished to send their children to school, there would be no attempt to restrain them.
>
> The police visited the houses and found that they were all firm in their intention to follow the chief and that they expressed the same opinion as had Yukeoma.
>
> Yukeoma said that some of those who had signed up at the time the soldiers were here, had returned to Hotevilla, but that he does not consider them to be his people. That while they have come back to him that he thinks that under the stress of trouble they will desert him. That many of the others have suffered with him and that he is happy to know that there are those whom he can trust to remain faithful under adversity.
>
> The Hotevilla chief says that he has told his people that the stand they have taken will probably bring trouble on them. He has explained to them the suffering they might have to undergo and that they can never hope for peace while they resist the white man. The men who were present and those who were seen in the visits to the houses said that the chief had told them that they must expect trials and they were resolved to face anything rather than willingly give up their children.
>
> Yukeoma questioned whether it was the policy of the Government to force a child into school against the will of the parent and thought possibly the agent and other employes are exceeding their authority. He likewise related much of their tradition regarding the coming of the white man and returned to the old Spanish mission period, but as you are familiar with this, I will not endeavor to relate it since it has no bearing except as it enables one to understand the Indian point of view, and this you know already''.

I have freely conferred with late Superintendent Miller relative to the general situation at Hotevilla. He strongly advises mildness and a conservative policy.

One difficulty in the situation is that heretofore the Indian Bureau has not been able to sustain itself in policies formerly attempted with Yukeoma. When taken away from his people several years ago, he was told that he would never be permitted to return to them, yet he was brought back in about one year.

Therefore whatever policy is adopted, should be rigidly adhered to, both as to this and as to Yukeoma's attitude toward allotments, which has been the subject of correspondence. Yukeoma appears to be old and feeble. He is exceptionally ignorant for a Hopi, yet has great influence with his followers. I found the houses of his people at Hotevilla stored to their capacity with all kinds

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of food stuffs—corn, melons, dried peaches, beans, chili and cured meat. It is their boast that they are not dependent on the white people for any necessity.

It occurs to me that it would be the better policy to ignore, for the time being, the Hotevilla people so far as school matters are concerned, and make a special effort to enlarge the attendance of Navajo children, among whom little or no effort hitherto has been made. The Navajo attendance has been almost entirely voluntary. This policy, if adopted, should be carried out quietly, without any particular announcement of it. I observe very little of the alleged antipathy said to exist between the Navajos and Hopis and certainly none at all among the children of the two tribes now in school.

When the school at Bacabi is erected and in operation next year, it may have a very beneficial effect upon the Hotevilla people, who seem to learn best from example.

I am ready and willing to apply any policy which may be adopted, but believe the one I have suggested will lead to the best results in the end. To undertake to use force, at the outset of my administration, might create a lasting prejudice, even among friendly Indians.

Very respectfully,
A. L. Lawshe
Superintendent

In the following letter, Matthew Murphy summarizes the results of his allotment efforts on the Hopi Reservation and at Mùnqapi. His statements suggest that by this point he was both embittered and embattled on all fronts (e.g., vis-à-vis the Hopi Agency, and the Superintendent of Irrigation at the Bureau of Indian Affairs). The letter contains some salient information nonetheless.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Oraibi, Arizona
Nov. 23, 1910

Land—Allotments
Allotments, Moqui Reservation.

The Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:—

I have the honor to submit, below, a table which shows the status of the Allotment work at each of the Moqui villages:—

It will be observed from the above table that of the 458 Moquis yet to be allotted, 325 are at Hotewilla and 35 at Oraibi; the remaining 98 at First and Second Mesas are waiting for their land to be surveyed; the 27 at Oraibi are demanding agricultural land with water for irrigation; their only basis for this demand is a statement made by Supervisor Gunderson, at a council held with the Oraibis, on the occasion of his first visit to this reservation, last March; Mr. Gunderson told the Indians, at that time, that I would allot each Indian, 40 acres of irrigable land; this when rendered into Hopi means, over-

Name of Village	Location	Population	number allotted		number to be allotted		Remarks
			Agr'l	Grazing	Agr'l	Grazing	
Moencopi	W. Nav.	186	186	186	none	none	Completed in 1908
Tewa Chochumovy Walpi	1st Mesa Moqui Res.	602	520	524	82	78	All willing to accept; land not surveyed
Mashongovi Sepololovi Shemopovi	2nd Mesa Moqui Res.	664	664	664	none	20	Land not surveyed for remaining 20
Oraibi	Moq. Res.	395	368	360	27	35	See explanation below
Bacavi	″ ″	134	134	134	none	none	
Hotewilla	″ ″	341	16	16	325	325	See explanation below
Totals		2322	1888	1864	434	458	

flowed land or land with water; it was over this, and other misleading statements, made by Mr. Gunderson, at that time, that led to the friction between him and myself; this band is led by two Indians, Frank Jenkins [Kuwanngöytiwa, Patki] and Sewenimptewa [Siwinömtiwa, Patki], who are always on the look out for a chance to make trouble; they started the trouble at Oraibi, four years ago, by depriving some of the Hostile faction of their lands.

At one time, about 18 months ago, I could have allotted land to the Hote-wella people, as Yukeoma made overtures to me at that time, but the forcing of the Bacavi people to leave their homes and lands, and other events that have occurred since that time, have caused Yukeoma and his followers to change their minds; when the Bacavis were forced to leave Oraibi, a year ago, six families who had given up their opposition to the Government, returned to Hotewilla; I succeeded in winning back one of these families, together with three other families, that had never been friendly before; but the experience of the other five families, who had become friendly, but were again driven from their homes and lands, had much to do with confirming the others in their opposition to the Government.

Superintendent Miller's advise in regard to dealing with Moquis is somewhat tardy, to say the least, during the two years and four months, from July 1. 1908 to Nov 1. 1910, Superintendent Miller absolutely refused to have anything to do with the allotment work; if an Indian went to him, the Indian was informed that it was none of his (Miller's) business.

Mr. Miller was opposed to the allotment of land to the Moquis, during his administration for the reason, that he firmly believed the work could not be accomplished, and he was afraid he might become involved in the failure; the Superintendent at Western Navajo adopted a similar attitude toward the work, except that he tried to arouse the Navajos against me by telling them, I was going to allot their lands to the Moquis; he was then kind enough to warn me that my life was in danger from the Navajos, unless I abandoned my work and left the reservation.

The opposition of Yukeoma and his priests is no greater than the opposition I have encountered from the chiefs and priests of the other villages, except Moencopi and Bacavi; I do not believe that Yukeoma's hold on his people can be broken, at this time, as they have some real grievances, as well as many imaginary ones; there are many people in the village who would like to accept allotments, but they fear the consequences; they would have to abandon their homes in Hotewilla, for one thing, and this they are loath to do; whenever a hostile shows sings [signs] of relenting instead of being encouraged by those already friendly, he is taunted by them; the ''friendlies'' realize that the fewer there are of them, the greater will be the individual share of Government patronage.

The Navajos on the Moqui reservation, object to having Moquis allotted in the vicinity of Navajo camps, but no attention can be paid to such objection, when there is land there to which the Navajos are not entitled; otherwise, the Navajos are making no objections to accepting allotments.

Very respectfully,
Matthew M. Murphy
Spl Allotting Agent.

Department of the Interior
United States Indian Service
Moqui Agency
Keams Canon, Ariz.
Dec. 19, 1910

Land-Allotments
Complaint of
Byron P. Adams.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I wish to supplement my report, dated December 6, concerning complaints of Indians about allotments by quoting the following letter from Principal Teacher Freeland at Oraibi:

> ''Kewanimptewa was here yesterday and asked me to write the following letter:
>
> He says that he was appointed judge (laborer) at a salary of $10 per month and that he supposed that he was given the position because the officials in charge had some confidence in his integrity, and for this reason, thinks that his word should possess some wight.

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He says that Mr. Murphy consulted with him in regard to the allotment of the land and then disregarded the advice that he had given. That, more than once, Mr. Murphy has given the Bacabi people their allotments, and that they were all happy, but that later he took the land from them and gave them other land that they do not wish and that now they are very unhappy. That twelve men had been thus given land and were told by the Allotting Agent that the Navajos wished the land that had been given to them and that they would have to take other land. He says, also, that some land was taken from the Bacabis, after allotment, and given to other Hopis. In view of this, he asks that you relieve him as judge, and appoint someone whose word may be of some value. That the money is not much and that he does not care for the place if he may not be of service and have the confidence of the officials.

''I have endeavored to be as accurate in reporting this as it [is] possible in writing a letter for an Indian. I have advised him that this is a serious complaint he has to offer and that he should be prepared to support it with definite statements of the men he mentions, and should go in to lay the matter before you, that action may be taken. I have told him that the Office has requested a report from you regarding complaints about the allotments, and that it is desired that the Hopis have fair treatment. He promises to come in about next Sunday and bring one man or more with him. Personally, I do not know anything about the matter other than his statement. I would recommend that he be requested to retain the position that he now holds for some time longer. It seems that his only feeling in offering to resign is that he thinks he has not the confidence of the officials, and, personally, I believe he has done more for his people than any judge I have known, and has made an honest effort to carry out the policy of his superiors''.

I am convinced that the Hopis Indians have just grievances against the manner in which allotments have been made.

Kewanimptewa is the chief of Bacabi and the progressive leader of the people who broke away from the leadership of the hostile chief Yukeoma, of Hotevilla, and for whom the Indian Office made an allotment for a day school at Kewanimptewa's request. To alienate them now would be disastrous. Kewanimptewa has been one of the most helpful of all the chiefs with whom I have come into contact. I have implicit confidence in his statements, because he has never deceived me.

I must insist, in the interest of good administration, that this complaint of Kewanimptewa be listened to, and that the Allotting Agent be required to satisfy the reasonable demands of the Bacabi people.

The Hopi people are stationary; they live in villages and till the adjacent lands, but some go for long distances to farm.

The Navajos are migratory and graze their herds anywhere and everywhere. If land is given to the Navajos on the sole ground that they have grazed it, they would have claim to all the land in the reservation.

I wired you under this date as follows:

''Take no action on my report of complaints of Hopis against allotments, until supplemental complaints of Bacabi people, mailed today, are received. Urge prompt action on full report''.

This will confirm the above telegram and explain its purpose.

Respectfully,
A. L. Lawshe
Superintendent

Commissioner—

CHAPTER 26

YUKIWMA GOES TO WASHINGTON, RETURNS TO HOTVELA, AND RENEWS HIS RESISTANCE (1911)

Little more than a month after his arrival at the Hopi Agency, and motivated principally by Yukiwma's opposition to allotment and ongoing rejection of schools (see chap. 4), Agent Abraham Lawshe proposed taking Yukiwma to Washington to meet with President Taft (who, in 1906, as Secretary of War, had some direct involvement in the imprisonment of Hostiles at Fort Huachuca; see above letter of December 7, 1906) and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, R.G. Valentine. Yukiwma thought the matter over and agreed to go, taking two stone tablets of authority over Orayvi's lands with him, which he presented to Valentine, and possibly also to Taft. By the time the trip occurred, in March 1911, Murphy's allotments—submitted in December 1910—had been suspended indefinitely. Yukiwma met with President Taft on March 27th, and with Commissioner Valentine the following day. The first document that follows, a transcription of a conversation between Yukiwma and Valentine, is rather rambling, but lays out the terms both of Yukiwma's demand for autonomy over Hopi institutions, land, and life, and the countervailing requirement by the government that Hopi children be sent to school. In passing, Valentine notes that he had been present at Hotvela while Yukiwma was involved in its building; perhaps this refers to a time in 1908 or 1909 (Valentine became Commissioner of Indian Affairs in June 1909), but I am not at present aware of other documents describing this visit.

Conference between
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs
and Yukeoma, Hopi Indian.
March 28, 1911.

(Through an interpreter.)

Yukeoma: He said that the old people, these old people are his ancestors, he calls them the old men, they prophesied to him that this would happen, that they would have trouble here, that is, trouble at his home, and the people from the East, from the rising of the sun, was coming there, coming, to start from the East, and they are going to Oraibi, or his village, the same condition they are in now. And he said those people are the people that never have been baptized; and he said that the people, probably he means the Department, is a sort of an ear for Washington, and there is another Agent at Santa Fe, and that something like this happened there, and supposed to go to Santa Fe, and tell the Agent, and let him notify the Department here.

He said that they are waiting for these people to come. He said that when they came up from the underground world there were two brothers there, all the same as an Indian, and one of them—both of them—had a piece of stone, a sort of mat, and one of these [Pahaana, the elder brother] started for the East, and he said as soon as he got to the rising of the sun he would turn around and start back, while this other one [the Hopi] was going to stay an Indian; and he had permission from a red headed spirit [Maasaw]—it looks like human, all but the head that was covered over with a rabbit skin and blood poured over its head—Red Headed Spirit, had permission to go up to this earth, and so when

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it did go up, this spirit gave the two stones, he had stolen two stones, and gave to each of these men, and on the other one, one Oraibi's got, it is almost like a paper, it is a piece of rock which is like granite, and it has got human figures on with no heads on. He said that describes what is going to be done with these hostile people, lose their heads. And he said they are waiting for these, for what he said the real white people, real Americans. These are the people that have never been baptized. He said those people from the East will come when they are in the same condition as they are now.

He said this other chief at Oraibi, he had this stone, and these people from the East were coming to take that land away from them, and if they tried to do it, he was to show them this stone, and they would leave him alone. They cannot hurt him. And if they did not hear, if one of them goes too far with his people, why, either one of them will get driven out; so he said he is the one that caused it, that other chief, Tewaquaptewa, at Oraibi. He drove these people out of his village.

He said some years ago he was not a chief of this hostile gang, but another fellow by the name of Lomahongema, and he was about the canyon one time, he worked there a while as a prisoner, and finally he consented to get the white man's ways, and let his children go to school. Then he took Mr. Burton with him, out to Oraibi Village, and tried to induce Chief Tewaquaptewa to do the same, but he would not do it. He was the head chief then, and he took up the white man's ways; then he called the hostile chief, and wanted him to let his children go to school, but he not want to let them go then.

He said, since then he has been the leader and the chief of this hostile gang. And when he was driven out, he took all the people that wanted to be his followers, and when he got over to Hotavilla he established a village there, and later another man, he thought he would get a bunch of people to be as his followers, and take up the civilized way. Now Chief Tewaquaptewa did not know that, because he thought that a chief, when he is a chief over something else, why, he ought to be chief; and chief Kewinumptewa did not know he was chief over any ceremony, and so he had to sign up to take up the white man's ways, and he and his followers went back to Oraibi.

After Kewinumptewa and his people went back to Oraibi, they said that the Government wanted him to go away from Oraibi and establish another village by themselves. But this was not told Chief Tewaquaptewa, but he heard it; but he thought this was not right, because as soon as they take up the civilized way, they won't respect these people that are taking the old way, and Chief Tewaquaptewa was planning to drive Kewinumptewa and his people out, but Kewinumptewa and his people found it out, and before he was driven out he went out, over to Bacabi, and established a village there.

He said that Mr. Miller told Kewinumptewa just where to go, that is, to Bacabi, and Yukeoma thought that was not right, because they need that spring, he was stingy of the spring, too, and of course, when they went over there, an allotment affair came up, Mr. Murphy allotted pretty near all the Hotavilla's land to Bacabi, and he don't like that, and does not know what to do about it, because he knows they can't go without any crops this winter.

Of course, he said, that the Hopis have been living that way for so long, working their fields, and planting things for themselves, and they all depend on the rain, but he don't know about the rain, when it is going to fall, because it has been the custom that they take their own land that they been tilling before, and plant it.

He said that, of course, you never think anything that is not right for his people, because these old people still believe in the wizards, and he said it has been prophesied that this was known among the white people and among the Hopis as well, that these wizards and witches, they are going to have their heads cut off. This would be the only remedy that would get these people to go on good terms with the white people. And as he said this stone that Tewaquaptewa has, that describes this, with the human inscriptions on it, with men without heads on it. He has one and Tewaquaptewa has the other one. He said that it has been known among the white people just the same as the Indians, the Hopi Indians, like they are going to have their

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heads cut off, and he said they had been given the choice by the government, and they rather take up the civilized ways than to go the old Indian way.

Mr. Lawshe: Is it those old men or the Indians that must be beheaded before these things come to pass?

Answer: He said, of course he don't really mean himself, but he said what passed between him and Tewaquaptewa, one of these two men is a wizard; why, he said the White Father [sic, still referring to Pahaana, the elder white brother] would know it and tell it right away, and he is the one that will be beheaded. He said that they don't know who it is that is the wizard. They claim that these wizards fly around at night, and they go all over the country, but he said they might not know him, because he has never been here, or any other part of the country far away from home. But the white people will know who it is that is the wizard, either him or Tewaquaptewa, they will tell it. Thus all on account of these things that he tell the people, they say that he is no good, considered as no good, and for this reason he has got his map with him. (Yukeoma showed two flat stones, which he handed to the Commissioner.)

He said that the Red Headed Spirit made those stones and put those inscriptions on it, that the land belongs to him. Those stones show that he has a right to that land, and that is why he don't want the civilized way, he wants to live the Indian way.

He said that Tewaquaptewa has not got anything to say to him, but it all comes from Kewinumptewa. He said he has been making a lot of fun about his land, that they ain't going to plant this spring.

Mr. Valentine: Tell him we will look very carefully into his land questions, and I think he will be happy about the land questions. I have heard what he said to me about the children and the schools, and I want to know whether there are other things on his mind that are troubling.

Yukeoma: He said again that he wants to live the old way with his children. Don't want no schools, don't want his children to be educated. This is the only important thing he was going to talk about; about the beheading. He says this will come to pass as has been prophesied.

Mr. Valentine: Tell him I am very glad indeed that he has told me all these things. I wanted to know everything that he had in his mind.

Yukeoma: He said this is what he has been thinking of all the time.

Mr. Valentine: Tell him that when I give him back these stones I want to tell him that the land where they live belongs, as he knows, to the Hopi Indians; and the water belongs to the Hopi Indians; and the thing that I want is, to have that land and that water do them just as much good as possible; raise as many melons, as much corn, as many peach trees as possible, so that he and his children will always have enough to eat raised by themselves. And I will give him back these stones, and I shall also add a writing for him to take back. I will give him back the stones now, and tomorrow I will give him the writing. In this writing I shall tell him some things that I want him always to remember, and that I want him to tell his people. He has told me how the ancestors, the wise old men, prophesied certain things, I want to ask him if they ever prophesied that in some time to come the white men would come from the east through Santa Fe to Oraibi?

Yukeoma: He said that it is true, their coming through Santa Fe; they don't know just when, but as soon as this trouble, some kind of trouble, starts up, it will be in the fall sometime.

Mr. Valentine: Tell him that these same old wise men, these same ancestors, never prophesied, never handed down to chiefs before him, or to him, any statement that he would go to Washington?

Yukeoma: He said it has been prophesied—that, of course, they did not mention particularly Washington, they didn't know what was Washington, but they said on the edge

of the ocean, to the one who rules all the land, so he thought it must be this city.

Mr. Valentine: I want him to tell me whether these wise men ever told his fathers that Yukeoma would come to Washington.

Yukeoma: He said they never prophesied that he was coming to Washington, because they never know what Washington was then until lately, here a few years back, they got to know Washington.

Mr. Valentine: But before a few years back they never prophesied. He is sure of that, is he?

Yukeoma: Of course, they never prophesied; they prophesied as he said, you know, about place where all the people meet, and where the rules are made, and like that, but they never knew where Washington was.

Mr. Valentine: That is why I want to show him that now things continually appear in the world. Things could be which the wisest men of our fathers cannot see, cannot know. Yukeoma himself can remember the day when there were only a few little small buildings outside the Indians' homes at Oraibi, or at Keams Canon, or at any of the other mesas. He can remember well how different things were in the old time. And he can remember how much more fast things have changed in the last few years than when he was younger, when he was a young man. When he was a young man, things changed only about as fast as a horse would walk; now that he is an old man, things change as fast as a horse would run. Ask him, is not that true, that things are changing very rapidly as compared with when he was a young man?

Yukeoma: He said that is true.

Mr. Valentine: His daughter went to school at the time the soldiers arrested him. His daughter went to school, did she not?

Yukeoma: Yes, sir, they took her when he was arrested.

Mr. Valentine: If she were here today, she could tell me what he says, just as you can, could she not?

Yukeoma: Yes, sir.

Mr. Valentine: So she could help me hear the trouble that is on his mind, just as you can help me here?

Yukeoma: Yes, sir.

Mr. Valentine: Ask him if it would not make him feel pretty badly if he had some troubles on his mind, and he could not tell me about them?

Yukeoma: He says he would feel bad, because he would not know how to tell his troubles.

Mr. Valentine: He knows I am here and he is there.

Yukeoma: Yes.

Mr. Valentine: The white man is here by the big ocean, and the Indians are out on the Hopi Desert.

Yukeoma: Yes.

Mr. Valentine: And some of the white men go from the ocean to the Hopi Desert, and how some of the other Indians come from the Hopi Desert to the ocean; and he may like it, or he may not like it, but it is a fact, it is true. Since that is the fact, whether he likes it or not,—and I want to tell you I always tell you and the other Indians what the truth is, whether they like it or not—since that is the fact, whether he likes it or not, is it not better that we should be able to talk, rather than not be able to talk? Is he not glad he is able to talk to me today through you?

Yukeoma: He is glad. He said that he is glad that I let you know what he said, because he thinks I am telling just exactly what he says. He says some interpreters do not always tell just what they say.

Mr. Valentine: I have always found that one of the strong things, one of the big things,

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one of the good things about the Indians is, that they can always understand the reasons for things; that their mind tells them why things are so and so. Now, he must know that if years ago the soldiers had not come in there, and put the children in school, that there would be very few people that could talk between him and me; and tell him there are two kinds of white people, there are good white people and there are bad white people. He knows that, does he not?

Yukeoma: Yes, he says that you are right.

Mr. Valentine: Tell him the bad white people do not need to be able to talk his language in order to do him harm. Tell him they could throw him off this land, the stones of which he has shown me, without talking his language, or without his talking theirs. But the good white people need to talk his language, or be able to speak to him, in order to protect him from the bad white people; that is, they can better protect him if they can talk to him, and find out just what he wants, so we can not only protect him from the bad white people, but show him the right thing to do, so if we do not happen to be there all the time, we can show him the right thing to do to protect himself. Now, tell him, yesterday when I took him to see the President, he remembers what I told him, doesn't he? He remembers I told him the President was a great, big man, and that he was as kind as he was big; and that he was as strong as he was kind; and that he was as wise as he was strong. And Yukeoma stood up like a man and told the President that he did not want his people to go to school; he told the President, just as he has told Mr. Lawshe and as he has told me, that he wanted to live the old way. And the President told him that he and the old people could live the old way. We want the old people to be happy, living as far as they can according to the sayings of their fathers and the wise old men. All that is good in the old way we want to keep, both for them, and for their children, too. Tell him the Hopis know how to raise corn and melons in the desert where the white man would starve. Those are some of the good things in the old way. Those we want to keep.

But the President told Yukeoma that the children would have to go to school. He remembers himself that twice before the soldiers have come and taken the children and put them into school. He remembers that, does he not?

Yukeoma: He remembers.

Mr. Valentine: He remembers that twice, once some years ago; and once, two or three years ago, the President, whom he saw yesterday, the chief man of the country, sent the soldiers in, and they quietly, and without hurting anybody, took the children and put them in school. That was the way Yukeoma's own daughter went to school. Now, tell him that the first time that was done almost all the Hopis did not want their children to go to school. And after that was done a great many of the Hopis saw it was good for their children to go to school. And yet there were some left who still did not want their children to go. So just a few years ago we had to send the soldiers in again to take the children, and put them in school. Now, Yukeoma has taken his people, and left the village of Oraibi, and built the village of Hotavilla. Tell him he remembers I was there when he was first building it.

Yukeoma: He says he don't remember.

Mr. Valentine: I thought he said he did the other day.

Yukeoma: He said he knows you by Commissioner, but he never seen your face before.

Mr. Valentine: Tell him I think he was so busy working on that spring he did not look up when I was there watching them build it. And now some of these people in that village of Hotavilla have felt that the new way is good, and have gone off to the other village of Bacabi; so that, as Yukeoma himself has said, many people are leaving him, that there are not nearly as many as there were that were against sending their children to school. Is not that true?

Yukeoma: That is true.

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Mr. Valentine: Now tell him that when I have given him back the stones, that shows that I feel as he does, that the land belongs to the Hopi Indians, and I shall give him tomorrow this writing which I told him about, which I hope he will put with the stones, and keep with the stones. And tell him that if the children of the people that stay with him are not sent to school, that the President will have to send the soldiers again, to put them in the school. Tell him I am telling him this straight to his face because I want him to know exactly the truth of what will happen if he does not help us to put his children in school. But tell him I have one great hope, tell him that my hope is as long as the whole journey he has taken from Hopi to Washington, and back. And that hope is that—it won't be necessary, that Yukeoma himself will help me in making it not necessary, to send the soldiers there. Tell him I don't want the children to go far away, I don't want them to go where he can't see them. I want them to go where he can easily see them, every week if he wants to; and I want the children to be able to see their fathers and their mothers every week.

He said a while ago that the children left the old way if they went off to school. That is one of the reasons he did not want them to go. Now, I want them to leave the old way as far as in going to school goes, but I want them to still like, and respect, and like to live with their fathers and their mothers. But I want to tell him this too, it being absolutely necessary, just as he heard the President say to him yesterday about the children going to school, and having to send the soldiers to put them in school, as we have done twice in the past, unless Yukeoma helps. And tell him there is one other thing that I want to say to him. The prophets did not say anything about Yukeoma's coming to Washington, but they did tell about these witches. Now, tell him that the thing which he did not know anything about has come to pass, and ask him—I would like to have him think this over—whether the times have changed so that perhaps this other thing won't come to pass, as this other thing has happened in its place, perhaps.

Tell him that I don't want him to try to think of this all at once, or to answer me tonight, but I would like to have him think this over the rest of today, and tonight, and come in again and see me tomorrow morning. I want him to think over very carefully everything I have said, because everything I have said is the truth, and everything I have said to him I have said as a friend. And tell him there are three men who have his interests, and nothing but his real best good at heart; and those three men are the President, who spoke to him yesterday, and myself, who talked to him, both yesterday and today, and above all, the man who is close to him all the time, and sees him most, the Superintendent, Mr. Lawshe—he is his very best friend of all. It is because the President and I believe that, that we have placed Mr. Lawshe there, to look out for Yukeoma, and tell him what his best good is.

So I want you to think over these things tonight, you (to interpreter) can talk with him, you can see exactly what is necessary, you see how I sympathize with Yukeoma, and I would like to tell him he would live in the old way; and if I did not care enough about him, I could make him happy by telling him they could live in the old way. But the children have got to have the same chance you had, and go to school. But tomorrow morning I want him to come in again, and have another, a short talk with him, before he goes away.

March 30 1911

My Friend:

I am glad that you came to Washington, and very glad indeed that we have thus been able to talk with each other. I am glad to have seen the tablets of stone that you say are the evidence of your title to the lands you occupy. I gave back to you the stones and assured you that it was not our purpose to take away these lands, but to see that you and your people hold them.

While you and the older men of your village are at liberty to follow the old Hopi ways, with the young boys and girls it is different. They are entitled to go to school and to learn the better way. The President—our great Chief—told you, I have told you, and

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Superintendent Lawshe told you that you must hereafter permit the children of your villages to go to school.

Remember this.

The President, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and your Superintendent are your friends and know what is best for you and for your people.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) R. G. Valentine,
Commissioner

Chief Yukeoma,
C/o Supt.
Moqui Reser'n.

His meetings with President Taft and Commissioner Valentine had no discernible effect on Yukiwma's position. The following December, troops were again called to Hotvela to round up children for school.

Keam's Canon, Arizona
December 5th, 1911.

The Hon. Secretary Interior,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

A telegraphic report of the carrying out of your instructions of November 30th has this day been sent forward by special messenger to Holbrook, Arizona.

As soon as your instructions were received, its provisions as to children of school age were explained to Ukeoma. On the night of December the 2nd, Troop M, Twelfth Cavalry, under its commander, Lieutenant Edwards made a night march of 35 miles from Keam's Canon. I went through the village before light on the morning of the 3d and found no Indians stirring. Then I met the troops outside of the village where dispositions were made to rapidly surround the village on the outside, which surprised the Indians before dawn, completely cut off every avenue of escape and rendered impossible the hiding of the children.

The Chief, Ukeoma was then sent for and caused to keep all his people in their houses and permit no men to congregate anywhere, and was assured that no harm was contemplated by the military, but that we must have all children to go to school who were of suitable age and in good physical condition. Ukeoma carried out his instructions faithfully as to keeping his people in their houses but refused with anger to consent to the children going to school, anywhere.

The Agent, upon his arrival, went with his police into the houses, and with great gentleness gathered the children, who were brought all quietly, and most of them willingly, into my room where they were examined by two agency physicians, and those found suitable were taken to Oraibi in wagons, with their own wraps, and large supply of blankets.

They were chatting and laughing while in my room, as well as playing at Oraibi, and seemed to look at the matter as a lark. Indeed it is believed that the real opposition is confined to Chief Ukeoma and four or five old men of his immediate following.

After four days close observation of Chief Ukeoma by the Medical Officer with the Troop and by myself, we became convinced that he is so mentally unsound as to practically render him irresponsible for his acts, and any punishment for disobedience would only be such a persecution as the punishment of any other partially insane person, and that any further action; should he again make trouble, ought to be in the nature of a restraint, rather than punishment.

The soldiers of Troop M, 12th Cavalry, were very helpful in doing many individual acts of kindness to parents or children, not a case of unkindness or roughness coming to my knowledge. A large proportion of the children taken were girls, and it was suggested that the boys were hidden somewhere out of the village. Several children had been taken from Hotevilla to Tuba, but parent [parents] were told by the Agent at Tuba that if they were left there, they must go to the Tuba school.

The Chief of Bacabi stated that the recent epidemic of dysentery had carried off fifty children that he knew of, and that he had then lost count, so after further investigation, it was concluded that about all the available children were secured. They all seem happy and contented now, at the school.

While not contemplated in my instruc-

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tions, it seems my duty to invite the attention of the Department to the fact,

1st, that this reservation covers about three thousand six-hundred square miles occupied by about 2000 Navajos and the same number of Hopis, and that there are at the disposal of the Agent, but one chief and two policemen to keep order and respect for the Department over such an immense extent of territory. They are needed frequently at each of the five day schools which are from 10 to 16 miles apart, and distant from the Agency, 12, 18, 20, 35 and 40 miles, respectively. There should, in my opinion, be a compact force of one Chief, one Asst. Chief, and ten policemen well paid and disciplined who could carry respect for the orders of the Department into every community, and it is useless to expect law and order to be fully maintained on the Reservation without it.

2nd, the business of the Department would be greatly facilitated and it would be an economy to cause all the stations and schools to be connected with the Agency by telephone.

Lastly, the Navajo and Moqui reservations are together and are a part, apparently of the great Navajo reserve, but they have never been surveyed, and the various agents do not know the boundaries of their jurisdictions. It is believed, that these boundaries should be promptly marked upon the ground.

In closing, I wish to state that I have been treated with the utmost courtesy and kindness by all the officials of the Indian Department, and given all possible assistance in carrying out my instructions.

Very respectfully,
H. R. Scott

Colonel Third Cavalry

After his arrest by Col. Scott, and en route to imprisonment at Keam's Canyon, an event that was to be serially repeated until ca. 1920, Yukiwma dictated a letter to Ray Rutherford Tuvewa'yma of Songòopavi, which the latter sent to President Taft. The original spelling is retained without comment.

Chimopovay, Arizona
December, 12 1911

Wm. Taft, President
United States
Washington D.C

Dear Sir:—

I take a great pleasure and writing to you while I am here with Chief Yukooma as he talking about his long Tribe, and he said he was glad to visit you once, and speaks to you him self, and so your are now all knows him now, you know, what going over there for, about his peoples are not wanted to sent their childrens to school, because they like to keep, it their childrens them selves and the boys could help their fathers on the farm, and girls also help their mothers in their homes. Thats reason they dont let them go to school. Of course we are Indians, the school is not our own Business, the school is belong to White peoples I think it be alright, if you let the chief Yukooma alone. Lets they staying at their home its only 600. of peoples lets their childrens stay home and not go to school. Chief Yukooma wanted to his peoples must not lazy and to works on the farm and rise corn and oat wheat and potatoes, vegetables and they could sale them for money and pay some cloth for them our selves, that what Yukooma wanted for his people to do, he don't want any harm for his peoples. He wanted to good take care of his peoples and childrens. Yukooma want me to tell you about this man his name is Ke-wan-numptewa, tring to be a chief him self but peoples all know that he never chief before. So the peoples think of him that he was cariying to him self chief Kewannumptewa had trouble with Yukoomas peoples. So they are not satisfied him to stay near the Yukooma's Village, the name of Hodvealla Village because they are all trying to be good to each others. I think we like to be stay Hopi way. I think that bears for us such Indians peoples. Of cause these friendlis peoples children must attend to school, and those Hostiles childrens must not allowed to school, and stay at home, and help their fathers or mothers thats the way they want. You American peoples must stay you own way and us Hopis Indians stay our own way too. Last week ago we are

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crying because Superintendent from Keams Canon Mr. Leo Grean take the childrens to school did you sent the soldiers to Yukooma? One company of soldiers came here with Grean. Why is that man came to Hodvealla to Chief Yukooma asking what the old peoples saying. Then Yuk tell him all about what he knows. Then that man write all those things and sent it to you, but now these this Supt Grean and soldiers are make large trouble, and that man too. I don't know what is name. He said he came from Washington D.C. did you sent that man to Chief Yukeooma? You told him to come out here and make trouble out here? Yes or No, Yukooma want you to answer this letter. And sent it to me. What your say. And I tell Yukooma. What you said. To-morrow I am going to Winslow you must hurry to answer this letter. I guess this is all I say to you Goodbye.

From Ray Rutherford
Dewanyema.

This is my address.
Mr. Ray Rutherford
Dewanyema.
Chimpopovy
Toreva
Arizona

The following document is evidently a rendering of Yukiwma's account to Col. Scott in 1911, transcribed perhaps with the aid of Hopi Agent Leo Crane (successor to Lawshe), who included a part of it in his memoir (Crane 1925). Though somewhat meandering, the transcription appears to hew closely to Yukiwma's style of discourse (cf. his account of the emergence in Voth, 1905a), that suggests both millenarian intent and persistent rejection of any compromise of Hopi autonomy.

The Story of Ukeoma, Chief of the Hotivillos, A Village of the Hopi

The Hopis used to live down in the underworld, down in the earth. There the Hopis had their chiefs and their villages. But the Hopis had too much love for a good time, and finally ran into a rut, refusing to recognize their chiefs. They gave social dances to the exclusion of religious rites and ceremonies. The chiefs attempted vainly to guide them. First the girls, next, the women, and then all the Hopi People began to come under this degenerate influence; they forgot everything else. At last, the wives of the chiefs of all the clans neglected their religion and practiced the social dancing.

Then the heads of all the tribes of the vast underworld met and held a large council. Not liking the way their people were living, they decided to look for another world. For anything asked for will be given to good chiefs and priests. They debated on how they were to move to the next world. So they planted tall pine trees, and then through religious ceremonies, they started the growth of these trees. Such things were done only by the chiefs. The pine trees grew up into the sky against a high roof which they did not pierce; they bent over and spread. Thus was the plan of the pine trees abandoned.

Then the chiefs planted sharp pointed reeds, and these reeds grew tall and pierced the sky. The next question was where to live. So they sent birds as messengers; hummingbirds out through the holes in the sky to look for a land where the good people [sic]. They told the birds that the people were disobedient to the chiefs and priests and said they would move to the place which the birds would report to them. The birds flew upward, circling around the tall reeds and resting thereon when fatigued by the long ascent, but the undertaking was far too great, and exhausted, they fell to the earth. A chicken hawk was then sent up, which could fly much better than the first birds. He ascended in a similar manner, but exhausted fell to the earth. The swallow was sent but could not reach the top of the reeds. One more religious fraternity, the Quoguan [Kwaakwant, One-Horn society], was yet to send a messenger. This fraternity sent a bird (probably a cat-bird) which flew with a jerky motion. The chiefs were sure that somebody lived above them. Everyone thought that this bird was doomed to failure like the others, but he reached the top, flew through a hole in the sky and came to Oraibi. Here he found the red-headed ghost [Maasaw], or spirit sometimes imitated at harvest time. The ghost asked the bird his mission. Then the bird told his story and asked permission for the un-

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derworld people to come up and live there. The ghost was willing that they should and so the bird went back to the underworld and delivered his message.

Most of the people were still busy with their social dances, but the village chiefs and all the other chiefs rushed to the tall reeds and began to climb them. In this they were aided by the two gods of hard substances, who made the reeds firm. Finally all the people had crawled through the hole in the sky, the chief watching and keeping out those who had given up their time to social dances. When he saw two of these people coming up the reed, he shook it loose and dropped them back to the ground, and stopped up the hole.

A search for the new home was then commenced, but the chief's daughter died and he decided that some of the powerful witches had come up with them so he called his people together and threw up some sacred bread made of corn meal, saying that the meal would fall on the witch's head. It fell on a girl's head. He then decided to throw her back through the hole into the underworld. But upon looking through the hole the chief saw his daughter who had just died, playing in the underworld like other little children. Thereby the chief knew that everyone went to the underworld after death. The witch told him that if he would let her live with him that his own daughter would before long return. She also said that she would keep him out of all difficulties. On these terms, the girl was spared.

It was utter darkness when the Hopis arrived on earth. The counciled [counseled] and attempted to create light. They cut out a round piece of buckskin which they had brought with them from the underworld, and took bits out of the hearts of all the people, birds and beasts put them into the buckskin and told it to give light. But this was not sufficient. So taking white cotton cloth, they put the bits of hearts on it and put it in the east for the sun. Thus the sun gave light for every living thing, each of which welcomes the rising of the sun. They placed corn on the ground and told the people to pick that up which they wished for food. Each person picked up an ear of corn. After the people had picked up the food, the shortest ear was left for the chief. He was thankful for the short ear for it would provide him with food in any land. The chief cautioned the people who were to go to Oraiba, to live as the ghost wished them to live. Each band went in a different direction. The older brother of the chief was told to go to where the sun rises and stay there. The younger brother was to send for the older in time of trouble. The chief then called the mocking bird and told him to give each band a language, written on a piece of stone. The older brother received the first language, which was to be the language of the white man. The chief who came to Oraiba received also a plate. If the older brother upon being sent for should come and find the Oraiba tribe backsliding into their old ways of life in the underworld, he (the older brother) should cut off the head of the Oraiba chief. The older brother's name was Väläkän [similar to the Navajo term for ''American'', Bilagaana, but differing somewhat from ''Pahaana'', the term subsequently applied by Hopis to both the mythological elder brother of the Hopi and to whites in general]. Then the older brother went east, the chief told him not to be baptized into any fraternity.

The mocking-bird gave out several more different languages, and then the clans went to their respective lands. Ukeoma belongs to the ghost clan [i.e., Maasaw and Kookop together]. They put the witch girl behind so that she could not get to Oraiba first and be the ruler. The chief led the ghost people to Oraiba, carrying their seeds. They traveled for a while; stopped and raised a crop and proceeded again on their journey. The brother who went east, travelled faster than the chief. Sometimes they would stop at one place two or three years. The ruling clan was the Oraiba clan, the clan which the witch followed. The corn clan travelled along south with the Cochina [Katsina] Clan. All the clans came out of the ocean to the far west. The bear clan was headed for Oraiba, followed by the ghost clan, then came the witch. The ghost clan finally arrived at Tuba, (thirty miles N.W of Oraiba), and saw that some other clan had been there. So they went on. The smoke [Snake] clan, ghost clan and spider clan came together at Tuba. After living there a few years, they found a part of the Bear Clan. The real chief of the Bear

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Clan came to Chimopovy where he found out that it was not Oraiba. He moved to Oraiba where the ghost, Smoke [sic, i.e., Snake] and Spider Clans later found him. Transients from various clans came in and built up Oraiba. As the ghost clans were coming to Oraiba, they met the red-headed ghost about two miles west of Oraiba. The ghost was very kind to them. The ghost clan immediately asked the Red Headed ghost to become their chief. He refused saying that they will go to the bad again. The ghost let the old chief rule [presumably referring to the head of the Maasaw-Kookop group]. They asked the ghost to set aside some land for them. He did so, allotting it right around the point of the Mesa at Oraiba. He then told them to move on the mesa at Oraiba. The ghost himself lived off the mesa, just west of Oraiba. The ghost clan settled around a large boulder called Oraiba. While they were settled at this place, the Bear Clan came and settled under the cliff to the South of Oraiba. When they became stronger, they ascended the Mesa and settled with the Ghost and Smoke [Snake] and Spider Clans. In the ghost clan were two parties—one known as the Ghost and bird [Kookopngyam], and the other the ghost clan proper [Masngyam]. Ukeoma's clan was the Ghost and Bird clan which came after Oraiba was settled. They first settled at the foot of the Mesa. The chief would not consent that they should come up at first. They were known as the Bravery clan, being a guard to the Bear Clan. Then the Oraiba People went back to their bad underworld ways; the witches ran things, making people sick etc. The Utes, Navajos, Apaches, and other warriors came in and fought the Bear Clan at Oraiba. The ghost clan, though in great difficulty, would not ask the Ghost-and-Bird-Clan up. Finally when the enemies were lined up for attack, the chief went down and implored the Ghost-and-Bird Clan to come up and fight for him. The ghost invited them up. The Ghost gave his clan power to defeat the hostile warriors. Two of the bravest of the Ghost clan, with explosives, in pottery, went out into the enemies ranks and threw these explosives. The Oraibans defeated the Piutes, through the power of the Red-headed Ghost. They chased them from the village, and scattered them out over a large territory. The ghost guided the clans. He stopped the fight three or four miles north of Hotivilla. Here an irregularly shaped tree grew. The Ghost and Bird Clan told the other Oraiba Clans that they no longer wished to be regarded as the Braves. From then on the Ghost and Bird Clan lived at Oraiba. Here they lived in peace for a time. They were taken into the sacred fraternities, and were recognized as fighters. Tradition runs that a stronger people will come to the Hopis and try to get them to adopt their ways of living. The Hopis will be attacked by all the Navajos etc. The ruling clan at Oraiba, the Bear Clan, will yield to some stronger clan. The Navajos at first guarded the Hopis, but when the Hopis went to the bad, the Navajos attacked them.

The Oraiba chief betrayed his own people. The Spaniard came and fought, coming from the South. They were here four years and then attempted to make the Hopi adopt their ways. The Bear Clan yielded up to the stronger people. Then the Spider clan yielded, and then the warriors, but the Ghost and Bird Clan did not yield. The stronger people in an unpretentious and quiet way forced their ways upon the people. The native police are examples of a stronger people gradually forcing their ways upon the Hopis.

When the Spaniard (Priests) came to live at Oraiba, the ruling clan wanted to yield to them. After four years, the priests would have them baptized. That caused trouble. Their tradition was against such. The fighting men were unwilling to assist the ruling clan because they had already yielded to the Spanish. They thought the sea would swallow up the land if they yielded. The ghost and bird clan had kept the traditions. The Bear Clan gave up to the Ghost and Bird Clan, in order to prevent the Sea from swallowing up the land. Finally the Badger Clan killed the Priests. This killing made the Navajos hostile. So the Navajos, together with the Spaniards attacked the Hopis. The last fight was between the Oraibans on one side and the first and second Mesa People and the Navajos and Spanish on the other. The Ghost and Bear Clan assisted the Oraibans, who won the fight, driving the enemy off of the Mesa onto skull flat, so named because of the heads piled up there. They drove the peo-

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ple onto the 2nd mesa. Then the Oraibans drew a line at the edge of the second mesa and returned home. Upon their home-coming, the Ghost and Bird Clan again gave notice to the Oraibans, that they were to be warriors no longer. They recorded the number killed by inscribing it on the large boulder at the foot of their Mesa. The Oraibans recognized the Ghost and Bird Clan as the saviors of their people, having saved them from destruction in the sea. The Oraibans grew in number and lived in peace for a time.

Ukeoma says that again they will be urged to yield up. Probably the present coming of soldiers indicates this fact. The Spider clan yielded next. The Oraiba people have taken new ways taught to them by the government. The Ghost and Bird Clan would not take up government ideas. The Chief of the Oraibans wanted the Ghost and Bird Clan to take up Government ways, which caused trouble and Ukeoma was told to take the Ghost and Bird Clan away from Oraiba. This he did and settled at Hotivilla in 1905. Ukeoma regards the Oraibans as traitors. The big brothers across the sea will soon come and send a messenger to Santa Fe, then a second one to the Pacific. These messengers are to report everything to the whites across the sea. The Oraibans have received the whites, and sent for soldiers, and taken members of the Ghost and Bird Clan prisoners. The Hopi Policemen also assist the whites. Finally all the enemies will combine and do harm to the Ghost and Bird people unless they conform to the new ideas and ways of living. All of these things must happen. Ukeoma can't help it.

The soldiers from the West will do the capturing and will take them east as prisoners or West to death. Ukeoma must not depart from his traditions. Only will his people yield when removed and put under another chief. If the whole band moves East, by chance, they are not to be harmed, but will be more likely, if moved West. Soldiers are meaner if from the West than they are from the East. Ukeoma blames the Oraibans for receiving aid from the Government in securing land and asking for soldiers to force Hotivillos into government schools.

Ukeoma became chief of the Ghost and Bird Clan during Burton's time. Collins first took Ukeoma prisoner and cut his hair. During Burton's time, Ukeoma and others were again taken prisoners. The leader of the Spider Clan gave up to the Government ways. Then he returned and attempted to send the children to school. Most of the Oraibans met Mr. Burton at the day school and agreed to send their children there. Ukeoma declares he will not yield but will adhere to his ancient traditions. He will also become chief of all the opposing parties. He asked the people to decide and a large number came under his leadership. Ukeoma then explained his plan of leadership, given according to his traditions. He knows it will require great bravery and persistence to withstand the influence of the government and the Indians friendly to the United States. Navajo Police were sent out from Keam's Canon and abused him and made him prisoner. The Hopi and Navajo police could not make him yield, consequently soldiers came, just as indicated in the traditions of his ancestors. It was also handed down by his ancestors that he would be assisted by his brother clans, but they went back on their traditions. New ways cannot last, while traditions last forever. Soldiers and native police have forced him to give up his children to the school, trying to make his children and people go back to their bad ways of the underworld. The white brother from Washington should not molest him but should encourage him to live according to his traditions. The native police and soldiers are crazy. They do not follow the traditions. They make it hard for him, but his ancestors have told him that he would finally come out all right, the Washington people and native police are the guilty ones. He looks for the Washington authorities to assist instead of hinder him. He regards Washington as not being the great rulers from the East, but only as a messenger or forerunner.

The night after the Chief of the Spider Clan yielded to the government, the people had a council and made Ukeoma Chief. The next day Mr. Kempmire, the Principal of the Oraiba School came in and told them some things, asking that the children be sent to the school. Ukeoma refused. Mr. Kempmire took hold of Ukeoma and pulled him out of the house and threw him down from the second story. They then walked him away to where the other Government employees, and Mr.

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Voth, the Missonary were. Mr. Voth and the Navajo Police held him while Mr. Kempmire clipped off his hair. They asked him why he did not give up his old way of living, saying that there were no longer recognized chiefs. Ukeoma could not agree with them. The doctor came and vaccinated Ukeoma and the children. THEN they took Ukeoma and the children to Keam's canon, and put Ukeoma to work on the roads for three months, after which time, he returned home. Three other men were imprisoned at the same time. The authorities then ceased bothering them for awhile.

When Mr. Lainon [Lemmon] became agent, he too, made trouble for Ukeoma and his people by forcing the children to go to school. Some of the people of Chimopolovy [Supawlavi] believed like Ukeoma, so the chief drove them to Chimopolovi [Songòopavi]. Here they again had trouble with the agent and chief. Navajo Police were sent out. The Ukeoma people were no longer ruled by the Chimopolovis [?]; they went into their Kivos and would not come out when asked by Mr. Lainon. Then the Navajo Police began to tear off the roofs of the Kivos. Mr. Miller said they would put a deader rug [deadly drug] into the Kivos unless they came out. Finally, they came out of the Kivos, but refused to give up their children. Some of the Policemen of the agent dragged Ukeoma away, threatening him with a club. Somebody, not the man he saw with a club came up behind Ukeoma and knocked him down unconscious, in which state he was for several hours.

A messenger was sent to his nephews at Oraiba. As the nephews arrived, Ukeoma came to his senses. His nephews talked it over and decided that Ukeoma would not be able to travel home to Oraiba. But he returned to Oraiba nevertheless. Only a part of the children had been taken. He heard of the coming of soldiers, and then he counciled with the opposing clan at Oraiba. They decided to go to the second Mesa where trouble was expected with the soldiers. Ukeoma told his men to go ahead in a host. He neared the 2nd mesa village on foot about dark, and found his men congregated some distance from the village. They heard the cavalry horse's hoofs in the village.

After dark, Ukeoma sent two men into the village to see about this trouble. These two men met two soldiers but dodged them. They found the trouble in the village over, so the outside band went on into the village. Here two Oraibans ran out to meet Ukeoma's band and took them to the 2nd mesa opposing clan. Then they found that the few soldiers, Navajos, and Hopi Police in great numbers had taken the children. The second Mesa opposing band recognized Ukeoma's leadership and followed him later to Oraiba. Not all who went with Ukeoma returned to Oraiba. They found that four men had been taken down to the day school. Two from Chimopovy, and two from Oraiba. These men are told to go to Washington and get the Indian Commissioner to grant them their wishes. The opposing band are to raise money to send delegates to Washington. These men tell the Indians, and the money was soon raised. The money was kept track of, by using a match for each dollar. Mr. Leinon said $40.50 for each delegate would be required for expenses. They brought a match to the agent for each dollar collected. The agent counted the matches, but they found that they could not raise so much money and began to suspect that the agent did not want the delegates to get to Washington. The people of Ukeoma gave up getting the money. The next day, the agent came up with his forces and asked the leader of the opposing clan of Chimopovy if he would get the money. They told him they could not afford to put up so much money. Mr. Leinon asked Ukeoma if he wanted to move his people away from the second mesa and Oraiba to a place where they could live undisturbed. Ukeoma did not want to move. Mr. Leinon said he was going to get authority from the Interior Department to move Ukeoma and his people anyway.

Mr. Leinon ordered the Oraibans to return hom [home] from the second mesa to Oraiba. The Oraiba and 2nd Mesa opposing bands go into the Kivos, and the Chief of Chimopovy told them to leave the second Mesa as their presence involved his village in trouble with the government. So Ukeoma and his people together with the opposing bands of the 2nd Mesa started down the Mesa on their way to Oraiba. The friendly Oraibans overtake them at the foot of the 2nd mesa and their chief

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shouted out to them that he did not want these opposing bands at Oraiba. He fired a gun several times, in defiance. At the foot of the Oraiba Mesa, the friendly Oraibans came down to see that Ukeoma and his people were safe. Ukeoma, however, proceeded up to Oraiba, unmolested, and lived there for a time. The second mesa opposing families were taken care of at Oraiba by Ukeoma's people; they giving them plots of their land and other necessaries. So they lived in harmony until August, when the smoke [Snake] ceremonies were to take place. A friendly man of the second Mesa came to Ukeoma and asked about the opposing families from the 2nd Mesa. Ukeoma took these inquiries to indicate that the government was planning to attempt to make the opposing bands yield. Ukeoma no longer recognized the Oraiba and other chiefs, claiming that he was the only chief who had stood by his traditions. Ukeoma declared that the Oraiba, Bear Clan had died out and they had twice borrowed women from Chimopovy in order to keep up the ruling clan at Oraiba. The ruling clan is descended through the women. Ukeoma being a member of the Antelopes, was to take part in the Snake Dance. There were many spectators. The opposing bands were expecting to be attacked by the spectators and friendly Indians, but nothing happened. The next day Ukeoma went back to his field to work. A man came up on horse back and asked that he return to Oraiba and make plans for the opposing bands, and upon his return to Oraiba, Ukeoma found the Oraibans about to drive out the opposing band. Ukeoma called his band together and told them that traditions taught that the opposing bands would be driven out but that no injury should be inflicted with weapons etc. Ukeoma's band was to harm no one, even when attacked with weapons. Two missionaries, a trader, and Miss Stanley, cautioned the friendly Indians not to use weapons. The friendly Indians had reported that the unfriendly Indians were going to use clubs in case of trouble. The missionaries urged that the principal men of each clan arbitrate their difficulties. The Oraiban chief walked in and told everybody to get out except the Indians. The Chief then asked Ukeoma what his plans were as to the disposition of the 2nd Mesa opposing band now at Oraiba. Ukeoma said that he intended to keep them with him at Oraiba. The Oraiba Chief replied that if Ukeoma did this he would drive them all out together. The right hand man of the Oraiba Chief took hold of the leader of the opposing band of the 2nd Mesa and pulled him out of his seat onto the floor. Two of the 2nd Mesa opposing band attempted to hold their leader in the house, but other friendly men dragged the 2nd Mesa leader out of town, then they drove Ukeoma's band out. A great tug-o-war resulted, both sides kicking and striking with fists. The opposing bands were finally carried just north of Oraiba. Here the Oraibans and opposing bands began their arguments about their traditions and 104 families were driven out. Ukeoma told the chief of the Oraibans that he was no longer a chief, and had no right to the lands about Oraiba. A struggle resulted between the bands. Then they argued the question, saying that traditions ran that the band turned out should go away. Ukeoma also said that the Oraibans too would sometime have to move out. The Oraiba right hand man told his chief that Ukeoma was going to move only a short distance. Ukeoma drew a line and crossed over it, signifying his intention of leaving. Ukeoma declares the Oraiba people are following the witch and falling into the mean ways of the underworld. Ukeoma and his followers took their bedding and food and moved to Hotivilla Spring, six miles away, just at sunset. Traditions had it that way; that they were to move north to a place called Oweskstama [Kawestima] where they were supposed to come from. The site of Hotivilla was covered with cedars. They cut these down, made a camp fire and formed a circle around it. Here his people asked Ukeoma what would next happen. Ukeoma said soldiers would come and take him prisoner, or kill him. He asks no one to follow him, unless brave enough to stand the consequences. Rumors of soldiers coming were afloat. It was said that the soldiers would remove them to Kowikstima [Kawestima]. Ukeoma declared he would not depart from his old Hopi traditions. The presence of white people made it very difficult to hold to the traditions. Mr. Perry, agent from Ft. Defiance came with an interpreter to treat with Ukeoma and his people. He met

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Mr. Perry on a near-by hill. Ukeoma's right hand man wanted to go with him to prevent his being made a prisoner, but Ukeoma said that he would go alone. Ukeoma told Mr. Perry he wanted to know why Mr. Perry was sending for him. Mr. Perry said the Oraiba chief must tell him his plans. The Oraiba Chief said he would do as Mr. Perry wished. Ukeoma told Mr. Perry that he would stand by his traditions. He did not want the United States Government and its schools. The interpreter did not give Mr. Perry good interpretations, so a Tuba interpreter was hired. He seemed to do all right. Mr. Perry said the soldiers would come in 4 days to settle the trouble. Mr. Perry then left. The soldiers arrived at the old Mission Post near Oraiba. Mr. Perry sent for Ukeoma and his leading men to come down to the day school to talk over matters. Some of his leaders objected, but Ukeoma decided to go anyway. So he started alone but the leaders followed and overtook him. Mr. Perry received them at the school, and read out the names of those he would have to see. Mr. Perry took them at dark to a nearby Hopi house and locked them up and put a guard of friendly Hopis over them. Thus he deceived them.

The next morning Mr. Perry came and told Ukeoma to send for the rest of his people, who came down. Then Mr. Perry unlocked the room and corraled all the people of Ukeoma near the school, the soldiers surrounding them with guns. Mr. Perry asked Ukeoma what he would do about sending his children to school. Ukeoma said he would not send them. The commander of the soldiers ordered the soldiers to take Ukeoma away to another spot. Mr. Perry told Ukeoma he was not fit to be a dog's chief and would no longer recognize his leadership. Mr. Perry pronounced ''Uncle Joe'' chief, but none of Ukeoma's people would recognize another chief. Ukeoma refused to treat further with Mr. Perry. He was tied and guarded by the soldiers. The people were questioned separately, if they would accept Uncle Joe as chief. As each refused, he was tied and placed by Ukeoma. The rope supply gave out before all were tied, so the remainder were sent to the village. Those tied were marched down to the old mission house, where they were locked up. Ukeoma to himself. Here they remained imprisoned for several days. In the meantime the soldiers came over to Hotivilla and the people were urged to accept a new chief, but they would not.

One man, Kowontumma [Kuwannömtiwa] declared he would follow the government ways. So he tried to get a following among the Hotivillos to go back to Oraiba. Twenty-five families went with him, but the others would not yield, so the soldiers took them to the day school and kept them there for some time. The women who had come from the 2nd mesa wanted to talk to Ukeoma; Ukeoma told the soldiers that if they took the women to Chimpovy and those people did not want them they would return to Hotivilla. The soldiers decided to take Ukeoma and those imprisoned at the mission to Keams Canon. The second bunch were then taken from the Oraiba day school to a point beyond Keams Canon, and later sent to Fort Huachuca.

Ukeoma does not like to send children to school because his ancestors said he should not do so. The right kind of people will not force them to be baptized and send children to school. Sometime, a good people will come to whom the Hopis will yield, but they will not require the baptizm [baptism] of the children nor schools.

Ukeoma says all the white men's talk is incited by the witches. These troubles have been predicted by his ancestors. He is to suffer at the hand of the whites and Navajos. The government is guilty of wrongdoing in troubling him more than four times. He wears white people's clothes because he buys and pays for them. He is chief and will not send children to school for if he does, he will no longer be chief. White men buy things from soldiers [the reference appears to be to the Hostiles] and soldiers buy white men's things, a legitimate business, not against traditions, sending children to school is against Hopi Traditions.

Ukeoma says white people treat him kindly in beginning but do not encourage him in his own way of living. Commissioner at Washington told him it was impossible that the children be brought up according to Hopi ways, and that soldiers would be sent for his children. Col. Scott is giving made-up arguments to Ukeoma. It is true that the white

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men will finally usurp all the Indian's country, but the Indians will not be beggars, the white men will not harm the Indians. The only way for the white brother to rule is to cut Ukeoma's head off. This act will bring his people to different life, the life of the stronger people. If the Oraiba chief is bad, cut his head off; if Ukeoma is good, do not cut his head off. All the Hopis who have deserted their traditions are progressing.

The witches right hand man must have his head cut off. After this is done, all tribes will go the same way. Traditions say that he must hold to the Hopi way. Finally the troubles will end and all will be peace. Oceans will swallow up the land unless Hopi traditions be observed. At Oraiba, the chief has a square stone plate representing the earth. A serpent is carved on one side and a man's figure on the other. The serpent represents the ocean which is swallow up the land. The other figure, the white brother who is to come and cut off the heads of the bad people. The Oraiba Chief will fall and Ukeoma will triumph over all the tribes.

Oraiba holds a stone plate brought from the underworld and it gives him the right to the country. If soldiers come, Ukeoma will not resist. If Ukeoma consents to his children being taken without force, it means that he yields to the government. Ukeoma thinks Col. Scott has been hurried by Ukeoma's enemies, because letters were handed to Col. Scott in the Kiov [kiva] this morning and right away he left, and now he has quit listening to Ukeoma's story, and has gone to questioning him about schools. In answer to the idea of being laughed at by his enemies, Ukeoma says a chief must suffer ridicule but friends will not laugh at him. Some of Ukeoma's people have taken up government ways and called themselves progressives. Some Bocali [Paaqavi], government friends, live in Ukeoma's village. These will not need to be forced. Why do you hesitate to cut off Ukeoma's head, if you think he is wrong? Tradition says somebody's head must be cut off before the trouble is ended. The evil spirit goes around at night in the form of an animal or a bird of some kind. The right hand man of this bad spirit must have his head cut off. If the Oraiba chief be the right hand man, let his head be cut off. If Ukeoma, be the bad man, let his head be cut off. Ukeoma doesn't want soldiers at all. If soldiers care to come, Ukeoma is no longer friend to the whites. Let them go their way, and let Ukeoma go his way. The chief will not do anything. Some of his own people may have given up to Col. Scott, or they may have told him they would fight, but Ukeoma will not fight. Ukeoma says somebody has agreed to give up to the government. If the children's parents agree to let the children go, they may go, but he asks that they may not be taken forcefully. Spare the children of the chief, the children of the chief's close friends to the Hopi ways. Ukeoma does not always wear white mens clothes. Ukeoma doesn't think he is the real chief of all the people. Some of them have probably turned away from him, and they may get their children, but leave Ukeoma's alone. Ukeoma will not agree to anything. He wants no trouble. (Ukeoma here presented two slabs of rock on which he said was inscribed the tradition. The red-headed ghost gave them to his people upon their arrival at Oraiba.)

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CHAPTER 27

THE ACCOUNT OF HONNÖMTIWA

Part II concludes with a single document, an account of the split by Lewis Numkena Sr. (Honnömtiwa, Greasewood, born at Orayvi, ca. 1892), as recorded in some Bureau of Indian Affairs Hearings in 1955 (Hopi Hearings, 1955: 267–284). Presented before a Hopi audience to a group of B.I.A. officials at Mùnqapi, Honnömtiwa's is one of the best Hopi accounts on record. Although most family members he identifies in the account were Friendlies and close associates of Loololma (and then Tawakwaptiwa), Honnömtiwa's mother's father was Patupha, a major figure in the Hostile leadership in the early 1890's. His account clearly favors the Orayvi/Mùnqapi viewpoint, and the official nature of the hearings (which included Thomas M. Reid, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs) cannot be ignored as conditioning his remarks. Meetings had been convened at several Hopi villages after a series of protests in the 1930's–1950's against government policies, including livestock reduction. A small minority had recently resurrected the (I.R.A.) Hopi Tribal Council, after the initial council dissolved in the early 1940's, because of dissatisfaction with its failure to prevent stock-reduction and to protect Hopi aboriginal land rights. Numkena's remarks suggest ongoing conflicts between the factions and their descendants, and his perspective clearly favors the ''Friendly'' stance. But the level of detail and frank honesty in this account is unsurpassed in the documentary record.

Lewis Numkena: I come before you this morning here to bear my testimony on what knowledge I have as far as the Hopi life is concerned and as an eye witness to certain things that have happened to the Hopi people. I appreciate very much having this opportunity of meeting you people who have come here to sit in on this hearing, and now I have seen each individual, what he looks like and what his appearance is. . . .

I was born in the days when people did not keep track of the dates of birth, but again I would like to say that you gentlemen are probably aware that we as Hopis belong to certain clan groups, so therefore, I would like to tell you that I am a member of the Magpie Clan who is affiliated with the Greesewood clan. As you are aware usually in a Hopi family the Uncles of a family group is sort of an authority for him, and I did have these Uncles, I had a grandfather and grandmother and of course my father lived. My mother was still in the family and then I had certain brothers and sisters in the family. As I grew up to be a young man and began to know what life was like, it became known to me that my father [Qömawuhiwma, Coyote] was a very close associate with the Kikmongwi of Oraibi Village, and so therefore as far as I know he had in his possession a paraphenalea [paraphernalia] which indicated that he did have the authority to exercise certain ceremonies.

My mother [Qömahongqa, Greasewood] belonged to the Lul-Kohn [Lakon] ceremonies which is a woman's society. She played a part in that, and she had in her possession this authorized paraphenalia which shows she has the authority to be in that position, Then as I have said my Uncle was a very close associate to the Kikmongwi of Oraibi Village, who is the equivalent of being a mayor in a city, and after his passing away, then my brother [Poliyestiwa, Tsa'kmongwi,

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Crier Chief for Tawakwaptiwa] inherited the position and took the place of my Uncle. . . .

I might commence with the year of 1880 [sic, should be 1890] when a delegation of Hopis went to Washington Office. This delegation consisted of Loloma who was Kikmongwi of Oraibi; from Shungopavy the Kikmongwi could not go because of his age, and so he sent a man by the name of Honanie who was to represent the villages of Second Mesa; from Walpi a man by the name of Semo went who was also a Kikmongwi of that village. Along with these men another Hopi man went who was a member of the Tewa Village, and this man was known as Polacaca who was to act as interpreter for this group because he could talk fluently the Spanish language. No one could speak English among the Hopi people in those days, so therefore they felt it necessary to take someone versed in the Spanish language. Now, these things are the facts that Loloma, himself, had told my Uncle [probably Talaswungwniwa, Greasewood, Crier Chief, who became a Hostile in the 1890's] who as I have said was the Associate of this leader. . . . As the delegation went on its way they saw a great number of communities on their way and some great cities, and in these cities they saw very many white people. It took quite a few days for their travel going to the Washington Office. As Loloma told this story, he said that . . . as he traveled and when he looked upon these great cities and great people he became very discouraged because he felt like there were so many people against a meager number of his people back in the Hopi country. Before he went to Washington, he too was like anyone else. He didn't want the white man's ways. He didn't want their programs for his people, but when he saw these things actually for himself, and he even described such an event as an ant hill when you stirred it up. That is the way he described the white population. Therefore, he gave this great consideration and thought, and before he arrived at the Washington Office he was discouraged and he had given up, and decided the only alternative was that he could go on, but he had made up his mind that we must make friends with the white people. So before the conference this had definitely made up his mind.

After they reached Washington, they assembled in a conference. There the great white Chief spoke to them in this conference and told the Hopi people about the future they had in mind for our people, and he also pointed out to them that it was very essential and also very necessary that the children must be educated so that when the time came in the future that the younger generation would be able to sustain themselves and would be a credit to the nation instead of a burden. So therefore, he told them that if they would look at the matter as he saw it, then they would accept education for their children so that when the children grew up and approached this new era in their lives, they will be of assistance to their own people. They might be as he described it their ears and their tongues, so that they might confer with the white people and to their own people who do not have any knowledge of the English language. And they could carry out things for a better understanding of the people. These are some of the things that has been told to my Uncle, and of course as I said before I was a young man at that time, and because of the length of time [ago] these things were told some things I can't very well recall.

When this delegation came to Washington they spent several days in that city, and after all these things were presented to the delegation each one of them began to consult one another, and they asked each other what they should do. While they were there the people provided them with good food and again told them if they would accept the ways of a white man then eventually these good foods would be theirs, and there might be good clothing provided for their children in the future. Therefore, upon deliberating on the results among themselves, they decided the wisest thing to do was to agree to the ways of the government. They felt after hearing these things that it was a good thing and that they could go by reconciling to the good ways of each group of people. They felt it is good to accept the good things of the white man and they also considered that they could keep the good things of their own ways, and by putting these two together they would be able to exist and do better, so therefore they eventually made friends and said that they

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wanted to follow these new ways on order that their children might prosper. None of these men who were in the delegation could speak English or write, so the only way they could exercise their authority showing that they had made an agreement, each one held a pencil even though they couldn't write. That way it would be indicated that they would agree. After each one had held the pencil the President of the United States used the same pencil and got their names affixed and their signatures to the agreement.

After the agreement was signed, then the President brought out an instrument which was a pipe and filled it with tobacco, and after lighting the tobacco handed it to Loloma, Kikmongwi of Oraibi; and after Loloma had taken the pipe for a few moments he passed it on to the other members of his delegation, and each one of them proceeded as Loloma had done. After this was done Loloma also took a pipe as it is a custom for a leader of the Hopi that when he travels on his way the pipe and the tobacco is in his possession, and he did like the President had done, and after the President took the pipe, he passed it on to the members of his staff as the Hopis had done. Now according to the way we consider the pipe in the Hopi life the pipe is very sacred instrument. It is the instrument by which the prayers of the Hopi are being offered, and it is considered an instrument by which blessings can be received if it is done rightfully by the Hopi people. Now, perhaps this is the way of a white man also, so therefore, each group accepted this agreement or treaty, you might say, and then it was agreed upon that it is just like twisting of two strings which might be an example of each life, and from that time on they would be living side by side and would help each other as the time goes along.

Now all this was done in the Washington Office, and the result was they had made friends, and then they were instructed that upon their return back to the Hopi country they would forecast all what has been done and agreed upon to each people and each village, and they would instruct their people to start in accepting education for their children, and then they were also instructed that they should leave their Mesas and spread out into their country and commence to build new homes, and cultivate the fertile lands. They should look out for places where they could get water, and they should build their homes near the Springs, and cultivate these fertile lands and valleys, because they have been instructed that whenever you squat on a land and could place upon that particular land certain ashes which would indicate that that gives you the rights and deeds to that particular area, and by this procedure it would be equivalent as it is with individual property. As they have told the time will come that the white people will come out to this country and if our people did not do as they have been told then it would be just like a river that would flood the country. That was an example of the white men who would come and settle on the land which we feel like we rightfully have, so that if this was done we can claim our land that we had a squatters rights, that we have homes and our pile of ashes to show that we do have rights to this property.

Eventually the delegation returned back to the Hopi country and after coming back into the Hopi country, each leader in the various villages went into conference with their staff members, and all these things were made known to them. Therefore, they commenced to tell the people what they were told and what they should do. In these days there was no contention among the people. The people were very humble, and there was nothing but affection known among any group in the Hopi country. After these things were told to the people, a lot of people commenced to investigate the springs, the home sites, and the fertile valleys where they might establish new homes. At Oraibi one group went down to the south side off the Mesa into the valley and there they commenced to develop the spring which had a very good flow, and then the people began to prepare their building materials. Other places designated for Oraibi people was at Mumushva [Mumurva] by another spring northwest of the village. This particular place where a bigger group were proposing to put their homes was Sunrise Springs. At Shungopavy the people began to do likewise, and it was made known that Burro Springs was a new site for that village. Walpi followed suit, and they commenced to

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investigate and began to locate new home sites.

After this program had commenced some of the high priests and the staff members of the Kikmongwi of Oraibi did not like the program, and they began to oppose it. Eventually Yukeoma, who was the greatest associate of Loloma began to take into partnership Loma Homgeoma, who was of the Spider Clan for a close associate of Yukeoma, and they began to hold secret conferences, trying to outline another procedure provided these plans could be destroyed. When the people went down to the new home site to work on the material, this group began to criticize so severely they started an argument which eventually they succeeded in doing while these people were at work. Many bad words were exchanged during the work sessions at this new home site, and many bad things were said about those who were willing to follow this program. One man by the name of Talahoingnewa [perhaps Talahoyniwa, Badger] was supposed to be one of the main ring leaders. He began to criticize the people by saying, ''This is where I will put my white man's bread, and this is where I will put my white man's other things''. This eventually started the argument and trouble. After all these things we said then the disagreement had begun.

The people left their work and went up to the village where a bigger argument went into effect. In that village one of the highest Kivas was Sequalinemie [Sakwalenvi] which belonged to the fraternal order of the Hopi ceremony where the main leader of the village would exercise their ceremonies. Yukeoma's group became very strong in this Kiva and eventually ejected Loloma who was Kikmongwi out of this village, and told him he would no longer be a member of that Kiva. Loloma with the help of his followers went to another Kiva which is named Poyoivi [Pongovi], and after doing some remodeling on his Kiva there where he placed himself. This is where all the friction actually started and when the trouble actually originated. As the faction actually had begun at that time Lomahongnue [Lomahongiwma] was appointed by Yukeoma to be leader of those opposed to the program.

About this time some of our young people commenced to enter the school. Loloma, the Kikmongwi of Oraibi, sent two of his nephews and one son to school, and I remember two of my brothers entered school, and along with two of my brothers another close relative was also going to the newly established school. Those who had opposed the program and did not want to enter their children into school resisted those who were authorized to get the children to enroll in school. Therefore, as time went along they commenced to go into conflict, and they actually had fought. This was the beginning of a time that these men were put into jail because they resisted the order. Then after all this had taken place, Yukeoma began to contact other villages and commenced his agitation. He went to Shungopavy and began to tell the people to resist education, hoping that he would have a following from that village. He also went to Sipaulovi on Second Mesa with the same intention by telling the people that if they did not follow his ways and if they accept the white man's way and enter their children into school, a great calamity would befall them and life would end for the Hopi people. This he did many times. Eventually Tewahongnewa [Tawahongniwa] who was of the Bear [Bluebird] Clan of Sipaulovi [Tawahongniwa was married into Supawlavi, but since the Bluebird clan did not exist in that village, he must have originally been from Songòopavi or Musangnuvi] commenced to follow his advice, so then he too resisted the people who had come out to enroll their school children into the schools, and he would fight with the authorities, and by doing these things he too was put into jail. . . .

As I said before we dismissed the opposition against the educational program was being introduced into the Hopi country. I mentioned that at Sipaulovi Tewahonema began to be ring leader. About this time the government proposed a plan of erecting buildings at the Toreva Day School, and they commenced work and the walls and foundations were beginning to be laid up, and after the walls were up 2 feet, Tewahonema organized a party and tore this wall down to the ground. On a second attempt the workmen again started building walls, and this time when they come up to here and the frame work should be started, then Tewaho-

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nema and his gang tore the walls down again. So then the police were notified, and they jailed these men again. These were some of the incidents taking place at this time. And about this time the people of Sipaulovi and Mishongnovi became very confused. This had taken effect in two villages because the people realized that by the doings of this particular group who opposed the school, they felt their religion in those two villages had been torn down, so therefore, something had to be done, and eventually the people decided that they would exile this group. So one morning before sunrise, some of the people were still in bed, when this particular group passed out of the village and were beginning to leave the village of Sipaulovi. A lot of people did not know these people were leaving the place until Howard Talayumtewa's wife, who was a small girl at that time asked her mother in a loud voice where they were going. So by this time the people began to know something was going on, the people of both villages, so they left the Mesa and went to Shungopavy. All the girls and women were fully dressed in Hopi costumes, making it appear that there was a dance of some sort going on. These people then occupied the village of Shungopavy, and there they lived for a while, making this place their home.

After they had lived in this village a while, the agitation started again, and certain people there began to be members of this group by listening to them and hearing what their intentions were. And again the trouble started by this same group, and eventually the trouble began to be very serious, so then the police had to enforce law again, and sometimes during a dance being held at Shungopavy by a particular type of Buffalo Katchina dance, that very day the hostilities broke out. This group of people barricaded themselves just west of the two Kivas on the west of Shungopavy, and when the police came they had to break through the walls in order to arrest these men, and so far as is known three ring leaders were seriously hurt, and everybody thought that they were being killed, but later on they revived. After these men who had caused these hostilities in Shungopavy were arrested and jailed, then because of the results, they were again driven from the village of Shungopavy. This time they made their way toward the town of Oraibi. . . .

By this time I was old enough that I recognized that such events were taking place. I can remember that at Oraibi we were told that this group of affiliated people were coming from Shungopavy toward Oraibi, so I was one of the people who went to the edge of the Mesa, and we witnessed some of the leaders who had associated with Yukeoma, namely, Lomahomeoma [Lomahongiwma] and Qotchata [Lomayestiwa, Spider—Lomahongiwma's brother]. We found them at the foot of the Mesa where they were waiting for this group and having a smoke prayer. As we looked down to the valley we could see many people approaching the Oraibi Mesa. After they came up to Yukeoma and his group, they likewise were offered the sacred smoke, and I can very well identify the members of the party. . . . [O]ne was Andrew Hermaquaftewa, the leader who spoke to you at this meeting [at Songòopavi], and the rest of the men were in this party and along with them were their families. After the sacred offerings were made through smoking the pipe, they started for the village, and the leader of the group waiting for them started out as is customary as the Hopi does by sprinkling corn meal on the road and telling them to follow. He continued to sprinkle this all the way to the village, and they went to the Spider Clan's residence and stopped again at the foot of the ladder, entering this particular house. Then the leader who brought them there again sprinkled corn meal in an upward motion to the house, and took an ear of corn that he had in his possession and as is customary with any new comer, he motioned four times up the ladder and made it known they were welcome to enter the house, and then we come to know that there was a meal already prepared for this group, so then this group entered the house and were given a meal to eat. After this was finished it had become known that certain houses were already being prepared where they will settle themselves, and after the visit was over, they entered certain homes which were prepared for them. Then they became legal residents and members of the village of Oraibi.

As time went on again the hostilities began because they were then affiliated themselves

with Yukeoma's group who was opposed to any government program. As time went along they prepared to have a dance there, the same type of dance that caused the trouble at Shungopavy before they had left there, and because this trouble arose and the dance wasn't completed, they wanted to complete where they had left off. So they proposed to finish the dance at Oraibi which they did. About this time after these people came to Oraibi, those who were opposed to the proposals of the government program became great in number, and naturally the dissension became ctical [sic=critical?], and the people began to call this group ''Hostiles''. About this time I was a young man, and I was very interested in all the ceremonies and the Hopi dances, and every time the dances went on at Oraibi I would be at hand.

My father who was a member of a Kiva named Howeiva [Hawiwvi] took part in the preparation of certain dances, and I used to go to that Kiva with my father. About this time the faction was organized in our ceremonial doings. There were two groups who rehearsed in that Kiva at different intervals. One group would rehearse while one would practice songs in another part of the Kiva, and then when they take all the paraphenalia and leave the Kiva, then the second group would take its place. Then it came when each group would not dance at the same time, but each would have a part time to do so. As the trouble got bigger and the ill feeling became more known among the individuals in the town of Oraibi. Sometimes there would be a proposal of a rabbit hunt where all male members would go out and hunt these rabbits, and it seemed it was an excuse instead of hitting the rabbits, we began to just aim at each other, and sometimes we began to actually fight and wrestle, and the hostilities really came into the picture then.

There is one thing I would like to add before going any further which I had forgotten. By this time he had passed on, Loloma who was the Kikmongwi of Oraibi had died, and his nephew, Tewaquaptewa, had inherited the position then. During this time of course I stated in my statement before that because I had great interest in the Hopi dances that I was always going to Oraibi to witness these dances, so then about this time there was supposed to be a Snake Dance at Oraibi, so I left here [Mùnqapi] and went to see that dance, and customary after the Snake Dance is over there is a time comes in the Hopi which takes place where the male members will go outdoors and race to try to cause attention of the female members of the village. I was taking part in this which comes on for a period of four days. Four days later after the Snake Dance I had gone to bed late at night, and I slept on top of the Kiva, and because I had retired late at night I didn't wake when morning came until someone called me and told me why was I being late, and when I awakened it was Polyhongeva [Poli Paayestiwa] who had come to invite me to the breakfast. After being invited to breakfast I followed Polyhongeva to their home. When I arrived the family were already at breakfast, and I noticed all of my brothers were there, and there was some kind of excitement. I asked what was the matter. My brother, Nasetewanima [Nasitoyniwa] told me they held a meeting last night at Tewaquaptewa's house who was Kikmongwi of the village. They had stayed up a good part of the night deciding what to do with the Shungopavy group who had come into Oraibi and caused trouble, and the final decision was that they were to be exiled and put out of the village of Oraibi that very day because they have caused such tremendous trouble that the Kikmongwi had decided it was enough, and he could not stand any more.

While I was eating, I noticed that the town crier for all those who were the followers of Tewaquaptewa should meet immediately after breakfast at his home. As they had told me of the proposed decision that they had made that night, they told me we were to go out and face this other group in a fight. If when we approached them, if they did not voluntarily leave the village, we must take up arms against them, so they began to gather weapons such as bows and arrows, guns, etc., and while they were gathering these they distribute them among the members of the families. I was given a 22 caliber gun. Then my father told us that the time had come we must look out for one another as brothers, and that if the fighting comes to such a critical point that we must as brothers

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look after each other's interests, and told us we were able and strong and that we must go out to meet these people and that it had been proposed that if such fighting should occur that each particular man would go against a particular clan in the fracus [fracas].

As my brothers gave us these instructions he told my brothers that because I was the youngest they should protect me. Our father told us that he was not to take any weapon except that he would use his bare hands because he is known as a particular warrior in the ceremonial order of the Hopi people, but the leader said I will take only this, showing us the knife that he stuck into his belt. We went to the Kikmongwi's house and when we got there many people were gathered already, and we noticed that the opposition was in a house near the plaza of the village. While we were there we noticed someone come up where they entered the village on a horse, and men we looked up to see who it was the brother of the Kikmongwi of the village and it was Lahpoo [Laapu] and said he had brought some ammunition and began to distribute the ammunition among the men grouped up there. After the ammunition was distributed to us we noticed another group of people approaching us, and this time we noticed there were a group of missionaries. I don't remember at the moment for certain whether it was Mr. Fry [J.B. Frey] or Mr. Epp, but I know they were on a mission at that time, but I do know there was a leader who was principal of the school. There was a teacher by the name of Gates [Gertrude Lewis Gates]. They came to us and asked us what we were gathered for, and what we were intending to do. Tewaquaptewa told them what had taken place, and they asked us why we had weapons in our possession. At this time Tewaquatewa made an explanation and told them the purpose for the weapons. Immediately this group told us that we were in the wrong. They said if we intended to use the weapons and if we armed ourselves to war against the other group and if we happened to destroy any life, then it would have to be made known to the government people. Then they told us that it would then be necessary that the government would send the militia here that would destroy all the people of Oraibi.

Therefore, they pleaded with us that we should disarm. Tewaquaptewa refused to do so, but later on he insisted that unless the other group would do likewise and disarm then he would do the same. These people told us if we wanted to fight we should use our bare hands, but upon conversing with these people Tewaquaptewa told them to see the other group and see what they would agree to, so immediately one of the men went to see the opposing group. Soon he came back and told us they had already disarmed, so then we did likewise and gathered our weapons and stored them in the house of the man called Naqyestewa [Nakwayestiwa, Rabbit]. After storing our weapons, Tewaquaptewa told us that we should go and face these people, and he instructed us that we would approach the Shungopavy group first, and that they should be driven out, but if they refused to do so and if Yukeoma insisted in helping the Shungopavy group, then he would likewise have to be forced to leave the village. And then as he gave us these instructions, Tewaquaptewa told us that if we had the power and were powerful enough to accept what we were to do then our reward would be great. Our reward would be in the way of the land that he possessed. Then he told us there is uncertainty. He said I don't know what will happen, but if I would assist through this trouble then tomorrow if he was not here his brother will take up here where he left off, and he will be the Kikmongwi from that time on and would be our leader. As he told us these things, he told us that he has loosened us from his hands by being the father of the village by making the motion of washing his hands.

One of the men in the group by the name of Lomasnewa [Loma'asniwa, Sand] asked if he was telling the truth, and Tewaquaptewa answered and said that he has told the truth that the reward would be great, so then immediately these men told us that they would momentarily go to another place to offer a prayer, so therefore, he left, and I supposed he had gone over to the home of One Horn Clan ceremonial's Society residence, because immediately he came back and gave us a word of encouragement and told us to try our best because he fears the reward was very great, and he also instructed us when we ap-

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proached this group there should be no argument. After these instructions, Tewaquaptewa led the march, and we followed. As we followed Tewaquaptewa when he led this march toward the house where the group had gathered themselves—this was a place south of the plaza at Oraibi in the home [C 68-73] of the wife [Hooqa'ö, Sand] of Naquavioma [Nakwave'yma, Eagle]. We noticed that the house had a small doorway, and a few steps led up to the door. When we got there and posted ourselves, some of our men went into the building. The rest of us stayed out, and I stood pretty close to the doorway. After the men went in I heard Tewaquaptewa speak to the group. There were many men in the house and some on the house tops. He told them the time has come at this particular time of day that this Shungopavy group must return back to their own village, and I heard him repeat for the second time, and he asked them if they had heard his command and orders.

Then I heard the answer. The man said if Yukeoma would consent because he was the man responsible for the Shungopavy group entering the village of Oraibi. I heard Yukeoma refuse, and he said that they will not go and told Tewaquaptewa that he was the one who should go because he, himself, was the member of the Shungopavy Village [the Bear clan at Orayvi having originally come from Songòopavi, according to oral tradition, and according to both Yukiwma {see chap. 26} and my consultants of the Bear clan, had been ''reseeded'' in Orayvi by young Bear women from Songòopavi, on occasions when the Orayvi Bear clan did not produce female children]. About this time I heard Tewaquaptewa's brother say that there was to be no argument. Then I heard a great commotion. As this took place in the house, then we noticed about this time we saw a man who has been thrown out of the house. He was thrown so clearly of the group that he hit the ground in front of us. We noticed that it was Tewaheonema [Tawahongniwa], a leader of that group. About the time he hit the ground some of our men commenced to pick up on him and picked him up and beat up on him and dragged him away. Another man was thrown out. It was Chaswa [Joshua Humiyesva, Sun, 2M], his son, and then they commenced to throw out more people who were members of that hostile group. After these men who were thrown out of the house first were being dragged by our men the fighting broke out, and I noticed as we drove some of the members of that group that there was severe fighting on the other end of the plaza, and I noticed a big man whom several were trying to overcome, and I noticed one of the men in our group was Seba James [Siwikwaptiwa, Rabbit]. He had a pair of white man's shoes and as they got him down he commenced kicking, and then eventually he was knocked out. This way they overpowered him and began to take him out of the village.

Of course some who did not resist and volunteered to go peaceful, those we drove to the outskirts of the village. I went back to where the fighting had taken place, and I noticed two men fighting, and I noticed one man had been overpowered and another man was beating him. Now the only way we could recognize each other was that our group had short hair cuts and didn't have it tied in the back except Sevakeptewa [Siwikwaptiwa], the only member of our group with a tie in the back, and I noticed it was Sewekeptewa whom Dan Katchongva [Qötshongva, Sun, Yukiwma's son] had overpowered, and then the men began to beat Dan so severely that we thought he was being killed, and someone yelled that we had already killed one of the men and that we must take up our arms. There was so much excitement and commotion that it was each individual for himself. The place was all covered with dust, and you couldn't hardly see what was going on. Then immediately we heard another man say he wasn't killed, and he had come to, so we immediately began to fight again. But as I said some did not resist and left peacefully to the other end of the village. So then we began to make these people go on the other outskirts of Oraibi. We gathered these people into a group north of where John Lansa's house [X' 619] now stands, and then we returned back to the village to see if there were any stragglers behind. I noticed by this time they were driving the women out. Of course the women folks were not resisting, and they were being taken care of and being escorted out in a good manner.

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When I entered the village I noticed there were some men gathered near the Kiva, and when I got there they told me they had discovered their supply of weapons which were stored in one of the homes, and as I made my rounds I noticed there was someone trying to open a doorway of another home. There was a connecting door, and by this time I came up and asked him what he suspected. He said he was sure someone was hiding in the building there. Naquyestewa [Nakwayestiwa], who was very powerful, picked up a stone and broke the door in, and then I was told to enter the building which I did. I noticed there was an entrance into the adjoining room, and I took a match out of my pocket because it was dark. A number of cow hides were lying on the floor, and one was standing up in the corner, and I found an old man hiding behind this cow hide in the corner. His name is Lomanggoinva [Lomangöyva, Sand]. When I found him I asked why he did not go with the rest of the people, and he pleaded that I would let him go and asked me not to lay a hand on him, but to go and follow the rest of his group. He took an entrance to the top of the house, and that was the way he went out. I left this house and as I went down the street of another row of houses, someone called to me from the house top, and I noticed it was old man Johnson [Tuwaletstiwa, Bow] whom you have all heard testify at the Kyakotsmovi [Kiqötsmovi] meeting. He was telling me that the old people of that house had not gone yet and told me I must see that they left.

Another man was at the side of the house whom we call Semoneva [Singöyva, Coyote]. I asked him why he had not followed his group, but he did not comment, but the only thing he said was that he would go, and then went toward my grandfather's house and entered. I went up the steps and went to the home of my grandfather, and as I walked into the house I noticed my grandmother was on the floor mending a cloth which is used for carrying packages or some of the things that they would carry with them, and I noticed that the old man was lying on his back on the floor and was still talking to my grandmother. When I entered the house, the old man looked up and laughed at me in a sneering manner, and he told me that I was too young and didn't know about the proposals of certain things, and he was saying these things in an insulting way. At this moment I stepped up to him as he laid on the floor and grabbed him by the arm and threw him toward the door. The old man hit the floor on his stomach and said to me, ''So it is going to be this severe''. Then he told me that he was very thankful for my actions that I have done this to him, and that from now on I could be his guardian, and my father and I told him no, I would not be. I said, ''This is all your programs which you had a knowledge of''. So then I took him out of the house, and then my grandmother pleaded that I should not hit him anymore, and that I should not do in a like manner to her, so then I told her to prepare provisions that she might take with her to act as a lunch. My father's nephew who was also in the house went into another room and asked me to follow him, but for fear that after having me enter into the dark room that he would attack me I stayed on the outside, and I saw him go into the room and brought out something and showed me, and when I recognized it, there were two fox skins, and these he offered me, saying these are two fox skins, and he told me after the fighting was over I would come back and get these things for my own use and then he hung them against where I got them. After giving him my instructions to leave their home, they prepared themselves and then I escorted them out toward the woman's home by the name of Nawesoa [Nawisowa, Maasaw, Loololma's daughter]. I left them and went back again on another street, and I recognized there were other women being escorted out and another man driving them, and it was Jasper [Kuwanöyiwma, Lizard clan] who driving some of his immediate relatives who were members of the opposing party. He told me I would take command from there on and escort these women out. In this group there was a young lady. I didn't know this was going to be my wife later on, so then I took over and commenced to escort them toward where the people were gathered, and I went back again, and by this time all those who were to be driven out had been escorted out, and things had calmed down.

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After all this was settled and everyone supposed to leave the village had gone back to where the crowd was gathered. Of course some of them were permitted to return to the village to get provisions for them and their families. Someone announced that there was another man just returned from his field, and when I approached his home, I saw it was Seba James and Singoitewa [Singöytiwa, Parrot/Crow] there telling this man not to unload. He had three burros loaded with sweet corn [this man was Sakwkuyvaya, Badger, according to Hopi elders from Paaqavi]. I heard Seba telling him he has to go along with his group, but he was already unloading. Singoitewa told him he should go, and I noticed some other men brought the other sacks down and reloaded the burros, but the old man resisted to go, and then the men led him, and I led the burros. When we got to the crowd of people on the other end of the village, he told the people they could help themselves to the sweet corn so they all commenced to help themselves because it was quite late in the day, and people were very hungry, and they finished these three loads of sweet corn right there at that time.

After the fighting was over and a great crowd of people gathered on the other outskirts of Oraibi, our leader and some of his officers returned to his home and I suppose met in a conference there, and came back later again, and there our leader told us that we would have to fight again, so then the leader stepped up to Yukeoma who was leader on the opposing side and commanded him that he should leave and be on his way, but he refused to adhere to the orders of our leader, but then he himself, declared that if we put him over the line, he would be willing to go. At this time he drew a line and then sat down, and his son Dan Katchongva came up and hugged his father, and we were getting a command by Tewaquaptewa and came up to aid him, and then we fight again in the manner of a Tug O War, and while we are pulling these people across the line, I noticed some other individuals fighting among themselves. While we were pulling Yukeoma sometimes he was pushed up above the heads of the people. This continued for quite a long time until someone came and told us that we had put him over the line. It was either Polipingiemptewa [Polingyamtiwa, Desert Fox] or Polingyowma [Polingyawma, Parrot/Raven], one of these men who were members of Yukeoma's party. So then after he came running with his shirt off and waving it because after fighting our shirts were in shreds, and we were an awful sight. By this time it was declared that we had won, so we ceased to fight.

After this affair had taken place and the fighting ceased again, some of the other men of our group went to Yukeoma and began to consult with him, so I went along with them, and one of the men in our group was known as Thomas Ponehuoma [Humihongiwma, Desert Fox/Coyote], and he was speaking to Yukeoma and told him of his plans and told him that he had been very fortunate that we would let him out of the village in the direction he preferred because as he told him that if he wasn't then it was proposed too that he would be led out toward the east end of the Oraibi village, and from there his destination would be Yellow Walk, toward Kyakotsmovi, and there he would settle himself for a period of time, and from there on would move to Burnt Corn and would settle there, and then to Windy Point where he would make his permanent settlement, and from there would become the enemy toward Oraibi and would war against Oraibi. Yukeoma refused and said that was not his intention, but Tom told him that this was the teachings that he had taught him, and he also told him that he was fortunate in having the following he had because very few people would go with him, but said, ''You have deprived our leader of nearly all his people, and you should be happy, and you should be happy to be on your way, and as we looked north, some people were already on their way, and all he did was look up to some of his people, and he hung his head down''. After Tom Omuhuwma spoke to him, he put his arms under Yukeoma's shoulders and led him on his way. And as they walked together they conversed with each other, which I don't suppose anybody else would know what they said. After walking several steps they stopped again, and Tom carried on a conversation with him, and then he said in a loud voice that he should go on his way, and Yukeoma started to follow his people. The sun

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had almost settled, and it was by this time pretty late in the evening. After Yukeoma left, then his men began to follow him, and of course I said before that it was pretty late, and I supposed they had reached Hotevilla pretty late in the evening.

After that I don't know what took place. Sometime later the soldiers came into the country. I can't recall how many, but it seems like about 50 or 100 in number and camped where Lower Oraibi is, and later on these soldiers went to Hotevilla.

From this time on what went on and took place was passed on to me by my brother who has told me of the events taking place from then on. This brother was the official interpreter at that time. His name is Jacob Coin [Humiventiwa, Greasewood]. The soldiers then went to Hotevilla, as it was told to me, and they took Tewaquaptewa with them. As they came near Hotevilla, they brought the two leaders, Tewaquaptewa and Yukeoma, together at the point west of the present day school of Hotevilla, where it was proposed that some understanding should be made that their fulfillment of tradition should be carried out. Therefore, the leaders of the soldiers told Tewaquaptewa that he should carry out his threat and gave him the pistol loaded and took Yukeoma off several spaces, and told Tewaquaptewa to carry out his execution of Yukeoma. The command was given to Tewaquaptewa to fire the pistol, but he shook with fear and he could not do so. The Commander told him to rest for a moment. This was done three times, and it wasn't carried out. At this time the Commanding Officer told Tewaquaptewa that from this day on the traditions and the theory of fulfilling of the plans would be erased, and he will be stripped of his authority from that time on because he could not carry out his theory that he has often talked about. This Commanding Officer was Mr. Perry.

After this was done at Hotevilla and Tewaquaptewa had refused to carry out his threat toward Yukeoma, they were told then at the next day they would go to Kyakotsmovi. Sometime that night a meeting took place at Hotevilla, and before the night was over members of Yukeoma's leaders went to Kyakotsmovi, and there they occupied the home which belonged to the Corn Girl [Qa'ömana, Reed], one of the girls living there. Later that night it was decided that Yukeoma was willing to be executed by being beheaded. It was then that Tawyesva [Tawayesva, Badger] was told that the rest of the people who had stayed at Hotevilla must be notified. So he went back to Hotevilla to notify the people. Next morning as we were watching from the Mesa of Oraibi, we could see many people walking toward Kyakotsmovi, but this time as they were going down the hill toward the school a rider came to us and told us a certain event was to take place, that if we should see for ourselves, we should go down. He said some individual was to be exposed that has big legs. So then everybody began to follow him down, and I thought to myself, if you see something it is believing.

When we got down to Kyakotsmovi we went up on top of a little clay hill and watched the crowd of people near the school. The soldiers approached us and they saw all of us sitting there and all the rest of the people near the school. Upon the command of the Commanding Officer all the soldiers did mount their horses. Another command was given, and we found out that they are loading their rifles. It was then we feared we might be killed, as they circled us. After the soldiers had loaded their rifles then it was commanded that Tewaquaptewa would be led out of the building where he was being detailed [sic, = detained]. We noticed that he was wrapped up in a white sheet. Yukeoma was commanded to carry out his threat against Tewaquaptewa. So the same procedure was followed as the day before, but Yukeoma could not do what he intended to do, so then it was told to both men that from that time on they should not cause any more trouble, and that the authorities would be strict with them, and they would no longer be known as leaders of the people. They were also told that they had violated a law and that they were or should be imprisoned in a penitentiary for the things they had caused among their people, but because neither man could speak English and were ignorant of the facts they would not be sent to the penitentiary. Then other men were let out and their hands tied behind them and lined up and led away by the soldiers, and the proposed plan for the others was to be educated and learn to do good for their people. From this instant some men were sent to Carlysle, and it was pro-

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posed that Tewaquaptewa should go to school also because he was in violation of certain laws for causing trouble among the people. The other men who were tied up were taken to Keams Canyon where they will serve their sentences. Then we knew that some of us would be sent to Sherman Institute at Riverside, California, and I feared that because of the influence Tewaquaptewa had done, I would be one who would serve out his sentence for him and other men who also took part along with Tewaquaptewa was the leader of Moenkopi village where Frank Siumptewa [Siyamtiwa] was to learn better ways.

All this was done in an agreement there between the Militia that was sent out among the Hopis people and these leaders who had caused the dissension among the Hopi people. So then instructions were given that from that time on there should be no one who should even commence to do the things these men have done. I am sure that those agreements and the things that have been done in those days are recorded, and I think by looking into Commander Perry's records, I think you would find it explains it. . . .

Then these were some of the other things that were told to me by Tewaquaptewa, himself. He instructed me that all ceremonies in its order at Oraibi was at this time to come to an end and would cease to function, but he also provided this knowledge. There is an individual who might take the authority upon himself and might try to revive these ceremonies at Hotevilla because he said that when these ceremonies of Hotevilla had broken away, it was just like those people were born again, and if they were faithful to what their intentions were they would be ahead in progress. As the years went on we watched Hotevilla, and then eventually they started to organize these Hopi ceremonies again.

The men came to Oraibi to copy the ceremonial paraphenalia [paraphernalia] and to set up their procedure, and then a man by the name of Naquheptewa [Nakwaheptiwa, Sand] came to Homer Homewytewa [Nakwahongniwa, Maasaw], asking him for the alter [sic, referring to the altar of the Kwan or One-Horn society] and all the paraphenalia [sic] that went with it so that he could reorganize his ceremony. Homer, knowing that that would never be used again and thinking it might be of some benefit consented in giving this paraphenalia and alter to this man who approached him, but he instructed him that it was just a matter of borrowing, and that in time to come that for any reason he may go back to Hotevilla and recover it. Tewaquaptewa heard about it, and he laughed, and he said I am sorry that those people did not live up to the agreement, so therefore I am very happy that I am not alone in this life that would lead us into the hard times. As the rest of the Hopi people watched the reorganization of these ceremonies, and we knew that it wasn't right.

Earlier in my statement this morning, I have explained to you the Hopi set up and as I have said this morning each clan has certain authority, and each clan and group has a right to exercise these ordinances, so therefore a perfect Hopi organization is composed of the right ownership of different clans who are authorized and who would be ordained by those who have authority and have given under the oath the paraphenalia which the elders themselves gives them the right to exercise these things. Now these clans as we see it who have no right at all carrying out these ceremonies which is altogether contrary to the Hopi custom. This explains to you the Hopi set up and says as the way it should be. All of our older people who have this authority [k]new this set up, so therefore it is unwise to me as to why these people go around telling the outside world that they are the traditional leaders. As I have said this morning they in your hearings throughout the different villages there has been much testimony born and has said those testimony which intends to lay before you the Hopi way of life or government, I said to you that these testimonies had no beginnings as I see it. That is my reason for telling you from the beginning what instigated these problems which would give you a broader view and might throw some light on the facts whereby you might be able to determine what is right. . . .

The reason these things have taken place in the lives of these two men, Loloma and Yukeoma, is because Loloma means after all these things have taken place everything would go. Yukeoma means that this would be the end to all strife among the Hopi people. . . .

CHAPTER 28

DOCUMENT SOURCES

DOCUMENT SOURCES

Document sources are as follows (documents, indicated here just by author and date, follow an identical sequence as on Table 17.1).

ABBREVIATIONS

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CIA: Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

FDL: Fort Defiance Letterbooks. 1881–1899. Letterpress copies of correspondence from the Navajo Agency to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and others. National Archives, Laguna Niguel, CA.

KCL: Keam's Canyon Letterbooks. 1899–1912. Letterpress copies of correspondence from Superintendents of the Keam's Canyon School and the Moqui Agency to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and others. Hopi Indian Agency, Keam's Canyon, Arizona.

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