

HOPI AGRICULTURAL REPORT,

1540-1934

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by

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SUMMARY OF HOPI FARMING WITHIN THE 1934 RESERVATION

The Hopi Indians of northern Arizona have long been recognized for their superb agricultural skills, and their efficient use of available arable land. Such skills were important to survival in an arid semi-desert landscape where cultivable land represents only a fraction of the surface area. From the distant past to 1934, farming was an economic mainstay for the Hopi, and their carefully tended farms produced a variety of staple foods as well as cotton. Because productive lands near the main villages often proved inadequate to meet their needs, Hopis traditionally practiced agriculture in many areas west, south, and east of the 1882 Hopi Reservation line. The most important and extensive of these areas is centered around Moenkopi, where reliable water supplies make irrigated fields possible. Because of its importance to the Hopi, farming in the Moenkopi area will be discussed separately.

Historical documents show that the Hopi were the original and sole occupants of much of the land west of the 1882 Reservation, and that they used this area productively for agriculture and other purposes for centuries prior to the arrival of non-Indian settlers and Navajos in the 1870's. In 1604, Juan de Onate noted a Hopi pueblo in the Moenkopi area, and in the mid-1770's, Spanish missionaries Garces, Escalante, and Dominguez all noted Hopi crops planted along Moenkopi Wash and Pasture Canyon. In 1823, the area was known as Los Algodones ("place of cotton planting") because cotton fields belonging to Oraibi Hopis were located

there. It was a common Hopi practice to run long distances to cultivate outlying summer farms, such as those at Moenkopi Wash, Pasture Canyon, and Moenave, and then return to Oraibi toward sundown. By 1868 or earlier, several Oraibi Hopis reestablished a permanent pueblo at Moenkopi and farmed there unhindered until the entrance of non-Indians into the area in 1875.

In 1875, Mormons settled in the Moenkopi area and land disputes soon developed between them and the Hopi, who attempted to defend their proprietary interests. The Hopi openly protested Mormon usurpation of their farm land and water to federal government officials, and asked for protection. Over time, increasingly violent treatment at the hands of Mormon settlers forced many Hopis to share or withdraw from farming areas along Moenkopi Wash, in Pasture Canyon, and at Moenave. In 1893 and 1899, federal government officials attempted to protect Hopi interests and settle matters by allotting farm land to the Hopis. These efforts failed to adequately protect the Hopis, and in fact, complicated matters by allotting certain tracts of traditional Hopi land to Navajo Indians, who by then had begun to enter the area in greater numbers. Hopi-Mormon troubles did not end until the government purchased all the Mormon holdings in 1903.

Rather than returning to the Hopi those resources purchased from the Mormons, the federal government assumed direct control over the land and water rights. It allocated part of the land as a government farm to support the Tuba City Boarding School for

Hopis, Navajos, and Paiutes. It took control over the distribution of water. The "surplus" Mormon farm lands were "assigned" or "leased" not only to the Hopi but to Navajo Indians as well.

Although dissatisfied with an arrangement which limited their access to land they regarded as their own, from 1903 to 1934 Hopis took full advantage of the government policy to lease land, especially after a concrete diversion dam was built in 1915 to control flooding in the Wash. During these years, they successfully competed with Navajos in the area for any open farm land, and constantly sought more arable lands to cultivate. When any new land was made available by the government, or when they saw productive land lying fallow, Hopis requested that the land be assigned to them.

Through hard work and initiative, Hopi farmers slowly acquired much of the productive farm land along Moenkopi Wash and Pasture Canyon. Besides these irrigated lands, Hopis also dry-farmed an indeterminable amount of acreage on Moenkopi Plateau and Coal Mine Mesa. In addition, in 1914, Hopis were "assigned" Moenave farm land, when Navajo use of the area proved unproductive. However, in 1921, due to the vicissitudes of government policy, they were forced to give up their farms and improvements there.

By 1934, Hopis farmed those tracts of land along Moenkopi Wash and Pasture Canyon and on Moenkopi Plateau and Coal Mine Mesa indicated on Portfolio Maps #8, #9, and #10. However, in 1934,

Hopis may have farmed other land which does not appear in the limited historical documentation.

The history of Hopi farming south of the 1882 Reservation line differs considerably from the Moenkopi region. During the Pueblo IV period (1300 to 1600), ancestors of present-day Hopi clans lived and farmed in the central Little Colorado River basin, and in the main washes leading to the basin. Near the end of this period, changing environmental conditions made farming there more difficult or impossible, and they migrated northward to the main Hopi villages, bringing claims to this southern area as part of their heritage. Drought conditions and historical factors prevented their return to these "outlying" farm lands until the late 1800's. Nevertheless, Hopis defended their southern territory against hostile intruders, such as the Spanish, Apaches, and Navajos.

In 1877, encouraged by Mormon settlement along the Little Colorado River, Hopis returned to their traditional lands along the river basin and farmed near Sunset, Arizona -- only a short distance from their ancestral villages at Homolovi and Cheylon. The following year, however, a major flood destroyed their farms, and both the Mormons and Hopis withdrew. Nevertheless, the basin remained a potential Hopi farming area and part of the Hopi inventory.

Demand for this and other "outlying" land again occurred several years later. Around the turn of the century, the Hopis faced an environmental catastrophe when climatic change and

Prolonged runoffs occurred in the washes near the Hopi villages causing them to erode and dissect. The resulting loss of some of the most productive agriculture inside the 1882 Reservation caused the Hopi to turn to "outsiding" farm lands to the south for relief from arid starvation. A reverse migration of Hopis began down the washes toward the Little Colorado basin as First, Second, and Third Mesa Hopi followed and cultivated the alluvial flood plain to the lower reaches of Dinnebito, Oraibi, Polacca, and Sedona mesas.

However, Hopi attempts to find "new" farm land in the area were frustrated by the resistance of recently arrived Navajos. Areas of inter-tribal conflict occurred near Dinnebito Springs, Sand Springs Spring, Polacca Lakes, Red Lake, south of Tovar Mesa, and Comar Springs. Similar Hopi-Navajo conflicts over land occurred in Upper Polacca Wash and elsewhere. Navajo resistance and the government's failure to protect Hopi territorial rights stopped Hopi use of their domain and blocked their agricultural progress short of the 1934 Reservation.

Despite these obstacles, by 1934 Hopis had expanded their agricultural base well beyond the mesas and were farming in many areas near the boundary of the 1882 Reservation. Hopis frequently traveled between their villages (including Moenkopi) and farming plots along this boundary. Many of these same Hopi farmers were also livestock owners, whose cattle, horses, and sheep either permanently or seasonally grazed in the 1934 area. When they were farming these border areas, Hopi land use patterns (such as

prolonged runoffs occurred in the washes near the Hopi villages causing them to erode and dissect. The resulting loss of some of the most productive acreage inside the 1882 Reservation caused the Hopi to turn to "outlying" farm lands to the south for relief. To avoid starvation, a reverse migration of Hopis began down the washes toward the Little Colorado basin as First, Second, and Third Mesa Hopi followed and cultivated the alluvial flood plain to the lower reaches of Dinnebito, Oraibi, Polacca, and Jeddito Washes.

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gathering activities) naturally tended to radiate out into the surrounding territory, spilling over the unfenced and largely unheeded boundary of the 1882 Reservation.

That agriculture in 1934 was critically important to Hopi economy and culture is unquestionable. For centuries, Hopi well-being depended on the success of their crops. Cultivating land subject to natural irrigation in semi-arid conditions was difficult, and required yearly shifting of fields in response to changing environmental and climatic conditions. To survive, a Hopi family needed to possess farm plots in various parts of their territory in case a particular farm area failed. Hopi ceremonial life reflected Hopi dependence on agriculture and still does. Today, as in the past, every stage of cultivation from planting to harvesting involves ceremonial ritual -- activities performed to insure continued agricultural prosperity.

The scarce and scattered plots of productive farm land described in this report were, and are, of crucial importance to the Hopi people. Although alternate dietary sources are available today, Hopi harvests of maize, melons, beans, and squash around Moenkopi and elsewhere are still basic to the Hopi economy for subsistence and trade.

I. Introduction

The purpose of this report is to determine the areas used by Hopi Indians for agricultural purposes in 1934, and the extent of that use. This report is based on primary document evidence gathered from archives and manuscript collections, and some secondary source material.

Each specific Hopi farming area is discussed in a chronological manner, pointing out how and when Hopi agriculture developed, and whether or not it continued through 1934. In some cases, the Hopi were required to leave traditional farming areas by external circumstances, such as official and unofficial actions on the part of the federal government, changes in the natural environment, or hostilities from other tribes. These historical circumstances will be fully detailed and documented.

The Hopi farmed in five areas outside the 1882 Executive Order Reservation before and after 1934: Moenkopi Wash, Reservoir/Pasture Canyon, Moenave, Little Colorado River (all irrigated farm areas) and Coal Mine Mesa (a dry-farming area). In addition, many Hopi dry-farming areas just inside the 1882 Reservation boundary are relevant to the discussion. Going from west to east, they were: Red Lake (Tonolea), Dinnebito Wash, Oraibi Wash, Jeddito Wash and Polacca Wash. These latter Hopi farming areas are discussed together in a separate chapter.

The Hopi have long been recognized for their superb agricultural skills, while the Navajo have been primarily a stock-raising people. This contrast was recognized by government

officials in the 1930's and before. The Soil Conservation Service (S.C.S.) in its 1935 report on agriculture for the Navajo and Hopi Reservations stated the differences quite clearly:

A substantial portion of this [Navajo and Hopi lands] ... would not be considered as farm land according to usual standards. The most notable examples of this are the dry farms of the Hopi. Here are found orchards half buried by drifting sand, literally hanging to the escarpment below the mesas as they have been since the coming of the first Spaniards, and bearing year after year substantial crops of peaches which are used not only for subsistence but for trade. Carefully constructed terraces begin at the bluffs below the village and extend one under the other down the escarpment, irrigated by water carried up from springs. These minute and carefully attended farms are the insurance policies of the Hopi. The greater portion of his farming is done on the plains below and the surrounding mesas. There he utilizes the alluvial soils of arroyos and gambles with the elements for sufficient moisture to mature his crops. To protect these plantings from being covered and destroyed by shifting wind-blown sand, he builds elaborate sand fences of rabbitbrush and cedar boughs which he stands perpendicularly in a trench dug along the windward side of his planting row.¹

This report continued by describing the agricultural skills of the Navajo Indians:

Such painstaking farming effort as this [referring to the Hopi] is entirely foreign to the Navajo. Farming with him is merely supplementary to his sheep raising. His semi-nomadic existence does not permit him to remain long enough in one hogan to develop a genuine attachment for the land. The Navajo, like the Hopi, utilizes flood plains for most of his farming, planting corn, squash and beans. This type of farming, like his living habits, is unstable.²

Other reports made similar observations. For instance, a Navajo Service Agronomy Branch Report on Land Management Unit #3 (Tuba City region) in 1936 noted:

There are two principal kinds of farmers within this Unit, the Hopi and the Navajo.

The Hopis not only practice a more modern type of agriculture but they are more efficient users of the available farm land and water. Their land is usually bordered or terraced and protected where necessary against damaging flood waters. They raise a large variety of crops, but corn is probably the principal crop grown.

The Navajos, in most cases, get by with as little work as possible in producing crops, and often this is done to such an extent that the productivity of the farm land is greatly reduced.³

One agricultural extension agent for the Navajo Service in the mid-1930's reported that Navajos generally:

do not have much knowledge and lacked proper appreciation of the importance of handling irrigation water and the use of good farm practices.... A common practice among the Navajos, which is detrimental to the farm program is their shifting between Summer and Winter quarters. Almost invariably, as soon as the crops are harvested, in a number of concentrated areas, the Indians move to the foothills for the Winter. In most instances, they return to the farm area just in time to plant the spring crop and after most of the irrigation water is gone, particularly along intermittent streams where some of our agricultural projects are located. In addition to losing the use of the irrigation water, they have failed to make the necessary repairs and do the necessary cleaning on the distributing system so that water can be distributed to an advantage. In some instances this has prevented the use of valuable agricultural land. In one particular instance during this

growing season ... the Indians failed to return to the farm area in sufficient time to make use of the early Spring run-off.⁴

Differences in tribal agricultural styles explain why the Hopi continually sought to improve their farm areas and acquire more farm land, while the Navajo failed to farm many areas efficiently, despite repeated federal government attempts to encourage them. From approximately 1868 to around 1910, Hopi farming efforts were hampered in several ways. They were required to withdraw from several of their traditional farming areas inside and outside the 1882 Reservation because of usurpation of farm land by Mormon settlers, hostile incursions from outlying tribes such as the Navajo, and temporary changes in environmental conditions. At times, it is not entirely clear which factor was primary over the others.

In the twentieth century, there was a definite pattern of Hopi Indians returning to their traditional agricultural areas -- which they considered to be Hopi territory. Hopi farming expanded both inside and outside the 1882 Reservation.

In returning to these areas, the Hopi met considerable resistance from the Navajo and the federal government. Navajos had arrived in many of these areas only after the 1870's, and in some areas much later. By 1910, Navajos were using Hopi territory in the main washes and elsewhere which was needed by the Hopis for farming and grazing as well. Government officials, often out of ignorance, stood in the path of the Hopi. Nevertheless, by 1934,

the Hopi had succeeded in returning to much, but not all, of their traditional territory. They still considered all these traditional areas as Hopi domain. They looked to the future, when they could again farm there.

This report will first describe the history of Hopi farming outside the 1882 Reservation and then turn to the main washes in the 1882 Reservation, describing the Hopi effort to return to their traditional farming areas. This report considers only those areas recorded by documentary records, and certainly omits many undocumented areas in the 1934 Reservation. Although prevented from using many traditional areas, they still considered these places to be part of their inventory -- a resource to be used by future generations.

Introduction Notes

1. United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Annual Report of the Navajo Project, Soil Conservation Service Project Number 10, for the Year Ending June 30, 1935, p. 14.
2. Ibid.
3. H.M. Ivory, Navajo Service Agronomy Branch Report on Land Management Unit #3 (1936), p. 4.
4. J.O. Woods, "The Farm Management Problem," (1937) pp. 1-2.

II. Moenkopi Wash, 1540-1934

A. Introduction

A review of the history of Moenkopi Wash indicates that the Hopi pursued agriculture along Moenkopi Wash in 1934 and for centuries before, although the extent of use varied throughout the centuries. Hopi farming productivity peaked in the early twentieth century, and continued at that level until 1934, when an irrigation project funded and constructed by the federal government with the aid of Hopi labor helped the Hopi expand their operations further.

A brief description of the Wash and the surrounding area is helpful in understanding the history of Hopi farming there. The geographer H.E. Gregory, in 1916, described the Moenkopi Wash this way:

At Blue Canyon the intermittent stream emerges ... where it is confined between low walls of brilliantly colored sandstone.... During this stretch of 30 miles, between Blue Canyon and the cliffs west of Tuba, the stream is alternately buried by sand and brought to the surface by ledges of rock. Patches of alluvium, 10 to 50 acres in extent, flanking the stream channel, from time to time have been reclaimed by irrigation, occasionally at considerable expense. Near Moenkopi village the underflow of the stream is brought to the surface by expanded rock ledges and is supplemented by supplies from Reservoir Canyon and from numerous springs in the vicinity.... Fortunately wide valley flats below Moenkopi village are favorably situated for irrigation, and agriculture has here reached a higher stage of development than elsewhere in the Navajo country. The Spanish pioneers found at Moenkopi cultivated fields of corn and of cotton....¹

Past Moenkopi village and Kerley Valley, the lower part of Moenkopi Wash wanders for 20 miles and eventually joins the Little Colorado River west of Cameron.

B. Moenkopi Wash, 1540-1823

Spanish explorer diary accounts and Hopi oral history indicate that the fields noted by the Spanish were Hopi fields. The first Spanish explorer to pass through this area was probably Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas in 1540. Led by Hopi guides westward from the main Hopi mesa villages, Cardenas followed a trail to the Grand Canyon. There were two ancient Hopi routes that went to the Grand Canyon from the Hopi villages, one of which passed through Moenkopi. To get to the Canyon, Cardenas could have passed through the Moenkopi area traveling from Third Mesa across the Dennebito Valley, Howell Mesa, Coal Mine Mesa to Moenkopi Wash, or he may have returned via this route. Unfortunately, Cardenas' journal contains no information indicating whether he travelled this route nor any reference to a Hopi village at Moenkopi.²

Other Spanish explorers who followed Cardenas did record such a pueblo. In 1604, Juan de Onate passed through the Moenkopi area on his way to California and noted a small pueblo there, which he referred to by the derisive term "Rancherias de los Gaudules" because of its insignificant size.³

In July, 1776 Padre Francisco Garces approached the Hopi villages through the country of the Havasupai to the west, and a few months later in November, Padres Dominguez and Escalante

visited the Hopi from the north after passing through Ute country. The pueblo at Moenkopi sighted by Juan de Onate was uninhabited, although Hopi Indians were still farming in the Wash.

Passing through the area almost one hundred years before Mormon settlers would enter the region, and over one hundred and fifty years after Onate, Padre Francisco Garces noted that the Hopi of Oraibi, forty miles to the east, traveled to the Moenkopi Wash to tend their farms there:

July 1. I went one league and a half eastsoutheast, and found a river that seemed to me to be the Rio de San Pedro Jaquesila [Moenkopi Wash], and on a mesa contiguous thereto a half-ruined pueblo. I asked what that was, and they [Yavapai guides] answered me that it had been a pueblo of the Moqui [Hopi], and that some crops which were near to a spring were theirs, they coming to cultivate them from the same Moqui pueblo [Oraibi] that is today so large. The river runs little, and it was yellowish; having crossed it and ascended some hills, I entered upon some very wide plains, without one tree [Moenkopi Plateau and Coal Mine Mesa] though there is some small grass; and having gone six leagues [approximately 18 miles] in the same direction I arrived at some pastures where the Moquis keep their horseherd. These pastures are of difficult entrance and worse exit; there are found some scanty aguages [waterholes for man or beast].⁴

Apparently, it was not uncommon for Hopi living in Oraibi to travel a distance of forty or so miles to farm the Moenkopi Wash area.⁵

The Hopi from all three mesas farmed many outlying areas in much the same way. At one time the Hopi living at Third Mesa probably farmed an area of land extending from Oraibi to Coal Mine Mesa to Moenkopi and environs -- all the way at least to Moenave.

In 1823, the Hopi farming site along Moenkopi Wash was called by the Mexicans Los Algodones (place of cotton planting). In August of that year, Jose Antonio Vizcarra, Governor of New Mexico and leader of a military expedition against the Navajos, traveled westward from Oraibi in the direction of Los Algodones, where he hoped to find the fleeing Navajo. Vizcarra never reached his destination, and he did not find Navajos in that direction. But his mention of Los Algodones implies that the Hopi were still farming and probably raising cotton in the Moenkopi Wash area. There are several historical references to the Moenkopi area as a traditional Hopi cotton growing area. Tuba City once was called Kotsatewa or "White Sands" when Oraibi Hopis came there to plant their cotton, and in 1860, Mormon settlers found Hopi cotton fields at Moenkopi.⁶

In 1929, Moenkopi Hopis described past cotton-planting at Moenkopi to the Meriam Commission investigating Indian conditions. In their kiva, they stated to Henry Roe Cloud that:

Hopi Indians know by tradition and ruins how they came. When time passed Chief of Oraibi stopped here [Moenkopi] and later they were sent here where is good farming place. Have used this place right along. Used to plant cotton here when they lived at Oraibi....⁷

In 1968, Harold Courlander recorded a more traditional account of how the Oraibi Hopi traveled to and from their summer farming area in Moenkopi Wash from Lewis Numkena, Sr. of Moenkopi:

Of course, the Hopi lived there long before, a long time ago. But they moved to Oraibi, Old Oraibi.

They lived there a long time, but they found that there was a lot of water here [Moenkopi Wash], and at Oraibi they didn't have much water. So some of those Hopi came back to the old village down there (lower Moenkopi) and planted some vegetables, irrigated the fields, just small pieces (of land).

Of course at that time there were no Navajos, no white men, just the Hopis, by themselves. The farmers (from Oraibi) came out here, starting at daylight. Started running down here and when they got here they worked their farms. Towards sundown they started running home. Between Oraibi and here it's forty-two miles, and you have to run home again toward sundown. And the next morning, come back again. That's the way they'd been doing. But after harvest time they'd just leave the place and stay home in Oraibi, doing ceremonials in winter time.⁸

Hopis commonly ran long distances to farm outlying areas. For instance, Don Talayesva's autobiography, Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian indicates that as late as 1910 he traveled from Oraibi to Moenkopi in seven hours on foot. He also stated that his father's uncle "used to rise with the chickens, run there [Moenkopi] before breakfast, cultivate his farm, and race back in the evening."⁹

C. Moenkopi Wash, 1823-1878

In 1858, when Jacob Hamblin and others Mormon missionaries entered Hopi territory for the first time, they found Oraibi Hopis farming along Moenkopi Wash. Very little had changed at Moenkopi since the Garces and Escalante expeditions had visited the area in 1776. In the interim, the Hopi in all likelihood traveled back

and forth from Oraibi to the Moenkopi Wash area and beyond to tend their crops as they had done in the late 1700's.

For the next twenty years, Mormon missionaries and traders passed through the Moenkopi Wash area on their way to the Hopi mesas in the 1882 Reservation. Along the way, they noted Hopi farms there.

In September of 1859, Jacob Hamblin and a group of Mormons made a second journey to the Hopi villages. Missionaries Thales Haskell and Marion Shelton remained in the villages over the winter. In the following spring, the Hopi took them to see their summer farms located in Moenkopi Wash about forty miles to the west.¹⁰

Haskell's journal briefly described Hopi farming in the Moenkopi Wash as he passed through the area on his return to Utah:

Traveled 18 miles and arrived at the Moenkopi this is a small stream where the Oribes raise cotton and they recommended it to us a good place to build a mill and for the Mormons to make a small settlement.¹¹

Juanita Brooks, a historian, noted in her footnotes to Haskell's journal that "the culture of cotton in this isolated region was also mentioned by Cardenas in 1540," and that it was a distinct species "raised in small amounts especially to be woven into cloth for ceremonial dancing purposes."¹²

As early as 1868, several Hopis were once again living permanently at Moenkopi. Most likely, it was a Hopi named Tuba (a.k.a. Teuve) and his relatives who reestablished a village there. Hosteen Be-co-de, a Navajo who moved into the Dennebito

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Wash forty miles east of Tuba City after the release of Navajos from Bosque Redondo, recalled in an affidavit taken in 1898:

When the Navajos were returned from Fort Sumner, the Moqui Indians were farming on Moen Coppi Wash, raising cotton, corn and melons; at that time there were five families of them and the Indians have lived on this Wash ever since. There were no Mormon families here then.¹³

Tuba and his family established amicable relations with Mormon missionaries in the area, and in 1870, Tuba and his wife were even persuaded by Jacob Hamblin to visit Salt Lake City, Utah. When they returned from their trip in September, 1871 they went back to Moenkopi. Sometime around 1871-1872, led by Tuba, more Hopis settled at Moenkopi. In 1872, J.H. Beadle visited the Hopi villages and described the Moenkopi migration:

Telashminki and Tuba, two Orabes, husband and wife, accompanied Hamblin to Salt Lake City, and were delighted with all they saw. Since their return, a portion of Oraybes have seceded from the main body, and established a new settlement, to which they invite white men, and propose more friendly relations.¹⁴

Mormon settlers accepted Tuba's invitation to settle. In the spring of 1873, fifteen years after Jacob Hamblin first visited the Hopi, Mormons began arriving in the Moenkopi area to take up residence. While exploring the Little Colorado River country, Hamblin established a farm at "Moweabby" (Moenave), eight miles northwest of "Moencroppa" (Moenkopi). At the same time, a Mormon settlement expedition led by Horton D. Knight came to Moenkopi.

The Haight group stayed only a few months, finding the area totally unsuitable for their needs. In June, they returned to Kanab in Utah Territory with Jacob Hamblin. However, on his way to Kanab, Jacob Hamblin met John D. Lee, a refugee of the Mountain Meadows massacre, on the trail and instructed him to take care of his farm at Moenave. Lee went to Moenave and farmed Hamblin's property there, and became the first non-Indian resident in the area. For a time, however, he mistakenly believed he was at "Moencroppa."⁵

John D. Lee's diary indicates that the Hopi were the principle occupants of Moenkopi Wash below present-day Moenkopi; that the Hopis passed through the Moenkopi-Moenave area on their way to gather salt at the Grand Canyon; and that this was the route Oraibi Hopis took on their way to Kanab, Utah to trade with Mormon settlers. Other tribes such as the Paiutes and the Navajos occasionally passed through the area for trading, hunting, and other purposes.¹⁶

Initially, Lee thought that all three tribes resided in a village at Moenkopi. On his first visit there, he described it in this way:

a little after Sunrise brought us to the Farm of the Native, including oraves, Navajos & Piutes, of whom Tuba [Hopi chief] is the Princeple. Their Farm was neatly laid out with judgement and taste in ver- resses & in the highest state of cultivation, not a weed nor a spear of grass to be seen among their crop. The Farm is in a narrow fertile vally, watered by springs of good cold water, abundance of grass in the vally for their use -- wire, BlueSciot

and Nimblewill. They have a heard of and
goats, also Asses, all of which they he
rall at Night. They have also chickens
catts. Their houses are built of stone
& situated on the Top of a Plattou Some
above the level. They are saving, Equano
industrious; they are also courteous & kind
have corn fit to eat (Roasten years), Me
grown.¹⁷

Lee's statement indicates that the Hopis had reestab
stantial village in the Moenkopi area by the time Mo
settle. The architecture of the buildings and the farm
niques mentioned by Lee certainly were typically Hopi.
references by Lee regarding the Hopi at the village indicate
the Navajo were only visitors at the time, and that the Hopi
Navajo were not generally on friendly terms.¹⁸

In early spring of 1874, a party of Mormon settlers led by
John S. Blythe entered the Moenkopi Wash area. Accounts left by
the Blythe party indicate that some members of the group moved
into Indian homes at Moenkopi, while others took over the Lee
ranch at Moenave. During their brief stay they set out plantings
of apples, peaches and grapes and prepared the land for crops;
however, they left by May.¹⁹

The Latter-day Saints (LDS) Arizona Mission Journal recorded
their description of the Moenkopi Wash area:

[March 28-30, 1874 arriving at Moenkopi]

[28th] A fine morning, M.P. Blythe, continued on
our journey, crossing the creek in Moencopy wash
... Arrived at the Oriba farm about dusk found no
one there....

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journal for October 30 and November 1, 1875, noted the following when traveling from Moenave to Moenkopi:

[30th] We traveled 8 miles to the Mo-an-coppy. The party of Indians who were with Pahtnish and who camped near us last night went on West hunting, Pahtnish himself traveling with us to the Moan-coppy. There is a body of good land here but the water supply is limited. We estimate that 15 families could find farms. The land is now occupied by the Moquis Indians of the Oriba villiage [sic]. They raise wheat, corn, squash, potatoes, carrots and some fruit.

[1st] This morning at day break we heard distant singing.... The voices gradually drew nearer till a large party of Oriba Indians came in sight. They had come from their villiage [sic] about 35 miles distant to gather the remnant of their crops.²³

James S. Brown's journal account for December 3, 1875 included the following information about the early Mormon settlement:

we reached Moanccppy ... I was impressed to make this place winter quarters, and designated a site for a fort.... Near this place there were some old Indian [Hopi] farms and a few stone huts laid up without mortar [Moenkopi villiage], but all had been deserted.... The morning after we had camped there, a small hunting party of Navajos came in, and ... departed.²⁴

Two years later (March, 1878), Andrew S. Gibbons, residing at Moenkopi, noted in his journal for March 4-10, and July 20-22 a similar description of Hopi farming:

[March 4-10] During this week quite a few Oribas came from the village to commence operations in farming. They seemed to feel well and desirous to imitate our example in farming....

[29th] 2 Oribes came into camp while we were meeting. Tuba [Hopi Indian] and two others came in in [sic] the evening, they seemed very glad to see us....

[30th] Tuba showed the brethren around the Place [Moenkopi] and gave them two pieces of land and water privileges, we then hauled our wagon up to the town [Moenkopi village] where Bro. Jacob had marked the site of the fort. E.P. Mangum.

[May 5, 1874 leaving Moenkopi for Moenave]

[5th] Bro. Blythe agreed with the Oribas to look after our farms promising to give them 1/2 share for looking after it, we then started out, arrived all right at the Mowe-abbe [Moenave].²⁰

Tuba had also wanted John D. Lee to settle at Moenkopi, and had offered him sources of water. It is apparent that Hopis felt entitled to allocate the land and water. It also was not uncommon for the Oraibis not to be in Moenkopi. Lee's diary indicated that the Hopi often left Moenkopi village to attend ceremonies and dances at Oraibi.²¹

Mormon settlement offered Hopis an opportunity for trade and would discourage Navajo raiding. In 1860, the Hopi had expressed an interest in the establishment of a Mormon cotton mill at Moenkopi, but in the years 1865-1869, Navajo raiding in Utah Territory cut off all trade between Hopis and Mormons. With Mormons settled in the area, Hopi-Mormon trade relations were likely to continue despite Navajo raiding.²²

Eventually, the Mormons accepted Tuba's invitation. In 1875, Anthony W. Ivins and James S. Brown were in the first Mormon group to settle in the area permanently. Anthony W. Ivins'

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[March 4-10] During this week quite a few Oribas came from the villiage to commence operations in farming. They seemed to feel well and desirous to imitate our example in farming....

[July 20] The wheat ripening very fast. Indians commenced flocking from the villages to harvest their wheat....

[July 22] Continued harvesting. Weather very hot. No rain. Crops getting dry. Indians continue to come from the village.²⁵

Mormon settlement in the Moenkopi Wash area did not prevent the Hopi from Oraibi from living at Moenkopi and continuing their farming in the Wash, but they may have been intimidated by Paiutes and Navajos.²⁶ For a short while, the Oraibis did not stay at Moenkopi for any length of time, except to plant and harvest their crops there. The Ivins, Brown, and Gibbons accounts show that Hopis occupied their traditional farming areas in the Moenkopi Wash from 1875 to 1878, growing crops as diversified as wheat and cotton, even though there seemed to be a threat from Navajos encamped twenty-five miles to the northeast.

Hopi oral history supplies added information about Hopi occupation of the Moenkopi Wash area prior to and after Mormon settlement. Quoted in a 1950's report on irrigation projects on the Western Navajo reservation, Frank Tewanimptewa (a.k.a. Frank Tewa) stated that he was born in Old Oraibi circa 1863 on what is now the 1882 Executive Order Reservation, and that he was 12 years old when the Mormons settled in Tuba City (1875). Tewanimptewa stated:

For many years the Hopis from Old Oraibi traveled to what is now Moencopi and Pasture Canyon. The first crops were cotton and wheat, later on we planted corn, beans, and melons. When I first moved to Moencopi, I helped build the first five

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houses in the village. For many years the Moencopi Wash was very shallow and the water was diverted by small dirt diversions.²⁷

In the 1930's, anthropologist Gordon MacGregor recorded various Hopi oral accounts about early Hopi farming in Moenkopi, and subsequent Mormon settlement. Frank Tewanimptewa gave the following information to MacGregor, who reported it to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (CIA).

Teuve [Tuba, a Hopi Indian] first settled at Moenkopi and then built a log cabin at the spring Tuba, named Teuve. He encouraged the Mormons to move near him, but later Teuve returned to the site of Moenkopi. The Mormons had built a spinning house here. Tuba City was originally called Kotsatewa or White Sands, when the Oraibi people came here to plant their cotton.... The Mormons came, developing the spring and three reservoirs [in Pasture Canyon]. They also made an outlet for the water in Pasture Canyon bringing water down to the present farmlands at the end of the Canyon. Moenkopi Wash was then a broad plain with cottonwood trees, having no deep gully as now runs through it.... At this time no Navajos lived anywhere around this countryside. Vary rarely a few appeared to trade, but they returned again to their homes to the northeast. Lololoma asked his associate chiefs and ceremonial headmen to volunteer to settle Moenkopi, the summer farming place of Oraibi.²⁸

Tewanimptewa's accounts are supported by the oral accounts of other Hopis. For instance, Mark Quashara was also quoted in the 1950's irrigation project report. At the time of Mormon settlement, he stated that Moenkopi Wash was very "shallow and the Indians were diverting [water] from the Wash at many different points by building small dirt diversions."²⁹

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Poli Naimkiwa, also an informant of Gordon MacGregor's, gave MacGregor additional data on early Oraibi farming practices in Moenkopi Wash.

At the time when Teuve [Tuba, a Hopi Indian] was at Oraibi, all the farming at Moencopi was cotton raising by Oraibi. The farmers would leave at dawn, walk to Moencopi, irrigate and cultivate the fields and return by evening. There was some danger then from outside people, and rarely did anyone stay overnight, except to irrigate. There was no settlement. The reason of this planting was because the land was best adapted to cotton, needed for our clothing. The land had been cultivated always although no settlements were made. Such trouble as there was, was with the Paiutes, not with the Navajos. This was a true story, handed down by our elders.³⁰

Tewanimptewa's, Quashara's, and Naimkiwa's statements in conjunction with the historical evidence already presented show that the Hopi farmed in the Wash area continuously, and that the Hopi could farm anywhere along the Wash, simply by pushing together "small dirt diversions." The flat alluvial floor of Moenkopi Wash described by the Hopi began to intrench and farming conditions changed rapidly after 1880 because of overgrazing along its drainage, and due to climatic changes.³¹

Several points are clear from the preceding discussion.

They are:

1. Hopis occupied and used the Moenkopi Wash area for centuries prior to the arrival of the Mormon settlers. They had occupied a pueblo at Moenkopi at various times. They also had extensive farming operations along the Wash prior to the arrival of the Mormon settlers in the mid-1870's.

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2. Hopis felt that they possessed certain proprietary interests in the territory surrounding Moenkopi, and could grant rights of usage to the land and water, if they so chose.
 3. There appear to have been amicable relations between the Mormons and the Hopi in the initial period (1858-1875) of their contact.
 4. Prior to the 1870's, there appear to have been no Navajos or Paiutes either residing or farming in the immediate Moenkopi Wash area, though they passed through the area.

In the 1930's, Dr. Harold S. Colton, a leading anthropologist and expert on the Hopi Indians, who had spent twenty-six years gathering information on the Hopi and Navajo, concluded that:

In the early 1870's Chief Tuba rebuilt the village [Moenkopi] under the protection of the Mormons, who had settled at Tuba City. By 1878, Moenkopi was well established and has been continuously occupied ever since.... Hopi have been living in the pueblo at Moenkopi continuously since the 1870's; they use the springs for irrigation and have fields below the pueblo and in Pasture Canyon....

[After citing material from the journal of Francisco Garces, he recommended that] continued use of the land for five hundred years should give Hopis title to Moenkopi, the fields, a grazing area, and woodland rights. The Navajos who have been there for less than seventy years have no valid claim to lands so long used by the Hopi.³²

D. Moenkopi Wash, 1878-1901

Mormon settlement at Tuba City changed the entire economic and social situation of the Hopi village at Moenkopi. While Hopis from Oraibi continued to travel to the Moenkopi Wash area to farm,

the Mormon population increased at Tuba City. Soon, however, increasing numbers of Mormon settlers were drawn to the region. They expanded their holdings, and began to develop the waters in nearby Pasture/Reservoir Canyon. In addition, the Mormon settlement at Tuba City drew many Navajos encamped outside this area to trade there. During this period, however, Navajos did not settle in the immediate Moenkopi/Tuba City area. Mormon expansion and the influx of Navajos to the area created problems for the Hopi.

In 1875, Mormon settlers built a fort just north of the Moenkopi village. They also constructed a cotton mill below the bluff upon which Moenkopi village sat. For the next two years, they lived near the Hopi village, and occupied two pieces of land and springs given to them by Chief Tuba. See Portfolio Map #1 for the location of the fort and spinning mill.³³

In 1878, they abandoned this land and removed themselves to a new location, which would become the site of Tuba City. According to one historian, on September 17, 1878, several Mormons in the company of Tuba walked from Moenkopi to the spring about two miles northwest of Moenkopi. There they drew up plans for a community and named it "Tuba city in honor of the most prominent member of the community which then consisted of nine families." Thereafter several Hopi families built homes at Tuba City, including Tuba himself.³⁴

Prior to Mormon settlement, Hopi-Mormon relations were friendly and conflict-free. After settlement, relations between the two groups deteriorated rapidly. Trouble began in the spring

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of 1879, when a land dispute broke out between Hopis and Mormons, probably over land at Tuba City. William B. Mateer, Hopi Agent at Keams Canyon, reported the matter:

Tu-bee, formerly a chief of the Oraibe Village is here and complains that the Mormons are intruding upon their farming lands at Moen-Kappi and interfering with their planting. He states that his father planted there when he was a boy, as well as many other Oraibis, and that it is their ground.... I would respectfully inquire whether there is not some law by which the Indians can be protected in their rights to lands which they have cultivated for a century or more?³⁵

At this time, Hopis were forced out of the Tuba City farming area. Tuba moved back to Moenkopi. Between 1878 and 1888, more Hopis from Oraibi decided to join Tuba and his relatives living at Moenkopi. The village of Moenkopi lay on a bluff overlooking the Wash and was situated between the spinning mill and the Mormon fort (see Portfolio Map #1). By 1888, according to a map of the area drawn by Indian Bureau Inspector H.S. Welton, there were at least seven Hopi houses built at Moenkopi, one of which may have been Frank Tewanimptewa's house (see Portfolio Map #1). Welton's map showed no sign that Navajos lived anywhere in the immediate vicinity of Moenkopi village, but showed that Hopis farmed along a stretch of Moenkopi Wash measuring approximately 1 3/4 miles (506 rods) in length.³⁶

In 1885, Edgar Stone moved into the abandoned old Mormon fort situated above Moenkopi village and opened a trading post. During the time he ran his trading post from 1885 to 1888, Hopis

continued to farm along the Wash and Reservoir Canyon. According to Stone, Hopis farmed the entire Moenkopi Wash "exclusively" with the exception of one Mormon, Christian L. Christensen, who had Tuba's permission to farm there. His farm was located west of the Hopi farms indicated on Welton's map (Portfolio Map #1) and farther down Moenkopi Wash.³⁷

Conflict between Hopis and Mormons erupted again in 1887, when the settlers tried to lay claim to Hopi farms in the Wash. In August, several Mormons in Tuba City, one of whom was Lot Smith, induced Edgar Stone to sell his property to them. In a quit claim deed for \$800.00, Edgar Stone sold his trading post (old Mormon fort) to these Mormons. Next, they tried to reclaim farm lands in Reservoir Canyon associated with the property. Although these plots were then being farmed by Hopis, the Mormons claimed them based on the fact that in 1874-1875, the earliest Mormon settlers had farmed the land before they removed to Tuba City. Immediately a Hopi-Mormon dispute occurred.³⁸

In February, 1888, the Hopis, led by Qua-che-qua, complained to Mormon leaders of their treatment by Smith and others, which included having guns drawn on them, being kicked and cuffed, and having their sheep killed. The Mormons tried to settle the matter among themselves. During a council held by the settlers, Lot Smith's actions were ruled against. Nevertheless, troubles continued.³⁹

In mid-1888, Special Agent H.S. Welton was dispatched to settle the matter. In his report, he outlined the dispute and

drew a map showing the land situation and the extent of Hopi-occupied land around Moenkopi village. Welton's report named the individual Hopi occupants that matched the four areas outlined on his map (Portfolio Map #1). They were:

Farm section #1	Lo-tock-see (a.k.a. La-tox-i)
Farm section #2	Quash-a-quaa (a.k.a. Qua-che-quaa)
Farm section #3	Ah-cou-cha (a.k.a. A-Kau-ish-i or Ah-cow-er-shee)
Farm section #4	Och-she

Welton's report and map, along with Edgar Stone's information, indicate that from 1885 to 1888, Hopis cultivated an area of Moenkopi Wash 1-3/4 miles in length and an area in Reservoir Canyon, where they also used springs just east of Lot Smith's house (old Mormon Fort and former trading post of Edgar Stone).⁴⁰

Apparently, Welton did not settle the Mormon-Hopi land dispute. Instead, matters intensified. In 1889, Lot Smith and several Mormons put a dam across the Moenkopi Wash and usurped land there belonging to the Hopis. In 1898, Navajo Jack, a Navajo who lived farther up Moenkopi Wash, described in an affidavit what transpired:

The Mormons put in the first dam on the Moen Coppi Wash about nine years ago. They built it right on top of the Oraibi ditch; the Oraibas had built this ditch or dam, and the Mormons took the dam and built on top of it. The Oraibas had farmed on the Moen Coppi Wash from just below the dam at Moen Coppi, down to the hill above Ett-set-ta's [a.k.a. Itz-ze-tee or Atsidi] farm. The names of some of these Oraiba Indians were Tuba; A-Kau-ish-i [a.k.a. Ah-cow-er-shee]; Ka-tchi-na-ma-na [a.k.a. Cotche-mon-nee]; La-tox-i [a.k.a. Lay-toke-she], Ma-wi, and many others whose names I cannot recall. Lot Smith, one of the Mormons, took the land from these Oraiba Indians about nine years ago.⁴¹

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Government officials tried to end these conflicts by allotting land to the Indians. In 1892, Special Allotting Agent John S. Mayhugh was sent to the area. On June 22, 1892, he reported on the Hopi-Mormon land disputes to CIA Thomas J. Morgan, recommending that the Moenkopi area be included in a proposed extension of the 1882 Reservation. He stated:

The Oraibis claim that their families 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.... Supt. Collins believes a great injustice has been perpetrated upon the Oraibi village of the Moqui tribe in this particular by the Mormon settlers, in which opinion I concur. It is believed that if the west boundary of this reservation was established that most of the land would be within the limit of the Moqui Reservation.⁴²

When he wrote his report, Mayhugh had not realized that two days earlier, on June 20, 1892, a dispute over pasture land occurred between Lot Smith and a Navajo. Lot Smith was killed in the ensuing gun engagement.⁴³

Shortly after Smith's death in June, a new complication arose. A Navajo named Charley Itz-ze-tee (a.k.a. Atsidi or Ettset-ta) and his relatives purchased a house, orchard, and some land along Moenkopi Wash, which the Mormons had taken earlier from the Hopis. They exchanged horses, saddles, blankets and beads for the property, but it is unclear how the Mormon who sold the land

to them gained title to this land -- if he did so at all. The location of the purchased land was west of the four Hopi sections described in H.S. Welton's map.⁴⁴

Allotting Agent Mayhugh returned to Moenkopi in late 1892 to allot land to the Indians living there. Mayhugh allotted ten plots of land along Moenkopi Wash and up Reservoir Canyon, nine of them to Hopi Indians. The other plot went to Charley Itz-ze-tee because he had purchased the land from the Mormons.⁴⁵

The allotting of land to the Indians did not resolve the situation. After Mayhugh left, several Mormons refused to let Hopis farm their allotments in Moenkopi Wash or Reservoir Canyon. Immediately, the Hopis complained to Allotting Agent Mayhugh, who reported the matter to the Indian Commissioner. On February 23, 1893, he wrote:

an Indian from Moenkopi by the name of----(illegible) son-in-law of Nar she-le-wa of Moqui tribe while working on said Nah-she-ing-ne-wah's homestead which I allotted ... was assaulted by a Mormon known as Mormon Jim, who horsewhipped him and drove him from the land [on] which he was at work -- he took his hoe from him and said this is not your land it belongs to the Mormons and he threatened to kill the Indian if he or any other Moquis attempted to cultivate the land or use water from the Moenkopi springs -- this Indian and others say that the Mormons have taken all of the land I have allotted to them -- that they feel very bad as they are prohibited from planting any crop and will starve this winter for want of food ..⁴⁶

At some point, after hearing further complaints from the Hopis, Mayhugh returned to Moenkopi to reallocate the land in Moenkopi

Wash and try to settle the dispute once and for all. This time Mayhugh allotted twelve tracts of land -- nine tracts to Hopis and three to Navajos. The Navajos were allotted the Moenkopi Wash holdings purchased by Itz-ze-tee, while the Hopi allotments included disputed lands in Moenkopi Wash and Reservoir Canyon which Mormons had earlier taken from the Hopis. In 1897, these allotments were certified by the CIA.⁴⁷

Portfolio Map #2 lists the names of the allottees in the Wash, and the location of each allotment. The following is a list of the Hopi and Navajo allottees certified in 1897 and listed on the map. The acreage given to each allotment included all the land between Moenkopi Wash's embankments, including the non-arable cliffs above the Wash.⁴⁸

Hopi Allottees (1893)

1.	Tah-losh-hi-nini-mah	70 acres
2.	Nah-she-ing-ne-wah	67 acres
3.	Yay-she-mah	60 acres
4.	Lay-toke-she	60 acres
5.	Cotch-che-mon-nee	66 acres
6.	Nah-she-le-wee	67 acres
7.	Te-wah-me-meni-mah	67 acres
8.	Ne-bah-yow-in-shee	72 acres
9.	Ah-cow-er-shee	<u>72 acres</u>
	Total	601 acres

Navajo Allottees (1893)

10.	Itz-ze-tee	87 acres
11.	Hos-tell (?)	40 acres
12.	Ish-cla-clol-pah-dan-ne	<u>40 acres</u>
	Total	167 acres

This first allotment attempt establishes that Hopis farmed acreage at the base of Reservoir Canyon and most of the available

farm land along Moenkopi Wash east and west of the village, with the exception of the three Navajo allotments which abutted the Hopi allotments along their western boundary. The Hopi allotments included most of the land they had been farming before Lot Smith and other Mormons started encroaching on their land. The Navajo allotments were based on land usurped from the Hopis in 1889 by Mormons. Charley Itz-ze-tee, one of the Navajo allottees, may have faced some conflict with the Hopis over this situation.⁴⁹

Despite Mayhugh's reallocation work, trouble continued between the Hopi and Mormons. Several Mormons strenuously objected to the Hopi allotments. They felt that they held rights to certain tracts of land in Moenkopi Wash and Reservoir Canyon, and apparently were willing to use force to recover this land. Five months later Lololoma, an Oraibi chief, complained to John Mayhugh that:

the government had given land to some of his people at Moenkopi Wash and failed to protect them and that the Mormons had taken their water and driven them off the land allotted to them besides abusing and beating them ...⁵⁰

Ashton Nebeker, who came to Moenkopi in 1893 shortly after Lot Smith's death, and Robert Sensbury, another Mormon, claimed the former Mormon farming areas in the Moenkopi Wash (the west half of claims 9 and 4, and claims 1, 2, and 3 on Portfolio Map #2). The disputed land was west of the red line marked on Portfolio Map #2.⁵¹

Ashton Nebeker forced the Hopi to pay him for the privilege of cultivating their own farms, alleging that the land no longer

belonged to the Hopis. This situation continued until 1897, when a white missionary named William Riley Johnson intervened.⁵²

Johnson arrived in Moenkopi in 1896 and renovated the abandoned spinning mill (see Portfolio Map #2) into his headquarters. Later, his son reported the following account of the Hopi-Mormon troubles.

The following spring [1897] disputes arose between the Mormons at Tuba City and Hopis at Moenkopi with respect to fields in the valley below the village which the Hopis had been planting for many years previous. The Mormons attempted to seize the land by force, and assaulted several Indians engaged in planting them. My father sent a Navajo messenger on horseback to Fort Defiance to ... call in armed Navajos [Indian police] to protect the Hopis while they planted. The permission was granted, and forty Navajos were summoned to stand guard over the Hopis. Although the Mormons threatened violence if this plan was consummated, they made no trouble, and the [Hopi] fields were finally planted....⁵³

This Hopi-Mormon dispute over the Moenkopi Wash drew Major Constant Williams, Acting Agent for the Navajo Agency in Ft. Defiance, to investigate the situation. He confirmed that several Mormons had taken from the Hopi the dam and ditches around Moenkopi, and had falsely obtained a decree from local courts awarding them, as prior and original appropriators, all the waters of Moenkopi Wash. Major Williams recommended an extension of the 1882 Reservation to include the entire Tuba City area.⁵⁴

A year later, the government sent Indian Service Inspector James L. McLaughlin to Tuba City/Moenkopi to investigate the situation thoroughly and make recommendations on extending the



reservation. Once there, McLaughlin immediately turned to the land dispute between the Hopi and Ashton Nebeker (Robert Sensbury's claim to Allotment #1 was never mentioned). After some discussion, the Hopi, the Navajo, and Ashton Nebeker signed an agreement which allowed McLaughlin to make the following determinations. McLaughlin gave Nebeker 160 acres of land north of the village of Moenkopi, and the spinning mill situated in Moenkopi Wash, which Nebeker was to remove sometime in the near future. To the Hopi, McLaughlin gave the strip of land surrounding Moenkopi Springs, and water rights to the springs, although this land was not included in the allotments to the Hopi. He also maintained the Hopi claim to the Moenkopi Wash land over that of Ashton Nebeker's claim, thereby validating the Hopi allotments in the Moenkopi Wash made by Mayhugh five years earlier.⁵⁵

However, McLaughlin discovered that five Hopis did not wish to retain their original allotments at Moenkopi. In 1893, when conflicts with the settlers intensified, these Hopis retreated to Oraibi to avoid trouble. They told McLaughlin that "they had never asked, or applied, for said allotments and did not want them, but intended to remain in Oraibi...." This left Mayhugh's allotments #1, 2, 5, 7, and 8 temporarily open (see Portfolio Map #2). There were sixteen Hopi families at Moenkopi at this time, and Inspector McLaughlin reassigned these allotments to several of these Hopis.⁵⁶

The Navajo allotments assigned by Mayhugh also needed readjustment, for one of the original three Navajo allottees, Hos-tell,

appeared to have left the area. McLaughlin reallocated the original three Navajo allotments to five Navajos, two of whom had been allotted land by Mayhugh. They were Charlie Itz-ze-tee and Ish-cla-clol-pah-dan-ne. One Navajo allotment had part of a canal system constructed through it. These canals were probably placed in operation in 1889, when Mormons constructed a dam across Moenkopi Wash (see Portfolio Maps #4, 5, 6, and 11). McLaughlin also readjusted the location and numbering system of the allotments in the entire Moenkopi Wash. No mention was made that the Navajo allotted land was originally Hopi farming land.⁵⁷

In the McLaughlin reallocation, the Hopis lost land while the Navajos gained land. McLaughlin reduced Hopi acreage from 601 to 220 arable acres, while Navajo acreage in Moenkopi Wash increased from 167 to 200 acres. Hopi acreage decreased because McLaughlin did not include in the Hopi allotments the non-arable tracts that lay near and about the Mormon dam. A list of Hopi and Navajo allottees follows:⁵⁸

Hopi Allottees (1899)

1.	Frank Sheumtewa	20 acres
2.	Pole Hongeva	20 acres
3.	Lay-toke-she*	20 acres
4.	Yay-she-wah*	20 acres
5.	Ah-cow-er-shee*	20 acres
6.	Nah-she-le-wee*	20 acres
7.	Se-wil-tah-mah	20 acres
8.	Lo-mah-quap-te-wah	20 acres
9.	Charley Ta-las-me-na-wah*	20 acres

* Hopis and Navajos who received allotment assignments from Allotting Agent John S. Mayhugh in 1893.

10. Tah-wah-min-tah-wah* 20 acres
11. Na-she-nim-pte-wah 20 acres

Total 220 acres

Navajo Allottees (1899)

12. Ga-maun-bit-se 20 acres
13. Charley Itz-ze-tee* 60 acres
14. Hosteen Clitsoey 40 acres
15. Shoie Clitsoey 40 acres
16. Ish-cla-clol-pah-dan-ne* 40 acres

Total 200 acres

The lands farmed by the Hopis at this time were watered by Moenkopi Wash and by water flowing from Reservoir Canyon. The land allotted to the Navajos was watered from nearby springs and the Mormon Moenkopi Wash irrigation system. At this time, no other Indians than those listed farmed along this section of Moenkopi Wash. However, Mormon settlers such as David Brinkerhoff and Joseph H. Lee continued to farm land west of the Navajo allotments. McLaughlin's report recommended that in the future, the government purchase this non-Indian irrigated land along with the Mormon improvements.⁵⁹

For the next three years, a process began whereby the government withdrew the Moenkopi area from the public domain; and then negotiated with Mormon settlers for the purchase of their lands and improvements.

On January 8, 1900, by Executive Order, the Moenkopi Wash and the surrounding area west of the 1882 Reservation were

* Hopis and Navajos who received allotment assignments from Allotting Agent John S. Mayhugh in 1893.

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"withdrawn from sale and settlement until further ordered." The Executive Order did not spell out whether the area would be attached to the Navajo or Hopi Reservation and there were differing opinions on which tribe should benefit.⁶⁰

Some officials, such as CIA William A. Jones, thought the area should be added to the 1882 Hopi Reservation, as had been recommended by other officials previously. In April 1900, Jones recommended this action for several reasons:

1. The area included the village of Moenkopi.
2. The area had few permanent Navajo settlers but did have roving "bands of Navajos and Paiutes."
3. The Hopi on the 1882 Reservation would be surrounded three sides if Moenkopi were not added to the Hopi Reservation.
4. The school site chosen for the Hopi at Tuba City was located in the area, and therefore should be part of the Hopi Reservation.
5. The Fort Defiance agency was too distant to govern the area, and therefore the area should come under the Hopi agency at Keams Canyon.⁶¹

Hopi Superintendent Charles E. Burton and the Hopis living on the 1882 Reservation also believed the area should be added to the Hopi Reservation. Burton wrote Commissioner Jones that if the Tuba City area were included under the Navajo Reservation, there would be difficulties administering it. In addition, he noted that many of the Hopis who owned land at Moenkopi were also "residents of this reservation [1882 Reservation] and [they] are exceedingly anxious that they be brought under the control of this

Superintendent." Despite these recommendations, the area was not officially attached to either reservation.⁶²

In 1903, the Mormon holdings were purchased by the federal government for \$48,000. Included in the purchase were the farm lands held by David Brinkerhoff and Joseph H. Lee in Moenkopi Wash and farm land in Reservoir Canyon held by Ashton Nebecker. The following year, Tuba City officially became the jurisdictional headquarters for the area. For want of a better designation, it was thereafter called the Western Navajo Reservation Agency.⁶³

In the 1930's, Poli Naimkiwa, an 1899 allottee, recalled the transaction:

It was difficult to budge the Mormons. The Moencopi petitioned against the Mormons being there, through their agent Mr. Needham. The Government could not move the Mormons without paying for their improvements on the land. The land was turned over to the Hopi. The Mormons wanted it paid for, but the Hopis have always considered it theirs, and they saw no reason to pay for anything but the improvements, which was suggested by the Government. After the petition, the orchards, the farms, and the woolen mill and the settlements on upper Pasture Canyon were paid for with \$45,000.00.⁶⁴

The official Mormon church ward history blamed Superintendent Milton J. Needham (1901-1904) for influencing the Hopi to petition for the ejection of the Mormons from the Tuba City area.

The L.D.S. ward history account stated that:

soon after the close of the century complications arose between the Saints at Tuba city and the Indians. The settlers had no title to their land which had not been surveyed and it seems that certain Indian agents influenced the Indians to crowd

the "Mormons" out, telling them that the land by right belonged to them.⁶⁵

Whether the local agent influenced the Hopi to petition for the removal of the Mormons, or whether the Hopi did so on their own initiative, is unclear. The central fact was that the Hopi, not any other Indian tribe, petitioned the government to remove the Mormon settlers from their lands. Only Hopis considered their rights to the land impaired. They fought to keep possession of their land and to regain lands that had been usurped by the growing Mormon community at Tuba City.

E. Moenkopi Wash, 1901-1914

On August 8, 1901, Milton Needham became the first Western Navajo Superintendent. Under his administration the trust patents to the Hopi and Navajo allotments were delivered on October 20, 1902. Later it was discovered that the township survey embracing these Indian allotments was erroneous and a new survey was made. Allotments with the correct legal descriptions were approved July 23, 1904, and trust patents were reissued May 23, 1905.⁶⁶

For one year the agency and school was located at Blue Canyon, twenty-five miles east of Moenkopi. In May, 1902, Superintendent Needham moved it to Tuba City. Needham's first impressions of the Moenkopi area indicated that Mormon settlers monopolized the water from Pasture Canyon and sold the water and rented farm land to Hopis and Navajos. On his arrival, he described the conditions at Moenkopi.

I arrived at the village of Moenkopie, here are located about 150 Moqui [Hopi] Indians who are an industrious people, they're farming their lands in the wash utilizing the seep [sic.] water from the adjacent bluff and buying what they can from the Mormons [referring to the Mormon reservoirs in Pasture Canyon]. These Moquis as well as quite a number of Navajos rent land from the Mormons (The Mormons furnishing the land and water and take half of the crop) and in this way they raise considerable grain....

I found quite a no. of Indians, both Moquies and Navajos, busy at work preparing the ground for planting and some planting. My reason for urging the Indians to rent land from the Mormons is that I considered that it was much better that they should have half a crop than none at all.⁶⁷

Needham's statement indicates that by 1902 a sizeable population of Hopi (150) lived at Moenkopi and that Hopi agriculture depended during this time on irrigation water from Pasture Canyon and from the springs that were adjacent to the northwest corner of Hopi claim 1, marked on Portfolio Map #2. Since Hopis also rented land from the Mormons, it is apparent that additional land was needed for their increasing numbers.

The Hopi who rented land probably were not allottees, but Oraibi Hopis who had farmed in the Moenkopi area at one time, but had been crowded out by the Mormons. In late 1902, when Oraibi Hopis became aware of the government's decision to purchase the Mormon property, they immediately began migrating back to Moenkopi to reclaim their lost lands. Among their number were several Hopis who had given up their 1893 allotments and moved to Oraibi when trouble started with the Mormons. The population of Moenkopi

soon jumped from 150 to 200 Hopis, and according to Needham, "others" were continually "moving in."⁶⁸

Superintendent Needham described this Oraibi migration pattern in his reports. He stated:

those [Hopis] that have not been allotted [in Moenkopi] are ones that resided at Moenkopi prior to the time that the Mormons took the water from them [circa mid-1890's], which act compelled them to go to Oraibi, or some other place in order to find land that they might cultivate, some of these had returned prior to the purchasing of the Mormon claim last November [1902], and were renting from the Mormons, ... and others when they knew that the Mormon claims were purchased returned at once, thinking that they'd get back the land that they formerly cultivated.⁶⁹

The location of the land "rented" or "shared" by the Hopis cannot be fully determined. According to the Hopi, one area was along Moenkopi Wash, probably on the former Lee farm or farther down on the former Brinkerhoff farm. Another "rented" area could have been the former Nebeker farm in Reservoir Canyon, or the former Tanner or Smith places in Pasture Canyon (see chapter on Pasture/Reservoir Canyon). Or, the rented land could have been located on Mormon farm land just west of Tuba City. Given Hopi agricultural acquisitiveness and later Hopi claims to Mormon lands down Moenkopi Wash, in Reservoir/Pasture Canyon, and at Tuba City when the Mormons left the area, it is likely that the Hopi rented farm land from the Mormons in all of these areas.⁷⁰

The Navajo, who were suffering from drought conditions, and who rented farm land from the Mormons along Moenkopi Wash went to

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twelve miles up the Wash toward Blue Canyon, may have seen the Mormon ejection as an opportunity to acquire this and other Mormon farm land.⁷¹

When the government bought out the Mormons in November, 1902, the Hopi thought that they were entitled to the Mormon farms in and about Moenkopi, and they briefly struggled with the Navajo in the area over the vacant Mormon land in the Moenkopi Wash and in the Tuba City area.⁷²

In a 1965 interview, Roger Honahni described the scramble for the Mormon land and property, and the distribution of the land by the government:

when they [government] come in and ask the Hopi people about these Mormons, where they were sleeping, of course at that time these Mormons are getting most good lands so they get in trouble with the Hopis. So the Hopis start to ask the government service to move them out and finally it takes a time for them to agree to take them out. So the government service bought the property from the Mormons and send them out. And at that time the government service told the Hopi people if they want a house they could go up to Tuba City and choose their houses So they did So they went up there and choose the house and then the Mormons went out....

Our father as the government service make agreement with the Moencopi people that they could have all they [Mormons] had when the Mormons were send off. And then we get it, we use it for a while, I remember. My relations father [his uncle] used to have a piece of land at Tuba City, which Mormons was using. I used to go over there and help out, work that field with him. And when the Navajos come in and everything is given to the Navajos....

[Speaking of the Moenkopi Wash] ... it's the same thing, the same problem from here on down the field by Kerley's [trading post in Moenkopi Wash, see Portfolio Map #7], the Mormons used to use all that field and they make a share with the Hopis [rented it to the Hopis] and the Hopis used to have a field down in that part. I used to go down there and work with my father and some others, and when the Navajos take control they all was given to the Navajos.⁷³

In the 1930's, Poli Naimkiwa (one of Moenkopi's earliest residents), gave a similar but more detailed account of what happened when the Mormons vacated the area:

When the Mormons left we were asked by the government to choose the houses of the Mormons we wished to have. The government came to us and asked us to vote on taking over the Mormon land. We all raised our hands for it, but we now see it was no gift to us, and all of it has been given over to the Navajo. All the Mormon farms had been given to the Hopi, and four men went over and selected the best farms. After one man, Siwiestewa, had taken over a farm, a small family of Navajo living by, pulled up all the fence posts around the fields for firewood. Seeing the trouble that was for us with the Navajo, who began herding sheep in the fields, the four Hopi men who took Mormon farms did not cultivate the fields the first year.⁷⁴

From Superintendent Needham's report and the oral accounts of Roger Honahni and Poli Naimkiwa, one can conclude that the Hopis believed that they were to receive the former farms and homes of the Mormons, once the Mormons departed. If the government had allowed this, it would have redressed the loss of aboriginal Hopi land to the Mormons. It is also clear that Hopis rented farm land from the Mormons farther down the Wash from their 1899

allotment plots and in the vicinity of Tuba City, and that Hopis assumed that these lands would be given to them.

However, the federal government had other plans for the land. The government retained the rights to most of the Mormon farms and used the land to support a government Indian school it planned to transfer from Blue Canyon to Tuba City. In the end, the Hopis were left with only the land allotted to them in 1899 by Inspector McLaughlin.

Fortunately, at this time, the Hopi were able to make good use of their allotments because their plots were well located along Moenkopi Wash. The Navajo allotted land was not so well situated. In 1903, the Mormon dam to the east of the Navajo allotments was destroyed by a flood (see Portfolio Maps #4 and #5) and the Navajo allotted land was rendered unproductive. Government plans to use the reserved land west of the Navajo allotments (the Lee and Brinkerhoff farms) for a government farm also became inoperative.

In 1903, Milton J. Needham described the problems with the dam:

[4/19/06 (sic)] I have had the dam put in four different times this Spring and have succeeded in getting all of the land retained as a school farm watered and something over 100 acres for the Indians, and the Indians are now preparing to plant the same; already 30 Navajos and 10 Moquis obtained land...

[12/31/03] The dam in the Moenkopi Wash went out for part of November 1902, and was put in until we began to take possession the 1st of March 1903, thus leaving the farming lands for four months

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without any water. From March 2nd to November 5, 1903, the dam was washed out by high water ten times. We consequently had to put the dam in eleven different times between March 2nd a. . November 5th, 1903....⁷⁵

The old Mormon dam washed out again the following year, and was not repaired. Until the dam was repaired, all plans to make the government land and the Navajo allotted land productive were impossible. The Hopi and the Navajo allotment information is plotted on Portfolio Maps #3 (1899), #5 (1909), and #6 (1911).⁷⁶

The future government farm lay west of the Navajo allotments and was a combination of the Joseph H. Lee and David Brinkerhoff farms. In 1905, according to Superintendent Mathew M. Murphy, who succeeded Milton Needham as superintendent, the government farm in Moenkopi Wash included:

240 acres reserved [land]; this land is about 3 miles [south] from Tuba and is irrigated by water that comes down Moencopi Wash, and is augmented by a stream from Reservoir Canyon.⁷⁷

Superintendent Murphy thought that the government school located in Tuba City would not need the reserved government land in the Moenkopi Wash or the small area of government land in Reservoir Canyon, which he believed should be turned over to the Indians.

The Mormons cultivated not to exceed 60 acres with this spring [at Tuba City], but I believe I can cultivate 160 acres in favorable seasons. This would be sufficient for school purposes and would release all the land in Reservoir Canyon and the Moencopi Wash for allotment to the Indians.⁷⁸

The government never allotted these areas, but rather "assigned" the land to the Hopi and the Navajo.

For a time, the government farm in Moenkopi Wash, as well as the Navajo allotments to the east of it, were unreliable for agricultural purposes. Uncontrolled seasonal flooding plagued these farms for many years. The old Mormon dam depicted on Portfolio Map #5, which was obliterated by a flood in 1903, was not reconstructed for some time thereafter, supposedly because the undertaking was "too much for the Indians." Without proper control and storage of these flood waters, the government land in the Moenkopi Wash and the five Navajo allotments to the east of it were not very productive.⁷⁹

Shortly after the initial migration to Moenkopi, another wave of Oraibi Hopi moved to Moenkopi to seek new farm land. In 1905-1906, some 800 acres, one-third of the best farm land near the village of Oraibi on Third Mesa, was lost to a severe erosion pattern which dissected Oraibi Wash (see chapter on 1882 Reservation). This destruction of critical Third Mesa farm land caused additional Oraibi Hopis to migrate to Moenkopi -- a development which put increased demand on available agricultural land in Moenkopi Wash.⁸⁰

Superintendent Murphy promised these Hopis and others, as well as Navajos, "assigned" land in the Moenkopi Wash once a new dam was constructed. However, Murphy could not keep the dam in place. The whereabouts of the Hopi and Navajo farm "assignments" can not be fully determined. In 1907, Superintendent Murphy noted

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that the Hopis were farming their 220 acres of allotted land. At this time, he also "assigned" an additional 165 acres to Hopis using water from Reservoir Canyon. This "assigned" land could have included acreage within the government farm below the old Mormon dam, which Murphy was trying to keep intact. More likely, the "assigned" Hopi land was probably along an area of unallotted land between the Hopi allotments and the Navajo allotments.⁸¹

Prior to Mathew Murphy's departure from his position as Superintendent of the Tuba City jurisdiction, he commented on the Hopi and Navajo agricultural situations in this manner:

The Indians of Moencopi Village are as prosperous, and have made as much progress in the last three years, as any Indians of which I have any knowledge: they have raised good crops each year; their surplus has commanded good prices...It has been my intention, at the proper time, to recommend to your office [CIA] that the water in the springs at the village, and all the water in Reservoir Canyon, be apportioned to the lands owned by the Hopis....

On the other hand, the Navajos have been told that they would get the land in the Wash below the Hopis' land, they are waiting the action of the government in regard to the dam...⁸²

From Murphy's comments, it is apparent that the Hopi were agriculturally productive at this time, producing surplus crops for sale.

Stephen Janus took over the superintendency of the Western Navajo Reservation from Murphy in November 1907. At that time he reported that the Moenkopi Wash alfalfa fields and orchards purchased from the Mormon settlers had not been irrigated since August 1905.⁸³

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By March 1908, Janus had built a new dam west of the old Mormon dam site, and began irrigating the fields purchased from the Mormons. By May, Janus was delivering water to Indians who had cleared and planted some of the land below the new dam site. However, a large portion of the former Mormon Moenkopi Wash farms remained covered with brush and greasewood, and the borders and ditches of the irrigation system were unmaintained. At this time, the former Brinkerhoff farm was not being farmed.⁸⁴

The dam site constructed by Janus, and later ones constructed that season by Irrigation Service personnel, were wiped out by seasonal flooding. Before all the government land could be made truly productive, this seasonal flooding problem had to be resolved. From 1908 to 1914, many earthen dams were put into place to control flooding in the Moenkopi Wash. But almost yearly, these dams gave out. Annually, the government farm in the Wash and 400 acres "assigned" to both Hopi and other Indians were either washed away totally or partly destroyed. Many letters in the Tuba City Agency correspondence attested to this problem. However, despite the circumstances, the Hopi maintained their allotted farm land in the Wash and "assigned" lands in Moenkopi Wash and elsewhere.⁸⁵

During this period, Hopis entering the area from the parent village of Oraibi were forced to find land in these agricultural areas. To accommodate the needs of the new Hopi immigrants, the Washington office considered plans to reallocate lands to the Moenkopi Indians. It planned to give each family five acres of agricultural

land and a section of grazing land, and to issue them sheep and goats.⁸⁶

This reallocation process took place between 1908 and 1911. Superintendent Janus wished to pressure the eleven original Hopi allottees in the village of Moenkopi to subdivide their twenty-acre original allotments into five-acre allotments. The eleven Hopis who had trust patents to their public domain allotments were eventually persuaded to give them up and take new allotments on the same basis. They and other Hopis wished to select their new allotments in a string along Moenkopi Wash all the way to the 1882 Reservation, and to the end of Pasture/Reservoir Canyon. However, they were forced to abandon that idea because Navajo settlements intervened between them and the main Hopis mesas to the east. In the end, this reallocation attempt was halted by the government because necessary congressional authority was lacking for such a program. All reallocations in the Moenkopi area were cancelled in 1911.⁸⁷

Meanwhile, the population of the Moenkopi area continued to increase because of a steady migration of Hopi from Oraibi. For instance, in 1910, Frank Jenkins (a.k.a. Kewanoitewa) and Sewanimp-tewa from Oraibi, representing 40 other Hopis, tried to relinquish their allotted land on the 1882 Reservation for land at Moenave (see chapter on Moenave). The government denied their request, preventing Hopis from openly moving to the Western Navajo Reservation.⁸⁸

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By 1914, Moenkopi village faced increasing population/farm land difficulties. Herbert H. Gregory, a geographer, reported that the Hopi population at Moenkopi had:

increased by migration from less favored localities until in 1914, 210 to 225 members of this tribe made their home on the Oasis. In addition to these permanent settlers many of their relatives reside at Moenkopi during the growing season ... each marriage of a Moenkopi resident with a man or woman from the Tusayan villages [main Hopi villages] usually results in the founding of a new home on the Tuba Oasis.... With their excellent fields of corn, wheat, melons, squashes, and fruit, and their carefully tended flocks, the Hopis of the Tuba Oasis are essentially self-supporting.⁸⁹

Superintendent William T. Sullivan described the Hopis to his superiors in a similar manner. He wrote CIA Cato Sells that Moenkopi Hopi were:

a very thrifty, industrious class of Indians and they are busy for most of the year either farming for themselves or hauling freight for the government. There is a rather large village of Hopi Indians located in the Moenkopi Wash on this reservation about three miles from the Agency at Tuba. About 10 families of these Indians came into this part of the country perhaps fifty years ago and settled on good lands in the river bottom, these were allotted their lands in severalty 10 years ago and patents were issued to them. Since that time little by little, one at a time, Hopi Indians have come over from Oraibi, 50 miles distant, and taken up the good corn lands in the Wash until now we have a village of about 250 people.⁹⁰

He urgently requested that a new dam be put across Moenkopi Wash so he could put Hopis returning from boarding school on "good farm land and make them prosperous and contented."⁹¹

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At the same time, Moenkopi relatives at Oraibi were experiencing environmental problems with their farm lands. They tried to use farm land in the Dinnebito and Oraibi Washes, but Navajos continually frustrated their attempts. Superintendent of Irrigation H.F. Robinson described how Hopi economic growth had been stunted by Navajo encroachments into the 1882 Reservation, and blamed the government for allowing Navajos to occupy land around wells there. He wrote:

Unless the Department will step in and force the Navajos back, the Hopi will not be able to better their condition in any way, for they cannot hope to increase their cultivation and their main dependence will of necessity be upon their flocks.⁹²

Robinson proposed a plan to draw the Navajo away from the main Hopi villages on the 1882 Reservation by developing water resources outside the 1882 Reservation.⁹³

Under Walter Runke's administration (1914-1920), Sullivan's recommendation for a new diversion dam was fulfilled. In the fall of 1914, the U.S. Irrigation Service constructed a concrete dam in Moenkopi Wash to replace the old earthen dams, which were seasonally washed away. The dam resolved the flood problem, and opened up new agricultural land. However, as will be seen, practically all the additional Moenkopi Wash agricultural land made available by the dam went to the Hopi and it substantially changed the character of agricultural development in the area.⁹⁴

The construction of a new concrete dam brought an immediate influx of Hopi to Moenkopi from Third Mesa, and resulted in the

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expansion of Hopi farm lands in Moenkopi Wash. In October 1914, shortly after the dam was constructed, Superintendent Runke notified his superiors in Washington of a continual Hopi migration from Oraibi, the parent village to Moenkopi. He wrote:

The Hopis are farming quite a large tract of land in the vicinity of their village Moencopie near here and have been adding to the area farmed year to year, altho (sic) the area farmed is limited with respect to the pop. of the village which is now in the neighborhood of three hundred and over. It must be remembered that we have had a steady influx of Hopis from the Moqui Reservation from the older and less fortunate villages located thereon where means of livelihood from agriculture are not as favorable as they are here in Moencopie.⁹⁵

F. Moenkopi Wash, 1915-1928

In his annual report for 1915, Walter Runke noted that the government school farm proper was comprised of approximately 240 acres, which altogether were not in good shape. For many years the Moenkopi Wash school farm had gone unattended because of annual flooding and irregular Indian help. In the past, despite these problems, some of the school farm produced forage, some acreage was rented to a local white missionary, and parts of the rest were "assigned" to Indians to farm. In 1914, 100 acres of the eastern portion of the farm was in alfalfa for forage for the agency work stock and small dairy herd; the rest was weed-infested and in need of leveling and having the ditches rebuilt so it could be again irrigated and properly farmed.⁹⁶

With so much work to be done on the farm, Walter Runke made two proposals. He proposed the construction of a horse barn and

dairy barn near the forage on the eastern end of this farm. This left the western end of the Moenkopi Wash farm open for farming, which Runke proposed leasing to the Indians. Runke's justification for leasing this land was that the Tuba City Boarding School seemed able to supported itself through its own 100-acre farm.⁹⁷

Runke must have made his intentions known to the Indians soon thereafter. In March 1916, two months after his proposal, Poli Naimkiwa (grandson of Chief Tuba) went to Runke and requested land on which to grow hay. In response, Runke gave him permission and encouraged other Hopi to lease government farm land, stating that:

a good portion of the Wash farm at the present time is being farmed by reservation Indians including Hopis. I have made it a practice thus far not to charge an Indian any rental whatsoever for the use of this land as an encouragement to them to farm it. Besides this I have additional acres that still can be farmed but is not being farmed for the reason that the Indians do not wish to go to the trouble of clearing it up and putting it in a state of cultivation.⁹⁸

By the following year (1917), Superintendent Runke decided that the government clearly only needed the Moenkopi Wash acreage used for grazing the Tuba City Boarding School dairy cows. Runke decided to lease a portion of the western area of government farm land to the Hopi, apparently because the Navajo were not interested in farming there, and he could not reach a lease agreement with a Lee Brinkerhoff, whose father, David Brinkerhoff, had owned part of the farm at one time.⁹⁹

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According to Runke, a "number of enterprising and fairly progressive young Hopi Indians" then approached him on the matter. The land allotted to the Hopi was "excellent farming land" and the Hopi made "excellent use of these allotments," intensively using "every foot available," but the Hopi desired additional acreage. Runke decided that Navajos were not interested in farming it. (In 1907, Navajos were told that they would get the land in the Wash below the Hopi's land once a good dam was built.) He decided to lease a portion of the Moenkopi Wash government farm to these enterprising Hopis on the same rental basis as he would offer a "whiteman" -- a sharecropping arrangement. The Hopis accepted Runke's offer.¹⁰⁰

The period from 1915 to 1917 was an extremely productive period for the Moenkopi Hopi. During these years, the government conducted a property census of the Hopi. The following table (compiled from the property census statistics) shows the extent of Hopi agriculture and how it expanded during the Runke administration.¹⁰¹

<u>Hopi Agriculture</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1916</u>	<u>1917</u>
Corn acres	314.75	312.00	333.25
Wheat acres	9.75	7.00	5.75
Alfafa acres	13.90	20.00	56.50
Orchard acres	5.50	16.00	39.10
Garden acres	<u>39.66</u>	<u>43.50</u>	<u>37.00</u>
Totals	383.56	398.50	471.60

Where was this additional acreage planted? The exact location in Moenkopi Wash cannot be fully determined. Superintendent Runke's statements indicate that the acreage was planted somewhere

to the west of the new concrete diversion dam, and the alfalfa fields of the government farm. One highly probable Hopi "leased" farm site was the old Brinkerhoff farm down the Wash from the new diversion dam (see Portfolio Maps #4 and #11). In the past, part of this farm land could have been included in the land that Superintendent Murphy "assigned" the Hopis in 1905, but which had been continually washed out because of uncontrolled flooding. With the new concrete dam in place, the Brinkerhoff property was made irrigable again.

The number and the identity of Hopis who leased this land cannot be fully determined either, given the available documentation. However, by analyzing the Hopi property census for the years 1915 to 1917 by individuals, one can deduce that seventeen Hopi showed an increase in farming acreage of three acres or more from 1915 to 1917. They were:¹⁰²

<u>Hopi Farmers</u>	<u>1915 acres</u>	<u>1916 acres</u>	<u>1917 acres</u>
Gasyoma	10.00	8.00	13.00
Lomatewasma	16.25	16.25	20.25
Lomaheptewa, Logan	.00	3.00	5.00
Numkena, Sam	8.00	8.00	13.25
Numkena, Earl	2.25	6.50	8.00
Nuwayestewa, George	5.75	5.50	10.50
Nah-she-nimpte-wah	16.16	16.16	32.50
Pavonyawma	1.00	1.00	6.00
Quache, Gilbert	6.00	6.00	11.00
Seveneamptewa	5.50	5.50	11.00
Sewil-tah-mah	5.00	3.00	8.00
Sleptewa, James	5.25	5.50	12.50
Tawangotawa (Sami)	13.00	13.00	16.00
Telasvyoma, Henry	6.00	6.00	11.00
Tenochoenewa, Jackson	9.00	10.00	18.50
Tuwangoitewa, Charley	7.00	13.00	12.00
Tuveyestewa	9.00	9.00	14.00
Total	125.16	135.91	222.50

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It is likely that these individuals were the "enterprising" Hopis Superintendent Runke spoke about in his report. Together, from 1915 to 1917, they leased almost one hundred additional acres of farm land in the Moenkopi Wash from the government. As will be seen, these seventeen Hopis continued to "lease" this land until sometime around 1934.

To summarize at this point, by 1917, the Hopi farmed in three areas in the Moenkopi Wash. These areas were:

1. Acreage allotted to them in 1899 (see Portfolio Map #3).
2. Unallotted land between the Hopi allotments and the Navajo allotments, which may have been "assigned" to them (see Portfolio Maps #3 and #12).
3. Approximately one hundred acres of land leased from the government somewhere west of the concrete diversion dam, and the government alfalfa fields, probably the former Brinkerhoff farm (see Portfolio Maps #4 and #11, for the location of the Brinkerhoff farm).

In 1917, in addition to these three areas, the Hopi probably farmed part of the original Navajo allotment area. Prior to 1917, Navajo allottees either abandoned part of their original allotment area (Navajo allotment 53), or the land was leased to Hopis, or the land was purchased by the Hopi. One Navajo claimed they abandoned it because the Hopi refused to give them irrigation water from Reservoir Canyon. Other Navajos alleged that the original arrangement between Hopis and the Navajo allottee was more in the nature of a lease than a sale. However, Hopis claimed that they purchased the Navajo allotted land for \$500.00 and sundry

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groceries. John Jenkins (Walter Lewis' father) supposedly traded merchandise to Shoie Yazzie Johnson for his allotment in 1907-1908, but did not secure approval from the government. This "abandoned," "leased," or "purchased" land did not include the tract belonging to Charlie Itz-ze-tee. Apparently, Itz-ze-tee's land was watered from nearby springs and therefore did not depend on water from Moenkopi Wash or Reservoir Canyon. His land remained in Navajo hands into the 1930's.¹⁰³

It is likely that some of this land was actually purchased by Hopis, while the rest was abandoned either because of insufficient water, or for other reasons. By 1931, Hopis farmed all the allotted Navajo land with the exception of sixty acres allotted to Itz-ze-tee. By 1940, Navajo allotments 51, 52, 53, and 54 in T. 32N, R. 11E were abandoned totally and farmed by Hopis.¹⁰⁴

Sometime during or after Runke's administration (1914-1920), approximately 260 acres of land was officially set aside as the government school and agency farm by the federal government. The Hopi continued to lease government farm land west of this official government farm in the Moenkopi Wash, exclusive of other Indian tribes, until around 1921-1924. At that time, additional work was done by the federal government on the sluice gate, the wasteway, and on the main and lateral canals leading from the diversion dam. These improvements opened additional farm land. After this improvement, Navajos began to lease farm land in the Wash somewhere west of the government dairy farm, probably

alongside the seventeen Hopi who continued to lease land from the government.¹⁰⁵

However, these newly opened lands were not productively farmed by the Navajo. In 1928, Superintendent C.L. Walker considered the Navajo farms unproductive, and threatened that if the Navajos did not clean up their farms down below the government farm he would move them out and give the land to better farmers -- the Hopi.

Ironically, the Hopi objected to Walker's attitude. Frank Seumtewa told Walker:

he should let the Navajos know first before their fields were taken away from them and given to someone else, for if this was done it would cause trouble between the Navajos and the Hopis, and we had no desire to start any trouble of any kind, either with him or the Navajos, and that the Hopis would not take the Navajo land unless [sic] it was satisfactory with the Navajos. I told Walker that if he did not wish irrigation water wasted he should have the Navajos clean up the farm and be careful with the water.¹⁰⁶

At this time, Superintendent Walker did not turn over the Navajo land to the Hopi.

G. Moenkopi Wash, 1929-1934

After 1928, generalized reports made by government investigators of the Hopi-Navajo disputes which occurred in the early 1930's give little added information concerning Hopi farming in the Moenkopi Wash. Because the disputes between the Hopi and the Navajo centered around grazing conflicts, these reports contain little specific detail on Hopi and Navajo farming.

For instance, in his 1930 report on the Hopi-Navajo conflict, A.G. Hutton described the Moenkopi Wash area in this manner:

There are 375 Hopi Indians located at Moenkopi on the Western Navajo Reservation, and for years they have farmed about 200 acres of irrigated land [below Moenkopi Village]. Just below this [in the Moenkopi Wash], we find about 200 acres under irrigation that is used for the Agency and School farm, and adjacent to this there are about 200 acres farmed by the Navajos. Also 19 Hopi farmers are located here. The Hopis, like those of the Hopi Reservation, are very intensive farmers and farming has been and still is their main industry.¹⁰⁷

The nineteen Hopis noted by Hutton included the seventeen Hopis who leased farm land from Superintendent Runke in 1917, and who farmed near or adjacent to the government school and agency farm. In the mid-1930's, when the Soil Conservation Service (S.C.S.) mapped farm plots and owners in the Wash, these individual Hopis appear in the same general area.

H.H. Fiske, a government inspector, also reported that Hopis were farming in that specific area of the Moenkopi Wash:

It is not the purpose to attempt to indicate the lines to be employed in a segregation of the Hopis occupying the Moenkopi country, but the Moenkopi Wash for an easterly boundary, taking in the lands now cultivated by them to the west [of the government farm], and confining them within reasonable north and south limitations, would seem a logical division.¹⁰⁸

H.J. Hagerman, Special Commissioner to the Navajo Indians, made equally vague comments on the extent of Hopi farming in the Moenkopi Wash:

The Navajos say that the Moencopis [Hopis] have practically all the irrigable land and nearly all the water in this section, and are anxious to have the Moencopis' constant expansion checked.¹⁰⁹

It is true that the Hopi were expanding their agricultural production: they wished to farm any available farm land, including the government farm itself. But they did not wish to farm land used by Navajos without prior consent.¹¹⁰

In 1930, crop reports for the Moenkopi Wash area below the diversion dam indicated that Hopi and Navajo farmed approximately 350 acres (which included Navajo allotted land), and that the government farm occupied 260 acres in the Wash. At this time, an Indian Bureau official named Stover compared the two tribes' agricultural success:

The Navajo is rapidly seeing the advantage of farming, even tho the acreage is small, especially in this section where the success of the Hopi farmer is very evident.¹¹¹

Tuba City Superintendent Walker also commented on Navajo farming in 1931:

Navajos are stockmen and spend most of their time following their herds from place to place in search of better grazing lands. They have small patches of corn, alfalfa, melons and other crops, but these usually do not exceed more than three or four acres in extent. It is estimated that the total value of agricultural crops produced by Navajos on the Western Navajo jurisdiction would not exceed \$10,000.... Many employ the crudest methods known in farming. Their production could be greatly increased and their existance made much more comfortable through the teaching and the adoption of more modern methods.¹¹²

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From Hutton's, Fiske's, Hagerman's, Stover's and Walker's statements, it is apparent that at least nineteen Hopi successfully farmed their part of the available government land below the diversion dam, while the Navajo in that area seemed not to be as successful.

In 1934, acreage farmed by Hopis in Moenkopi Wash increased significantly. In late 1933, a small irrigation project was begun in Moenkopi Wash (Farm Project 239) by the Hopi with the assistance of Joe O'Neil, the Tuba City Agency farmer. Together, they constructed two flumes over Moenkopi Wash, using road culverts and an old cable. The government furnished the labor of a blacksmith for a few days, but the Hopi did the remainder of the work. At the same time, they also constructed an underpass to irrigate land north of the Cameron-Moenkopi road, which ran through Kerley Valley, north of the government dairy farm. These improvements added 200 acres of new irrigated farm land. This new acreage was located in two areas. The flumes added an additional 160 acres of irrigated farm land on the south side of Moenkopi Wash, just south of the government dairy farm. The underpass added an additional 40 acres of farm land to the area north of the government farm. These improvements were completed by March 21, 1934. After the improvements were completed, the Hopi planted crops in both these areas in the spring of 1934, and a good harvest was recorded at the end of the year.

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Twenty-three Hopi took advantage of these improvements. Ten of them had leased land west and adjacent to the government

farm since 1917. The following Hopis farmed either the new acreage created by these improvements, or were farming leased government land near or adjacent to the government dairy farm. Going from east to west on the south side of Moenkopi Wash and then west to east on the north side of Moenkopi Wash (see Portfolio Map #8) they were:¹¹⁴

<u>Hopi Farmers</u>	<u>Plot No.</u>	<u>Acreage</u>
Lomatuwaima*	13.0	?
Talavvuyawma	14.0	?
Quachi, Gilbert* Seumtewa, Frank	3.0	6
Numkena, Sam*	3.1	3
Hoosava, Jackson, Sr. Pavonyawma*	3.2	8
Acawsi, Elmo Siykuyva	3.3	3
Nasitoyniwa, Roy	3.4	3
Pongyanoitewa	3.5	4
Gilbert, Bryan Tuveyestewa, Paul*	3.6 3.8	4 ?
Sovohni, Guy Johnson, Clay A. Tuchawina, Roy Lehongva (Tenochoenewa, Jackson)*		

* Hopi who leased land in the Wash under Supt. Runke in 1917. See list on pages 59-59.

<u>Hopi Farmers</u>	<u>Plot No.</u>	<u>Acreage</u>
Nuvayestewa, Glenn Nuvayestewa, George* Talasvuyawma Nasinomtewa, John Qoyaheptewa, Rodger (Sikakuku) Qoyangyamtewa Burton, Gail Siwiheptewa, Jimmy (Sivoshoya)* Lomatuwaima	1.7 a-h**	30
Tuwangoitewa* and Tumoosi Karsyama (Gaseoma)* Humihongiwa	1.8	?
Saviypi (Pongyawayma, owner) Tsavatawa, Harold Numkena, Louis Numkena, Earl*	1.6	15

More than likely, nineteen of these twenty-three Hopi were the same as those that A.G. Hutton, in 1930, reported farming adjacent to or near the government agency school farm and Navajo farm land.

The above list of Hopi farm plots was derived from the work of the S.C.S. in the Moenkopi area. In the mid-1930's, the S.C.S. prepared agronomy reports for each of the eighteen Land Management Units (L.M.U.), which were organized to encompass the entire Navajo

* Hopi who leased land in the Wash under Supt. Runke in 1917. See list on pages 59-59.

** Note: this plot was typed as 17 on the documentation. Research indicates that it should have been typed 1.7. Note that the majority of plot 1.7 was farmed by Navajos, and the boundary markings on Portfolio Map #8 are arbitrary at this point. The above is a list of Hopi who were farming on plot 1.7

and Hopi Reservations. Moenkopi Wash was located within L.M.U. #3. An agronomy report and an engineering report were also prepared for L.M.U. #3. Both of these describe the major agricultural projects in the vicinity, including water sources and acreage under cultivation.

During 1936 and 1937, Gordon Page and a Hopi named Otto Lomavitu gathered most of the S.C.S. farming data pertaining to Hopis. Page and Lomavitu listed all the Hopi farming areas in Moenkopi Wash, Reservoir/Pasture Canyon, and elsewhere. In their reports, they linked specific plots of land in the Moenkopi Wash with actual individual Hopi and Navajo farmers. They then plotted their data on maps. The list of Hopis farming in and around the government dairy farm, provided on the previous pages, was derived from Page's research, data lists, and maps.

In December, 1939, Gordon Page gathered together much of the S.C.S. data on the Indians living within and without the 1882 Reservation into one report, commonly known as the Report of the Human Dependency Survey. In it, Gordon Page numbered each farm plot on a map (see Portfolio Map #8) and drew up a list, naming the Hopi occupants of the plots. He also added any additional knowledge about the farm plot his research uncovered, such as whether a plot was fallow at the time of survey, or to whom the Hopi occupant was related in Moenkopi village.

His information from both of these data collections follows. It has been reorganized in numerical order by plot number, whether the plot was above or below the concrete diversion dam,

and the lists for 1936 and 1937 have been compiled together, eliminating all duplication. The spelling of each Hopi's name is not standardized, and errors in spelling have not been corrected. ¹¹⁵

Moenkopi Wash Field Plots Below the Diversion Dam

<u>Hopi Plot</u>	<u>Hopi Occupant</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1.6a	Saviypi	(Pongyawayma owner)
1.6b	Tsavatawa, Harold	
1.6c	Numkena, Louis	
1.6d	Numkena, Earl	Farms part of c's field
1.6e & f		[unknown Hopis]
1.7a	Nuvayestewa, Glenn	4 acres
1.7b	Nuvayestewa, George	6 acres
1.7c	Talavuyawma	5 acres
1.7d	Nasinomtewa, John	5 acres
1.7e	Qoyaheptewa, Rodger (Sikakuku)	5 acres
1.7f	Qoyangyamtewa	
1.7f	Burton, Gail	5 acres
1.7g	Siwiheptewa, Jimmy (Sivoshoya)	
1.7h	Lomatuwaima	
1.8a	Navajo	
1.8b	Tuwangoitewa and Tumoosi	
1.8c	Karsyawma	(Gaseoma)
1.8d	Humihongiwma	
?		[Also probably Pole Payestewa]
1.9	Navajo	
3a-c	Seumtewa, Frank	
3.0	Quachi, Gilbert	
3.1	Numkena, Sam	
3.2a	Hoosava, Jackson Sr.	
3.2b	Pavonyawma	
3.2c	Seumtewa, Frank	
3.3a	Accawsi, Elmer	
3.3b	Palaquayo, Wesley	(Siykuyva)
3.4	Nasitoynewa, Ray	

<u>Hopi Plot</u>	<u>Hopi Occupant</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
3.5	Pongyangoitewa	
3.6a 3.6b	Gilbert, Bryan	Uncertain; inquire
3.7		Empty
3.8a	Tuveyestewa, Paul	
3.8b	Sovohni, Guy	(Guy Naseoma?)
3.8c	Johnson, Clay	Farmed by Kahe in 1936
3.8d		Empty
3.8e	Tuchawina, Roy	
3.8f	Tuchawina, Jackson	(Lehongva)
12.13a	Pavonyawma	
12.13b	Tuveyestewa	
12.13c	Honanie, Rodger	
12.13d	Johnson, Fred	
12.13e	Numkena, Sam	
12.13f	Johnson, Clay	
12.13g	Karsyesva (deceased)	(John Jenkins?) Operated by his sons
12.13h	Karsyesva	
13.0	Talavvuyawma	
14.0	Lomatuwaima	

Moenkopi Wash Field Plots Above the Diversion Dam

<u>Hopi Plot</u>	<u>Hopi Occupant</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
11.0	Quyamgyamtewa, Big Burton	
12.0	Humihongiwwa	
12.1	Seumptewa	Supplanted Nasinomtewa
12.3a	Lomawayma, William Tewa	(Tsoomti)
12.3b	Payestewa, Poli	
12.6a	Lomaquaptewa	
12.6b	Nasilewi (deceased)	Operated by her sons
12.6c	Accawsi (deceased)	Operated by his sons
12.6d	Siwiltima (deceased)	Operated by his sons
12.7	Talasmoinewa, Charlie	

<u>Hopi Plot</u>	<u>Hopi Occupant</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
12.8a	Tuwanomtewa, Frank	
12.8b	Nasinomtewa, John	
12.8c	Talavuyawma	
12.8d	Tuchawina, Jackson	(Lehongva)
12.8e	Nasiyawma	
12.8f	Karsyawma	(Gaseoma)
12.9		(empty) [Probably a Navajo named Billie Sawyer.]
12.10	Navajo	
12.11a-c	Navajo	West half of plot
12.11a	Honanie, Rodger	East half of plot
12.11a	Honanie, Roland	
12.11b	Pongyawayma, Philip	
12.11c	Fayestewa, Poli	
12.11d	Siwiyestewa	
12.11e	Nasinomtewa, John	
12.11f	Jonnsn, Fred	Tuveyestewa, owner
12.12	Navajo	
13.10	Taleshoma, John Tolas Sakwhongsi	(Three plots at the far east end of the Wash.)

This list of individual Hopi field plots in and about Moenkopi Wash can be directly linked to Gordon Page's map "Tuba City Agricultural Holdings" (Portfolio Map #8), compiled in February, 1937 from information gathered in 1936-1937. Page's map has been appropriately colored to indicate whether Hopi, Navajo or the government farmed specific areas.

As one can see on Portfolio Map #8, many areas of ownership cannot be fully determined given Page's lists and the 1937 S.C.S. map. In 1934, some of these plots may still have been "leased" by the government to Indians, much as the government had leased land to the Hopis in 1917.

In early 1934 the Hopis opened up an additional two hundred acres of land below the diversion dam for farming. Thereafter, some of them either voluntarily stopped leasing land adjacent to the Moenkopi Wash government farm in order to take up the new acreage, which lay north of the government dairy farm and south of the Moenkopi Wash streambed, or were forced to do so by the government. Whichever was the case, the size of the government farm changed at this time. A Navajo Service Engineering Report for L.M.U. #2 (circa 1937) stated that the government farm was comprised of _____ of land (marked in green on Portfolio Map #8). This was a gain of 80 acres or so since 1930. The size of the government farm could have increased if the farm acreage leased to Hopis since Runke's administration were added to the acreage of the government farm -- after the Hopis stopped leasing it. ¹¹⁶

The Navajo Service Engineering Report for L.M.U. #3 (circa 1937) also stated that Hopis farmed 82 acres below the dam, which was the new acreage gained by the construction of the flumes across Moenkopi Wash. By adding the acreage of Hopi plots south of the Moenkopi Wash streambed and west of the government farm linked to Page's list, an amount approximately equal to 82 acres is derived. The following list of Hopi plots with acreage figures demonstrates this point. ¹¹⁷

<u>Plot No</u>	<u>Acreage</u>
1.6abccsr	15
1.7	30
1.8bcd	2
3.0	6
3.1	3

<u>Plot No.</u>	<u>Acreage</u>
3.2	8
3.3	3
3.4	3
3.5	4
3.6	4
3.8	?
13.0	6
14.0	<u>1</u>
Total	85 + ?

In addition to the Hopi acreage in this section of Moenkopi Wash thus far described, there were several Hopi "dry" farm plots a few miles distant from Moenkopi village along the eastern portion of the Moenkopi Wash.

Government officials had long noted that Hopis were excellent dry-farmers. One of the earliest Hopi Superintendents, Theodore G. Lemmon, reported in 1906 that Hopis were:

the dry farming expert of the world, and has been for untold ages. The land of his nativity furnishes ideal conditions for the production of certain crops by dry farming and the ages have taught him what crops to plant and where to find the conditions.¹¹⁸

However, until 1934, government officials were unaware of how many Hopi "dry" farming areas existed, and where they were located. In early 1934, when the Indian Bureau sponsored an aerial photographic survey of the Moenkopi area, the many scattered Hopi dry-farm plots around the reservation were noted for the first time. The aerial photographs and followup field survey revealed that Hopis dry-farmed on Moenkopi Plateau near Moenkopi village and along Moenkopi Wash east of the Moenkopi-Oraibi road. The

S.C.S. agronomy survey for L.M.U. #3, based on the 1934 aerial photography, noted four Hopi dry-farm areas in these two regions (see Portfolio Map #9). Three of four farms in these two areas were identified by the agronomy survey as Hopi-owned and their owners were listed. The S.C.S. data did not list the Hopi owner or owners of the fourth plot. The following list of Hopi plots with acreage figures demonstrates this point.¹¹⁹

<u>Plot No.</u>	<u>Hopi Occupant</u>	<u>Acreage</u>
10	?	2
20	Burton Kaye	3
21	Ray Tewa	2
30	Edwin Kay	<u>6</u>
	Total	20

The data on Portfolio Maps #8 and #9, and the markings on them, represent the last stage of Hopi farming history in the Moenkopi Wash area and environs prior to and including 1934.

In addition to the historical evidence, Dr. Allan Ainsworth's report based on interviews with Hopis confirms that the many Hopi farmers cited in this report were actually farming in Moenkopi Wash. Many of the same Hopi farmers, according to Ainsworth's report, were tilling at the following places in and around Moenkopi Wash: Balatuyka, Kerley Valley, Masauu, Moenkopi area, Moenkopi Wash, Old Hopi Bridge, Wukopsi, and Wu-pa-ki.¹²⁰

In summary, the historical documents examined show that Hopis exclusively farmed in the area surrounding Moenkopi Pueblo in Spanish times, and continued to exclusively farm there until 1875. At that time, Mormon settlers were welcomed into the area by the Hopi. With the permission of the Hopi, the settlers farmed

along Moenkopi Wash. Two years later, they removed themselves a few miles north to Tuba City, where several Hopis joined them. Conflicts soon began between Hopis and Mormons over the available farm land at Tuba City, and the Hopis were forced out. Less than a decade later, the settlers laid claim to Hopi land in Moenkopi Wash and elsewhere, and the Hopis lost land in Moenkopi Wash. Throughout these disputes, the Hopi maintained control of a large section of Moenkopi Wash below their village.

From 1879 to 1892, Moenkopi Hopis protested their treatment at the hands of the Mormons to federal officials. In 1892-93, to protect the Hopi, the government allotted their Moenkopi Wash land below their village to them and land west of there to several Navajo Indians who bought the land from Mormons. These Navajo allotments were located on land usurped from the Hopi by the Mormons.

Mormon-Hopi land troubles continued until 1899, when a permanent settlement was arranged. The land in Moenkopi Wash was reallocated to both Hopis and Navajos. In the settlement, Hopis gained back some land which had been taken from them after the last allotment. However, they failed to recover Tuba City land lost to the Mormons, nor did they reacquire land lost to the Mormons, which the latter sold to Navajos. This land was later allotted and reallocated to Navajos.

At the turn of the century, the federal government began plans to purchase the interests of the Mormons. In 1903, the government completed the purchase of the Mormon property at Tuba

City, Moenkopi Wash, and elsewhere. The Hopi thought the land was being purchased to be returned to them, but they were disappointed. The federal government assumed control of the former Mormon farm land in the area, and the Hopi received only the land they were allotted in 1899. Eventually, patents to farm land in Moenkopi Wash were delivered to eleven Hopis and five Navajos.

Nevertheless, the 220 acres of Hopi allotted land below Moenkopi village proved productive. They maintained their ownership of this patented land from 1903 to 1934. On the other hand, the Navajo allotted land was not as productive because of uncontrolled flooding along Moenkopi Wash and/or the lack of sufficient irrigation water. Eventually some of the Navajo allotted land was either abandoned, leased, or purchased by Hopis from the Navajo patentees. Only one Navajo patentee, Charlie Itz-ze-tee and his relatives, maintained an allotment property in Moenkopi Wash, using this island of Navajo allotted land from 1892 to 1934. In 1934, the Itz-ze-tee land was the only allotted land being farmed by the Navajo in Moenkopi Wash east of the government farm.

When the government bought out the Mormon settlers in 1903, it also assumed control of all the farm land west of the Hopi and Navajo allotments. Part of this land was used for a government dairy for the Tuba City boarding school. The surplus land the government acquired in the 1903 transaction eventually was "assigned" or "leased" to both Hopi and Navajo Indians.

The Hopi took full advantage of the government policy to lease land, especially after 1915, when a concrete diversion dam

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was built to control the flooding in the Wash. Between 1917 and 1932, the Hopi "leased" or were "assigned" farm land north of the Moenkopi Wash streambed and west of the government farm, land marked on Portfolio Map #8 by yellow (Hopi) and striped yellow (possibly Hopi). However, in 1934, several Hopis stopped leasing farm land west of the government farm, and moved south of the Moenkopi Wash streambed to exclusively farm new acreage created by improvements to the Moenkopi Wash irrigation system.

The Navajo did not take full economic advantage of the government leasing program even after 1922-1924, when additional improvements were made on the irrigation system in the Wash. The areas of land the Navajo probably used prior to and including 1934 are marked on Portfolio Map #8 in orange (known Navajo) and in striped orange (possibly Navajo).

In addition to the Hopi land in the main sections of the Moenkopi Wash, the Hopi also dry-farmed on Moenkopi Plateau, and along Moenkopi Wash east of the Moenkopi-Oraibi road.

On June 14, 1934, when the Arizona Boundary Act was passed, the agricultural situation in Moenkopi was as portrayed by Portfolio Maps #8 and #9. The Hopi farmed all the land marked in yellow; and possibly farmed the areas marked by yellow stripes. The Navajo operated all the land marked in orange, and possibly operated the farm land marked by orange stripes. The federal government maintained control of the land marked in green as a government dairy farm.

Moenkopi Wash Notes

1. Herbert E. Gregory, The Navajo Country: A Geographic and Hydrographic Reconnaissance of Parts of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah: USGS Water Supply Paper 380 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), p. 88.
2. Albert B. Reagan, "Archaeological Notes on Pine River Valley, Colorado and the Kayenta-Tuba Region, Arizona," Kansas Academy of Science Transactions Vol. 30 (1919): 253-254; Harold S. Colton, "Principal Hopi Trails," Plateau Vol. 36, No. 3 (Winter 1964): 91; and Katherine Bartlett, "How Don Pedro de Tovar Discovered the Hopi and Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas Saw the Grand Canyon, With Notes Upon Their Probable Route," Plateau Vol. 12 (January 1940): 37-45.
3. Albert B. Reagan, "Archaeological Notes on Pine River Valley, Colorado and the Kayenta-Tuba Region, Arizona," Kansas Academy of Science Transactions Vol. 30 (1919): 254-255.
4. Elliot Coues, editor and translator, On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer, The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garces Vol. II, (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900), pp. 357-358, see also pp. 354-356, and 402-403.
5. Ibid.; and Dominguez Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776, translated by Fray Angelico Chavez and edited by Ted J. Warner (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), pp. 105-107; and Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, with other Contemporary Documents, translated and annotated by Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), pp. 288-289.
6. David M. Brugge, "Vizcarra's Navajo Campaign of 1823," Arizona and the West Vol. 6, No. 3 (August 1964): 235-236; Hopi Exhibit 205, Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, August 6, 1938, p. 4; and Juanita Brooks, "Journal of Thales H. Haskell," Utah Historical Quarterly 12 (1944): 94.
7. Meeting in Hopi Kiva at Moencopa, circa 1929, Box 38, File 5, Special Committee on Indian Affairs, Sen 83A-F9, Record Group 46, National Archives, Washington D.C.
8. Harold Courlander, Hopi Voices: Recollections, Traditions, and Narratives of the Hopi Indians (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), pp. 122-123.

9. Don Talayesva, Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian, edited by Leo W. Simmons (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), p. 198.
10. David Kay Flake, "History of Southwest Indian Mission," (No publisher or place of publication, 1965): 23-24.
11. Hopi Exhibit 8, Journal of Thales H. Haskell, Historical Department Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Ms d 1896, p.36.
12. Juanita Brooks, "Journal of Thales H. Haskell," Utah Historical Quarterly 12 (1944): 94.
13. S.M. Brosius to Secretary of the Interior, October 17, 1898 with enclosure Exhibit B, Affidavit of "Eusteen Be-co-de," October 1, 1898.
14. J.H. Beadle, The Undeveloped West: or Five Years in the Territories...Life and Adventure on Praires, Mountains, and the Pacific Coast (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1873), p. 586.
15. The earliest Mormon expedition of settlers to visit Moenkopi was that of Horton D. Haight. They arrived at Moenkopi on May 17, 1873, but were disappointed with conditions there and left on June 30, 1873. While at Moenkopi, Mormon livestock trampled Hopi fields. According to John D. Lee, Tuba, the "principle of the settlement," told the Mormons they were not wanted there and were glad when they left. James A. Little, Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909): 118, and Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876, (Berkeley: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1955; reprint ed., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), pp. 263-265 and 287-288; and David Kay Flake, "History of Southwest Indian Mission," (No publisher or place of publication, 1965): 40.
16. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876, (Berkeley: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1955; reprint ed., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), p. 281. For information on Navajos and Paiutes passing through the area for trade and other purposes see pp. 267, 278-280, 287, 292, 296, 301, 318, 325.
17. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876, (Berkeley: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1955; reprint ed., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), pp. 270-271.

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18. Ibid. For information on Hopi farming, occupation and authority in Moenkopi at this time see Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876, (Berkeley: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1955; reprint ed., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), pp. 265, 268, 281, 286-288, 293-294, 300, 303, 305 and 318-319; and for information on Hopi-Navajo relations see pp. 293-295 and 320.
 19. David Kay Flake, "History of Southwest Indian Mission," (No publisher or place of publication, 1965): 43, and 49.
 20. Hopi Exhibit 11, Arizona Mission Journal, Historical Department-Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Ms d 911, p. 19.
 21. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876 (Berkeley: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1955, reprint ed., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), pp. 266-267, 270, 286, 293-295 and 319.
 22. Charles S. Peterson, "The Hopis and the Mormons," Utah Historical Quarterly, 39 (Spring 1971): 192.
 23. Hopi Exhibit 12, Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Ms f 112, n.p.
 24. James S. Brown, Life of A Pioneer: Being the Autobiography of James S. Brown (Salt Lake City: Geo. Q. Cannon and Sons, Co., 1900), pp. 453-454.
 25. Hopi Exhibit 13, Journal of Andrew S. Gibbon, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Ms d 907 3, pp. 2, and 14.
 26. In 1874, Navajos threatened hostilities toward whites and Tuba warned John D. Lee of this impending trouble. At this time, a few Navajo were encamped approximately 25 miles northeast of Moenkopi near a "high mesa." Jacob Hamblin arrived soon after this impending trouble began. He went to Moenkopi looking for Tuba and other Hopi to help him. When he arrived at Moenkopi he found that they had gone to Oraibi for a dance. Only a Paiute named Shew and several Hopi women and children were there. Thereafter, Hamblin went on to the Navajo encampment to negotiate with them, finding two Navajo lodges or hogans there. It was trouble like this situation and periodic Navajo thefts which convinced Hopis to invite settlers to live at Moenkopi to protect them. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, A Mormon Chronicle:

The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876 (Berkeley: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1955, reprint ed., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), pp. 293-296, and 319-320; James A. Little, Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experiences (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), pp. 121-122, and 130-131; and Meeting in Hopi Kiva at Moencopa, circa 1929, National Archives, Box 38, File 5, Special Committee on Indian Affairs, Sen 83A-F9, Record Group 46, National Archives, Washington D.C.

In 1877, Paiutes threatened the Moenkopi area for a short time. Paiutes had been a danger to the Hopis at Moenkopi many times in the past, and according to a Hopi named Quavaho, had ransacked Moenkopi pueblo between 1830-1840. However, this time the threat was averted quickly. James S. Brown, Life of A Pioneer: Being the Autobiography of James S. Brown (Salt Lake City: Geo. Q. Cannon and Sons, Co., 1900), pp. 469-470; Hopi Exhibit 205, Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, August 6, 1938, p. 5; and Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, p. 3.

27. Land Board and Legal Status of District #3 Report, Reservoir Canyon-Moenkopi Tuba Unit, Oral statement of Frank Tewa (1950's), Microfilm Roll #267.
28. Hopi Exhibit 205, Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, August 6, 1938, pp. 3-4.
29. Land Board and Legal Status of District #3 Report, Reservoir Canyon-Moenkopi Tuba Unit, Oral statement of Mark Quashara (1950's), Microfilm Roll #267.
30. Hopi Exhibit 205, Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, August 6, 1938, p. 5.
31. Herbert E. Gregory, The Navajo Country: A Geographic and Hydrographic Reconnaissance of Parts of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah Water Supply Paper 380 (Washington, D.C.: Department of Interior, 1916), p. 100.
32. Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, pp. 1, 3, 7, and 11.
33. Charles S. Peterson, "The Hopis and the Mormons, 1858-1873," Utah Historical Quarterly, 39 (Spring 1971): 179-194; and Hopi Exhibit 294, "Report on Oraibi Troubles at Moencopie," by H.S. Welton, June 16, 1888 with enclosure Edgar Stone to H.S. Welton, June 11, 1888.

34. David Kay Flake, "History of Southwest Indian Mission," (No publisher or place of publication, 1965): 49.
35. David Brugge, "The Moenkopi Boundary Problem-The Final Report," November, 1967, p. 15.
36. Hopi Exhibit 399, C.E. Rachford, "Hopi Testimony on Proposed Boundary Change," History of Moencopi and the Hopi Land Claims, submitted by Moenkopi delegates to C.E. Rachford at Oraibi, December 12, 1939, p. 1; and Hopi Exhibit 294, "Report on Oraibi Troubles at Moencopie," by H.S. Welton, June 16, 1888 with enclosure Edgar Stone to H.S. Welton, June 11, 1888.
37. Hopi Exhibit 294, "Report on Oraibi Troubles at Moencopie," by H.S. Welton, June 16, 1888 with enclosure Edgar Stone to H.S. Welton, June 11, 1888.
38. Ibid.
39. Minutes of a Council Meeting held February 7, 1888 at Tuba City, Historical Department-Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Ms d 2897.
40. Hopi Exhibit 294, "Report on Oraibi Troubles at Moencopie," by H.S. Welton, June 16, 1888 with enclosure Edgar Stone to H.S. Welton, June 11, 1888.
41. S.M. Brosius to Secretary of the Interior, October 17, 1898 with enclosure Exhibit A, Affidavit of "Navajo Jack," October 1, 1898.
42. Report of Allotting Agent Mayhugh to CIA, June 22, 1892, abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 39, Item 5A.
43. James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlement in Arizona (Phoenix: Arizona, 1921), pp. 159-160.
44. David Brugge, "Preliminary Survey of Indian Land Use: Moenkopi Area," May, 1967, pp. 105, and 118.
45. John S. Mayhugh to D.M. Browing, May 3, 1893; C.F. Larrabee, Certificate, June 12, 1897; Hopi Exhibit 294B, James McLaughlin to Secretary of the Interior with enclosures, June 12th, 1899; and Hopi Exhibit 294A, Exhibits 13-15, enclosures to James McLaughlin to Secretary of the Interior, June 12th, 1899. See also Portfolio Map #2.
46. Allotting Agent John S. Mayhugh to CIA, February 23, 1893, abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 39, Item 5B.

47. John S. Mayhugh to D.M. Browing, May 3, 1893; and C.F. Larabee, Certificate, June 12, 1897.
48. Portfolio Map #2. See notations on this map.
49. David Brugge, "Preliminary Survey of Indian Land Use: Moenkopi Area," May, 1967, p. 182.
50. Allotting Agent John S. Mayhugh to CIA, July 12, 1893, abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 39, Item 5C.
51. Portfolio Map #2. See notations on this map.
52. Major Constant William to CIA, May 7, 1898.
53. Philip Johnson to Richard Van Valkenburg, February 4, 1940, C.E. Vandever Collection, Box 12, University of Arizona, Microfilm Roll #200.
54. Major Constant Williams to CIA, May 7, 1898.
55. Hopi Exhibit 294B, James McLaughlin to Secretary of Interior, June 12, 1899 with enclosures; Hopi Exhibit 294A, Exhibits 13-15, enclosures to James McLaughlin to Secretary of the Interior, June 12th, 1899. Also see Portfolio Map #3.
56. Ibid; and Charles E. Burton to CIA, September 13, 1899, abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 1, Item 97-8.
57. See Portfolio Map #3 for the exact locations of these allotments, and the Nebeker land assignment by Inspector McLaughlin. In making these allotments, McLaughlin's report stated the following about farming conditions in the Moenkopi Wash: "the area of the respective allotments was determined by the quality of the land in the perspective tracts, and at the same time governed by the fact that none of the Indians of Moencopie Wash are cultivating to exceed six (6) acres, and it is generally believed by persons familiar with the requirements of the Moencopie Indians, that twenty (20) acres of arable land, susceptible of irrigation, as all the bottom lands in this particular portion of Moencopie Wash are, is ample for any Indian family, and as much as they need or will ever be able to properly cultivate." Hopi Exhibit 294B, James McLaughlin to Secretary of Interior, June 12, 1899 with enclosures; Hopi Exhibit 294A, Exhibits 13-15, enclosures to James McLaughlin to Secretary of the Interior, June 12th, 1899; and S.M. Brosius to Secretary of the Interior, October 17, 1898 with enclosure Exhibit A, Affidavit of "Navajo Jack," October 1, 1898. See also Portfolio Map #3.

58. See Portfolio Maps #2 and #3.
59. Hopi Exhibit 294B, James McLaughlin to Secretary of Interior, June 12, 1899 with enclosures; Hopi Exhibit 294A, Exhibits 13-15, enclosures to James McLaughlin to Secretary of the Interior, June 12th, 1899. See also Portfolio Map #3.
60. Hopi Exhibit 29, Executive Order, January 8, 1900 n.p.
61. CIA William A. Jones to Hopi Supt. Charles E. Burton, April 16, 1900 abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 1, Item 360.
62. Hopi Supt. Charles E. Burton to CIA, May 3, 1900 abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 1, Item 383-4.
63. See Portfolio Maps #4, #5, #7 and then #11. For a list of the Mormon settlers whose property the federal government purchased see B. Ira Judd, "Tuba City, Mormon Settlement," The Journal of Arizona History 10 (Spring 1969): 41-42.
64. Hopi Exhibit 205, Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, August 6, 1938, p. 6.
65. Hopi Exhibit 399, C.E. Rachford, "Hopi Testimony on Proposed Boundary Change," Tuba Ward history submitted by Moenkopi delegates at Oraibi, December 12, 1939.
66. James E. F. Gammon to Frederick M. Haverland, n.d. circa 1950's; and Individual allotment patents issued to Hopis and Navajos, July 23, 1904.
67. Milton Needham to unknown person, May 23, 1902, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t1.
68. Milton Needham to unknown person, May 15, 1903, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t4; and Milton Needham to unknown person, September 18, 1903, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t4.
69. Milton Needham to unknown person, September 18, 1903, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t4.
70. Hopi Exhibit 233, "Interview with Roger Honanie of Moencopi Village," 1965, Land Operations Office, Hopi Agency, Keams Canyon, Arizona, pp. 19 and 38. See, Portfolio Map #11 for the location of the Mormon farms in Moenkopi Wash and Pasture Canyon.

71. Milton Needham to unknown person, May 23, 1902, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t1.
72. Hopi Exhibit 205, Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, August 6, 1938, p. 6.
73. Hopi Exhibit 233, "Interview with Roger Honanie of Moencopi Village," 1965, Land Operations Office, Hopi Agency, Keams Canyon, Arizona, pp. 21, 27, and 38.
74. Hopi Exhibit 399, C.E. Rachford, "Hopi Testimony on Proposed Boundary Change," History of Moencopi and the Hopi Land Claims, submitted by Moenkopi delegates to C.E. Rachford at Orabi, December 12, 1939, p. 3; and Hopi Exhibit 205, Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, August 6, 1938, p. 6.
75. Milton J. Needham to unknown persons, April 19, 1903, and December 31, 1903, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t3 and p. t5.
76. Mathew M. Murphy to CIA, October 28, 1907, p. 2.
77. Mathew M. Murphy to unknown person, February 27, 1905, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, pp. t6-t7.
78. Ibid.
79. Mathew M. Murphy to CIA, October 28, 1907, pp. 1-2.
80. Maitland Bradfield, The Changing Pattern of Hopi Agriculture (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1971), pp. 29-30, and 37.
81. Hopi Exhibit 66, Charles Le Coe to CIA, March 8, 1921; Hopi Exhibit 67; C.F. Hauke to Charles L. Ellis, March 19, 1921; Portfolio Map # 12; and Mathew M. Murphy to CIA, October 28, 1907.
82. Mathew M. Murphy to CIA, October 28, 1907.
83. Supt. Stephen Janus to CIA, March 18, 1908.
84. Supt. Stephen Janus to CIA, March 18, 1908; and Rollin Ritter to H.F. Robinson, May 4, 1908, p. 3. See also Portfolio Map #4 (1908), which shows the "old dam" and the new smaller earthen dam site.
85. For incidents of the dam washing out see: Clarence R. Jeffries to unknown person, January 3, 1910, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. T14; Clarence R. Jeffries to unknown person, July 27, 1911, abstracted by S. Nagata,

Tuba City Letterbooks, p. T16; William T. Sullivan to CIA, November 1, 1912, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. T34; Navajo Reservation Projects (Irrigation) History, 1938, p. 8; and Walter Runke to CIA, February 17, 1915, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t29. Portfolio Map #5 (1909) shows the "old Mormon" dam, and Portfolio Map #6 (1911) shows this smaller earthen dam in the Moenkopi Wash and the old Mormon dam.

86. James E. Officer to H. Wade Head, June 10, 1963, p. 4.
87. Stephen Janus to CIA, March 30, 1908; James E. Officer to H. Wade Head, June 10, 1963, p. 4; Map entitled "Agricultural Allotments of the Hopi Indians Living in Moencopie Village, Western Navajo Indian Reservation" by Mathew M. Murphy (circa 1908-1910); and C.F. Hauke to Mathew M. Murphy, January 5, 1911.
88. Horton H. Miller to W.E. Freeland, October 20, 1910, abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 17, Item 7; and Horton H. Miller to Clarence R. Jeffries, October 1, 1910, abstracted by S. Nagata, Roll No. 18, Item 175.
89. Hopi Exhibit 294D, Herbert E. Gregory, "The Oasis of Tuba, Arizona," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, V (1915): 119.
90. William T. Sullivan to CIA, February 28, 1914.
91. Ibid.
92. H.F. Robinson to CIA, May 26, 1914, John Boyden Papers, Brigham Young University, Box 52, Folder 31.
93. Ibid.
94. Walter Runke to CIA, February 5, 1915, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t29. See Portfolio Maps #6 (1911), #7 (1932), and #8 (1937) for the location of this dam.
95. Walter Runke to CIA, October 20, 1914, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t27.
96. William T. Sullivan to CIA, March 4, 1914, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t26; Walter Runke, "Annual Report for Western Navajo Agency," 1915, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t30; Walter Runke to CIA, January 24, 1916, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t31; Walter Runke to CIA, March 16, 1916,

abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t32; and Walter Runke to CIA, January 11, 1917, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t33.

97. Walter Runke, "Annual Report for Western Navajo Agency," 1915, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t30; and Walter Runke to CIA, January 24, 1916, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t31.
98. Walter Runke to CIA, March 16, 1916, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t32.
99. Walter Runke to CIA, January 11, 1917, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t33; and Walter Runke to Lee Brinkerhoff, May 6, 1915, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t36.
100. Walter Runke, "Annual Report for Western Navajo Agency," 1915, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t31; Mathew M. Murphy to CIA, October 28, 1907; and Walter Runke to CIA, January 11, 1917, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t33.
101. Census Rolls of the Hopi Indians on the Western Navajo Reservation: Property Census for Hopi Indians, 1915-1917," Microfilm Roll #256.
102. Ibid.
103. L.T. Hoffman to E.R. Fryer, January 1, 1940; Shuichi Nagata, Modern Transformations of Moenkopi Pueblo, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970, p. 103; C.L. Walker to H.J. Hagerman, April 11, 1931, p. 10; David Brugge, "Preliminary Survey of Indian Land Use: Moenkopi Area," May, 1967, pp. 49, 58-63, 80-81, and 85-86; and Portfolio Maps # 2, #4, #6, and #8.
104. C.L. Walker to H.J. Hagerman, April 11, 1931, p. 10; and L.T. Hoffman to E.R. Fryer, January 1, 1940.
105. "Industrial Survey, Western Navajo," by F.E. Brandon, October 25, 1922; and Navajo Reservation Projects (Irrigation) History, 1938, p. 8.
106. Affidavit of Frank Seumtewa, January 1928, p. 2, Box 38, File 5, Special Committee on Indian Affairs, Sen 83A-F9, Record Group 46, National Archives, Washington D.C.
107. Hopi Exhibit 101, Memorandum for H.J. Hagerman on a Visit of A.G. Hutton to the Hopi and Western Navajo Reservations, July 5, 1930, p. 5.

108. Hopi Exhibit 102, H.H. Fiske to CIA, July 25, 1930, p. 6.
109. Hopi Exhibit 103, H.J. Hagerman to CIA, November 20, 1930, p. 13.
110. Meeting in Hopi Kiva at Moencopa, circa 1929, Box 38, File 5, Special Committee on Indian Affairs, Sen 83A-F9, Record Group 46, National Archives, Washington D.C.; and Affidavit of Frank Seumtewa, January 1928, Box 38, File 5, Special Committee on Indian Affairs, Sen 83A-F9, Record Group 46, National Archives, Washington D.C.
111. Annual Crop Data of the Navajo Indian Reservation, 1917, 1918, 1921-1955.
112. C.L. Walker to H.J. Hagerman, April 11, 1931, pp. 11-13.
113. Weekly Report No. 13, "Some Highlights of the Indian Service," March 21, 1934, John Collier Papers, Yale University (Microfilm edition) Reel 19, Frame 1090; Agricultural Extension Program Annual Report, 1935, "Project No. 5, Western Navajo Agency, n.p.; and Indians at Work, vol. 2, no. 10, January 1, 1935, p. 14 (includes pictures of Hopi working on the flumes.) For the location of the two flumes see Portfolio Map #8 and "Moenkopi Wash Project Map" January 26, 1939.
114. Hopi Exhibit 314, Gordon B. Page, Hopi-Navajo Boundary Report -- Report of the Human Dependency Survey, pp. 764-768; and Land Planning Report, Land Management Unit No. 3, January 1938, pp. 60-61.
115. Hopi Exhibit 314, Gordon B. Page, "Hopi Land Management Unit: Hopi-Navajo Boundary Report -- Report of the Human Dependency Survey," (December, 1939), pp. 764-768; Land Planning Report, Land Management Unit No. 3, January 1938, pp. 60-64, various tracts, and Agronomy Branch Report for L.M.U. #3, Quad 19 tract 1.8 and Quad 71 and 12.9.
116. Hopi Exhibit 314, Gordon B. Page, "Hopi Land Management Unit: Hopi-Navajo Boundary Report -- Report of the Human Dependency Survey," (December, 1939), pp. 764-768; Land Planning Report, Land Management Unit No. 3, January 1938, pp. 60-64, various tracts; and Agronomy Branch Report for L.M.U. #3, Quads 19 and 71, various tracts.
117. Ibid.
118. Theodore G. Lemmon to CIA, Second Annual Report of the Moqui Agency, September 3, 1906, C.E. Vandever Collection, Box 12, University of Arizona, Microfilm Roll #200.

119. Navajo Service Agronomy Branch Report on L.M.U. #3, Quad 73, tracts 10, 20, 21, and 30; and Portfolio Map #9.

120. Allan Ainsworth, Hopi Use and Occupance of the Navajo Indian Reservation Defined by the Act of June 14, 1934, (January 2, 1986) Appendix, pp. 166-185, and 192-193.

III. Pasture/Reservoir Canyon

The Pasture/Reservoir Canyon area was the second major Hopi farming area outside the 1882 Reservation. Pasture/Reservoir Canyon is a tributary drainage area of Moenkopi Wash. It lies just east of Moenkopi village and Tuba City and extends approximately five miles north of Moenkopi Wash.

As the name suggests, Pasture/Reservoir Canyon is comprised of two areas. Pasture Canyon, the upper region, once served as pasture for the Tuba City boarding school. Prior to 1934, the lower Pasture Canyon area was marshy and was not used as farmland. South of this marshy area began Reservoir Canyon, named for three reservoirs (constructed by Mormon settlers) which caught and stored the southward flow of spring water before it entered Moenkopi Wash. From the lowest reservoir, about one mile north of Moenkopi Wash, the water left the canyon area and meandered slowly through relatively open flat country, passing east of Moenkopi Village to the Wash.

Pasture/Reservoir Canyon's history prior to Mormon settlement parallels neighboring Moenkopi Wash. Oraibi Hopis farmed both areas since Spanish times. The Hopi pueblo sighted by Spanish explorers, such as Juan de Onate (1604), lay near the mouth of Pasture/Reservoir Canyon, either where the present village of Moenkopi is located or a mile or so northeast in Reservoir Canyon itself. By the time Padre Francisco Garces passed through the area in 1776, the pueblo was half-ruined. However, Garces noted that the Oraibis were farming in Moenkopi Wash.¹

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Garces did not investigate nearby Pasture/Reservoir Canyon, but the Escalante-Dominguez expedition later passed through the canyon. This area was unexplored territory and the expedition was looking for the Cosnina (Havasupai) Indians. Traveling from Preston Mesa to Pasture Canyon, they encountered Oraibi farms in the canyon, which they mistook for those of the Cosninas. Their journal noted the following:

We continued southeast, and having gone three-fourths of a league, we entered a canyon in which four springs of good water rise. We traveled along it half a league to the southeast and arrived at a small farm and some ranchos of the Cosninas, which were very beautiful and well arranged. This farm is irrigated by the four springs mentioned and two other large ones which rise near it. This year the Cosninas planted maize, beans, calabashes, water melons and cantaloupes on it. When we arrived they had already gathered the harvest, and judging from the refuse or remains which we saw of everything, it was abundant, especially the beans, for if we had stopped here we could have gathered half a fanega of them. The farm was surrounded by peach trees, and besides several huts made of branches, there was a little house very well made of stone and mud. In it were the baskets, jars, and other utensils of these Indians. Judging from the tracks, they had been absent for several days, perhaps to seek pinon nuts in the high sierra close by toward the south-southwest.²

The "beautiful" and "well arranged" farms, the pattern of November harvesting to return to Oraibi, and the architecture of the dwellings indicate that Escalante and Dominguez had encountered an Oraibi summer farming area. Early Mormon missionaries, such as Thales Haskell, witnessed the same activity in the 1860's.

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Both Hopis and Navajos related that the Hopi were farming in the Pasture/Reservoir Canyon area prior to Mormon settlement in 1875. Frank Tewanimptewa (a.k.a. Frank Tewa), who moved to Moenkopi as a twelve-year-old boy, stated that Oraibi Hopis had traveled to "what is now Moenkopi and Pasture Canyon" for many years before he moved there in the 1870's.³

Tewanimptewa told anthropologist Gordon MacGregor:

These things I have learned in my boyhood days. At that time there was no Tuba City [pre-Mormon settlement]. There was brush and grass and a spring running all the time. In Pasture Canyon, which runs north from Moenkopi, water was running, but it had no outlet then. It was only in lower Pasture Canyon that the Hopis cultivated the land. Before my time the Oraibi Hopi had lived and used the land for many years.⁴

Early Navajo and non-Indian pioneers to the region also remembered that Hopis were the original farmers there. For instance, Navajo Jack, who entered the area in 1879, believed that "Oraibas [sic] used the little stream that forms the reservoirs long before the Mormons did."⁵

Edgar Stone, an early white trader at Moenkopi, also was of the same opinion. In 1888, he wrote to government officials:

They [Mormons] claim that there were then [1877] no Indian settlements, but if you will investigate as I have done you will find that the land was farmed and occupied during the season of planting and harvest as far back as the memory of man runneth and beyond that time.⁶

Sometime in the late 1880's, Mormon colonizers Joseph Tanner and Lot Smith appropriated from the Hopi the land in Pasture/

Reservoir Canyon and developed the canyon's water resources. They built houses beneath and above the sheer red-stoned walls of Pasture/Reservoir Canyon and dammed the waters. Portfolio Map #11 (1903) shows the location of their properties in what was known then as Tanner Creek.⁷

Before Mormons entered the region, Pasture/Reservoir Canyon's water system provided water only to Hopi farms in upper Reservoir Canyon. There was no outlet to Moenkopi Wash. The settlers opened an irrigation ditch to Moenkopi Wash several miles to the south. They developed three reservoirs or lakes in what is now appropriately called Reservoir Canyon. Their intention was probably to drain their property in upper Pasture Canyon so they could farm and/or graze livestock there. In addition, the reservoirs provided a reliable reserve of water for Mormon farms in lower Reservoir Canyon and along Moenkopi Wash. Though these homesteaders developed the water system to a capacity greater than the Hopis had previously, they clearly had appropriated land and water which had been used by Hopis for centuries prior to that time.

By the early 1890's, all the reservoirs were in place. The water they stored was used by both Mormons and Hopis. The Indians farmed in the lower part of Reservoir Canyon, and may have rented land in upper Reservoir Canyon from Smith and Tanner. In exchange for the water, Hopis were charged money or labor.⁸

The northernmost reservoir (#1: T32N, R11E-15, NW and NE quadrants), created largely by wind-blown sand, covered about ten

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acres and was situated between the Tanner and Smith farms. An irrigation ditch ran south from this reservoir through Smith's place to the next reservoir (#2: T32N, R11E-15, SW quadrant), which contained approximately six acres of water behind a natural sand-hill dam. Hopis farmed in the area between these two reservoirs in upper Reservoir Canyon. The latter drifting sand hill constantly threatened to close off the canyon and the flow of water. South of this sand dune area lay the last reservoir (#3: T32N, R11E-21, NE and SE quadrants), created by a dam constructed between canyon walls. In 1908, it covered approximately 15 acres. In 1916, a dam 350 feet long and five feet high stored enough water so that 75 acre-feet could be drawn off during the growing season. From this point, the flow of water seeped southward, meandering through relatively open country following the natural course of the terrain until it reached Moenkopi Wash.⁹

From the mid-1870's to 1903, Hopis continuously farmed in lower Reservoir Canyon close to their village. Mark Quashara remembered that at the time he moved from Oraibi to Moenkopi in 1893, "Hopis were using the water from Pasture Canyon reservoir which had been constructed by the Mormons."¹⁰

Sometime during the Mormon period, an agreement was struck between Hopis and settlers for using the Pasture/Reservoir Canyon irrigation system. In the 1960's, Stanley Honahni, Sr. recounted the arrangement between the two groups:

It is my understanding from the Hopis' side that the Mormons had permitted the Hopis to use the

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lands in Pasture Canyon with the understanding that those Hopis that were or would make use of the land should keep the ditches in repairs. And that the ditches would be maintained to keep the water flowing down to the main reservoirs.¹¹

Furthermore, in another letter, Honahni stated:

Now, this is the Hopis' side as it is being told and understood. When the Mormons were in this area, they were utilizing the water from the canyon. But being unable to keep the water ditches in good repairs they offered some of the Hopis if they would maintain these ditches and use some of the lands for farming. The idea was merely a privilege to farm in that area provided you maintain the irrigation ditches in repair. Later on the Bureau of Indian Affairs maintained the same attitude on that area and also told the people that if at any time any stretch of irrigation ditch had been neglected some one else can move in with the same understanding of maintaining the ditch lines.¹²

Before government officials took over the area, there was a brief struggle between Hopis and Navajos over upper Pasture Canyon -- land which Mormons had appropriated from the Hopi and occupied until 1903. The Hopi had felt that the land belonged to them, and that the government moved the Mormons out so the land could be returned to the Hopi. In the 1930's, Poli Naimkiwa told Gordon MacGregor what happened:

George Siwiestewa...went to upper Pasture Canyon to plant on the land that was fenced in [possibly part of Lot Smith's farm]. As soon as the Navajo saw good crops on the land, they moved in and took the land. The Agent may have helped to move them in. It has been a fight ever since, and the Hopi have been kept in the lower part of Pasture Canyon where they have always farmed. The one farmer, George Siwiestewa, lost his land, but the Navajo have only

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looked upon this good land as pasture. Other Hopi have gone up with George Siwiestewa to farm, but have been driven out. Now, the government has come in and fenced this land off for dairy dry cows.¹³

Tillman Hadley, a Navajo, recounted what happened in Pasture Canyon when the first superintendent arrived at the Tuba City Agency.

At that time Reservoir Canyon was only a pasture of government horses and team. A little farming was done by the Hopis at the lower end of the pasture. Usually the Hopis were kicking about Navajos coming into their cornfields and stealing watermelons. The Navajos came to water their sheep and horses. The Hopis kept coming to the agent to complain and asking the agent to protect them. They gave them a little piece of land to use. There was no deed or permit except for gardening, not for the water, however.¹⁴

When the government assumed control over the Mormon property in Pasture Canyon, it retained the property for pasturing school cattle and raising potatoes. However, the federal government ultimately maintained the agreement that the Hopi and the Mormons had worked out concerning Pasture/Reservoir Canyon farmland and water.¹⁵

In return for using the flow of water from Pasture/Reservoir Canyon, according to one government official, Hopis were:

required to watch the reservoir and keep it in repair; later, each year, when their crops have needed more water, I have let the Hopis use the water stored in the reservoir, for which they did a small amount of labor; I have required this labor in return for the water, to impress upon the Indians that the water belonged to the Government and that it would be necessary to use it properly and to distribute it fairly....¹⁶

Hopis used the water on farm lands in upper Reservoir Canyon and on their allotted lands in lower Reservoir Canyon near their village (see allotment history of Moenkopi Wash in the previous chapter for details). Mathew M. Murphy, the second Western Navajo superintendent, recognized that the Hopi used the majority of Pasture/Reservoir Canyon. Nine months after arriving, he recommended that the Hopis be assigned land sections 33 (the location of their village and Moenkopi Wash below), 28 (immediately north of the village), and part of 21 (including land intended for them in Reservoir Canyon). He also proposed that the area be fenced, in time, so that the Navajos would not encroach upon their territory. Two years later, in 1907, Superintendent Murphy stated that it was his intention to recommend to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the "water in the springs at the village [Moenkopi] and all the water in Reservoir Canyon be apportioned to the lands owned by the Hopis."¹⁷

Shortly after this latter recommendation, the federal government took two actions which affected Hopi farming in the area. First, it began a program to reallocate the land. Mathew M. Murphy was appointed allotting agent and devised a plan to allot all the agricultural land in Reservoir/Pasture Canyon to the Hopis. However, for various reasons, including lack of appropriations, this proposed reallocation was never approved.¹⁸

Second, the government began improving the reservoir system in Pasture/Reservoir Canyon. It is likely that the Hopi contributed all the labor for the improvements. In 1908, two of the old

dams (#2 and #3) were raised in order to increase the reservoirs' capacity from 30 to 350 acre-feet of water. However, drifting sands south of the middle reservoir threatened to cut the channel of water from there to the Hopi farms below in lower Reservoir Canyon and Moenkopi Wash. To remedy the situation, the Hopi constructed a stone culvert 700 feet long to carry the flow of water through this sand obstruction.¹⁹

For a time, the stone culvert solved the drifting sand hill problem, although farming in the area was difficult. Regarding the drifting sands, Uwaikwiota, a Moenkopi traditionalist, stated:

I remember when I was working one of our fields over in Pasture Canyon an Agricultural agent came down and looked at the sand dunes drifting over the fields. Every so many years the sand drifts in that way and covers everything. You can't plant, and that field is lost until maybe a few years later the sand blows away, goes somewhere else.... People have fields at different places; and when the sand moves in on one field they let it be and do their farming in the other fields.²⁰

From 1909 to 1926, the Hopi continued to farm above the middle reservoir (#2) in upper Reservoir Canyon and throughout lower Reservoir Canyon near their village, and also maintained the reservoirs and ditches in Pasture/Reservoir Canyon. Water from the canyon was used by them to irrigate their lands in Moenkopi Wash, as well as in Pasture/Reservoir canyon. In return, the federal government did not interfere with Hopi farming.²¹

In the late 1930's, Roger Honahni of Moenkopi told C.E. Rachford about Hopi community work in Pasture/Reservoir Canyon:

The Hopi of Moencopi have not accepted things from the government without helping and giving time and money for their community's welfare. I have kept a written record since 1922 of the time and donation given and the people who gave them. It has been a written record because the White man values a written record. This may be of some help to show that Moencopi has worked for its common good.... We have developed springs and kept up our irrigation ditches.²²

Honahni listed for Rachford samples of the community work performed by Hopis in Pasture/Reservoir Canyon prior to 1926:

1923 January 16, 40 men, cleaning and repairing ditch.

January 23, 56 men donated money for cement.

1924 March 14, 20 men, worked on reservoir No. 1....

1925 March 17, 20 men, cleaned ditch -- Pasture Canyon....²³

According to Honahni's record book, the Moenkopi Hopi contributed labor on the irrigation system from 1923 to after 1934. For the period January 16-28, 1923, his records listed sixty Hopis donating work on Reservoir No. 2, and forty-six Hopis donating money for cement and their trucks for Reservoir No. 2.²⁴

While Hopis continued to farm in upper and lower Reservoir Canyon from 1903 to 1934, the federal government maintained its dairy cattle pasture in Pasture Canyon for the boarding school. In addition, prior to 1908, government officials established a garden plot in Reservoir Canyon for the Moenkopi Day School. There is no indication in the records that any other Indians regularly either farmed or grazed in Pasture Canyon or in any part of

Reservoir Canyon between 1903 and 1934, or helped in maintaining the irrigation system.

In 1926, the Hopi-built stone conduit collapsed under the weight of a large drifting sand hill. H.F. Robinson and other Indian Service Irrigation Division personnel were called to repair the broken culvert. However, the Hopi refused to let them work on the project. They were afraid that if they accepted government aid they would lose their water rights in Pasture/Reservoir Canyon. H.F. Robinson described the situation to CIA Charles H. Burke:

Mr. Burns located the difficulty and wished to repair it, but it was necessary for the Indians to donate most of the labor. The Indians were suspicious and thought that if any work was done on this which the government or the white man participated in that it might be the opening wedge to take this water from them. They stated that as they would have to do the work that they would do it without help, and be sure no one would have any claim on the water.²⁵

The Hopi were trying to follow their 1903 verbal agreement with Superintendent Murphy, which required the Hopis to watch the reservoirs and keep them in repair in exchange for water for their crops. They were also afraid that government officials planned to divert the water to the government boarding school at Tuba City.²⁶

Robinson assured the Hopi that this latter rumor was false. He and the local superintendent assured them that the government recognized that the water in Pasture/Reservoir Canyon was exclusively reserved for Hopis. The Hopis accepted some materials from

the government, such as a corrugated pipe, after the government assured them that Hopi water rights would not be impaired by the transaction.²⁷

Once the repairs on the conduit were made, Hopis had no further trouble with the water system. From 1926 to 1934, Hopis maintained the irrigation system in Pasture/Reservoir Canyon and continued to farm both upper Reservoir Canyon and all available farmland in lower Reservoir Canyon. Roger Honahni's personal record book on Hopi community work on the irrigation system, along with his testimony to C.E. Rachford, confirmed this. According to these sources, Hopis continuously worked on the system during these years:

1927 February 29	50 men worked on reservoir 3....
1930 April 10	28 men worked on ditch up Reservoir Canyon.
1930 April 11	28 men worked on ditch up Reservoir Canyon.
1931 November 18	5 men worked on ditch in Reservoir Canyon.
1932 April 23	33 men worked in Reservoir Canyon. ²⁸

In 1936, the S.C.S. began its survey in the Moenkopi area, which included Pasture/Reservoir Canyon. Data for the S.C.S. agronomy reports were arranged by specific projects. The area in question was called the Pasture Canyon project and included Pasture Canyon, Reservoir Canyon and about 100 acres of farm land along Moenkopi Wash irrigated with water flowing from Pasture/

Reservoir Canyon. The S.C.S. data indicate that there were approximately 235 acres of actual farm land in the Pasture Canyon project. In addition, the S.C.S. data broke down the acreage into Hopi, Navajo, and government acreages.²⁹

An oral S.C.S. agronomy report described the farm land in the following way:

Now speaking of drainage water in Pasture Canyon, the water from this source is used principally by the Hopi farmers. They have approximately 196 acres. The Navajos use about 14 acres, and there are about 25 acres government owned. The government land in this Canyon is located near the head of the Canyon, ... Most of the area has high water. It is proposed to put in drainage ditches to delete [sic (deplete?)] the water and run it into the reservoirs. By doing this, the land will be drained sufficiently to raise fruit and garden crops. Below the government land, a large sand dune is moving into the Canyon. This should be fenced, and reduce the damage of the sand dune.³⁰

The S.C.S. breakdown of farm land irrigated by Pasture/Reservoir Canyon waters was explained in other S.C.S. reports and documents. The government held a 25-acre area of meadow land at the head of Pasture Canyon. This land was probably part of Smith's and Tanner's property in Pasture Canyon and was listed as farm plot 17 on Portfolio Map #9.³¹

The fourteen acres of Navajo farm land mentioned in the S.C.S. Pasture Canyon project data was the land that remained from the original Navajo allotments in the Moenkopi Wash. This land was actually irrigated from nearby springs, not from Pasture Canyon. The Navajo land was above Moenkopi Wash diversion dam on

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Portfolio Map #8 colored in solid orange. Various S.C.S. reports broke this Navajo farm area into the following plots and acreages:³²

<u>Farm Plot No.</u>	<u>Occupant</u>	<u>Acreage</u>
12.9	Billie Sawyer	4
12.10	Navajo	1
12.11abc	Navajo	6
12.12	Navajo	3
Total Acres		14

The S.C.S. records also broke down the 196 acres of Hopi farmland irrigated by the Pasture/Reservoir Canyon system. These Hopi farm plots can be located on Portfolio Maps #8 and #9.³³

Pasture and Reservoir Canyon Field Plots

<u>Farm Plot</u>	<u>Owner</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acreage</u>
12	Humihongiwa		6.0
12.1	Seumptewa	Supplanted Nasinomtewa	11.0
12.2a	Nuvayestewa, George		9.0
12.2b	Lomatuwaima		
12.4	Unknown Hopis	Unknown location	9.0
12.5a	Nasilewi		8.0
12.5b	Tuwangoitewa, Sami		
12.5c	Quashuru, Maggie (deceased)	(Talashongqa) (First wife of Mark Quashuru)	
12.5d	School Plot	Tenanted by Hopi (Kwanveima)	
12.5e	Quashuru, Mark	(Husband of Maggie above)	
12.6a	Lomawayma, William Tewa	(Tsoomti)	45.0
12.6b	Nasilewi (deceased)	(Operated by sons)	
12.6c	Accawsi (deceased)	(Operated by sons)	
12.6d	Siwiltima (deceased)	(Operated by sons)	
12.7	Talasmoinewa, Charlie		25.0

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<u>Farm Plot</u>	<u>Owner</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acreage</u>
12.8a	Tuanomtewa, Frank	(28 acres total 1/2 irrigated from Pasture Canyon)	14.0
12.8b	Nasinomtewa, John		
12.8c	Talavuyawma		
12.8d	Tuchawina, Jackson	(Lehongva)	
12.8e	Nasiyawma		
12.8f	Karsyawma	(Gaseoma)	
12.11a	Honahnie, Rodger	(East Half of plot 12 acres, but only 5 acres irrigated from Pasture Canyon)	5.0
12.11a	Honahnie, Roland		
12.11b	Pongyawayma, Philip		
12.11c	Payestewa, Poli		
12.11d	Siwiyestewa		
12.11e	Nasinomtewa, John		
12.11f	Johnson, Fred	Tuveyestewa, owner	
12.13a	Pavonyawma	(35 acres total, 1/2 irrigated from Pasture Canyon)	18.0
12.13b	Tuveyestewa		
12.13c	Honanie, Rodger		
12.13d	Johnson, Fred		
12.13e	Numkena, Sam		
12.13f	Johnson, Clay		
12.13g	Karsyesva (deceased)	(John Jenkins?)	
12.13h	Karsyesva	Operated by sons	
14	Seyestewa, Poles		1.0
15	Unknown Hopi?		7.0
16	Unknown Hopi?		10.0
17	U.S.I.S. Gov't farm	(25 acres)	
17.1	Unknown Hopi?		3.0
17.2	Unknown		?
18		(Not recommended for farming by gov't)	
19.0	Siwiheptewa, Jimmy	(Sivoshoya)	10.0
28.0	Numkena, Sam	[Rodger Kaye?]	10.0

<u>Farm Plot</u>	<u>Owner</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Acreage</u>
29.0a	Qoyaheptewa	[Henry Dallas?]	<u>2.0</u>
29.0b	Sikawayma		
		Acres accounted	193.0
		Acres unaccounted	<u>3.0</u>
		Total acres:	196.0

Dr. Allan Ainsworth, based on oral interviews with Hopis,
listed the following Hopi farmers in Pasture/Reservoir Canyon:³⁴

<u>Hopi Farmer</u>	<u>Hopi Farmer</u>
Burton, Gail - Family*	Kahee, Fredericks
Charley, Irving - Family	Kansaswood, Lee
Dallas, Logan - Family*	Kaye, Forrest - Family
Dallas, Ward*	Keyope, Harry, Sr.
Duwanimptewa, Frank	Nahoitewa, Roland
Elmer, Antone - Family	Nasenumptewa, John & Frank**
Fredericks, Ellis	Nasetoynewa
Gilbert, Bryant - Family	Nuvayestewa, George**
Honahni, Fred	Pavinyouma, Kenneth**
Honahni, Roland - Family**	Sakiestewa, Albert - Family
Honahni, Stanley - Family	Siwiyestewa**
Honeyestewa, Luther - Family	Tewanimptewa - Family
Hongeva, Ezra	Tsavatewa, Harold - Family
Humetewa, Elizabeth - Family	Tuchawena, Amelia - Family*

It is clear from the history of the Pasture/Reservoir Canyon area from the Spanish period to 1934, and from the data and maps gathered and produced by the S.C.S. in the 1930's, that Hopis exclusively farmed the area. After the federal government assumed control of the area in 1903 until 1934 and even thereafter, Hopis voluntarily maintained the irrigation system in the Pasture/Reservoir Canyons to support their agricultural lands. They considered

* May be related to Hopi listed in S.C.S. records.

** Appear in S.C.S. records.

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the water from the springs at the head of Pasture Canyon as exclusively theirs.

When government officials in the late 1930's attempted to divide the Hopi and Navajo lands in the Moenkopi area, Hopis made several pleas to government officials to turn over to them the 25-acre government pasture in upper Pasture Canyon -- the only land in Pasture Canyon which Hopis did not farm. They felt they deserved the land because for years they had maintained the Pasture/Reservoir Canyon irrigation system without aid from the federal government, and they pointed this out to officials.

For instance, in the late 1930's, Poli Naimkiwa (a.k.a. Hungeva) told anthropologist Gordon MacGregor that upper Pasture Canyon was a fertile farming area and a sacred area to the Hopis.

This Canyon has always been a Hopi shrine. We use its water in the upper canyon for mixing paints for prayer sticks. We wish it for this reason and because it is very fertile land that could be under cultivation and not wasted as pasturage [referring to the government pasture there].

[He continued]

We have asked for this land for many years since it was first offered to us [1903] with no results or Government interest shown by any reply.³⁵

Gordon MacGregor was convinced that Hopis needed the area. In his report he stated:

Pasture Canyon running into Moenkopi Village from the north is needed for Hopi agriculture. The water and land in the upper portion is now used by the Tuba City Government agencies at Tuba City, or turned over to pasture land.³⁶

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A year later, Roger Honahni and Poli Naimkiwa made a similar plea to the investigators in the C.E. Rachford investigation. Honahni told Rachford how Hopis developed springs and kept up irrigation ditches in the area, and submitted a community work list of Hopis showing work performed throughout the 1920's and 1930's.³⁷

Poli Naimkiwa told Rachford that:

Through this canyon comes all the water for farming, both for the Hopi and for the government farm below in Moencopi Wash. Pasture Canyon farmland extends seven miles up, way past Castle Butte. We want all this land, for several [Hopis] now in the village have no land to farm, and we shall need more with an increase in population. We look to land as the source of life, and have not enough. Unless an agreement is made with the Navajo and our farm and range lands set aside for us we shall have to look for another means of living.³⁸

Frank Tewanemptewa explained to C.E. Rachford the religious significance of Pasture Canyon to the Hopis:

the various points of the canyon have four different names: The first name at the lower end was known as Ivamoquah; the next point was known as Sand Point -- actually the sand drifted in there and blocked the water from up the canyon; the next is called Saulako, named after the Katchina, which has also been used as a very important shrine for the Hopis; the next place is called Youvakpo (cave in the ground).³⁹

The Hopi requests to Rachford, based upon their prior use, possession and occupancy of the land were noted in his report and on his investigation map with the circled number one (see Portfolio Map #13).

In summary, the arable land in Pasture/Reservoir Canyon was farmed by Hopis exclusive of any other Indian tribe from Spanish times to some time after 1934. The only area of land that Hopis did not initially farm (although they used it for other purposes) was upper Pasture Canyon. In the 1880's, Mormon settlers appropriated the land and water from the Hopi. From the 1880's to 1903, they used various sections of Pasture/Reservoir Canyon, and developed some of the canyon's water storage potential. Nevertheless, they allowed Hopis to farm there and use the water.

In 1903, the federal government bought out the Mormons and in turn, gave certain land and water privileges to the Hopi, keeping only a 25-acre tract of pasture in the upper Canyon for the Tuba City Boarding School. The federal government controlled this small area from 1903 to 1934. The rest of Pasture Canyon and all of Reservoir Canyon was farmed by the Hopi in 1934, as it had been for hundreds of years.

Pasture/Reservoir Canyon Notes

1. Albert B. Reagan, "Archaeological Notes on Pine River Valley, Colorado and the Kayenta-Tuba Region, Arizona," Kansas Academy of Science Transactions 30 (1919): 257-259, and map on 260.
2. Herbert E. Bolton, Pageant in the Wilderness: The Story of the Escalante Expedition to the Interior Basin, 1776 (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1950), pp. 230-231.
3. Land Board and Legal Status of District #3 Report, Reservoir Canyon-Moenkopi Tuba Unit, Oral statement of Frank Tewa (1950's), Microfilm Roll #267.
4. Hopi Exhibit 205, Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, August 6, 1938, p. 3.
5. S.M. Brosius to Secretary of the Interior, October 17, 1898 with enclosure Exhibit A, Affidavit of Navajo Jack, October 1, 1898.
6. Hopi Exhibit 294, "Report on Oraibi Troubles at Moencopie," by H.S. Welton, June 16, 1888 with enclosure Edgar Stone to H.S. Welton, June 11, 1888.
7. Tanner's house and farm was the most northern of the two properties. The Tanner farm had orchards on the northern half of the property. Smith's farm apparently was fenced by the time the federal government acquired the area in 1903. See Portfolio Maps # 2 (1892) and #11 (1903).
8. Hopi Exhibit 294, "Report on Oraibi Troubles at Moencopie," by H.S. Welton, June 16, 1888 with enclosure Edgar Stone to H.S. Welton, June 11, 1888; and Milton Needham to unknown person, May 23, 1902, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. t1.
9. Rollin Ritter to W.H. Code, April 5, 1908; "Sketch of Tuba and Vicinity," circa 1908, Irrigation Division-Arizona, Folder 12, Western Navajo, Record Group 75, Map Division, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; and Herbert E. Gregory, The Navajo Country: A Geographic and Hydrographic Reconnaissance of Parts of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah: USGS Water Supply Paper 380 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), p. 109. For a picture of the drifting sand problem in Reservoir Canyon, see Gregory, The Navajo Country, p. 100. See also Portfolio Map #4 and #11 for the location of the Hopi farms in Pasture/Reservoir Canyon.

10. Land Board and Legal Status of District #3 Report, Reservoir Canyon-Moenkopi Tuba Unit, Oral statement of Mark Quashara (1950's), Microfilm Roll #267.
11. Stanley K. Honahni, Sr. to Ray Eicher, September 19, 1964.
12. Stanley K. Honahni, Sr. to Tyler, 1964.
13. Hopi Exhibit 205, Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, August 6, 1938, pp. 6-7.
14. David Brugge, "Preliminary Survey of Indian Land Use: Moenkopi Area," May, 1967, p. 117.
15. CIA to Secretary of the Interior, December 4, 1902, Microfilm Roll #266.
16. Mathew M. Murphy to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 28, 1907, p. 2.
17. Mathew M. Murphy to unknown person, September 28, 1905, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. T7; and Mathew M. Murphy to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 28, 1907, p. 3.
18. James E. Officer to W. Wade Head, June 10, 1963, p. 4; and map entitled "Agricultural Allotments of the Hopi Indians Living in Moencopie Village," circa 1908, by Mathew M. Murphy.
19. Stephen Janus to unknown persons, November 2, 1908 and January 23, 1909, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. T9. H.F. Robinson, an irrigation specialist for the Indian Bureau Irrigation Service, described the construction of the culvert several years later. "In 1909, reservoirs in this canyon [Pasture/Reservoir Canyon] were rebuilt, and at one place the water came through a narrow canyon which was being filled with drifting sand. A covered conduit of local stone was built for a distance of about 700 feet. Owing to the great distance from the railroad and the shortage of funds but little cement was available, and part of it was built with slabs of stone for cover without mortar. Almost immediately the drifting sand filled the canyon, until at places it was buried 30 feet." Hopi Exhibit 338, H.F. Robinson to CIA, February 25, 1926.
20. Harold Courlander, Hopi Voices: Recollections, Traditions, and Narratives of the Hopi Indians (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), pp. 133-134.
21. Clarence R. Jeffries to unknown person, August 31, 1910, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. T12.

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22. Hopi Exhibit 399, C.E. Rachford, "Hopi Testimony on Proposed Boundary Change," History of Moencopi and the Hopi Land Claims, submitted by Moenkopi delegates to C.E. Rachford at Oraibi, December 12, 1939, pp. 6-7.
 23. Ibid.
 24. Personal Record book of Roger Honahni, pp. 10-13.
 25. Hopi Exhibit 338, H.F. Robinson to CIA, February 25, 1926.
 26. Ibid.
 27. Hopi Exhibit 336, Harvey K. Meyer to CIA, January 19, 1926. The Washington Office of the Indian Bureau also confirmed H.F. Robinson's opinion. Assistant Commissioner E.B. Meritt wrote Tuba City Superintendent Harvey Meyer (1923-1926) in this regard. Meritt wrote: "in view of the attitude of the Indians in the matter and the apparent fact that the conduit should be replaced, you will explain to the Indians that the only purpose for which Mr. Burns visited their jurisdiction was to assist them in getting the repairs made. Superintendent Meyer thereafter convinced the Indians to trust the government. He later wrote Meritt that: "at every opportunity it was urged on the Hopis that just as soon as there is any danger of the flow of water again being stopped, they accept the tender of conduit that has been made them and when this emergency does rise it is likely that they can be made to see the reasonableness of accepting the materials required and which they can haul and install as their contribution to the carrying out of the plan." Hopi Exhibit 339, E.B. Meritt to Harvey K. Meyer, March 18, 1926; and Hopi Exhibit 340, Harvey K. Meyer to CIA, March 25, 1926.
 28. Hopi Exhibit 340, Harvey K. Meyer to CIA, March 25, 1926; Hopi Exhibit 399, C.E. Rachford, "Hopi Testimony on Proposed Boundary Change," History of Moencopi and the Hopi Land Claims, submitted by Moenkopi delegates to C.E. Rachford at Oraibi, December 12, 1939, pp. 6-7; and Personal Record Book of Roger Honahni, pp. 3 and 8.
 29. Navajo Service, Land Management Unit No. 3, Engineering Report, p.15.
 30. "Land Management Unit No. 3 -- Oral Report," p. 16.
 31. Navajo Service Land Management Unit No. 3, Engineering Report, p. 15; Agronomy Report on Unit #3, p. 5; Navajo Service Agronomy Branch Report on Land Management Unit #3, pertinent farm tracts; and Hopi Exhibit 314, Gordon B. Page, "Hopi Land

Management Unit: Hopi-Navajo Boundary Report -- Report of the Human Dependency Survey," (December, 1939), pp. 764-768.

32. Ibid.
33. Hopi Exhibit 314, Gordon B. Page, "Hopi Land Management Unit: Hopi-Navajo Boundary Report -- Report of the Human Dependency Survey," (December, 1939), pp. 764-768; and Navajo Service Agronomy Branch Report on Land Management Unit #3, various tract numbers.
34. Allan D. Ainsworth, Hopi Use and Occupance of the Navajo Indian Reservation Defined by the Act of June 14, 1934, (January 2, 1986) Appendix, pp. 185-189.
35. Hopi Exhibit 205, Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, August 6, 1938, p. 7.
36. Ibid., p. 3.
37. Hopi Exhibit 399, C.E. Rachford, "Hopi Testimony on Proposed Boundary Change," History of Moenkopi and the Hopi Land Claims, submitted by Moenkopi delegates to C.E. Rachford at Oraibi, December 12, 1939, pp. 6-7.
38. Ibid., p. 29.
39. Hopi Exhibit 401, Meeting with the Upper Moenkopi Village, February 2, 1940, p. 4.

IV. Moenave

Moenave was the third important Hopi agricultural area outside the 1882 Reservation. It is located approximately eight miles west of the village of Moenkopi. An irrigated Hopi farming area, like the Canyon and the Wash, Moenave was part of a series of Hopi farming operations which, before white settlement, included Dinnebito Wash, Coal Mine Mesa, Moenkopi Wash, and Pasture/Reservoir Canyon.

Prior to the arrival of Mormon settlers in the 1870's, Oraibi Hopis farmed at Moenave, using the seeps and springs along the cliffs above, much as they did in Moenkopi Wash. Earl Numkena, a former resident of the Moenave area, reported that prior to Mormon settlement his uncles had once farmed in the Moenave area. According to Numkena "a long time ago, my uncles used to live there [Moenave]. They raised some crops, including cotton."¹

In 1860, a few Navajos came to the Moenave area. In that year, Jacob Hamblin encountered Navajos, probably fleeing an American military expedition led by Col. E.R.S. Canby. During the encounter, the Navajos killed a Mormon missionary named George A. Smith, Jr. After the military pressure let up, they probably returned to their homes east of Black Mesa. Three years later, Navajos from Pueblo Colorado Wash (east of the 1882 Reservation) fled to the Moenave region, this time before the forces of Colonel Kit Carson. On his third scouting expedition, Carson attacked a small Navajo group in the vicinity of Moenave and along lower

Moenkopi Wash in the direction of Coconino Basin, driving them across the Little Colorado River.²

Other Navajos entered Moenave sometime during the period 1864-1868. Seven Navajos were temporarily living at Oraibi when other Navajos were taken to Ft. Sumner. Hard feelings developed between them and the Hopis, so they were forced to move. They fled to the Moenave-Tuba City area. Be thleen Dal Cheenee ("He has wild horses" a.k.a "Wild Mustang," later named "Musher" by the Mormons) was one of the Navajos. Musher (who was married to a Hopi woman) farmed at Tuba City, while the others farmed at Te-se-A-kin (Moenave). Reportedly, the Navajos still farmed at Moenave when Jacob Hamblin arrived in 1873. Hamblin or some other Mormon forced these refugee Navajos to leave the Moenave area.³

At this time, Hopis were also farming at Moenave. Roger Honahni, a long-time resident of the Moenkopi area, gave the following oral account of how the Hopi farmers were pushed off their farmland by the newly arrived settlers.

At the time when Mormons were around here, there's some of these Hopis use to farm down at Moenave and the man was called Jacob Hamblin, used to have a home over there, has a house there. And these Hopis used to have fields over there, but when Jacob Hamblin try to control every bit of it, he take these Hopi out, drive them out. And so in around 1900, Jacob Hamblin was around there before 1903 before they drive him out. And so it would be before that time before he drive the Hopis out.⁴

Honahni's statement indicates that Hopis were farming at Moenave earlier than 1873.

After improving the irrigation system there, the Mormon homesteaders were able to maintain approximately thirty-five acres of orchards and vineyards in terraced plots near the springs. In the process, the Hopi were excluded from their traditional farming area. The Mormon settlers occupied the area from 1873 to 1903, when the government bought the Mormon holdings.⁵

After the Mormons left, there was a brief struggle for the land with the Navajos. According to Harold Colton's report on Hopi boundaries, after the abandonment of Moenave by the Mormons, Frank Tewanemtewa and Numkina brothers made abortive efforts to plant fields there, using the old irrigation works. However, they were run out by Navajos. Instead of allowing the Hopis to return to their former Moenave farms, the government allowed Navajos to use the area. According to Navajos, Milton J. Needham, the first government agent, extended to one "Big Hat Charlie" the right to use the lands at Moenave "as long as they lived." Shortly after 1903, several Navajo families began "cultivating a little corn and melons in their native way, and gathering the fruit from the Mormon orchards" at Moenave. These Navajo seasonally used the area during the summers.⁶

The orchards, fields, and houses left behind by the Mormon settlers soon fell into disrepair. In 1906, they had 10 acres in cultivation, and in 1910, the Tuba City Superintendent noted that:

There is also important work to be done at Moenave and vicinity where a great deal of water is now going to waste ... At present, there are only a few acres under cultivation but this area can easily be

increased to 20 or 30 acres by the proper development of water.⁷

The Mormon improvements under the tenure of the Navajo had deteriorated to practically nothing by 1910.

At the same time, the Hopi at Oraibi were experiencing severe difficulties in farming! Use of the dissection of Oraibi Wash (see chapter on 1882 Reservation). Some of the Hopis at Oraibi approached government officials for permission to enter the Moenave area. Hopi Superintendent Horton H. Miller wrote Washington about the situation and stated:

Sewanimptewa and Frank Jenkins, two Oraibi men, claiming to represent forty persons, have asked me to explain to the office that they have relinquished their clan claims to allotments in the Oraibi valley because there is no available water supply near their fields.... They say there is a good place about 4 miles west of Tuba, which formerly belonged to the Mormons, but was bought by the government some years ago, where they'd like to have their allotments.⁸

However, Tuba City Superintendent Clarence R. Jeffries denied them permission to enter Moenave. A paraphrasing of Superintendent Jeffries' response to the Oraibi request summarized the situation in the following manner.

On Sewanimptewa and F. Jenkins desire to move to Moen. [Moenkopi] or to Moenave; discouraged on the basis 1) they are from the Hopi Reservation; 2) a couple of Navajo families already in occupation of Moenave; 3) the gov't planning a water development at Moenave to locate some more Navajo families.⁹

The government attempt to reinvigorate the Moenave settlement failed. The Moenave lands remained idle throughout 1912-1913 and were not successfully farmed until Hopi Indians began to farm there once again.

In 1914, Earl Numkena from Moenkopi went to the new Superintendent, Walter Runke, asking for permission to farm once again at Moenave. Numkena's uncles had farmed at Moenave prior to Mormon settlement there.¹⁰

According to Numkena:

And I went out to Moenave to look over the place. There was no farm nor sign of farms when I went down to look over it. All types of brushes were growing around. There was all kind of brushes there (sewaptcole and sevapcole). After I observed things down there and came back I went to the Tuba City Agency to talk to Mr. Runke at Tuba City Agency--I talked to him. Now, I ask him to send me down to Moenave. I wonder he can send me down to Moenave?...After I pleaded with him he agreed that he would send me down there. All right, when you go down there you clear the place there, clear the field off and make a farm. Now then you build yourself a check dam, now you fix this up. All right, I went down there and looked over the place and found a place where I can put this dam when I start working there. I was at the same time work on the farm. After I clear the place, I was put the fence around it. I must have fenced 20 acres. Then I start raising peaches, apples, and grapes. And then I built myself a house.¹¹

In 1939, Earl Numkena gave a remarkably similar account to C.E. Rachford, an investigator into the Hopi-Navajo disputes.

I was the one who lived there and established my home after the Mormons left this country. We went into Moenave in 1910. The area described as Moenave

was not a cultivated land at that time. It was full of brush, such as willows, sage, etc. In order to cultivate this land for farming we had to spend all of our time clearing the land preparatory to farming and building our permanent homes. After establishing ourselves at Moenave, we put part of it in fruit trees. In this party were my three brothers: Lewis Numkena, Sam Numkena and Naseyte-newa and another brother who is presently living at Oraibi and also two other men who put all their time and effort in getting this land under cultivation. It took us one year to put this under cultivation. Our next step was to build a reservoir big enough to irrigate about forty acres, a bigger section of land that is under cultivation there today [1939] by S.C.S. We bought wire, posts and other materials to fence this area.¹²

Roger Honahni also remembered the return of Hopis to Moenave in 1914.

And at this time [pre-1914], land goes to idle over there for a while. Of course, the government service taking charge of it, but nothing much has been worked on, so it was laying idle. So around 1914, a fellow named Earl Numkena, he asked the government service if he could use part of it. And the government service agreed to that and give him maybe five areas. At Moenave and so they start to work on it. He make his brothers to help him out, they worked it out until they improve everything, put in a good fence and plow the fields, and they get good crop of that place over there.¹³

The Numkenas and other Hopis farmed the Moenave area undisturbed from around 1914 to 1921. They farmed the area and made improvements -- clearing land, planting fields and orchards, building a reservoir, fencing, and building houses. They were:¹⁴

Earl Numkena
Lewis Numkena
Sam Numkena

Numkena brother (unidentified) (perhaps Nacitotowenewa,
with his wife and children?)
Naseytenewa
Two unknown Hopis from Oraibi

In 1921, a dispute occurred between the Hopis at Moenave and Navajos in the vicinity. There are differing Navajo and Hopi versions as to what happened, but it appears that the Navajo protested the Hopi presence at Moenave to Charles Ellis, the temporary agent at Tuba City. Ellis apparently required the Hopis to accept a price for their Moenave land in cattle and vacate the land.¹⁵

The following abbreviated account of the Hopi-Navajo dispute was given to C.E. Rachford in 1939 by Earl Numkena.

After we got everything in as a farmer would want, a small group of Navajos protested to Mr. Ellis [Charles S. Ellis, special agent in charge of Tuba City Agency for three months in 1921], who was a supervisor at the time. Mr. Ellis came and told us that we had no right to establish ourselves and farm this area. That was very strict orders from Washington prohibiting Hopis to farm there; therefore, we were forced to take our belongings and return to this village.... I did not know just why this man had been brought over by the Navajos to move or force us out, after we establish ourselves according to proper homestead laws.¹⁶

Later, Numkena elaborated:

Now, naturally, as they always do, the Navajos told me that it was a Navajo Reservation. This is always their weapon. And they have repeatedly insisted that I must get out from the Moenave.... Then I told them that I don't believe I will leave the place. I have put in many years of hard work, I have a home there. After I made this statement, Mr. Ellis told me this -- you will have to get

out. Mr. Ellis told me that Tuba City and Moenave is on the Navajo Reservation. It is a part of the Navajo Reservation. You must get out from there. Then I told them if this the case I might as well get out.¹⁷

Other Hopis, such as Roger Honahni, Harry Piestewa and Philip Talas, verified the essentials of Numkena's statements.¹⁸

After the Navajo assumed the farm land, history repeated itself. The Navajos allowed the subjugated land and structures at Moenave to fall into a state of dilapidation. In 1925, C.E. Paris, a government investigator, visited the area and made a report on the condition of affairs in connection with an application by a church mission to locate there. He found that only one Navajo had a permanent hogan in the area and that several Navajo families had summer hogans there. Excerpts from his report follow.

On Saturday, January tenth, I visited the Moen Ave springs.... Trees started by the Mormon people indicate lack of care and fruit trees of their planting and those of more recent culture would give higher yield with better care.... There is but one substantial dirt and pole hogan on the withdrawn area [for the mission] and that the Superintendent and missionary claim was constructed after the withdrawal of the land.... The real summer hogans, of which there were several, are made of five or six tepee poles or similar support, thatched with reeds and brush the value of which dies with the season. To talk to the Indians of the purchase or removal and re-erection of the summer hogans is ridiculous and incredible.... In summary it may be stated that on the basis of production reported and stock watered it is believed that not less than thirty per cent of the available water of the Moen Ave Springs have been used from year to year in growing season.... Names of the family heads of Indian[s] making use of the Moen

Ave tract from year to year for two decades is given in the report and they were verbally assigned to the tract for as long as they should live by a former agent.¹⁹

In 1934, the Moenave area was in such poor condition that the S.C.S. decided to place it under the protection of the federal government as the Moenave Demonstration Area. Government officials fenced off and set aside the land around Moenave for conservation reasons and to demonstrate to Indians how the land should be farmed and properly managed for grazing livestock.²⁰

In mid-1934, an area of land around Moenave was fenced and officially designated as the Moenave Demonstration Area (see Portfolio Maps #9 and #14). It was set aside for both the Hopi and Navajo Indians, although federal officials in the past had arbitrarily removed Hopis from Moenave, a traditional Hopi agricultural area. The official reasons for selecting the area for demonstration status, as stated in an S.C.S. report, were four-fold:²¹

1. It presented one of the greatest opportunities on the Reservation for the demonstration of proper methods of land subjugation.
2. It is so located as to be accessible to a large number of people both Hopi and Navajo.
3. It is badly eroded by wind and water.
4. By utilizing water which was being lost or improperly used, it has been possible to bring under cultivation land otherwise of little value and thus supplement the meager living of both Hopis and Navajos with land made suitable for growing excellent crops of almost any nature....

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These references indicate that when it was created in 1934, the federal government intended that the Hopi, as well as the Navajo, enjoy the benefits of the Moenave Demonstration Area.

In summary, Oraibi Hopis farmed at Moenave in their traditional manner prior to the arrival of the first white settlers in the 1870's. Between 1860 and 1864, Navajo refugees from Canby's and Carson's campaigns encamped and farmed there for a time. In the early 1870's, Mormon settlers eventually caused Hopis and Navajos to temporarily relinquish their farms at Moenave. The settlers developed Moenave into a substantial farming enterprise. When the federal government bought out Mormon improvements in 1903, it also assumed control of the Moenave area. When the Hopis tried to reclaim the area, they were forced out by rival Navajos and the Tuba City Agency. The government attempted to settle Navajos in the area, but the Navajos allowed the land to go idle.

The Hopi were not given similar encouragement. Prior to 1914, the Hopi petitioned the government to allow them to move to Moenave and farm there. Their applications were rejected until 1914. In that year a group of Hopis secured official permission to move back into the Moenave area, where their relatives had farmed prior to the arrival of Mormon settlers. From 1914 to 1921, they reoccupied the Moenave area and made it once again a productive agricultural area. However, their success was sharply halted in 1921, when at the behest of local Navajos, the federal government required them to move from their Moenave farmlands for unstated reasons.

In 1921, Navajo Indians once again assumed control of the farm land at Moenave, and once again they allowed the land and improvements -- this time made by the Hopi Indians -- to fall into a state of disrepair. By 1925, several Navajos used the Moenave area seasonally, but only one permanent Navajo hogan was located there. In mid-1934, the federal government decided to officially establish the Moenave Demonstration Area in an effort to revitalize the land. The Moenave Demonstration Area was intended to benefit both the Hopi and the Navajo.

Moenave Notes

1. Hopi Exhibit 235, "Interview with Earl Numkena of Moencopi Village," 1965, Land Operations Office, Hopi Agency, Keams Canyon, Arizona, p. 2. Numkena's notation that his uncles grew cotton at Moenave indicated that the time period he spoke of was much prior to Mormon settlement, since Hopis grew cotton prior to non-Indian settlement. Juanita Brooks, "Journal of Thales H. Haskell," Utah Historical Quarterly 12 (1944): 94.
2. Frank D. Reeve, The Navajo Indians II (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974), pp. 308-312, and 317-320; David Kay Flake, "History of Southwest Indian Mission," No publisher, July 1965, pp. 25-27; Frank McNitt, Navajo Wars: Military Campaigns, Slave Raids, and Reprisals (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972), pp. 388-389, 392-397, and 400-404; and Lawrence C. Kelly, Navajo Roundup: Selected Correspondence of Kit Carson's Expedition Against the Navajo, 1863-1865 (Boulder: The Pruett Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 71-77.
3. S.M. Brosius to Secretary of the Interior, October 17, 1898 with enclosure Exhibit C, Affidavit of "Da-Na-Yaz-zie," October 1, 1898; Mathew M. Murphy to unknown person, August 7, 1905, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. T7; and Graham Holmes to CIA, March 7, 1969 with enclosure "Statement of Frank Goldtooth, Sr.," February 12, 1969.
4. Hopi Exhibit 233, "Interview with Roger Honahnie of Moencopi Village," 1965, Land Operations Office, Hopi Agency, Keams Canyon, Arizona, p. 37.
5. Rollin Ritter to H.F. Robinson, May 4, 1908.
6. Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, p.7; Supervisor of Farming to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 16, 1912; and C.E. Faris to CIA, January 22, 1925, p. 7.
7. Mathew M. Murphy to unknown person, September 3, 1906; and Clarence R. Jeffries to unknown person, August 3, 1910, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, pp. T2, and T12-13.
8. Horton H. Miller to Clarence R. Jeffries, October 1, 1910, abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 18, Item 175.

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9. Clarence R. Jeffries to unknown person, September 29, 1910, abstracted by S. Nagata, Tuba City Letterbooks, p. T13.
 10. Hopi Exhibit 235, "Interview with Earl Numkena of Moencopi Village," 1965, Land Operations Office, Hopi Agency, Keams Canyon, Arizona, p. 2.
 11. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
 12. Hopi Exhibit 401, Meeting with the Upper Moencopi Village, February 2, 1940, p. 4.
 13. Hopi Exhibit 233, "Interview with Roger Honahnie of Moencopi Village," 1965, Land Operations Office, Hopi Agency, Keams Canyon, Arizona, pp. 37-38.
 14. Hopi Exhibit 235, "Interview with Earl Numkena of Moencopi Village," 1965, Land Operations Office, Hopi Agency, Keams Canyon, Arizona, pp. 2-3; Hopi Exhibit 401, Meeting with the Upper Moencopi Village, February 2, 1940, p. 4; Hopi Exhibit 233, "Interview with Roger Honahnie of Moencopi Village," 1965, Land Operations Office, Hopi Agency, Keams Canyon, Arizona, pp. 37-38; and Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, p. 7.
 15. C.E. Faris to CIA, January 22, 1925, p. 7; and D.E. Harbinson and V.F. Balderson to William H. Zeh, January 25, 1935 with attached minutes of meeting with Navajos held January 24, 1934, pp. 1-2.
 16. Hopi Exhibit 401, Meeting with the Upper Moencopi Village, February 2, 1940, p.4.
 17. Hopi Exhibit 235, "Interview with Earl Numkena of Moencopi Village," 1965, Land Operations Office, Hopi Agency, Keams Canyon, Arizona, pp. 2-3.
 18. Hopi Exhibit 233, "Interview with Roger Honahnie of Moencopi Village," 1965, Land Operations Office, Hopi Agency, Keams Canyon, Arizona, p. 38; Statements of Philip Talas and Harry Piestewa in U.S. Congress, Hearings on Partition of Surface Rights of Navajo-Hopi Indian Land, March 7, 1973, pp. 125, and 150.
 19. C.E. Faris to CIA, January 22, 1925, pp. 3-10.
 20. In 1936, a Soil Conservation Service Report on this area noted the results of this Navajo neglect to the Moenave area. It stated that "when the Mormons left the locality the subjugated land and the developed springs were neglected by the Indians so that little of the early development remained..."

Another S.C.S. report in 1935 described the Navajo use of the Moenave land in the following terms. It stated that "under the mesa escarpment there has been some farming for a number of years. Springs in this section were originally used for irrigation purposes by the early Mormon settlers. With the purchase of the land by the Government, Indians settled on small tracts, which through improper management became so badly eroded as to be made almost useless." Report on Outstanding Soil and Water Conservation Achievements in the Navajo District, December 1, 1936, pp. 6-7; and Annual Report of the Navajo Project, Soil Conservation Service Project Number 10 for the Year Ending June 30, 1935, p. 82.

21. Annual Report of the Navajo Project, Soil Conservation Service Project Number 10 for the year ending June 30, 1935, p. 80.

V. Coal Mine Mesa

Coal Mine Mesa (also known as the Bakalo area or the "hollow place") was the fourth major Hopi agricultural area outside the 1882 Reservation. It is located approximately ten miles southeast of the village of Moenkopi. Lying between Oraibi and Moenkopi, the Coal Mine Mesa farming area lay along the western Oraibi farming corridor, which stretched from Oraibi as far west as Moenave. In traditional times, Oraibi Hopis may have tended farms on Coal Mine Mesa as they traveled to and from Moenave and Moenkopi. In 1776, the Dominguez-Escalante expedition noted "a small lake and several banked pools" on Coal Mine Mesa, which was probably the Bakalo area. It is likely that Hopis took advantage of such water sources to farm in the area.¹

Dry-farming techniques were used here, unlike the irrigated areas at Moenave, Moenkopi, and Pasture/Reservoir Canyon. The farms located on Coal Mine Mesa were of the Akchin field type. Hopi dry-farming techniques are world renowned. Hopis developed them to adapt to the inhospitable desert environment in which they lived. Lengthy anthropological studies on Hopi dry-farming techniques have been written attesting to Hopi farming skills. They indicate that, in the past, Hopis may have used land areas well beyond the boundaries of the 1882 Reservation. Coal Mine Mesa could have been one such area. However, outlying "dry" farmlands were rarely recorded in historical documents. They were not readily visible because their locations were remote and changed frequently with changing environmental conditions.

The earliest recollection of Hopi farming in the Coal Mine Mesa vicinity comes from the memory of Pole Payestewa, a long-time resident of Oraibi. In Healing v. Jones, Pole Payestewa (a.k.a. Polepayestewa) testified that Hopis long ago had farmed below Coal Mine Mesa in Coal Canyon:

There were some farms along Ha-Ho-No-Geh Canyon and Coal Canyon. We used to bring in coal from a canyon nearby called Coal Canyon and there were some ruins there. We also dug coal out of Blue Canyon. When we say 'we' in this statement, I mean the Hopi of Oraibi.²

Pole Payestewa's undated information was plotted and numbered on Plaintiff's Exhibit 242, as pink area number five (see Portfolio Map #15, Section A).

It was not until the early 1930's, when a government movement was underway to separate Hopi and Navajo territory, that detailed information on Hopi dry-farming appeared in government records. Additional data about Hopi farming and grazing on Coal Mine Mesa became available in the mid-1930's from the Soil Conservation Service (S.C.S.) studies of the area. The S.C.S. data indicate that Hopis dry-farmed on Coal Mine Mesa as early as 1925. According to the reports, Hopis maintained a farming presence at Coal Mine Mesa continuously thereafter.

In 1936, a Navajo Service Report on Land Management Unit (L.M.U.) 3 described farming techniques on Coal Mine Mesa:

The farming in this area [Coal Mine Mesa] is of an entirely different nature than that found in and at Tuba City and Moenave. The owners are dependent entirely upon flood water to produce their crops.

Most of the Indians [Hopi] have their farms located near gullies or gully fans where they get the benefit of runoff from the rain storms. Most of the land in this section is fairly sandy and favorable for farming where water is supplied. At the present time, there are very few borders or water spreaders on these farms and work is needed to spread the water more uniformly over the farm land to prevent it from starting to channel through the lower parts.³

S.C.S. field surveys of the area in 1935 and later S.C.S. reports confirm that this description was of Hopi farming on Coal Mine Mesa.

In 1936, the data from S.C.S. field surveys was noted by Gordon Page in his report on stock grazing for the same area. According to this report, Hopis had developed water sources on Coal Mine Mesa as early as 1925.

In addition, S.C.S. agronomy reports based on consumption group schedules, which S.C.S. surveyors filled out in their field investigations, placed at least five Hopi farm plots on Coal Mine Mesa (S.C.S. Quad 71). Unfortunately, not all the schedule information for the Hopi has survived. However, the documentary evidence available indicates that at least three Hopi schedules referenced Hopi "dry" farming on Coal Mine Mesa. The following information is derived from these schedules.⁵

<u>Schedule No.</u>	<u>Hopi Owner</u>	<u>Field remarks</u>
250	Rodger Honani	1A* 4 acres * (see Portfolio Maps #8 and #10)
255	Mark Quashura	* 1.5 acres ? * This field adjoins Honahni's field 10 miles east

<u>Schedule No.</u>	<u>Hopi Owner</u>	<u>Field remarks</u>
		of Moenkopi in the valley, No. Q 71, F6 (see Portfolio Maps #C, and 10).
258	John Talashoyiwa	x 2 acres? x 3 acres? x 1 acres? x At various places, Northwest of Coal Mine (see Portfolio Maps #8 and #10).

This incomplete schedule list indicates that Hopis farmed in several different locations on Coal Mine Mesa, and that they farmed a total acreage of at least approximately 10.5 acres.

However, Gordon Page, in his 1939 Human Dependency Report, used all of the consumption group schedule data and his report located at least thirteen Hopi farm plots on Coal Mine Mesa. Six of these farm plots were grouped together as farm plot #6 (see Portfolio Map #10). The others were geographically located in relation to this farm plot. Farm plot #6 was located above Highway 264, approximately ten miles southeast of the village of Moenkopi. The other Hopi farm plots were west of and below Highway 264. Page's report stated:⁶

Plots near coal mine, 10 miles east of Moenkopi, north of highway: numbered Q71F6 [Quad 71, Field 6]

- a. Lomalentsiwma
- b. Sikalentsiwma (Honahni)
- c. Honahni, Roland
- d. Honahni, Rodger
- e. Lomatuwaima, Horace (Pongyaveima) tenant
- f. empty To be used by Honahni, Sr.

Fields above and adjoining No. Q71F6 [Field # unknown, possibly 3, 4, 5 or 31]

- a. Dallas, Henry (Sikawayma)
- b. Dallas, Robert (Puhuyawma)
- c. Talasvuyawma
- d. Quashura, Mark (Kwanveima)

Field above Q71F6, upper fence [Field # unknown, possibly 22]

- a. Quyaveima, Forrest (Kaye?) owner

West of and below highway (264), below Field No. Q71F6 [Field # unknown, possibly 2 or 24]

- a. Karsyawma (Gaseoma)
- b. Johnson, Clay

[Note that Page's report does not account for consumption schedule #258 of John Talashoyiwma, who had three farm plots northwest of the Coal Mine. Talashoyiwma's fields were probably field numbers 7, 8 and 9 on Portfolio Map #10.]

Gordon Page's list, used along with Portfolio Map #10, gives a great deal of detail about Hopi farming in the area. Further information on the amount of Hopi acreage can be garnered from other S.C.S. agronomy data for Quad 71. A January 1938 S.C.S. report listed acreage data for each of the field plots in Quad 71. The following is a summary of the above data for Coal Mine Mesa. I have added information on possible Hopi ownership of these farm plots.⁷

<u>Tract No.</u>	<u>Present Crops</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>(Possible Owners)</u>
2	Corn 35, Idle 90	125	Karsyawma (Gaseoma) or Clay Johnson
3	Idle	8	Dallas, Henry (Sikawayma) Dallas, Robert (Puhuyawma) Talasvuyawma Quashura, Mark (Kwanveima)

<u>Tract No.</u>	<u>Present Crops</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>(Possible Owners)</u>
4	10 idle, 4 orch.	14	Dallas, Henry (Sikawayma) Dallas, Robert (Puhuyawma) Talasvuyawma Quashura, Mark (Kwanveima)
5	Idle	6	Dallas, Henry (Sikawayma) Dallas, Robert (Puhuyawma) Talasvuyawma Quashura, Mark (Kwanveima)
6	Idle	70	a. Lcmalehtsiwma b. Sikalehtsiwma (Honahni) c. Honahni, Roland d. Honahni, Rodger e. Lomatuwaima, Horace (Pongyaveima) tenant f. empty To be used by Honahni, Sr.
7	Idle	2	Talashoyiwma, John
8	Corn	1	Talashoyiwma, John
9	Corn, squash, melons	1	Talashoyiwma, John
22	Idle	2	Quyaveima, Forrest (Kaye?) owner
24	Idle	8	Karsyawma (Gaseoma) or Clay Johnson
31	Corn, squash, idle	10	Dallas, Henry (Sikawayma) Dallas, Robert (Puhuyawma) Talasvuyawma Quashura, Mark (Kwanveima)

(Total possible Hopi "dry" farm acreage = 247 acres.)

In addition to the S.C.S. data and maps, and Gordon Page's report indicating almost 250 acres of Hopi fields on Coal Mine Mesa, Hopis also described and personally showed investigators the Hopi agricultural areas on Coal Mine Mesa.

In the 1930's, Roger Honahni told Dr. Harold Colton that:

On and about the mesas between Moencopi and the Dinnebito, Numkina (Lewis Numkina) reports twenty people now having fields.⁸

Honahni's comment that twenty Hopi farmed in the vicinity of Coal Mine Mesa agrees with the data presented so far, which accounts for at least fourteen Hopi who dry-farmed on Coal Mine Mesa.

In 1939, C.E. Rachford, while investigating the boundaries of the Hopi and Navajo, gathered much the same information from Frank Tewanimptewa (a.k.a. Frank Tewa). Prior to the meeting, Rachford was given a tour of the Hopi farms on Coal Mine Mesa, and personally saw them and other small farming areas in the vicinity. Afterwards, at a later meeting with Rachford, Frank Tewanimptewa stated that:

This morning we took another trip over the Moencopi Plateau, pointing out our grazing area. Due to the inclement weather and the lack of roads we could not show all the points that we would like to, but only pointing out a few places what we could get to, namely the north rim of Coal Mine Canyon, where the original stock of the Hopis used to graze into the country of Blue Canyon and Red Lake; the dry farms that are in cultivation up to this date. All the farms that we have seen this morning are Hopi farms.... We passed on to Coal Mine Canyon. I pointed out to Mr. Rachford and told him that at one time my father had established a farm down this valley and at the Dinnebito Valley.⁹

C.E. Rachford noted on his Hopi-Navajo boundary map (Portfolio Map #13), the Hopi farming on Coal Mine Mesa with the circled number four.

In addition to the record presented, Dr. Allan Ainsworth's interviews with Hopis indicated that many Hopis were farming on Coal Mine Mesa. The following is a summary of his data for that area.

Bilagody Family	Kewanvoyouma, Herman
Dallas, Robert - Family*	Kewanwytewa, Eunice - Family
Gaseoma*	Koi-yungyumtewa
Gilbert, Bryan - Family	Koyangumtewa
Holmes, Ernest	Loma, Logan
Holmes, Willard	Lomaheptewa - Family
Honahni, Clifford - Family	Lomaletseoma
Honahni, Fred	Nasetoynewa, Ray - Family
Honahni, Roland - Family*	Numkena, Lewis, Sr.*
Honahni, Roger - Family*	Nuvayestewa, George
Honahni, Stanley	Quache, Gilbert
Honeyestewa, Luther and Edward	Quazuru, Mark*
Honeyumtewa, Rita Family	Sehyawma Brothers
Hongeva, Ezra	Sikahongyouma
Humehongouma	Siwingyouma, Glen
Humetewa, Alex - Family	Talahytewa - Family
Johnson, Clay*	Talashoma, John*
Joseph, Harold	Talasintewa
Kaye, Edwin - Family	Tallas, John
Kaye, Forrest*	Tewa, Jackson
Kaye, George	Tewa, Milo
Kayonggyumtewa, Big Burton	Tsavatewa, Harold

In summary, the evidence and data produced by the Soil Conservation Service in the mid-1930's demonstrates that the Hopi dry-farmed close to 250 acres of land on Coal Mine Mesa prior to 1934. This is consistent with other available information. For centuries, Oraibi Hopi may have passed through this farming territory to reach other summer farming areas along the western Oraibi farming corridor which extended to Moenkopi and to Moenave. Later, government officials generally were unaware of their presence

* Appears in the documents.

because these fields were in roadless areas, and in out-of-the-way arroyos.

The government failed to take official notice of the existence of these Hopi dry-farms until 1934, when aerial photographs revealed them to government investigators. Thus, official notice and documentation of Hopi dry-farming at Coal Mine Mesa, and at other locations, did not begin until the mid-1930's.

Overall, the historical evidence indicates that Hopis extensively dry-farmed on Coal Mine Mesa and the surrounding vicinity for an indeterminate period of time prior to 1934.

Coal Mine Mesa Notes

1. Dominguez Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776, translated by Fray Angelico Chavez and edited by Ted J. Warner (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), pp. 107-108.
2. Healing v. Jones, Hopi Testimony, Plaintiff's Ex. 344.
3. Navajo Service Agronomist Report L.M.U. #3, 1936-1937, p.10.
4. Hopi Exhibit 202, Gordon B. Page, "Moencopi Village: Stock Operators and Range," p. 1.
5. Soil Conservation Service, Human Dependency Schedules 250, 255, and 258.
6. Hopi Exhibit 314, Gordon B. Page, "Hopi Land Management Unit: Hopi-Navajo Boundary Report -- Report of the Human Dependency Survey," (December, 1939), pp. 38-39.
7. Land Planning report, Land Management Unit No. 3, January 1938, Study Group "B", pertinent tracts.
8. Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, p. 7.
9. Hopi Exhibit 401, Meeting with the Upper Moencopi Village, February 2, 1940, pp. 3-4.
10. Allan D. Ainsworth, Hopi Use and Occupance of the Navajo Indian Reservation Defined by the Act of June 14, 1934 (January 2, 1986), pp. 162-167.

VI. Little Colorado River

The fifth and last Hopi farming area outside the 1882 Reservation was along the central basin of the Little Colorado River, into which Dinnebito, Oraibi, Polacca and Jeddito Washes drain. This area was not used by the Hopi for farming in 1934, but it was farmed by Hopi and ancestral Hopi in the past. The area was considered by the Hopi to be part of their territory, and efforts to use the area for farming were made as late as 1878.

Ancestors to present-day Hopi clans lived and farmed in the central Little Colorado River basin during the Pueblo IV period, approximately 1300 to 1600 A.D. Near the end of that period, they migrated northward to the main Hopi villages because a "climatic change of some sort made settled agricultural life more difficult or impossible" in the Little Colorado River basin. Environmental conditions on the main mesas of the Colorado Plateau were more favorable for agriculture at this time.¹

Migrating clan groups who sought to join the Hopi on the mesas were asked by the residents what they could contribute to tribal welfare. Florence H. Ellis, noted Hopi scholar, pointed out that the:

accepted answer (and this the price for the new lands, springs, and associations) was a ceremony which, upon demonstration, appealed to the Hopi nucleus as "practical" in achieving the end claimed. These ceremonies then became the most important of the perpetual civic duties, or taxes, of that joining group. The ceremonies required materials which had to be provided by that group or

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by associated units. and such materials had to be obtained from specific places (sometimes not available elsewhere).... Specific evidence of location of shrines and of spots from which religious material has been obtained for centuries warrant serious consideration in the claims of such a group.²

When these new clan groups from the Little Colorado River settlements were assimilated into Hopi society, they brought with them their claims to this area of the Little Colorado River as a heritage, and the area was then incorporated into Hopi religious and territorial systems. Ruins at Homolovi and at Cheylon, both near Winslow, Arizona, supply evidence indicating that Hopi ancestors farmed between Holbrook and Winslow, and that the region supported a large concentration of Hopi peoples. Hopi clan histories recorded by A. M. Stephen indicate that this area was part of their heritage, and in 1904, when the archaeologist Jesse Walter Fewkes investigated the Homolovi and Cheylon sites, his Hopi informants recognized these ruins as Hopi sites.³

Drought conditions were often cyclical in this part of the Southwest, and Hopis may have returned to the area to farm from time to time. Since Hopis traditionally took every advantage of available water sources, one would expect that at times Hopis would have used the area as an "outlying" Hopi summer farming area. Oraibi Hopis freely used an area for farming stretching forty miles to Moenkopi Wash as a summer farming area. They may well have used the Little Colorado River basin in a similar manner.

After the Great Pueblo Revolt in 1680, in "apprehension of Spanish punishment," Hopis fortified themselves on the mesa tops

near their villages for protection. According to Ellis, "all the smaller agricultural settlements were abandoned at this period ... excepting at one or two places on the Moenkopi Wash." Threats from the Spanish, and later from hostile Indian tribes, probably prevented any sustained Hopi effort to farm the area which the Hopi still considered their territory.⁴

Nevertheless, Hopis kept intruding hostile tribes out of their southern territory. In 1911, one observer of the Hopi stated that:

it is my understanding ... that the Hopis, while living in mortal dread of raids from hostile tribes, were able to keep the settlements of these hostile people about a distance of a night's march from the villages. This would be about 40 to 50 miles [the distance from the mesa to the Little Colorado River] as the Hopi is particularly noted for his running of long distances.⁵

In the late 1870's, the arrival of Mormon settlers into the central Little Colorado River basin seemed to offer protection to the Hopi who wished to farm there. In 1877, Mormon settlers encouraged Hopis to return to the Little Colorado River basin to farm in large numbers. Under the protection of the nearby Mormon settlement at Sunset, Hopis tried returning to their traditional lands along the Little Colorado River area. Sixty-five Hopis went with Mormon settlers to cultivate lands along the river near Sunset -- only a short distance from their ancestral villages at Homolovi and Cheylon. By year's end, they carried home to their villages 400 bushels of wheat.⁶

The next year, however, both Mormon and Hopi farms were destroyed by a major flood. In 1878, the homesteaders abandoned the land, and without their protection the Hopis also withdrew.⁷

The Little Colorado River basin remained a potential Hopi farming area, and around the turn of the century, when loss of productive acreage inside the 1882 Reservation caused the Hopi to look once again to "outlying" farmlands, they began a kind of reverse migration down the washes toward the Little Colorado basin -- cultivating land along Dinnebito, Oraibi, Polacca, and Jeddito Washes first. By the early twentieth century, they farmed along the lower portions of these washes. However, both the presence of Navajos and actions of the government blocked their progress short of the river.⁸

Little Colorado River Notes

1. George John Gummerman III, "The Archaeology of the Hopi Buttes District, Arizona," (Ph.d. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1969) pp. 359-361.
2. Hopi Exhibit 2, Florence H. Ellis, "The Hopi: Their History and Use of Lands," p. 117.
3. Ibid., pp. 83, 87-90, 92, 98, 100, 105-110, and 114-117.
4. Ibid., pp. 93-94.
5. William Freeland to Hopi Supt. Leo Crane, November 14, 1911, Microfilm Roll #259.
6. Charles S. Peterson, "The Hopis and the Mormons, 1858-1873," Utah Historical Quarterly 39 (Spring 1971): 192; and Exhibit 13, Journal of Andrew S. Gibbons, September 8, 1878, p. 17.
7. Ibid.
8. John T. Hack, The Changing Physical Environment of the Hopi Indians of Arizona (Cambridge: Peabody Museum, 1942), p. 6. See the following chapter on 1882 Reservation, which explains the environmental problems faced by the Hopi and their search for fields in the southern portion of the main washes.

VII. 1882 Reservation

Within the boundaries of the 1882 Reservation there are five Hopi farming areas in close proximity to the border which imply that Hopi land use and occupance patterns crossed this arbitrary boundary. They are: Red Lake, Dinnebito Wash, lower Oraibi and Polacca Wash, lower Jeddito Wash, and upper Polacca Wash. On numerous occasions, Hopis defended their right to use these areas when Navajo and government actions threatened to force the Hopi back within a smaller circle.

Until the post-1868 period, Hopis successfully defended their territory against hostile forces, such as the Spanish, Utes, Apaches, and Navajos. After 1868, however, Navajos succeeded in encroaching on Hopi territory along the Little Colorado River and the lower washes. In the face of growing hostilities, Hopis withdrew from any remote flood-farming areas they used. In Healing v. Jones, 94-year-old John Lomavaya from First Mesa told the Court about the growing Navajo infiltration of Hopi territory, and why Hopis ceased farming "outlying" areas.

The Navajos began to come in from the East and they drive us off our farms and take the produce and steal our animals and many of our people had to go back to the mesas.... The reason nobody established away from the Mesas was that a man goes down to tend his field and sometimes they kill him.¹

However, by the beginning of this century, outlying farm land was needed by the Hopi when prolonged runoffs occurred in the

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main washes causing them to erode and dissect. According to an S.C.S. engineering report:

In 1898, which was the time of an extremely heavy snow over the whole Navajo Reservation; warm springs and some rain brought a prolonged runoff lasting for a month and a half.... By 1908, ten years later, a gully had advanced to the Hopi village of Oraibi and forced the Hopis to begin looking for new fields.... By 1912, a continuous and ever deepening channel was confining all ordinary flows and only the largest floods overflowed [the channel] between Oraibi and Tolani [Lakes, on the southern 1882 Reservation border]. About this time, most all fields in the valley of the Oraibi were abandoned completely and a migration of the Hopi farmers occurred.²

Oraibi Hopis lost approximately one-third of their best farm lands. Facing starvation, Second and Third Mesa Hopis searched for new farm land. Some Hopis went to Moenkopi; others tried going to Moenave; still others moved down the washes, following the alluvial flood plain toward the Little Colorado River. The search for cultivable fields was natural for the Hopi. Over centuries of occupation of the region, they had faced changing cyclical climatic and environmental conditions many times.³

However, Hopi attempts to find "new" farm land along the lower reaches of the washes were frustrated by the resistance of recently arrived Navajos -- although Hopis continued to seasonally graze in these areas through 1934. Areas of inter-tribal conflict occurred in the following areas: Dinnebito-Sand Springs, Shonto, Tolani Lakes, Red Lake, south of Tovar Mesa, Comar Springs, and upper Polacca Wash. The following summaries describe the process:

Dinnebito Wash

Frank Tewanimptewa:⁴

"At the time when Oraibi was trying to settle its people out on its land, a small group settled at a spring called Dine [See Portfolio Map #16 -- Dinnebito Springs].... But after the Hopi had half constructed their houses at Dine Spring, the Navajos attacked them, forcing the Hopis to return to Oraibi for protection. A later attempt at settlement here and other places had the same result."

Richard Yoywytewa:⁵

"I have also seen Plaintiff's Exhibit 242 [Portfolio Map #15]. My father tried to farm in the area around Sand Springs [pink area no. 2 on Portfolio Map #15, Section A] but when he started to build his house the Navajos came in and tore it down and chased him out. Like other Hopis, my father tried to get down off the Mesa and farm out on the reservation, but the Navajos wouldn't let him.... He tried to start the farm near Shanto in 1900 or thereabouts. The main reason why the people in Oraibi can't spread out is because the Navajos give them too much trouble. My father's name was Socklongnewa. He left Sand Springs about 1908."

Ray Seyumtewa:⁶

"Down the Dinnebito below Hotevilla, the Hopis have long had a grazing area based on Monokovi Spring [Muencovi Springs, Portfolio Map #15, Section A, and Portfolio Map #16] which lies about four miles northeast of Dinnebito Trading Post. Johnson [Tuwalestewa], who is still alive, built a house there in 1907 or 1908, but was driven out by the Navajo. In 1895, Frank Tewanimptewa, who is still alive, ran sheep in that area."

Johnson Tuwalestewa (a.k.a. K.T. Johnson):⁷

"At old farm site 3 on the exhibit map [pink area no. 3 on Portfolio Map #15, Section A] other Hopi Indians and I tried to establish a settlement but when I broke my leg and was unable to stay there for a short period of time, my house was torn down to the ground. All of the other buildings and crops that we had there were ruined. I went back

after I had recovered from my broken leg and found a group of Navajos...."

Oraibi and Lower Polacca Washes

Edward Nequatewqa:⁸

"Down the Oraibi Wash in 1890, Nakwavantewa of Shipaulovi had a farm above the cotton tree near Monument Point [near the southwest corner of the 1882 Reservation, see Portfolio Map #16]. There were other farms nearby also...."

"Down Polacca Wash between Coyote Springs and Red Lake [southernmost area of Polacca Wash and outside the 1882 Reservation] a big party of men planted in 1910. They were promptly run out by the Navajo...."

"In 1915, a man named Sakkuvaya of Bakabi and Frank Masaquatewa of Shipaulovi had farms near Red Lake. All this farm land and grazing land below Shonto (Masipa Spring) has been taken by Navajo...."

David Talawiftewa:⁹

"When I was a boy about 12 years old, my father and I and some of my father's friends, tried to farm in the area south of the blue farm marked 1 [one] on Plaintiff's Exhibit 242 [see Portfolio Map #15, Section B]. Our farm was in the vicinity of the Executive Order line. We were unable to continue farming there because the Navajos drove us off that area telling us we should not farm there. Those who were with my father at that time were Naquaventewa [Nequatewa?], Nashiletstewa, Quoithashima, and my father's name was Lomangnakioma."

Johnson Tuwalestewa:¹⁰

"I have seen the Plaintiff's Exhibit 242 [Portfolio Map #15]. I personally saw Sakivaya farm at 1 [one] on the map [Portfolio Map #15, Section A]. I don't know why he left. He has two sons who may know. Burton lives in Bacabi and Waldo lives in Winslow."

Lower Jeddito Wash

Albert Yeva:¹¹

"Comah Springs [Comar Springs] has long been a Hopi frontier post. Several attempts have been made to establish a settlement there, but the Navajos have broken up every attempt. Charlie Avayo, Vinton Naha's uncle, built a house but the Navajos drove him out."

"Suta who had been grazing his stock near Comah Spring was encouraged by Supt. Daniels [1919-1923] in 1920 or '21 to build a house and plant fields. When the crops came up the Navajos drove their stock across his fields, so he left and never finished the house."

Edward Nequatewa:¹²

"3/4 mile northwest of Comah Spring five Hopis from Shipaulovi and Mishongnovi have fields. Hale Sika-kuku has a house."

George Cochise:¹³

"I have seen Plaintiff's Exhibit 242 [Portfolio Map #15, Section B]. I used to farm in area pink 17 with Albert Naha. When Albert died [1920], the farm went to Albert's heirs. Vinton Naha took over the farm and I left to go back to Polacca...."

"When Albert and I were farming in the area pink 17, we used to have a lot of trouble with the Navajos who would come in and kill our cattle and horses. They would also damage our corn fields. Other Hopi who farmed there were Cheskani and Wupataka. This was a long time ago that they were there. We also have put up dams and developed springs in that area, but the Navajos try to claim them."

Upper Polacca Wash

Francis Ovah:¹⁴

"I have seen Plaintiff's Exhibit 242 [Portfolio Map #15 (Section C)]. My father began to farm just south of Cow Springs [not on Portfolio Map #15] in the 1800's. My father just had his home built when Navajos came in and tore it down. After that happened, my father moved to Smoke Signal [north side of Low Mountain] where he started to build another house and to farm. The Navajos came in and tore that down too.... Then he moved to the Upper

Artesian Well, just south of area pink 16 on the map. There my father met Hicks Cheeda, Irwin Pabanale, and others. They built their house there. They couldn't start farming because the Navajos came in and tore their house down. The ruins of that house are still there."

Albert Yeve:¹⁵

"In 1916, encouraged by Leo Crane, the superintendent [Hopi Superintendent from 1911 to 1918], George Lomyestewa built a good house and planted trees. While he was away the Navajos, broke his windows, and destroyed his farm."

In addition to facing troubles with Navajos, Hopis also suffered from the vicissitudes of government policy regarding Hopi farming within their domain. At times, the federal government neglected to protect Hopi territory against Navajo incursions, and in fact unwittingly aided the Navajo's cause. For instance, government agents prevented Hopis from farming outside the 1882 Reservation in lower Dinnebito Wash,¹⁶ blocked Hopi farming in lower Oraibi and Jeddito Wash for a time,¹⁷ and almost gave away the northwest corner of the 1882 Reservation to the Navajos.¹⁸

The government also took positive actions. With the encouragement of superintendents such as Leo Crane, Hopis were able to expand into the lower washes far from the mesas. By the 1920's, Hopis had gradually moved back down the washes, but were not given sufficient protection. Dr. Harold Colton described the process.

During the first decades of the 20th century, the Hopi Superintendents made it a policy to encourage the Hopi to settle on the outlying farms. When the Hopi fields were ruined or their houses looted, individual Navajos were sometimes punished, but not enough protection was given to make the Hopis feel

secure, so most of those attempts to use the outlying farm lands were failures.¹⁹

By 1928, government officials changed their minds about encouraging Hopi expansion, apparently because the policy was considered too successful.

The Hopis have spread out so much and we have located so many far afield and at such distances from their mesas in new territories, that additional friction and misunderstanding has developed, and more determined opposition from the Navajos has been encountered. This we are unable to control under present conditions, where there is an absence of definite boundaries.

The Hopis are spreading out more each year from the Mesa villages and the more we encourage this and protect them in this matter, the more they expect and the more they complain about the Navajos. In other words, our successful policy to get Hopis out into the valleys brings more determined opposition from the Navajos and more courage to the Hopis.²⁰

Clearly, by 1934 Hopis had expanded far from the mesas and were farming in many areas near the boundary of the 1882 Reservation.

Hopis frequently traveled between their villages (including Moenkopi) and farming destinations along the 1882 Reservation border. Many of these same Hopi farmers were also livestock owners, whose livestock either permanently or seasonally grazed in the 1934 area. While farming near the 1882 boundary, Hopi land uses (such as grazing livestock, gathering plants or materials, etc.) could easily spill over the artificial 1882 Reservation boundary line.

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The following sections summarize the history of each farming region, and list Hopis farming them in 1934 and before. It is based on historical data derived from various documents, and also includes information from Dr. Allan Ainsworth's interviews with Hopis.

Red Lake

See Portfolio Maps #13, #15 (Section A) and #17.

Hopi from Oraibi and Moenkopi traditionally dry-farmed an area of land stretching along the western edge of Black Mesa from Red Lake to as far north as Cow Springs. Hopis from Moenkopi were given official permission to farm at Red Lake in 1930.²¹ In the mid-1930's, when the government surveyed these outlying dry-farming areas for the first time, they discovered that at least eight Hopi from Moenkopi were farming in the Red Lake vicinity.²² Dr. Ainsworth's interviews indicate that a greater number of Hopis were farming at this location in 1934.²³ Hopis frequently traveled between Moenkopi and Red Lake to farm. Along the way, they grazed livestock and gathered plants, establishing a frequent Hopi land use pattern between these two areas. The following Hopis farmed at Red Lake in 1934:²⁴

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Holmes, Willard*,**,*	Numkena, William-Family**,**,*
Humetewa, James-Family**,**,*	Nuvayestewa, George*,**,*
Kaye, Edwin*,**,*	Piestewa, Poli*,**,*
Kaye, Forrest**,**,*	Sakiestewa, Albert-Family**,**,*
Kewanheptewa (Kaye), Edwin*,**,*	Sakiestewa, Robert-Family**
Moore, Ernest-Family**,**,*	Sukoyvaya**
Numkena, Lewis-Family**,**,*	Tallas, Herman-Family**
Numkena, Paul*	Tallas, Joseph*
Numkena, Sam, Sr.-Family*,**,*	Talasintewa**
	Tewa, Jackson*,**,*

Upper Dinnebito Wash

See Portfolio Maps #10, 13 and #15 (Section A).

Hopis farmed along upper Dinnebito Wash from before white contact until 1934.²⁵ The upper Dinnebito Wash area was the beginning point of a Hopi area of dry-farming that stretched as far as Moenave in historic times. It was only a few miles from Hopi farm plots on Coal Mine Mesa. The following is a list of Hopi farmers in Dinnebito Wash in 1934.²⁶

<u>Harvey Keevema List</u>	<u>Gordon Page List</u>	<u>Farm #</u>
Pclingyutewa	Polingoumpleny	Farm 106
Poliyaumtewa	Tanolkyouma	
	Honowa, Patrick	
Aloiguam, Silas	Hoyungova, Silas	Farm #?

* Hopis who appear in the documents.

** Hopis who appear in Ainsworth interviews

*** Hopi livestock owners who also grazed cattle outside 1882 Reservation. See Anthony Godfrey, First, Second, Third Mesa and Moenkopi Livestock Grazing Outside the 1882 Reservation (February 1988), chapters on Third Mesa and Moenkopi Village.

<u>Harvey Keevema List</u>	<u>Gordon Page List</u>	<u>Farm #</u>
Sacksyesva Tuvangyumptewa (Tuvantewa)* Talasyestewa	Sakyesva, Harry Sakyesva Pocheoma, Joel Tevalyumptewa	Farm 105
Coochkwaptewa	Qotsquamptewa	Farm #?
Waitaima, Benjamin*	Whytewa, Benjamin* Seewehogeouma	Farm 101
Kuwanvema Tawaniptewa	Kewanvema Dawanemptewa	Farm 406
Keevema, Henry	-----	Farm #?
Albert, Earl* Albert, Walter*	Albert, Earl* Albert, Walter	Farm 26
Lomhoiyima, Simon	Polingyeoma, Simon (Polingyuntewa)*	Farm 97
Pongyesva, Jack Puhukma	Pongayesva, Jack Lomahoyeouma	

Lower Dinnebito, Oraibi and Polacca Washes

See Portfolio Maps #13 and #15 (Sections A and B).

The lower Dinnebito Wash lies within Hopi traditional territory and was no doubt farmed by Hopis in the past. With the arrival of Navajos in the post-1868 period, Hopis farmed nearer to Third Mesa. Because of changing environmental conditions at the turn of the century, Hopis turned to lower Dinnebito Wash to farm once again. They petitioned the government to allot them farm land in Township 27, west of the 1882 Reservation.²⁷ They also wished to build a village to the east at Dinnebito Springs.²⁸

* Hopi livestock owners who also grazed cattle outside 1882 Reservation. See Anthony Godfrey, First, Second, Third Mesa and Moenkopi Livestock Grazing Outside the 1882 Reservation (February 1988), chapter on Third Mesa.

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However, the government ignored these Hopi requests. For a time, they were able to farm in the lower Dinnebito Wash, in areas near if not beyond the boundary line of the 1882 Reservation. But Navajo depredations, in conjunction with the unilateral action of Leupp Superintendent Charles H. Dickson sometime around 1914, forced Hopis to stop farming in the lower Dinnebito Wash.²⁹

The lower Oraibi and Polacca Wash area was also within Hopi traditional territorial claims. They followed the flood plain area of the Oraibi and Polacca Washes as it shifted with changing environmental conditions. Navajo encroachment in the post-1868 period reduced their farming in this area, but Hopis were still farming in these areas in 1890.

Around 1895, the shifting erosion patterns of Oraibi Wash forced Second and Third Mesa Hopis to return to this farming territory in numbers. From 1890 to 1915, they farmed in Oraibi and Polacca Washes near or below the 1882 Reservation line, as far south as Red Lake and south of Tovar Mesa.³⁰ When Hopis farmed in this southern area, they were repeatedly attacked by neighboring Navajos. The federal government would not or could not protect the Hopis from these attacks.³¹

In the early 1920s, with enough encouragement and protection from the federal government, Hopis farmed in greater numbers along the flood plain of lower Oraibi Wash. By 1930, Navajos abandoned the Oraibi Wash country for the Leupp country. By 1934, the Hopi occupied and farmed in the lower Oraibi-Polacca Wash country as far south as Tolani Lakes and the southern border of the 1882 Reservation.³²

The following is a list of Hopis who farmed and attempted to farm in the lower Dinnebito, Oraibi, and Polacca Washes prior to 1934.³³

<u>Hopi Farmer</u>	<u>Village</u>
Lomangnakioma	Shipaulovi
Masaquatewa	Shipaulovi
Nakwaventewa (a.k.a. Naquaventewa)	Shipaulovi
Nashiletstewa	Shipaulovi
Nequatewa	Hotevilla
Quoithashima	Shipaulovi
Sakkuvaya (a.k.a. Sakivaya)	Bakabi
Socklongnewa	Oraibi
Talawiftewa, David	Mishongnovi
Tuwalestewa, Johnson	New Oraibi

Lower Jeddito Wash

See Portfolio Maps #13, #15 (Section B), #18 and #19.

Hopis probably started farming lower Jeddito Wash around 1300, when the area became suitable for extensive farming.³⁴ They continued to use this part of their domain until some time after 1934. During the years 1300-1934, Hopis were required to either withdraw from lower Jeddito Wash, or to use its agricultural potential sparingly for periods of time because of changing environmental conditions and because of hostilities by non-Indians and Indians alike.

Around 1900, Hopis began to farm there again on a more permanent basis.³⁵ Facing a reduction of farm land in upper Jeddito Wash due to an epicycle of erosion which moved the mouth of Jeddito Wash farther and farther southward, Hopis turned to their "outland area" in lower Jeddito Wash to farm. At first with the

encouragement of the government in the early 1920's,³⁶ and then despite the government's discouragement,³⁷ in the late 1920's and early 1930's, Hopis cultivated farm land in lower Jeddito Wash -- a few miles north of the southern boundary of the 1882 Reservation. By 1934, several Hopis were living, farming, and grazing their livestock at Comar Springs near the southern border of the 1882 Reservation, despite the protests of government officials. Two dozen or more Hopi from First and Second Mesa were farming within a few miles of the 1882 border. They are listed below.³⁸

<u>Quad.</u>	<u>Farm No.</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Owners</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
60	25	28	Se Qui*	This family has been here for 18 years. (Note: Hugh Sequi, Se Qui's son, testified in the <u>Healing v. Jones</u> case, that his family "has farmed in the Jeddito Valley since 1916. They have grown beans, corn, watermelon, pumpkin, potatoes and fruit trees.... When my parents moved to the Jeddito Valley there was only one Navajo family there. The others came in about ten or fifteen years ago.")
15	46	5	Charley Naha*	

* Hopi livestock owners who also grazed cattle outside 1882 Reservation. See Anthony Godfrey, First, Second, Third Mesa and Moenkopi Livestock Grazing Outside the 1882 Reservation (February 1988), chapters on First and Second Mesas.

<u>Quad.</u>	<u>Farm No.</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Owners</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
15	47	3	Tom Ba He Morris Benalli Asdzan Tsini Al Kedesbe Denegoh wife Tsh tso Kediny (Hopi)	Flood irrigated. Hopi and Navajo owned. This old Hopi was here first. Second Mesa man owns just about 3 acres.
15	50	13	Hosteen Be'sh Hopi (unknown)	Flood irrigated. About 13 acres is owned. (Note: reports and schedules did not list the name of the Hopi.)
	9	?	Tah Nes Zah Ne Say Na Buni Yazzie Bi Dah Gal Nezzie Largest owner (original owner)	Flood irrigated. 160 Hopi. There are headmen and about 27 renters. Some of the renters helped with the fences. (Note: names on this farm plot may be Navajo names for Hopis.)
15	3 and 4	?	Hale Sekakuku* Jerry Poleuyouma* Manco Mclean* Grant* Harly Quotewa* Forrest Nuvahoyeoma* Laban Quomunewa Theodore Patela Milton Pakurza Don Atukuku Milton Archie Quomala*	Sipaulovi Sipaulovi Musangnovi Musangnovi Musangnovi Musangnovi Musangnovi Musangnovi Musangnovi Musangnovi Chomopovi Chomopovi (Note: Edward Nequatewa of Hotevilla told Dr. Harold Colton that 3/4 of a mile northwest of Comar Springs, five

* Hopi livestock owners who also grazed cattle outside 1882 Reservation. See Anthony Godfrey, First, Second, Third Mesa and Moenkopi Livestock Grazing Outside the 1882 Reservation (February 1988), chapters on First and Second Mesas.

<u>Quad.</u>	<u>Farm No.</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Owners</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
				Hopis from Shipaulovi and Mishongnovi have fields and that Hale Sikakuku has a house there.)
15	45	80	12 Owners	See field study sheet
			Plinney Adams° Don Attoe Ku Ku° Wesley Ponsoma Men go Rudolph Tu La Usea Granti Te Na Wesva Conrad Kel Ho Uma Roscoe Pole Wi Tewa Lesley Nomte Chester Dennis	° original owners here 6-8 years ago
15	3a	6	Hale's place Ma Soc Wa Tewa	Both from 2nd Mesa. Flood irrigated. 2 tracts on the northside of the Jeddito.

Upper Polacca Wash

See Portfolio Maps #13 and #15 (Section C).

Upper Polacca Wash all the way to Cow Springs was a traditional First Mesa Hopi farming area. By the late 1800's, Navajo encroachment required Hopis temporarily to stop farming in the Cow Springs area and other nearby areas for their personal safety.³⁹ In the 1910's, several First Mesa Hopis returned to use it for farming and grazing, and to receive allotments in Polacca Wash as far northeast as the northwest quadrant of T29N-20E.⁴⁰ In the early 1920's they stopped farming at the north end of Polacca Wash because of continued Navajo interference.⁴¹ In 1931, Tom Pavatea,

Sr. moved into upper Polacca Wash and established a trading post and a small farm in an area a mile or so from the 1882 Reservation border. Pavatea's operation continued until 1938, when for some unknown reason it ceased.⁴² The following were some of the Hopis who farmed along upper Polacca Wash prior to and including 1934.⁴³

Cheeda, Hicks
Lomayesva, George*
Ovah, Francis - father
Pabanale, Irwin
Pavatea, Tom*

* Hopi livestock owners who also grazed cattle outside 1882 Reservation. See Anthony Godfrey, First, Second, Third Mesa and Moenkopi Livestock Grazing Outside the 1882 Reservation (February 1988), chapter on First Mesa.

1882 Reservation Notes

1. Healing v. Jones, Pl.iff's Ex. No. 329.
2. Hopi Exhibit 450, Allen Stamm, Land Management Unit 5 and Tolani Lakes, pp. 13-B, and 13C. For an accurate description of the alluvial flood plain of Oraibi Wash emptying into the Tolani Lakes and how it was farmed by Indians, see Report on Outstanding Soil and Water Conservation Achievements in the Navajo District, December 1, 1936, pp. 10-11.
3. Maitland Bradfield, The Changing Pattern of Hopi Agriculture (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1971), pp. 22-32 and 37; John T. Hack, The Changing Environment of the Hopi Indians of Arizona (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum, 1942), pp. 74-78; Hopi Exhibit 314, Gordon B. Page, "Hopi Land Management Unit: Hopi-Navajo Boundary Report -- Report of the Human Dependency Survey," (December, 1939), p. 65; and Hopi Exhibit 456, Allen Stamm, Land Management Unit 5 and Tolani Lakes, pp. 13-B, and 13-C. See also chapters on Moenkopi Wash and Moenave.
4. Hopi Exhibit 205, Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, August 6, 1938, p. 5. The areas of attempted settlement that Tewanimptewa referred to in his account were probably those areas marked on Portfolio Map #15 (Section A) as pink areas numbered 2, 3, or 4. These areas were only a short distance from the 1882 border, and show that a definite Hopi presence was there in 1900. Many, if not all of these Navajos, were recent arrivals to the area. In 1898, they were driven by white cattlemen from the Coconino Basin southwest of the Little Colorado River across the river to the Dinnebito Wash. S.M. Brosius to Secretary of the Interior, October 17, 1898 with enclosures Exhibits A-S.
5. Healing v. Jones, Plaintiff's Ex. No. 364.
6. Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, pp. 7-8.
7. Healing v. Jones, Testimony of K.T. Johnson.
8. Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, pp. 8 and 10.
9. Healing v. Jones, Plaintiff's Ex. No. 356.
10. Healing v. Jones, Testimony of K.T. Johnson.

11. Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, p. 10.
12. Ibid.
13. Healing v. Jones, Testimony of George Cochise.
14. Healing v. Jones, Hopi Testimony Plaintiff's Ex. 337.
15. Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, p. 9.
16. In the early twentieth century, Third Mesa Hopis petitioned for additional land. In 1910, the "Corn Clan" at Third Mesa (seven families and forty-six persons) headed by Sewanimp-tewa, complained to government officials that they needed land outside of the 1882 Reservation, and wanted farm land allotted to them in the Western Navajo Reservation somewhere in Township 27. Frank Jenkins (a.k.a. Kewanoitewa) of the Corn Clan stated to government officials:

For many, many years, our clan and our ancestors have farmed this land [near Oraibi village]. We gave it up voluntarily because of a shortage of water. The land is good but water is not developed. We gave up this land, thinking we would be allowed to take up lands a little south of west, probably 15 miles from Oraibi [southwest of Dinnebito Springs]. The Navajo have frequently herded sheep in this locality, but none of them continuously. The Allotting Agent now tells me that the land we have there chosen is not within the Moqui Reservation. This leaves all of our clan out. We have no land assigned to us, and we do not know what to do about it.

[In regard to allowing Hopis to continue to use land in Township 27, and in regard to allotting this land to the Hopis, Jenkins stated:]

All the land since offered is undesirable and not what we want.... Mr. Murphy charges me with always wanting land outside the Reservation. This is not true. The Reservation lines are not marked and we cannot tell.... We have not been offered any land on the Reservation where there is prospect of water.... The only reason I can see for us not getting this good land is that the allotting agent

wants it for the Navajos.... Our aim is now ... to get as good land as possible further out, where there is water or where it may be obtained. We want to make our homes at the big straight cotton wood tree in Township 27, which is about 2 miles from where Johnson and Seyoma (?) want a school for their village...

Prior to this complaint by the Corn Clan, Johnson Tuwalestewa and other Hopi petitioned the government to allow them to build a village in the Dinnebito Springs area. They wished to farm and live in that area. Johnson's group farmed in the Dinnebito Springs area after the Corn Clan's attempted return to the region. Horton H. Miller to unknown person, December 8, 1910, abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 19, Item 456. See also National Archives, Record Group 75, Central Map File, Map CA22, Allotment Map of 1882 Reservation by Mathew M. Murphy (circa 1908-1910); and Hopi Exhibit 205, Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, August 6, 1938, p. 5.

17. Healing v. Jones, Testimony of K.T. Johnson.

18. For instance, from around 1902 to 1916, government seriously considered placing the northern half of the 1882 Reservation under the supervision of an agency to be placed at Marsh Pass, and wanted to restrict trading posts in the Red Lake area, so they could trade only with Navajo Indians. In 1927, the issue was seriously considered again. At that time, H.J. Hagerman, Special Commissioner to the Navajos, almost arbitrarily gave the northwest section of the 1882 Reservation to the Navajo. He and other government officials decided to change the agency boundary between the Tuba City Agency and the Hopi Agency at Keams Canyon. The proposed Hagerman jurisdictional boundary placed the Red Lake area and the entire northwest corner of the 1882 Hopi Reservation under the jurisdiction of Western Navajo Superintendent C.L. Walker.

The Hopi on the 1882 Executive Order Reservation immediately and vigorously protested this administrative action. They pointed out to government officials that Hopis needed "every foot of [their] reservation for farming and stock raising purposes." Finally after much protest, the Hopi won assurance from federal officials, that they would not lose any land rights in the area which they were currently enjoying. There were serious consequences to the transfer of the Red Lake area to the Tuba City jurisdiction. It meant that the Navajo living in the vicinity shifted their living patterns more and more toward Tuba City. One consequence was that they put pressure upon Hopi farming and grazing territory there. Healing v. Jones, Plaintiff's Exhibit 242, Map of

- Hopi-Navajo Reservations; Charles E. Burton to CIA, circa 1900, abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 2, Item 101-2; Charles E. Burton to CIA, July 15, 1902, abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 4, Item 91; Leo Crane Annual Report for 1916, abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 39, Item 4; Leo Crane to CIA, December 13, 1913, abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 34, Item 117; H.J. Hagerman to C.L. Walker, April 2, 1927; C.L. Walker to H.J. Hagerman April 6, 1927, C.L. Walker to Hopis, April 9, 1927; Tom Pavatea to CIA, Charles H. Burke May 31, 1927; and Charles H. Burke to C.L. Walker, June 18, 1927; The shifting agency boundaries are outlined on Map #247.
19. Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, pp. 10-11.
 20. Hopi Exhibit 98, C.E. Farris to CIA, May 12, 1928, p. 8.
 21. Hopi Exhibit 399, C.E. Rachford, "Hopi Testimony on Proposed Boundary Change," History of Moencopi and the Hopi Land Claims, December 12, 1939, p. 8; and Subagency Superintendent to General Superintendent of the Navajo Agency, March 15, 1956.
 22. S.C.S., Schedule #248, Sam Numkena; Portfolio Map #17; Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, p. 7; and "Partition of the Surface Rights of Navajo-Hopi Land," Hearings before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, March 7, 1973, p. 25.
 23. Allan D. Ainsworth, Hopi Use and Occupance of the Navajo Indian Reservation Defined by the Act of June 14, 1934 (January 2, 1986), pp. 189-191.
 24. Subagency Superintendent to General Superintendent of the Navajo Agency, March 15, 1956; S.C.S., Schedule #248, Sam Numkena; Portfolio Map #17; Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, p. 7; Hopi Exhibit 399, C.E. Rachford, "Hopi Testimony on Proposed Boundary Change," History of Moencopi and the Hopi Land Claims, December 12, 1939, p. 8; and "Partition of the Surface Rights of Navajo-Hopi Land," Hearings before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, March 7, 1973, p. 125; and Allan D. Ainsworth, Hopi Use and Occupance of the Navajo Indian Reservation Defined by the Act of June 14, 1934 (January 2, 1986), pp. 189-191.
 25. In 1908-1910, Allotting Agent Mathew Murphy recommended twenty-eight agricultural allotments be patented to Craibi Hopis in this location. In addition, Murphy also recommended that Hopis be given grazing allotments in the same vicinity.

- National Archives, Record Group 75, Central Map File, Map CA22, Allotment Map of 1882 Reservation by Mathew M. Murphy (circa 1908-1910).
26. Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, p. 8; and Hopi Exhibit 314, Gordon B. Page, "Hopi Land Management Unit: Hopi-Navajo Boundary Report -- Report of the Human Dependency Survey," (December, 1939), p. 17.
 27. Horton H. Miller to unknown person, December 8, 1910, abstracted by S. Nagata, Keams Canyon Letterbooks, Roll No. 19, Item 456. See also National Archives, Record Group 75, Central Map File, Map CA22, Allotment Map of 1882 Reservation by Mathew M. Murphy (circa 1908-1910).
 28. Hopi Exhibit 205, Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, August 6, 1938, p. 5.
 29. Healing v. Jones, Testimony of K.T. Johnson.
 30. Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, pp. 8 and 10-11; and Healing v. Jones, Plaintiff's Ex. No. 356.
 31. Ibid.
 32. Hopi Exhibit 98, C.E. Faris to CIA, May 12, 1928, pp. 7-8; Hopi Exhibit 102, H.H. Fiske to CIA, July 25, 1930, pp. 2-3; and Hopi Exhibit 314, Gordon B. Page, "Hopi Land Management Unit: Hopi-Navajo Boundary Report -- Report of the Human Dependency Survey," (December, 1939), p. 65.
 33. Healing v. Jones, Plaintiff's Ex. No. 364; Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, pp. 7-8 and 10; and Healing v. Jones, Plaintiff's Ex. No. 356. See also Portfolio Map #13.
 34. John T. Hack, The Changing Environment of the Hopi Indians of Arizona (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum, 1942), p. 77.
 35. Ibid., pp. 74-75. In 1908-1910, Mathew M. Murphy allotted six farm assignments to Hopis living in lower Jeddito Wash. National Archives, Record Group 75, Central Map File, Map CA22, Allotment Map of 1882 Reservation by Mathew M. Murphy (circa 1908-1910).
 36. Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, pp. 10-11.

- CV-6417-201
37. Shortly before 1930, several Hopis moved to Comar Springs which caused considerable trouble between the two Indian tribes. The disputes that arose between the Hopi and Navajo caused the federal government to send H.H. Fiske, an Indian Service inspector, to probe into this conflict and other disputes between the tribes. After an unthorough investigation of the matter, H.H. Fiske decided against the Hopi move to Comar Springs. Mistakenly, Fiske thought that the springs at Comar had always been in the Navajo hands. Lacking any historical background, Fiske based his opinion on a 1894 government document presented by a Navajo, which supposedly gave the individual Navajo the right to Comar Springs. This document has not been located but probably indicated the approximate arrival date of the Navajos to the area.

The Hopis did not move. Instead, they maintained their residence at Comar Springs, and apparently more Hopis moved into the area and began to dry-farm in the lower Jeddito Wash vicinity. In 1933, three years after Fiske's report, another Hopi made a formal application for land at Comar Springs. However, Hopi superintendent E.K. Miller denied the application, and instead, tried to restrict any further Hopi movement into the Comar Springs area. Nevertheless, Hopis remained and continued to farm less than a mile or so from the 1882 Reservation line. Hopi Exhibit 102, H.H. Fiske to CIA, July 25, 1930, pp. 2-3; and Hopi Supt. E.K. Miller to CIA Charles J. Rhoads, May 8, 1933 and map.

38. Healing v. Jones, Plaintiff's Ex. No. 351; Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, p. 10; Soil Conservation Service Agronomy Branch Report, L.M.U. #7, July, 1937, p. 15; and Hopi Exhibit 314, Gordon B. Page, "Hopi Land Management Unit: Hopi-Navajo Boundary Report -- Report of the Human Dependency Survey," (December, 1939), pp. 17, and 29.
39. Healing v. Jones, Plaintiff's Ex. 337.
40. National Archives, Record Group 75, Central Map File, Map CA22, Allotment Map of 1882 Reservation by Mathew M. Murphy (circa 1908-1910).
41. Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, p. 9.
42. Healing v. Jones, Plaintiff's Ex. Nos. 339, 340, and 342; and Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Boundary," September 1939, p. 9. See also Hopi Exhibit 399, C.E. Rachford, "Hopi Testimony on Proposed Boundary Change," History of Moencopi and the Hopi Land Claims, December 12, 1939, Untitled Map of First Mesa Cattle Ranchers.

43. Healing v. Jones, Plaintiff's Ex. Nos. 337, 339, 340 and 342;
and Hopi Exhibit 459, Harold S. Colton, "Report on Hopi Bound-
ary," September 1939, p. 9.

COMMISSIONERS OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, 1865-1950

TERM COMMENCED

NAME

July 10, 1865	Dennis N. Cooley
November 1, 1866	Lewis V. Bogy
March 29, 1867	Nathaniel G. Taylor
April 21, 1869	Ely S. Parker
November 21, 1871	Francis A. Walker
March 20, 1873	Edward P. Smith
December 11, 1875	John Q. Smith
September 27, 1877	Ezra A. Hayt
March 15, 1880	R.E. Trowbridge
May 4, 1881	Hiram Price
March 21, 1885	John D.C. Atkins
October 10, 1888	John H. Oberly
June 10, 1889	Thomas J. Morgan
April 17, 1893	Daniel M. Browning
May 3, 1897	William A. Jones
December 7, 1904	Francis E. Leupp
June 16, 1909	Robert G. Valentine
June 2, 1913	Cato Sells
April 1, 1921	Charles H. Burke
July 1, 1929	Charles J. Rhoads
April 21, 1933	John Collier
March 15, 1945	William A. Brophy
During 1948-1949	William Zimmerman, Acting CIA
April 13, 1949	John R. Nichols
May 8, 1950	Dillion S. Myer

AGENTS/SUPERINTENDENTS OF KEAMS
CANYON AGENCY, 1869-1950

<u>TERM</u>	<u>NAME</u>
1869-1870	Captain A.D. Palmer
1870-1873	W.D. Crothers
1873-1875	William S. Defrees
1875-1876	W. B. Truax
1876-1877	W.H. Danielson
1877-1880	William B. Mateer
1880-1881	Jchn H. Sullivan
1882	Jesse H. Flemming
1883	No agent for Hopi
1884-1885	John H. Bowman (Hopi/Navajo Agent)
1886-1888	S.S. Peterson
1889-1890	C.E. Vandever
1891-1892	David L. Shipley (Sub. Agency)
1893-1894	Lt. E.A. Plummer (Acting Agent)
1895-1899	Capt. Constant Williams (Acting Agent)
1900	G.W. Hayzlett
1901-1903	Charles E. Burton (Acting Agent)
1904-1906	Theodore G. Lemmon
1907-1910	Horton H. Miller
1910	Abraham L. Lawshe
1911-1918	Leo Crane
1919-1923	Robert E.L. Daniel
1924-1933	Edgar K. Miller
1934	Ernest H. Hammond (Acting Agent)
	William H. Zeh (Acting Administrator)
1935-1938	Alexander G. Hutton
1939-1941	Seth Wilson
1942-1947	Burton A. Ladd
1948-1950	James D. Crawford

AGENTS/SUPERINTENDENTS OF TUBA
CITY AGENCY, 1901-1935

(Established as a separate agency in 1901)

<u>TERM COMMENCED</u>	<u>NAME</u>
August 27, 1901	Milton J. Needham
December 1, 1904	Mathew M. Murphy
November 23, 1907	Stephan Janus
May 17, 1910	Clarence R. Jeffries
September 9, 1912	Claude C. Early (Agent in Charge)
October 17, 1912	William T. Sullivan
July 7, 1914	Walter Runke
May 1, 1920	Robert E. Burris
February 1, 1921	Charles E. Coe (Supervisor in Charge)
February 23, 1921	Charles L. Ellis (Agent in Charge)
April 9, 1921	Byron A. Sharp
April 19, 1923	Adelbert W. Leech (Supervisor in Charge)
June 1, 1923	Harvey K. Meyer
April 1, 1926	Chester L. Walker
February 16, 1933	John E. Balmer
October 1, 1934	Francis J. Scott

Absorbed into Navajo Agency July 1, 1935

AGENTS/SUPERINTENDENTS OF LEUPP
AGENCY, 1908-1935

(Established as a separate agency in 1908)

TERM COMMENCED

NAME

August 14, 1908	Joseph E. Maxwell
March 1, 1911	Charles H. Dickson
October 12, 1914	Thomas K. Adreon
April 1, 1915	Stephen Janus
April 1, 1924	Harmon P. Marble
May 1, 1926	William C. Roberts
July 1, 1927	John G. Hunter
January 1, 1929	John E. Balmer
February 16, 1933	Ernest H. Hammond (Agent in Charge)
November 11, 1933	Theodore B. Hall
September 1, 1934	Francis J. Scott
October 1, 1934	Gordon J. Baber (Senior Clerk)
	William H. Zeh (Acting Administrator)

Absorbed into Navajo Agency July 1, 1935

PORTFOLIO MAP LIST

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4. Sketch of Tuba City and Vicinity (1908).
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7. Blue Print of Moencopi Wash, U.S. Indian Irrigation Service,
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8. Tuba City Agricultural Holdings (1937).
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9. Soil Conservation Service Map, Land Management Unit (L.M.U.)
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10. Soil Conservation Service Map, Land Management Unit (L.M.U.)
#3, East Half (1937).
Map #52 (partial xerox).
11. Composite Map of Tuba City/Moencopi Area, Based on Map Drawn
By P. Contzen (1905). Shuichi Nagata, Modern Transformations
of Moenkopi Pueblo, p.35.
12. Hopi Allotment Situation (1921).
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13. C.E. Rachford Report Map (1940). Nos. 1-26 on map refer to
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18. Hopi Superintendent, Edgar K. Miller Map of Jeddito Wash Area (1933).
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20. Map of Portion of Northern Arizona, Including Moencopi Area.
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21. Plat Showing Proposed Division of the Hopi Indian Reservation, Herbert J. Hagerman Lines.
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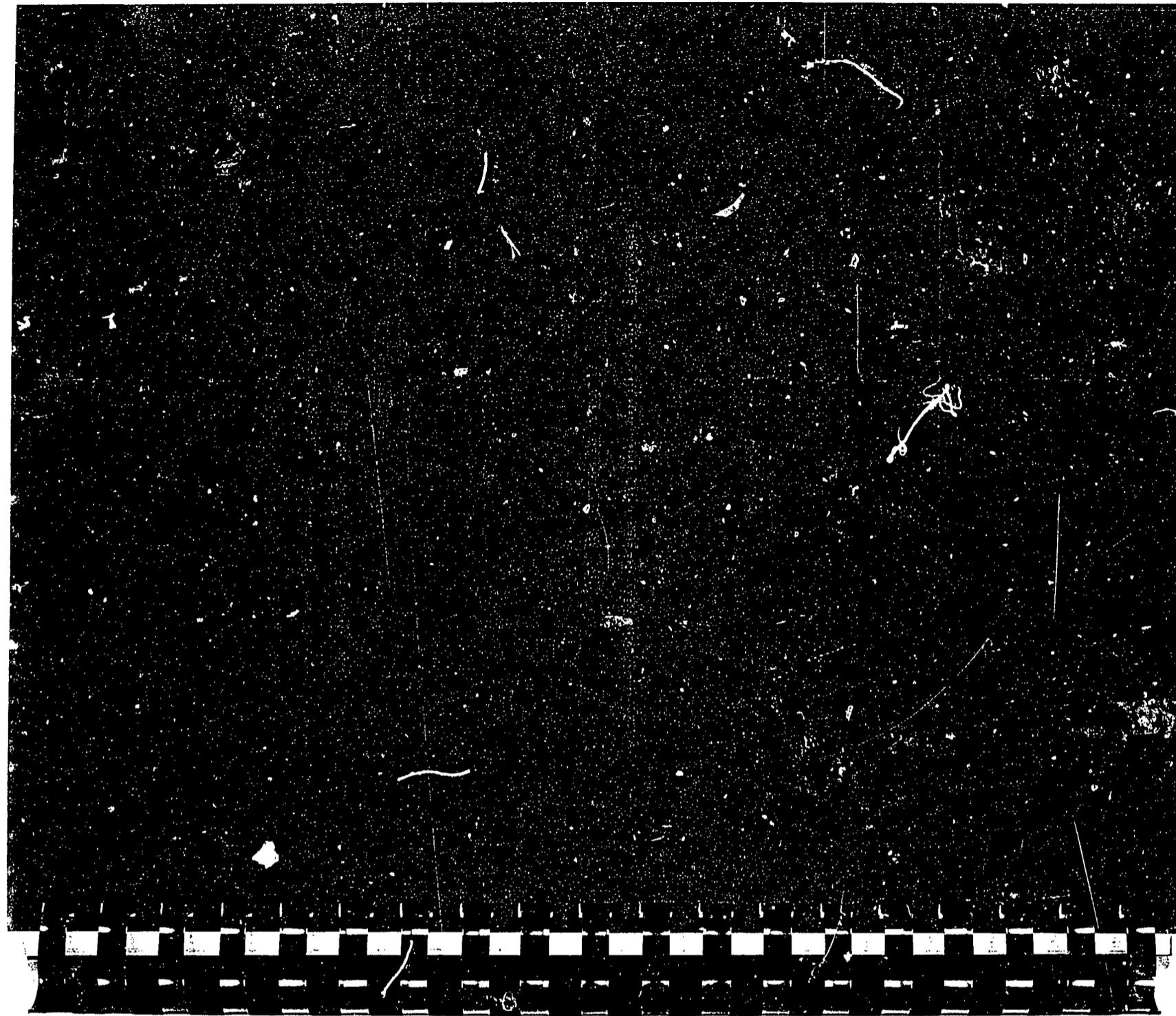


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