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Historic Hopi Use and Occupancy of the Little Colorado Watershed, 1540-1900

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from Awat'ovi apparently sought to go farther into this colonial embrace, the Hopi majority drastically reemphasized their independence by razing the town to the ground. That desire for independence remained the Hopi position throughout the remainder of the colonial period, but simultaneously there are definite periodic indications that the Hopi sought to reaffirm protective rights guaranteed to them by Spanish governors of New Mexico under the Laws of the Indies.

1701-1770: Ongoing Negotiation of Hopi-Spanish Relations

In response to the attack on Awat'ovi, and to try to persuade Rio Grande Pueblo Indians to return to their towns, Spanish military campaigns were launched in 1701, 1707, and 1716 (e.g., Brew 1949:24-25 [HX-PMW-LCR-33]). But especially now that the Hopi Province had been joined by numerous Rio Grande "irreconcilables" (Brew 1949:20 [HX-PMW-LCR-33]), the campaigns were successfully repulsed.

A series of missionary attempts throughout the 18th century to bring the Hopi back within the fold were effectively rejected, although at various points, some people from the Hopi Province elected to go to the Rio Grande and take up residence, which implied reconversion to the church. While periodically debating the missionaries, seeming to offer hope for the future, and not visiting any violence upon even lone Franciscan friars who approached them, Hopis refused to permit the reestablishment of missions themselves (Brew 1949:24ff [HX-PMW-LCR-33]; Whiteley 1988a:21-23 [HX-PMW-LCR-270]). A flurry of Franciscan visits in the 1740's (partly in response to a temporary transfer of the Hopi Province to the Jesuits; a transfer that in fact saw no Jesuit visits) produced some significant records. In 1742, Fathers Delgado and Pino successfully returned 441 Natives to the Rio Grande. Most, perhaps all, of these were from the

Tiwa settlement of Payupki on Second Mesa. Six years later they reestablished Sandia Pueblo, probably with these same returnees but also with others who may have been returned in 1745 and 1747 (Brew 1949:32-34 [HX-PMW-PCR-33]). Brew infers there was strife between the Rio Grande refugees and the Hopi by this point, perhaps owing to a drought that began in the 1730's. During his visit in 1745, Father Delgado, whose observations seem quite scrupulous, reported initial success in persuading the Hopi to listen to his proposals for baptism:

...I went on September 16 of this year of 1745 to the extensive provinces of Moqui....I arrived at the said province with Father Fray José Yrigoyen and Fray Juan José Toledo, my beloved companions, on the 29th day of (September) of the said year. We were well received there and we preached the word of the holy gospel to the natives with great fervor.... [The Hopis suggest they might be willing to entertain baptism at some future point]. With this understanding and feeling safe in the midst of those barbarous heathen, we went on to examine their pueblos, which are situated within a space of six leagues, apart from each other. There are six of them [Wálpi, Hanoki, Musangnuvi, Supawlavi, Songòopavi, and Orayvi], and **I can assure your reverence (since I saw it, and the count was made by me and my companions) that there are 10,846 persons among them**, including young and old. In order not to be tiresome, I will say no more, except that they live under a good system of government, have enough to eat of the food to which they are accustomed, and inhabit rugged, rocky heights, with very rough and impassable ascents (Delgado 1745 [Hackett 1937, III [HX-PMW-PCR-93]], emphasis added).

Brew interprets the population figure as a reflection of the increase from Rio Grande refugees, but it is significant nonetheless.

In 1747, a campaign was launched to subdue the Gila Apaches, the Yavapais, and others who were resisting Spanish expansion. When the campaign arrived at Zuni:

...they found a large delegation of Hopi *principales* ['chiefs'] waiting for them. Having got word that Spaniards were coming, perhaps to build presidios in Hopi territory, these representatives had hastened to Zuni to prostrate themselves before Captain Rubí de Celis and the friars, "promising to do whatever was desired of them, and giving assurance that already they were completely loyal, even as before their rebellion." The Hopi performance was convincing, but the weather proved even more so. Fierce cold and heavy snows caused Rubí de Celis to cancel the proposed excursion to Hopi (Kessell 1971:138

[HX-PMW-LCR-140]).

This is a clear indication of continuing Hopi sentiment of formal belonging within the Spanish state, even while negotiating to forestall reestablishment of its everyday dominion.

The demographic situation after the Pueblo Revolt remained in flux; Hopi continued to receive refugees from the Rio Grande Pueblos well into the 18th century. In 1760, Father Juan de Lezaún reported:

The province of Moqui has remained in revolt up to the present (1760). It was composed of some nine pueblos but due to continuous wars among them there remain only five, containing more than eight thousand Indians. The province is the refuge of the Christian Indians when they are tired of working for the governor and the *alcaldes mayores* [i.e., from the Rio Grande Pueblos to Zuni]; at such times they retire thither, and, uniting with the Moquis, do great damage to the cattle and horses of the Christians.... The difficulty might have been overcome at small cost, for the towns are so situated that they might soon be taken by a siege force, since they have no water except at a distance, and their wood supply and their crops are also remote. I have seen and proved this to be true by my own experience, because I have been there to preach to them (Lezaún 1760 [Hackett 1937, III:469 [HX-PMW-LCR-93]]).

From this account, several inferences are possible. Brew (1949:32 [HX-PMW-LCR-33]) suspects disagreement ("continuous wars") between Hopis and the immigrant population from the eastern Pueblos. This may be so, but the rhetoric of missionary zeal may have exaggerated the conflict. The population estimate is particularly significant, again, in conjunction with the figure recorded by Delgado in 1745. The contrast noted above with the population in 1900 is striking. More than two centuries after the first Old World diseases had, in all probability, decimated the indigenous population in the Southwest, the population of the Hopi towns, certainly augmented by Rio Grande refugees, but not, we may presume to the degree that they outnumbered Hopis, was four to six times higher than figures recorded in 1900. Another significant factor suggested by Lezaún concerns the introduction of more livestock to Hopi by fleeing Rio Grande refugees; the

implication is that they took cattle and horses from the Rio Grande Pueblos with them to increase the holdings at Hopi. This would conform with notations in the 1770's (below) of the large cattle and horse herds of the Hopi.

Despite Lezaún's desire for troops to subdue the Hopi and force them back more submissively under colonial control, what is also clear, from the visits of Delgado and others as well as Lezaún himself, is that the Hopi desired to remain on good terms with the Spanish. Their participation in submission and reincorporation within Spain's dominions after the Revolt may have been merely formal, but in the minds of colonial officials the Hopi remained part of New Mexico and subject to Spanish authority. Although the Hopi mostly rejected full reincorporation within that authority, they acceded without protest to the repatriation of Rio Grande refugees to pueblos actively under Spanish jurisdiction (and of Hopis who accompanied them), and expressed acknowledgment of Spanish suzerainty in the 1740's. After conflict broke out with the Navajo in the 1770's, Hopis sought Spanish assistance, and actively protected Spanish missionaries against Navajo threats, again suggesting some continuing acknowledgment of Spanish authority.

The 1770s: Visits by the Franciscan Fathers Escalante and Garcés

Spanish desire to completely reconquer and convert the Hopi persisted, although after Lezaún's efforts there was a hiatus until the mid-1770's. That decade produced several important records of Hopi, especially by Fathers Escalante and Garcés. In 1766, Nicolas de Lafora, Captain of the Royal Spanish Engineers, was sent by King Carlos III to New Mexico with the Marques de Rubí to map the northern frontier of the Spanish provinces and recommend locations for

presidios against Apache incursions (Kinnaird 1958 [HX-PMW-LCR-142], Thomas 1932 [HX-PMW-LCR-238], 1941 [HX-PMW-LCR-239]). Lafora and Rubi's information was put to direct use, and Hugo de Oconor was directed to implement Rubi's recommendations to control the Apaches. In this same connection, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza undertook an exploratory trip from Santa Fe by way of the Gila River to California in 1774:

...and it was desired that in connection with his second expedition the region between the Gila and the Moqui towns should be explored.... To find a way to Moqui was deemed important, especially as it was proposed, if possible to occupy the Gila Valley and some of its branches. The New Mexican friars were called upon for their views, and Padre Escalante [the missionary at Zuni] developed much enthusiasm on the subject (Bancroft 1889:260-61 [HX-PMW-LCR-14]).

Six years later, Anza, now Governor (since 1777) of New Mexico, undertook this second expedition to the Hopi villages to try to persuade more people to return to the Rio Grande, especially in view of a drought afflicting Hopi country at that point. But the military intent had diminished and his orders were not to engage the Hopi by force (see below).

In the meantime, Father Silvestre Velez de Escalante and the alcalde (sheriff) of the Zuni Province visited all the Hopi towns over eight days in June-July 1775. Escalante's account of Hopi is the most important until the late 19th century, providing more details of the Hopi economy, of water uses, and social practices, than anything to date. Taking the usual trail from Zuni (the Zuni Province had been consolidated into one town since 1700), Escalante recorded the springs they passed by, the last at "El Ojo de Cañutillo," four leagues (ten miles) from Wálpi, probably near Awat'ovi or on a tributary drainage to the Jeddito Wash:

On the twenty-fifth before they rounded up the mounts, I sent two Indians to Gualpi [Wálpi] to greet the caciques and captains of these three pueblos [Sitsom'ovi had evidently been recently established; there is no allusion to a third pueblo on First Mesa in Lezaún's account of 1760] and to give them the news of my imminent arrival (E.B.

Adams 1963:122 [HX-PMW-LCR-3]).

Escalante was greeted by the chief of Hanoki and the War Chief of Wälpi.:

They themselves made their people take the saddles and other appurtenances of the Alcalde's horse and mine to the lodging they had already prepared for me with order and cleanliness. They escorted us to it and gave us a very affectionate welcome.... I admonished them not to neglect their sowings, which they had not yet finished, in order to celebrate my arrival with dances....

Escalante spent another day at First Mesa and recorded many Hopis coming to visit with him. The following day, while preparing to depart for Orayvi, he was warned by a representative from Wälpi that approximately one hundred Navajos (who had just arrived) were planning to kill the Spanish party on their return journey to Zuni. This is another instance that suggests a sense of Hopi alliance with Spanish interests, an alliance that was to develop further as Hopi conflict with the Navajo increased. The next day, Escalante left First Mesa for Orayvi, passing across the Wepo Wash, and crossing Second Mesa north of the recent ruin of Payupki. He recorded several springs along the route:

On the twenty-seventh, I set out to the west northwest for Oraybi, accompanied by the Alcalde, three Zuñis, and the interpreter. And after travelling two and a half leagues over a very troublesome stretch of sand, we entered a little pass with many rocks, beside which, half a league to the south, is the mesa where the Tiguas who are now Christians at the pueblo of Sandia formerly lived. There are still traces of their houses on the mesa. The pass has some difficult patches. On either side of the road at the beginning of the descent [on the east side of the Oraibi Valley], which is short, there are three small watering places with good water. From here I sent two Indians to Orayribi [sic] to advise the cacique and the other that I was on my way to visit them. After travelling a league and a half, also very sandy [across the Oraibi Wash], we reached Oraybi shortly before eleven o'clock in the morning (E.B. Adams 1963:124 [HX-PMW-LCR-3])

Escalante's reception at Orayvi was not so cordial, although he was provided with lodgings. He engaged in a spirited debate with the leaders, who summarily dismissed his missionary intentions (cf. Whiteley 1988a:23-25 [HX-PMW-LCR-270]). The Orayvis were nonetheless interested in

trading with Escalante and “many came to see me out of curiosity” (E.B. Adams 1963:127 [HX-PMW-LCR-3]). Escalante was eager to learn the route to the Havasupai villages, since he had been told of two visiting Havasupais at Wàlpi. Instead, the Orayvis offered to show him the route, the interpreter’s uncle “telling me that he had gone to Cojnina [Havasupai] many times and that he would inform me better than anyone else of all he knew” (ibid:126 [HX-PMW-LCR-3]). This man and another accordingly gave Escalante “an extensive account of everything” pertaining to the country between Orayvi and Havasupai (ibid. [HX-PMW-LCR-3]).

Escalante “devoted the afternoon of this day to viewing the pueblo [Orayvi] at my leisure, including the watering places from which they get their daily supply and the ascents to the mesa” (ibid:126 [HX-PMW-LCR-3]). Towards evening, Escalante visited the house of the interpreter’s uncle (the informant for the route to Havasupai) in Orayvi; he refused conversion, expressing fear of Orayvi leaders, but, “if the father could bring Spanish people, build a church, and remain here, I and most of the pueblo would become Christians because many of us wish it. Perhaps it will be God’s will that fathers come” (ibid:126 [HX-PMW-LCR-3]). This expression of interest (whether entirely sincere or not) again shows that although the Hopi desired to retain their autonomy, there was acknowledgment of ongoing participation within the Spanish sphere. Moreover, the Orayvis’ consent to allow Escalante to observe their town and its water sources again suggests that he and the alcalde (representing the Spanish civil regime) were acknowledged as diplomatic emissaries.

The following day, they passed to Second Mesa, where they were more warmly welcomed at all three villages (this is the first historic mention of Supawlavi, founded in the first half of the 18th century, by name in the documentary record), with offers to supply provisions, but

no promises of conversion. Again, Escalante made a point of recording the “watering places and entrances” at Songòopavi (ibid:129 [HX-PMW-LCR-3]), and inspected all three pueblos personally. Returning to Wàlpi, Escalante learned a Havasupai delegate had come to meet with him (in fact a Havasupai party had gone to Orayvi, only to discover that he had departed).

Escalante engaged him in conversation:

And so he began to answer all my questions through the interpreter. After we had conversed for nearly two hours he made me a rough but clear map of the road that goes from Oraybi to his land, indicating turns, stages, and watering places, the area his people occupies and inhabits, the distance from the last rancherías to the Rio Grande [meaning the Colorado River] and the direction in which it flows, and the bordering tribes. He drew all this with charcoal on the sudadero [blanket] of a saddle. I do not reproduce the map now because I hope that God is going to allow me to do so after I have already seen all this (ibid:131 [HX-PMW-LCR-3]).

Escalante’s geographic interest in the Hopi area and beyond evolved into the survey he undertook with Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez throughout northern Arizona and Utah over the next two years, leading to the first good maps of the region (see Map 4) by accompanying mapmaker Bernardo Miera y Pacheco (Auerbach 1943 [HX-PMW-LCR-12], Bolton 1950 [HX-PMW-LCR-28], Wheat 1957-63, I: 94-116 [HX-PMW-LCR-268]).

Based on specific observations, Escalante also recorded a credible population estimate, and provided some ethnological insights into Hopi life, as well as a record of economic activities. His motive was clearly governed by the military intentions to survey for presidios noted above, and his record was designed to provide intelligence to the civil authorities. He recommended a presidio be established at Hopi as the only means to secure Hopi conversion (Brew 1949:35 [HX-PMW-LCR-33]), in accord with Oconor’s plans to build such defensive centers throughout New Mexico. Motivation aside, Escalante’s observations substantiate Hopi social and cultural

presence more specifically than any other previous record, and, for the present purpose, are thus worth quoting in extenso:

...I will tell about Moqui first. But because I must set down the approximate number of families each pueblo has, I note that the Indians of these provinces mean by a family mother, father, daughters, husbands and children of the daughters, because the mother and not the father bestows the surname. The origin of the house comes from them, as well as everything else that stems from the masculine trunk with us. And so when they marry, the daughters and granddaughters do not leave the mother and grandmother, even if they come to have many offspring. Therefore, three, four, and sometimes five married couples compose a single family, and the families I enumerate are of this kind.

MOQUI: There are no more than four and a half leagues from the first pueblo of this small province to the last, which is Oraybi. Today there are seven pueblos. The first three are on the mesa, or peñol, of Gualpi. The first of these [Hanoki] consists of Teguas and Tanos who have been living there since the general uprising [of 1680]. Their language is all one, but different from the Moqui language. This pueblo is located upon the very pass which divides the peñol from the mesa, and it has about 110 families. It has its two captains and the cacique, who is an apostate Christian and is called Pedro. The second pueblo [Sitsom'ovi] is of Moqui Indians. It does not have its own government because it is like a hamlet of Gualpi. It has two small tenements and about fifteen families. The third pueblo is Gualpi [Wâlpi], and it must have at least two hundred families. The people of these three pueblos have no watering place for their daily supply except the one which lies at the foot of the peñol and on the east side right on the only road by which the mounts can go up to the pueblos [probably Tawapa spring or Isva spring]. The water is bad tasting and so scarce that the Indian women take turns to get it and usually stay there several hours before their turn comes to fill their water jars or gourds. There is another watering place west of the peñol at the foot of a little hill, but it is farther away and serves only for the stock. A little more than a mile away on the plain to the northwest of the pueblos, there are three small springs of perennial water [probably Kohkyangwva and Tuveskya springs]. To the northeast in a canyon at the foot the mesa, there is a more abundant spring of better water [perhaps Sikyatki spring]. On this side mounted men can climb the mesa, but only up to the pass, and if necessary cut off fugitives here. A mounted troop can reach all these watering places and defend them without its being possible to attack them with arrows or stones from any eminence.

There are three more pueblos on two arms of another mesa to the west of the above-mentioned. On the north, Mossajnabi [Musangnuvi] and Xipaolabi [Supawlavi]. The former has about fifty families and the latter fourteen, because the inconvenience of the site has forced its inhabitants to move to the south arm of the mesa. On the east side of Mossajnabi, on the road which goes from Gualpi and already on the plain, is the water supply of these two pueblos. And it consists of three abundant wells of good water

[probably Toriiva and Lemeva springs: Escalante seems to have got his directions slightly confused upon reaching Second Mesa], one of them perennial and running. There are three entrances, even on horseback. One on the east northeast, and this one is hard going for riders. Another on the south is not very bad. And the third along the mesa itself from Xongopabi [Songòpavi]. There are several footpaths. The ancient pueblo of San Bartolomé de Xongopabi has been rebuilt on the south arm. Today it keeps only the name Xommapabi (those who are not Moquinos [Hopis] say Xonogopabi). It has three well-arranged but not very large tenements and about sixty families. The only watering place which supplies this pueblo is on the north skirt of the mesa [probably Qötsatspelvi spring]. They have two more nearby on the plain [probably Songòopa and Masiipa springs]. One toward the south and this is perennial [Masiipa]. The other to the east and this is a middle-sized well which usually dries up [Songòopa]. The mesa has two ascents for mounted men. One is on the west and has some difficult stretches. The other on the east northeast, and this one is good even for pack animals, but it is easy to defend it, even with a very small force.

The third mesa is to the west northwest. The pueblo of San Francisco de Oraybi (just Oraybi today) is on it. It has eleven rather large and well arranged tenements, with streets to all directions, and there must be at least eight hundred families. It is governed by two captains and a cacique. It has two main entrances, one on the east and the other on the northwest. Both are easy, even for people on horseback. At the beginning of the first are two watering places of bad water which serve only for the animals, but it is necessary to draw it from the wells so that they can drink from some depressions which the people of the pueblo have made in stones [patnis]. At the beginning of the second about a mile to the north of the pueblo, is a spring of good water [probably Leenangwva]. This is the one which, although small, supplies the pueblo. Very near to the pueblo on the west they have six large cisterns in which a great deal of water can be collected when it rains or snows, but when I saw them they were dry.

All the pueblos have an abundance of sheep, whose wool is usually black. They also have some cattle, and there is much more of this at Oraybi. This includes a good herd of horses. They plant maize, frijoles [beans], chile, and cotton. Of this they make very fine textiles in their style, and they weave the wool to trade and to clothe themselves. The fruits here are melons, watermelons, and peaches. At a considerable distance they have piñon.

They dress like the Christian Indians of this kingdom [i.e., the Rio Grande Pueblos]....

They told me that one day's journey north of Moqui there is a middle-sized river with good meadows [perhaps Laguna Creek]. There is another west of Oraybi, whether large or small I do not know, and it cannot be very far because the Oraybis use it to irrigate some plantings they make on its banks [Moenkopi Wash] (E.B. Adams 1963:133-35 [HX-PMW-LCR-3]).

Escalante also included ethnographic observation on Hopi religion, including the Snake Dance and Kachina dances. Again, his reception at Wàlpi seems to have been particularly cordial, and there was concern to protect his party from rumors of Navajo attack:

On the third day of July we left Gualpi for Zuñi by a different road than the one we took when we came. Although I tried to avoid it, the captain of Gualpi sent forty armed men to find out whether some smokes that had been seen in the direction where we were going were of the Navajos who planned to kill us. I was most grateful for this action. After travelling about five leagues we reached a site called Aguatobi [Awat'ovi]. The watering place is at the foot of a little hill right on the road [probably Lemova spring]. It is a middle-sized spring of good water sufficient to provide for many people and horses. There are many peach trees near its source. We remained here until five o'clock in the afternoon in order that after drinking at this hour the horses would be able to reach the next watering place, which is about twenty-two leagues from this one. At the said hour we went on, and as soon as we had climbed the hill we sighted the ruins of the old mission of San Bernardino [sic] de Aguatobi. It was on a height a little more than a quarter of a league to the south of the place where the said spring rises (E.B. Adams 1963:136 [HX-PMW-LCR-3]).

Returning to Zuni, Escalante stopped at the two principal springs along the road (Ojo de la Jara [perhaps Toyei, known by early Anglo-Americans as White Rock Springs in Steamboat Canyon²], and Ojo del Almagre). In another record of this journey, Escalante emphasized Orayvi's "good horse herds, droves of sheep and some cattle" (Brew 1949:35 [HX-PMW-LCR-33]). He concluded, "The Moqui are very civilized, apply themselves to weaving and cultivate the land, raising abundant crops of maize, beans, and chile. They also gather cotton but not much [note that he did not travel to Mùnqapi]. They suffer from scarcity of wood and good water" (ibid [HX-PMW-LCR-33]). Escalante provides a population estimate (that multiplies his count of 1,249 families noted above by six): 7,494 in all (ibid. [HX-PMW-LCR-33]). This may be fairly

² This contradicts Escalante's recent notation (above) that the next closest spring to Awat'ovi is "22 leagues" distant, which would place it close by the Rio Puerco of the West, perhaps modern "Navajo Springs" near Chambers.

reliable, although his description of family form would suggest six is rather a low multiplier; the total is nonetheless close to Lezaun's estimate of 8,000 in 1760.

One year later, Fray Francisco Garcés, using Pai guides (whom he refers to as Yavapais, although he may have used this term generically to include Walapais and/or Havasupais), approached the Hopi towns from the west, having come from the vicinity of Bakersfield, California, via the Mohave villages along the Lower Colorado River. Garcés's descriptions of his route are more haphazard than Escalante's, and are not always parsible. But Garcés's chronicle is another important indication of Hopi land and life, and complements Escalante's two records of 1775-76. The first major Hopi settlement he reached was Orayvi, and while his exact route is not entirely clear (e.g., Coues 1900, II:356, n 37 [HX-PMW-LCR-56]), it seems he traversed the Moenkopi Wash, and making note of Orayvi's gardens at Mùnqapi. Elliot Coues (first editor of Garcés's journal) infers he crossed the Little Colorado River near its confluence with the Moenkopi Wash. Close by, he was greeted by two Hopis (ibid:357 [HX-PMW-LCR-56]). Along the Moenkopi Wash (that Garcés terms the "Rio San Pedro Jaquesíla," a term he also intended for a section of the Little Colorado itself), Garcés noted a "half-ruined pueblo":

I asked what that was, and they answered me that it had been a pueblo of the Moqui, and that some crops which were near to a spring of water [probably Mùnqapi spring] were theirs, they coming to cultivate them from the same Moqui pueblo [Orayvi] 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 [probably on the Moenkopi Plateau], without one tree, though there is some small grass; and having gone six leagues in the same direction I arrived at some pastures where the Moquis keep their horseherd. These pastures are of difficult entrances and worse exit; there are found some scanty aguages [pasturages]....

July 2. I went three leagues eastsoutheast, and yet other three east [sic];³ whereupon I arrived at the pueblo the Yabipais call Muca, and this is the (Pueblo) de Oraibe (ibid:357-59 [HX-PMW-LCR-56]).

Garcés proceeded into Orayvi:

In order to surmount the mesa whereon stands the pueblo there is a quite a steep ascent and very narrow pathway. On the same ascent there was a sheepfold (corral de ganado menor), of which there kept here about three atajos [flocks]. The ewes are larger than those of Sonora, and the black ones have a finer color. Having ascended the slope I commenced my journey over the mesa, and passed through some sandy places (medanos) until I reached a small spring of water which is in front of the pueblo.

This spring may have been Leenangwva, Orayvi's principal spring to the west of the town in the valley below, or it might be a reference to the more distant Hotvela or Paaqavi springs, both of which were areas along his general route that had terraced gardens (see the next part of his description below). In either case, the sheep corrals Garcés refers to were some distance from Orayvi, indicating no fear of Navajo theft at this point; five years later that situation had changed (see below).

In the cañadas at this place there are many peachtrees; and though the soil is sterile, since no grass grows, nor any other tree than the peaches they have planted, it is well cultivated, and on the very border of the spring of water I saw some gardens or inclosures containing onions, beans, and several other kinds of garden-truck which have evidently cost much labor to produce. Descending and turning about, I suddenly found myself in sight of the pueblo (Coues 1900, II:361-62 [HX-PMW-LCR-56]).

³ Coues here gives a footnote suggesting Garcés's course lay across the Dinnebito Valley and around the tip of Oraibi Butte:

This course is over a nearly level plain to near its end, the most conspicuous object being the isolated mesa on Garcés's right [perhaps Padilla Mesa], rising to 6,500 feet from the general level of 5,500 to 5,575. On nearing Oraibi, when about 5 m. due W. of that pueblo, the road rises 250 feet to the level of 6,000 feet, and at this elevation rounds Oraibi Butte [Apoonivi], which rises to 6,750; it then sinks again to the general level, and finally rises abruptly to the butte or mesa on the edge of which is Oraibi, at an altitude of 6,250 (Coues 1900, II:359, n 41 [HX-PMW-LCR-56]).

Notwithstanding that Garcés was unwelcome in Orayvi, his brief stay provided some useful observations. Towards evening, "...I saw entering the pueblo the men who were coming from work, and they brought their hatchets, dibbles and hoes." This is a clear indication of ongoing Spanish trade in these items with the Hopi: Coues (1900, II:364 [HX-PMW-LCR-56]) reported annual visits to Orayvi in the 1770's by a blacksmith. Garcés's reception was even less cordial than Escalante's, and the Orayvis evidently feared that, since he came from the direction of the Colorado River (which had never occurred with any prior Spanish party), he would communicate information to their enemies, the Chemehuevis. He was summarily shunned, although his Pai guides were invited into Orayvi houses. Garcés then made an attempt to visit the other Hopi towns:

...having completed the descent of the declivity entered upon a plain of sandy soil, to which on the south no end was visible [the Oraibi Valley]. On one side and the other of the road there were many fields of maiz and beans, and therein various Indians working at their respective employments.... (ibid:382 [HX-PMW-LCR-56]).

He ascended Second Mesa but was warned against approaching the villages by some Hopi women, so he returned to Orayvi. Here he noted:

Within this pueblo I saw no water; but at the edge of the bluff on the east I saw a very copious spring of water, though I did not observe that it was running; the descent thereto is by some steps well formed of stone, and all round it is a curbing of the same material (388).

Again, although the direction is incorrect, this description applies to Leenangwva spring; it may in fact have been that spring, or, if Garcés's geography was correct, another one east of Orayvi.

After a confrontation with Orayvi leaders, Garcés abandoned his mission, and departed along his same route of entry. Leaving town, he became separated from his guides and got lost on Third Mesa, noting that he was, "...taking the road that goes to the Yutas [probably north across Black

Mesa] who live north of Moqui and are enemies only of this pueblo of Oraibe and of the Moqui concave" [Mùñqapi] (ibid. 393 [HX-PMW-LCR-56]).

Garcés also provided a list of the Hopi towns, as given by his guides:

The names of the Moqui pueblos, according to the way the Yabipais pronounced them to me, are: SesePaulaba [Supawlavi]; Masagnebe [Musangnuvi]; Jano [Hanoki]; Gualpa [Wàlpi]; Muqui concabe [Mùñqapi]; and this pueblo of Muca which the Zunis name Oraybe, and it was in this that I was. The Yutas, enemies of the last two pueblos, live on the one and the other side of the Rio Colorado in the very confluences of the two rivers that compose it (ibid: 393-95 [HX-PMW-LCR-56]).

It is noteworthy that at this juncture, Orayvi's principal enemies were the Ute, rather than, as later, the Navajo. From two Hopis he chanced upon, Garcés learned the correct route to the west, and was soon rejoined by his Pai guides coming from Orayvi. He recorded meeting with a Hopi shepherd and two others driving horses from horse pastures (inferentially on Moenkopi Plateau) (ibid:398-99 [HX-PMW-LCR-56]). Garcés returned to the Moenkopi Wash and back to the Pai camp further on, where his hosts expressed regret at his treatment in Orayvi, and feasted him on beef, of which he noted a significant presence in the area. It is likely that some of the cattle, if not all, belonged to Orayvi. Orayvis herded their cattle throughout Black Mesa and west, south and southwest to the Little Colorado River (e.g., Godfrey 1988a [HX-PMW-LCR-87]). "Cow Springs" in the Klethla Valley is a literal translation of the Hopi place-name, Wakasva. Although this cannot be determined beyond reasonable doubt, it is likely that the name applied to Black Mesa during the Mexican period, Mesa de la Vaca, reflects the presence of these Hopi cattle herds.

This interpretation gains support from Escalante's next visit to Hopi later that same year (1776), from the northwest. The Domínguez-Escalante expedition went northwest from (modern)

New Mexico into Utah, and followed a circuit back towards Hopi, crossing the river near Lee's Ferry (the "Crossing of the Fathers," after Domínguez and Escalante). They learned of the route to Orayvi from San Juan Southern Paiutes southeast of the crossing (see Map 5). On November 12th, five miles northeast of modern Kaibito (Chavez and Warner 1976:106 [HX-PMW-LCR-47]), the party noted a stopping place for the Havasupais en route to visit Paiutes farther north. A little farther on:

We found several small dwellings or deserted camps and indications that many herds of cattle and horses had been pastured hereabouts for some time. We kept on along the same course, and after we had gone a league and a half southwest, night came and we halted without water, naming the site San Jacinto (Chavez and Warner 1976:106 [HX-PMW-LCR-47]).

Chavez and Warner (editors of the expedition records) infer they were "on the center of a small butte about four miles east of Preston Mesa" (ibid. [HX-PMW-LCR-47]). This appears to be Middle Mesa, or Mariiya in Hopi, that Hopis still refer to specifically as a place they used for spying out their horse and cattle herds ranging in the broad vicinity. The next day, the party continued south-southwest "over good terrain on woods and abundant pasturages," identified by the editors as near Standing Rock Well (ibid.n. 422 [HX-PMW-LCR-47]).

The day after, they reached Pasture Canyon (ibid. n. 425), "where four springs of good water emerge" (ibid. note 426 [HX-PMW-LCR-47]); these springs probably include those the Hopi designate Sa'lako and Aymavoko in Pasture Canyon. At this point, Escalante describes an area of farms he attributed to the Havasupai, but that were in all probability the same irrigated terraced fields cultivated by Hopis from Orayvi, noticed by numerous subsequent travelers:

We traveled along it [the canyon] half a league to the southeast and arrived at a small farm and some ranchos of the Cosninas [Havasupai], 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 [probably Mùnqapi spring and Susungwva]. 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 of everything which we saw of everything, it was abundant, especially the beans, for if we had stopped here we could have gathered half a fanega [approximately seven bushels or 400lbs] 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 [the San Francisco Mountains] (in Bolton 1950:230-31 [HX-PMW-LCR-28]).

As Anthony Godfrey (1988b:90 [HX-PMW-LCR-88]) has concluded about these observations, “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 Domínguez had encountered an Oraibi summer farming area.” Judging by the description, especially of the two large springs, it is likely that this is the same area still cultivated by Mùnqapi Hopis adjacent to and fed by their two principal springs (Mùnqapi spring and Susungwva).

Escalante and Domínguez then proceeded:

...beyond the river [Moenkopi Wash] we climbed a mesa [Coal Mine Mesa/Moenkopi Plateau] where there was a small lake and several banked pools of rainwater, and they serve as ponds and watering places for the Moqui cattle which we were already beginning to see in numerous herds. They spent the night at “Cuesta de los Llanos” [the edge of the plains], named thus “because from here begin the spreading plains and countryside having no mesas, woods, or sierras, but very good pasturages which extend southeastward far beyond Moqui (Chavez and Warner 1976:108 [HX-PMW-LCR-47]).

Chavez and Warner infer they were near the head of Coal Mine Canyon, but they were more likely a little farther west. The “lake” and banked pools of rainwater correspond to Paqlö, ‘the water hollow’ (“Bakalo” or “The Hollow Place” on local maps), a place towards the western edge of the Moenkopi Plateau, and Paqlöhoya, ‘little water hollow’ a little to the south, where Hopis have long pastured livestock (especially cattle and horses), and farmed several large fields,

drawing on the landscape's bowl-like qualities to funnel moisture into the center (cf. Godfrey 1988b [HX-PMW-PCR-88]). Escalante's "llanos" correspond to an area Third Mesa Hopis refer to as Wuukotutskwa, a large pasture land on the east side of Moenkopi Plateau.

Domínguez and Escalante spent the next night at the "Cañada de los chicos," that Chavez and Warner infer was on the right bank of Dinnebito Wash. The party noted large cattle-herds; some of the party wanted to kill a cow, but the priests dissuaded them, not wishing to risk trouble with the Hopis – thus confirming that these were Hopi cattle. When they reached Orayvi, in contrast to the situation encountered the year before, Escalante noted the Hopis had been raided by Navajos who, "had killed and captured many of their people.... They were wishing for the arrival of some padres and Spaniards, through whom they might beg the lord governor for some aid or defense against these foes." The Orayvis refused the price of aid – reconversion – he suggested, however. Again, this record shows the Hopi as both jealously guarding their independence at the same time as maintaining a sense of belonging to the colonial province: "begging for aid or defense" suggests Hopi recognition of Spanish suzerainty.

In a brief report of this journey on November 25th, 1776, Father Domínguez summarized the trip from the Crossing of the Fathers, confirming Escalante's account, and specifically identifying the cattle and horse herds as Hopi:

From here we went toward Moqui. We traveled by extensive plains on which the herds of cattle and horses of Moqui graze, and after three days, which was on the sixteenth of this November, we reached Oraybi, where we were well received, although the populace detained us for a short time at the entrance to the pueblo. We went to all the pueblos. We preached the Gospel to all, and none of them is willing to receive it (E.B. Adams and Chavez 1956:288-89 [HX-PMW-PCR-4]).

After the expedition, the cartographer Miera y Pacheco produced the first reasonably accurate

maps of the farther reaches of New Mexico. In a series of maps, Miera indicated the Hopi Province in a way that conforms to the overall dimensions of Hopitutskwa, Hopi land.

The Final Years of Spain in New Mexico, 1780-1821

With the intelligence gathered by Escalante, and in pursuance of the military plans for presidios, Governor Juan Bautista de Anza set out for Hopi in 1780. In the knowledge too that the Hopi towns were suffering from a famine so severe as to impel some to take up temporary residence at Zuni, Havasupai and elsewhere, Anza sought to bring relief and to persuade some to return with him to the Rio Grande (Thomas 1932 [HX-PMW-LCR-238], 1941 [HX-PMW-LCR-239]). Prior to setting out, Anza forwarded to Teodoro de Croix, Commandant General of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, a letter Escalante had written in 1775 to Governor Mendinueta, in which he states "Although rebels, [the Hopis] are really vassals of our sovereign" (Thomas 1932:152 [HX-PMW-LCR-238]). This was the general and official opinion. In reply, Croix emphasized, in accordance with two royal decrees concerning the campaign, that Anza should not use force against the Hopi: "I shall have the most especial pleasure if your Grace attains completely the important ends to which your zeal may conduct you, converting the Moqui by kindness to religion and vassalage, and re-peopling that province" (Thomas 1932: 171 [HX-PMW-LCR-238]). But if Anza could not convert the Hopi, Croix held out another possibility that demonstrates the manner in which the Spanish continued to regard the Hopi as part of their dominions:

But I also shall be content if your Grace wins their good opinion and makes them view kindly the conservation of our friendship, and their reunion in their pueblos so that they may receive with manifest gratitude the gifts for the alleviation of their present indigence,