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REPORT ON HOPI BOUNDRY

BY

Harold S. Colton, Director

MUSEUM OF NORTHERN ARIZONA

Flagstaff, Arizona

(Ca. Doc. 1939)

I Introduction, Historical

II Navajo pressure on the Hopi

III Administrated Lands

IV Land Use outside of District Six

- A. Moenkopi area
- B. Northwestern boundary of district six
- C. Up and down the Oraibi Wash
- D. The Northern area
- E. The Eastern area
- F. The Southeastern area
- G. The Southwestern area

V Criteria for making a fair division

SRP000723

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I. INTRODUCTION

On September the sixth, 1939, I was visited by a group of Hopi Indians which included Roger Honani, Lewis Numkina, Thomas Jenkins, of Moenkopi, and Fred Lomayestewa and Ray Seyumptawa of Oraibi. They asked me to gather together data that might be presented to the commission who have been selected to determine the Hopi-Navajo boundary.

On November first I was visited by another group which included John Talashoma and Roger Honani of Moenkopi and Albert Yeva of First Mesa. Besides the men that I have mentioned I also interviewed Viets Lomaheftewa of Shungopovi, Edmund Nequatewa of Hotevilla, Henry Keevema of Hotevilla and Jimmy Kiwanyatewa of Oraibi. To the information that they have given me on Hopi land tenure, I have added material garnered from the literature and from other sources.

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My long contact with the Hopi and Navajo over a period of twenty-six years and my interest in these people has allowed me to tap many sources of information. The archaeological survey of northern Arizona that I started in 1916 makes it possible to plot the area occupied by the Hopi over the last thousand years. The recent occupation of

SRP000724

the area is only the end of a long story. The information that I have gathered I respectfully place before the commission.

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When the first white men arrived in northern Arizona, the Hopi were living on and about the same mesas on which they are living today. Archaeologists have traced back their history to about 600 A.D. During the thousand years 600 A.D. to 1600 A.D. the original Hopi apparently received additional people from the north from around Navajo Mountain and the Tsegi Canyons area; from the south along the Little Colorado, and even increments from the east.

Unlike the Rio Grande Pueblos, and Acoma and Zuni, the Hopi received no grant of land from the Spanish crown; at least no reference to one has ever been discovered or referred to in the Spanish archives.

In 1849, after the Mexican War, James S. Calhoun was appointed a special commissioner to deal with land claims under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. On account of the hostile Navajo he never visited the Hopi country. In 1850, he recommended that the Hopi be given the same treatment as was accorded the Rio Grande Pueblos and Zuni. Under common law they could get title to the land because open and notorious possession of land for 21 years should give them title. (Donaldson, Extra Bulletin. 11th Census of the U.S. The Mopui Pueblo Indians of Arizona, 1893.)

Living in the midst of the Navajo country, the Hopi never heard that a confirmation of their title was necessary nor had they any money to make the claim. Therefore, they had no legal tenure to their

land until the executive order of President Arthur in 1882 set aside 2,472,320 acres or 3860 square miles as the Moqui Indian Reservation. This was set aside out of the public lands of the United States for the Hopi and any other Indians the government might wish to place there. At that time there were about 2000 Hopis and a few hundred Navajos in the area. Since then the Hopis have increased to 3300 and the Navajo to 3600. This reservation was set up with the idea of giving the United States authority over the Hopi and to protect them from the Navajo (Donaldson, 1893).

About 2/5 of the population of the Reservation is now Hopi and 3/5 is Navajo, and the Navajo have crowded the Hopi into an area of about 800 square miles or 500,000 acres, which is about 1/5 of the Reservation, and which includes much of the poorest land.

In 1891, an attempt was made to allot land to the Hopi in 80 acre plots, but for many reasons, physiographic and ethnographic, this effort was abandoned.

Outside of the executive order Moqui Reservation of 1882, there has lived, for a long period, a group of Hopi at Moankopi, forty miles northwest of Hoteville. Archaeologists recognize that Hopi were living there in a permanent village between 1400 and 1600 A.D. The ruins of this pueblo lie on the mesa east of the present village.

On June 28, 1776, Father Garces records Hopis cultivating their irrigated fields at Moenkopi but gives the impression that they came there each summer, for he reports that the pueblo was half in ruins. (Coues Vol. II, p. 358)

In 1911, a very old Hopi, named Quavaho, died. His children remember that he told them that when he was 14 or 15 years old, Paiutes captured the pueblo above Moenkopi, destroyed the town and killed all the people. Two boys escaped who fled to Oraibi. This must have occurred between 1830 and 1840. (Honani and Numkina)

In the early 1870's Chief Tuba rebuilt the village 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.

When the western extension of the Navajo Reservation was established in 1804 for Navajo Indians, no mention was made of the Hopi who had been using certain lands for several hundred years. Although, legally the Hopi have no right to be at Moenkopi as the reservation was set aside for Navajo alone yet long continued use of the land should give them title. In settling the Hopi-Navajo boundary, moral as well as legal questions must be considered.

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II. NAVAJO PRESSURE ON THE HOPI

From all historic evidence it seems that the Navajos entered Arizona in the last half of the eighteenth century, but their grazing area did not conflict with the Hopi grazing and hunting areas until about 1840 or 1850. The United States Army temporarily removed the pressure in 1863 by transferring most of the Navajo to Fort Sumner in New Mexico. Some Navajo, however, fled west and settled in the Little Colorado Valley. When the Navajo were returned to their reservation in 1868, they were, for several years, too busy getting settled to expand in the direction

PRODUCED FROM HOLDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

of the Hopi, and it was not until 1882, after the formation of the Moqui Reservation that the pressure became acute. Col. E. A. Carr reported from his Fort Wingate Headquarters, August 22, 1889, that in Nov. 1888 he had received orders from the Interior Department at a complaint of Herbert Welch to send a judicious officer to remove all Navajos trespassing on the Moqui Reservation. A party was sent out but the weather was bad, and they only removed those Navajos who had recently encroached on the Moquis and warned those who had been living there a year not to impose on the Moquis. "The Moquis are mild and inoffensive and should be protected but it is for the agent to designate where the Navajos shall settle and then if necessary to call on military assistance to remove them." (Rept. of the Sec. of War. 51st Congress, 1st. Sess. Vol. 1, 1889-1890 Washington, p. 197)

"From excursions I made into the desert and to the mesas," says Donaldson in 1893, "I frequently came across large herds of Navajo sheep and goats..... far from their own reservation, monopolizing the feeding and watering places of the Moqui." (Donaldson, p. 60, loc. cit.)

Donaldson also reports that, "The Navajos have made frequent raids upon this place (Sheep Springs 1 mile north of Hano) with their herds so that there now acres of peach orchards gone to waste through the destruction of the terraces and trees. These terraces are all on the north side, from which direction the Navajos came....

..... Moreover, the Navajos are not pleasant neighbors." (Donaldson, loc. cit. p. 60, 1893).

A few years ago I visited an old blind Navajo, Charlie Day, who had been a scout for the U. S. Army. He was living in a hogan beside one

of the Tuba City springs. He told me that when he was a child, before 1863, he was living a few miles east of Keams Canyon, and at that time there were no Navajo to the west of their family.

We have a history of over sixty years of pressure of the Navajo appropriating Hopi lands - for two generations protests have been made but nothing has ever been done about it.

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III. ADMINISTRATED LANDS

From 1882 until recently the Navajo and the Hopi on the Hopi Reservation have been administered by the same Superintendent. For years the Hopi have struggled to have a superintendent for themselves alone and to have a boundary determined, inside of which, there would be no Navajo.

On November 6, 1930 a conference of leading Hopi and Navajo was called at Flagstaff to negotiate the boundary. It fell through, because the Hopi claimed all of northeastern Arizona and at the same time admitted they had no authority to negotiate for a smaller area.

A few years later the Soil Conservation Service set aside a district, based on present day land use, for the exclusive use of the Hopi with an area of about 800 square miles. This includes most of the cultivated fields of the Hopi but not all. Besides many Hopi graze their stock outside the area.

Over this district a superintendent was placed to deal with the Hopi alone with headquarters at Keams Canyon. The administration of the Navajo on the Hopi Reservation was given to the Navajo Agency at Window Rock.

Several recent efforts to settle the boundary, such as the meeting at Washington, failed because the Hopi made the boundary a religious question and still demanded all of northeast Arizona from the Little Colorado to the Four Corners. Realizing that the demands for all of northeastern Arizona were not likely to be granted, many Hopi are willing to have a boundary, based on land use, determined by a disinterested commission.

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IV. LAND USE OUTSIDE OF DISTRICT SIX

The Hopi have in the past made use of the land within forty or fifty miles of their villages for hunting, grazing, agriculture and for wood supplies. From time to time they visited religious shrines, well outside that area. They first felt Navajo pressure when the Navajo started using their hunting areas for grazing, destroying the game.

When the Hopi first received horses, sheep and goats from the Spaniards, in order to protect their fields, which lay mostly within ten miles of the pueblos, and which could not be fenced, they placed the live stock far away. Father Garces records that in July 1776, the Oraibi horses were kept on Howell Mesa part way between Moenkopi and Oraibi. There were no Navajo in the country at that time.

Agriculture was mostly conducted close to the villages, but fields are reported as far away as Monument Point, 24 miles south of Oraibi.

If we consider the land used by the Hopi outside of District Six, not going back further than 1882, we have the following information (the numbers agree with the numbers on the map):

A. Moenkopi Area

1. Hopi have been living in the pueblo at Moenkopi continuously since the 1870's; they use the springs for irrigation and have their fields below the pueblo and in Pasture Canyon. They graze their flocks on both sides of the Moenkopi Wash.

2. After the abandoment of Moenave by the Mormons, Frank Tewanemtewa and Numkina Bros. made abortive efforts to plant fields, using the old irrigation works. They were run out by Navajos.

3. Below Red Lake (Tonalea), ¼ mile south of Trading Post Numkina Bros., Poli, Joseph Talas, and George Neveistewa have farms (Honani). Moenkopi procures its wood from the Hills east of Red Lake and north of the Dinnebito, and north of Tuba City (J.K.).

4. On and about the mesas between Moenkopi and the Dinnebito, Numkina reports twenty people now having fields. (Honani).

5. In the Little Colorado, Hopi run their cattle with some Navajo cattle between Cameron and Howell Mesa. They water at the Little Colorado. (Numkina and Honani).

6. 14 miles north of Tuba, west of White Mesa, since 1914, two bands of Hopi sheep have been run. (Numkina and Honani).

7. In 1908 and 1909, Big Phillip ran sheep in the region of Lower Moenkopi Dam. (Honani).

B. Northwestern Boundary of District Six (Used by Third Mesa Hopi, mostly from Hotevilla).

8. Down the Dinnebito below Hotevilla, the Hopi have long had a grazing area based on Monokovi Spring which lies about four miles northeast of Dinnebito Trading Post. Johnson, who is still alive built a

house there in 1907 or 1908 but was driven out by the Navajo. In 1895 Frank Tewanemptewa who is still alive, ran his sheep in that area. Walter and Earl Ventewa use that grazing area at the present time. (Seyumptewa).

9. Up the Dinnebito Wash, which forms the west boundary of District Six the Hopi are farming west of the Wash. Beginning at the old crossing of theTuba City Road, and extending northeast the names of the owners of the fields in order are as follows:- Polingyumtewa, Poliyaumtewa, Silas Aloiguam, Sacksyesva, Tuvangyumptewa, Talasyestewa Coochkwaptewa, Benjamin Waitaima, Kuwanvema, Tawaniptewa; Henry Keevema (His farm was taken away from him by the Navajo. Miller, the stockman, tried to help him but two other white men on the Navajo side prevailed), Earl Albert, Walter Albert, Simon Lomhoiyima, Jack Pongyesva, Puhukma. (Keevema).

10. There are two farms 10 miles up the wash above the bride and also sheep camps of Howard of Bakabi and Jean Navahonema from Hotevilla.

11. The people of Hotevilla procure their wood for fuel and fence posts from the hills north of the Dinnebito Wash. (E.N.).

C. <u>Oraibi Wash</u> (Land used by Oraibi and Second Mesa Pueblos).

12. Down the Oraibi wash in 1890, Nakwavantewa of Shipaulovi had a farm a mile above the cottonwood tree near Monument Point. There were other farms nearby also. (E.N.).

13. 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. (E.N.).

14. Up the Oraibi Wash for 17 miles, the Hopi of Oraibi use the land for grazing. Komoisstewa (alive) who now lives at Burro Springs was driven out (by Navajos?). Edwin Carl (alive) built a house and

sheep camp but was driven out by Soil Conservation Officers, not by Navajos. (Seyumptewa).

15. The Hopi of Oraibi procure their wood fence posts, and fuel from the hills west of Pinyon. (E.N.).

D. The area north of District Six - Polacca and Wepo Drainage Systems (Land used mostly by Hano and Walpi)

16. A few miles south of Pinyon, Starley Polacca has a home. He has a farm and grazes stock in that area. Willie and Percy Healing, Along, and Hicks Cheeda also graze stock in that area. (A.Y.).

17. In this region the wood supply is procured for the Second Mesa Pueblos. (A.Y.).

18. Up the Polacca Wash, Hale Adams, Willie Avatohoya, Taylor Tahbo, Nanaskasya, Ohmi, and Tahoe run stock. In 1916, encouraged by Leo Crane, the Superintendent, George Lomyestewa built a good house and planted trees. While he was away the Navajos wrecked the house, broke his windows, and destroyed his farm. (A.Y.).

The deserted Hopi house farthest up the wash was built by Tom Pavatea. (A.Y.)

E. The area east of District Six

19. The area between the Polacca Wash and Keams Wash centering on Cienaga Wash has long been a Hopi grazing area. Bingham Dam seems to be the eastern limit. Kutka, Maipi, Bennett Cooka, and Tom Pavatea use this area. (A.Y.).

20. Up the Jeddito, Justin Sanderson, and Sequi graze sheep and cattle as far east as Petes Spring. (A.Y.).

F. The area southeast of District Six (Land used by Walpi and Hano.)

21. Along the rim of the mesa west of the Jeddito Wash are the ruins of five large Hopi Pueblos; Awatovi, Kawaioku, Chakpahu, Nesheptanga and Kokopnyama. The Descendents of the people who occupied these pueblos claim clan farm lands along the Jeddito Wash. Awatovi was occupied up to about 1700, the others were abandoned earlier. Sequi has a farm just S.W. of the Jeddito Trading Post. (A.Y.).

22. From the White Cone Valley southwest to Comah spring Vinton and Charlie Naha, Neil, Archie, and George Cochise run stock. Albert Naha was running stock in this area in 1912. (A.Y.).

23. Comah Spring 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, Vinto Najos uncle, built a house but the Navajos drove him out.

Suta who had been grazing his stock near Coma Spring was encouraged by Supt. Daniels in 1920 or '21 to build a house and plant his fields, so he left and never finished the house. (A.Y.).

3/4 mile northwest of Comah Spring five Hopis from Shipaulovi and Mishongnovi have fields. Hale Sikakuku has a house. (E.N.).

G. Area Southwest ofDistrict Six (Land used by Second Mesa, - Mishongnovi and Shipaulovi.)

24. Some people from Mishongnovi and Shipaulovi, in 1916, established farms south of Tovar Mesa but were driven out by Navajo. (E.N.).

25. Down the Polacca Wash between Coyote Springs and Red Lake, a big party of men planted fields in 1910. They were promptly run out by the Navajo. (E.N.).

The area down the Oraibi and Dinnebito Washes were discussed in sections 8, 12, and 13.

During the first decades of the 20th century, the Hopi Superintendent 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 Hopi feel secure, so most of those attempts to use the outlying farm lands were failures.

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V. CRITERIA FOR MAKING A FAIR DIVISION

In making a fair division between Navajo lands and Hopi lands moral as well as legal values must be considered.

What to do with the trespassing Navajo, like the question of Hopi Shrines, is a separate problem from the Hopi-Navajo land use boundary and should not be considered at this time.

It is well to remember that the Hopi Tribe exists only in the eyes of the Indian Bureau and the general public. The Hopi themselves do not think of themselves in terms of a tribe. They owe allegiance only to the village in which they live and, with a couple of exceptions, the villages are as independent of one another as certain Rio Grande Pueblos like Santo Domingo, Sia, Cochiti and Acoma which are bound together by language and culture. There is no political unity. It is, therefore, necessary to deal with each village separately Walpi, Hano, Mishnognovi, Shipaulovi, Shungopovi, Oraibi, Hotevilla, Bakabi and Moenkopi. The Indian Bureau after sixty years of struggle is just learning this fact. This means, that as far as land use is concerned, additions to District

Six should be considered not as one lumpt area but as additions to the grazing lands of each village or mesa: as First Mesa, Second Mesa, and Third Mesa.

(A) 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 in there for less than seventy years have no valid claim to lands so long used by the Hopi. Roughly the Hopi area around Moenkopi should include about 100,000 acres or 150 square miles, based on 2 persons per square mile.

(B) As a basis for a fair decision, the land used by the Hopi in 1882 should be taken, because this was the time when Navajo pressure was just beginning.

(C) Since two fifths of the legal Moqui Reservation is populated by Hopi, the Hopi should be given at least 2/3 of the land. They have now 1/5 in District Six. This is particularly important as the Hopi use efficiently some of the poorest part of the Reservation, and because they are now entirely surrounded by Navajo land, and will have no chance for any future expansion.

(D) The Hopi are provident and grow sufficient corn each year, to last for two years in case of drought. They now have under cultivation practically all the land that can be cultivated in District Six, but that is not sufficient, as we have seen. To provide for the increasing population they must have more farm land than can be found inside of District Six. When one looks over the Hopi country one is struct by the great amount of vacant land, but due to the arid climate,

with not more than 15 inches annual rainfall, not all soils hold sufficient moisture to grow crops, thus many Hopis are struggling to retain their bits of arable land outside of District Six.

(E) The present District Six has about 4 Hopi per square mile. The rest of the area of the executive order Reservation, and the Navajo Reservation, as well, have about 2 Navajo per square mile. Again, is it fair to penalize the Hopi by crowding them into a small area because they are more energetic and are better farmers than the Navajo and use their land to greater advantage? In all fairness the Hopi should be given an area in which there would be but two Hopis per square mile. That would justify adding 500,000 acres to District Six.

(F) On the Navajo Reservation there are possibilities of irrigation. The Hopi have little or none.

(G) The Hopi must have sufficient woodlands areas allotted to the different towns to supply fire wood and fence posts.

(H) In drawing a boundary line, watering places must be carefully considered.

(I) On the basis of these facts the Hopi should receive about 500,000 acres additional making about 1,000,000 acres for their Reservation or two-fifths of the present executive order Reservation. This would be equivalent to moving the boundary about seven miles on the average beyond the persent boundary of District Six. This is the minimum in all fairness that they should receive.