ount, this is probably hearsay, but fits in with his attempt to justify his nchings averted a "Mexican insurrection."

27, 1879; *Herald*, June 28, July 9, 1879.

st 20, 1879.

st 20, 23, 1879; *Republican*, May 6, 1911; McClintock, *Gazette*, January intock, *Arizona —the Youngest State*, Vol. II, p. 459; Thomas Way, (New York, 1960), p. 29; James M. Barney, *Phoenix Gazette*, August 6, er accounts give no reason for the grudge, but Way writes that Keller "because he was desperately in love with Monihon's wife." Barney Keller killed "because of a desperate infatuation for Sarah E. vife of the murdered man." Barney also says that Keller "had hoped illusion that some wandering Indian had perpetrated the murder."

st 20, 1879; *Expositor*, September 5, 1879.

tember 5, 1879, October 10, 1879.

ly 5, 1911.

st 20, 1879, August 30, 1879.

st 9, 1879; Wyllys, *Arizona: The History of a Frontier State*, pp. 235–236; *izona —the Youngest State*, Vol. II, p. 458.

1, 1881.

tember 5, 1879.

22, 1879.

tember 5, 1879; *Herald*, August 23, 1879.

e is spelled several different ways. The spelling used here is from a in the *Herald*, August 23, 1879. Other spellings are LaBar, Le Bar, e Barr. This spelling of McCloskey's last name also varies. Sheriff IcClosky and it is found in other sources as McClusky and McCloskey. August 22, 1879.

ist 23, 1879; *Expositor*, August 22, 1879, records that the stabbing ont of the Brown & Daniels saloon.

fay 7, 1911; McClintock, *Arizona —The Youngest State*, Vol. II, p. 459.

ptember 19, 1879. On the occasion of McDonald's fiftieth wedding e *Republican*, February 22, 1916, reported that "It is common knowl- IcDonald, then a lad who had just reached his majority, held the jail ty-four hours against the angry mob who eventually lynched the mur- a Le Bar and Luke Monihon." See also, *Expositor*, August 22, 1879; 23, 1879.

ist 23, 1879.

ist 23, 1879. Evidently, this was McClintock's "Mexican insurrection." are and Bert M. Fireman, *Arizona Pageant* (Tempe: Arizona Historical 965), pp. 230–231, appear to have rewritten McClintock with embel- upported by primary evidence. Edward H. Peplow, Jr., *History of Arizona* Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1958), Vol. II, p. 540, rites: "Interracial strife in Phoenix culminating in ten days of rioting." imary evidence to support this entry. In a conversation with E. Z. in the , Peplow was unable to recall the source of the statement.

igust 22, 1879.

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Evangelists, Educators, Ethnographers, and the Establishment of the Hopi Reservation

by

Stephen C. McCluskey

On December 16, 1882, President Chester A. Arthur signed an executive order defining the boundaries of the Moqui (Hopi) Indian Reservation, thirteen years after the Moqui Pueblo Agency was founded. Historians have heretofore described the establishment of the reservation as a reaction to two outside pressures. The first was the migration of the nomadic Navajo who, since their release in 1868 from forced encampment at the Bosque Redondo in New Mexico, had begun to settle on traditional Hopi lands. The second was the beginning of Mormon settlements at Moenkopi in 1873, and along the Little Colorado Valley in 1876. The Navajo threats to Hopi crops and livestock, compounded by the prevailing hostility to the spread of Mormonism, led Indian agents to "recommend that a reservation, of sufficient extent (say thirty miles square, so as to include all their villages and grazing lands) to meet their wants, be at once set apart by the Government for them before any further encroachments be made upon the domain which they have so long occupied."[1] There is little reason to doubt that these factors played a role in the decision to set up the Hopi reservation. Manuscript records show, however, that the immediate cause was a dispute between partisans of missionary Charles A. Taylor and former agent

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John H. Sullivan over the execution of Indian policy at the Hopi Agency.

The Indian policy of the 1870s and 1880s had been formulated during President U. S. Grant's administration as an attempt to pacify the Indians on the frontier through civilian rather than military means, while eliminating corruption in the Indian Bureau. The nomadic life-style of most native tribes caused continuous conflict with the expanding farms and ranches of the Anglo-American settlers, and the inevitable collision threatened to lead to the physical extermination of the Indians. The framers of the "peace policy" envisioned placing them on reservations where they would be educated in the ways of white farmers and where they would be protected from encroachments by settlers during the transition from paganism, tribalism and communal economy to Christianity, civilization, and individual homestead title.[2]

The chosen instruments of the peace policy were to be Indian agents appointed by the President and the Senate on the basis of nominations by missionary groups; each tribe was assigned to a specific religious denomination. This method of appointment would, it was hoped, insure that the Indian agents and their subordinates were not political hacks or ambitious opportunists, but idealistic men dedicated to the task of "civilizing" the Indian. The ethnocentrism of the reformers led them to believe that education and example would be sufficient to effect a rapid transformation of the Indians.[3]

In the 1870s scarcely anyone seriously considered, let alone advocated, the preservation of Indian cultures in their pristine state. The general assumption was that native cultures should be transformed, yet many questions remained on how to implement the change. How long would such a metamorphosis take? What were the most effective methods for achieving it? What elements of the Anglo-American culture should be stressed for adoption by the Indian? Even the final goal of the process was debated.

Long-time students of Indian customs and traditions recognized that the Indian was not a *tabula rasa* on which to draw the image of a European farmer. John Wesley Powell, one of the pioneers in American ethnology, commented:

> Savagery is not inchoate civilization; it is a distinct status of society with its own institutions, customs, philosophy, and religion; and all of these must necessarily be overthrown before new institutions, customs, philosophy, and religion can be introduced. The failure to recognize this fact has wrought inconceivable mischief in our management of the Indians....
>
> The attempt to transform a savage into a civilized man by a law, an administration, or a great conversion ... in a few months or in a few years, is an impossibility clearly appreciated by scientic ethnologists who understand the institutions and social conditions of the Indians.[4]

Powell was able to turn things around and look at European customs from an Indian viewpoint, noting, for example, that to the Indian "our whole system of property rights [appears] as an enormous evil and an unpardonable sin." In his view the rapid assimilation of white ways by the Indians should not be expected. The proper basis for such a conversion, Powell felt, would be a mature understanding of the Indian's own "conceptions, opinions, and motives." These, in turn, must be studied before they are unalterably destroyed by the rapid spread of civilization.[5]

This combination of sympathy for Indian culture, criticism of Anglo-American ways, and pessimism regarding the possibility of an immediate transformation of the Indians was perceived by some as a direct challenge to the government's Indian policy. The ethnologist's "scientific desire to preserve the Indian animal for study" was assailed by enlightened reformers as "a further impediment to his civilization," and of no more value than the naturalist's desire to preserve an infestation of caterpillars. Powell's Bureau of Ethnology was singled out for criticism by Richard Pratt, director of the Carlisle Institute, who said that ethnology revels in "dances, Peyote seances and all other spectacular characteristics and encourages them."[6] These drastically different evaluations of Indian culture came into conflict at the Moqui Indian Agency from 1880 to 1883.

The Moqui Indian Agency was one of eleven assigned to the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. In taking on this responsibility, the Board was not only expected

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to nominate qualified men for agency posts, but also to supervise their nominees and run mission schools under contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Compared to other missionary bodies, the Presbyterians had overextended themselves, so much so that they tried unsuccessfully to transfer some of their agencies to other Protestant churches. The Presbyterian efforts were not closely supervised, and unlike the Quakers and Episcopalians, the Presbyterian Mission Board did not send inspectors into the field.[7]

This lack of supervision is reflected in a series of scandals and controversies involving two Presbyterian appointees at the Navajo Agency. In late 1875, Navajo Agent William F. M. Arny was removed from office in circumstances that strongly suggested he was appropriating Indian annuity goods for his own use. He had also obtained a receipt for a cash payment to the Navajo chiefs of $7500 in government funds, monies that they later denied receiving. In 1882, Galen Eastman resigned from the position of Navajo agent amid charges of incompetence, one aspect of which related to his maintaining an Indian boarding school that existed more on paper than in reality. Not only was there a lack of supervision, but also of financial support, for the annual expenditures of the Board of Foreign Missions for Indian activities never exceeded 4.6 percent of its total budget. Partly as a result of this shortage of funds, there was great difficulty in recruiting and retaining qualified mission workers.[8]

The perceived failures of the Board of Foreign Missions led to an internal shift of responsibility in 1880 when the Board of Home Missions took over the responsibility for operating schools at a number of Western agencies, including the Hopi.[9] These two boards represented significantly different constituencies within the church. The Foreign Mission Board was responsible for spreading the gospel in foreign lands and was, consequently, more aware of cultural diversity. The Home Mission Board, on the other hand, was responsible for missionary activities on the frontier and was more responsive to the interests of the frontier Presbyterians. With the division of responsibility between the two governing bodies, the Foreign Mission Board retained the right of nominating the Indian

agent, and a new arena for bureaucratic disputes was established.

There was also a general loss of momentum for the peace policy during this period. Indian agencies were increasingly filled by political appointees, approved by the churches with varying degrees of enthusiasm. The original cooperation between the churches and the Indian Bureau deteriorated into something resembling hostility. This decline reached its nadir around 1879, when a resurgent reform movement exerted renewed pressures for the civilization and education of the Indians.[10]

The early record of the Moqui Indian Agency is one of excessively rapid personnel changes. Between 1869 and 1882 there were eleven different agents, not counting two more who were appointed but did not serve. The annual reports reflect this disorganization. Repeated attempts were made to establish a permanent agency near the Indian villages, and there were equally frequent transfers of responsibility to acting agents, some of whom resided as far away as Santa Fe, New Mexico.[11] From 1879 to 1880 there were three consecutive acting agents, until in 1880 two candidates emerged for permanent appointment to the post.

The first was John H. Sullivan, of Madison, Indiana, who was near the end of a full career. He had served in the Indiana and Iowa state legislatures and had been a partner in an Iowa railroad-contracting firm. Following that, he was employed by the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad. His wife Charlotte was the daughter of the late Indiana Supreme Court justice, Jeremiah Sullivan, and her brothers included the New York attorney and Democratic politician Algernon S. Sullivan and Brigadier General Jeremiah C. Sullivan. Apparently John Sullivan was in need of a new position when, in February, 1880, he wrote directly to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz requesting an appointment as an Indian agent.[12]

In his application, Sullivan referred to a letter he had recently written to the *Indianapolis Sentinel* on the Indian question, in which he had stressed that once they were pacified, by force if necessary, the government's goal should be "to humanize, civilize, Christianize, and eventually citizenize the

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Indian ... by adopting a kind, humane policy." For the Indians, the essential elements of this policy would be detribalization, education in the laws of humanity, and instruction in the arts of agriculture and mechanics. The government's part of the bargain required honesty in the distribution of supplies to the Indians and Sullivan urged kindness, firmness, and a faithful performance "of all promises made to them, by treaty or otherwise."[13]

Since Sullivan was a Presbyterian, he was informed that his application should be directed to the Reverend John C. Lowrie of the Board of Foreign Missions. Not only did Sullivan provide the Board with written endorsements from his church, but the Reverend Henry Little, a distinguished Presbyterian Minister called upon Dr. Lowrie, noting the late Judge Jeremiah Sullivan's liberal contributions to the missionary work of the church. Algernon S. Sullivan, who was active in Presbyterian charities, also endorsed his brother-in-law's appointment.[14]

On June 15, Lowrie received a second nomination from Sheldon Jackson, the superintendent of Indian schools in Arizona and New Mexico for the Home Mission Board, proposing the name of William E. Taylor of Colorado as Indian agent. This nomination had been suggested to Jackson by Taylor's brother, the Reverend Charles A. Taylor, newly appointed missionary to the Hopi. Taylor, a graduate of Princeton University and Princeton Theological Seminary,[15] displayed some misgivings about his younger brother's qualifications, admitting that William had only "a fair education in the common schools" and was "deficient in orthography and writing." Jackson's nomination of William Taylor reached the Foreign Mission Board too late, however, as John Sullivan's name had been submitted to the Indian Bureau ten days earlier. Taylor then proposed that William be appointed teacher at the Home Mission Board's new school. Lest William's "entire want of classical and literary training" be held against his serving as teacher, Taylor noted that his brother was an earnest Christian and anticipated that he would "be diligent in business and fervent in spirit."

Given William's limited qualifications, one might ask how his brother could have considered him capable of undertaking

the major responsibilities of Indian agent. To the Reverend Taylor, however, this position was the least important one at the agency, where William "could do mission work without assuming the responsibilities of a missionary or teacher."[16] Charles Taylor clearly viewed the missionary and the teacher as directly serving the primary goal of the agency—evangelization and education—while the agent was to provide support for these activities. Sullivan, however, had a quite different perception of his task.

Sullivan's appointment was largely political and he clearly felt that his first responsibility was to the Indian Bureau, not to the Mission Board. In later years he attributed the difficulties at the agency during his tenure to "an irrepressible conflict ... where the Church and State meet [since those representing the Church] put in an appearance claiming superiority, in as much as God is higher than the President."[17]

Before he set about establishing the mission and school at the agency, Taylor first went on a brief inspection to determine the condition of his new field. While there he attended a tribal dance, probably the spectacular Niman Kachina ceremony, and obtained a description of the snake dance which he printed in Jackson's *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian,* praying that "our Master ... will send his spirit into their dark hearts and turn them from such horrible practices." Upon his return to Colorado in July, Taylor described the agency buildings in Keams Canyon as abandoned and in such a dilapidated state that he urged the construction of a new house for the mission. But since he anticipated that Sullivan, lacking missionary spirit, would not winter among the Indians, he was confident that his family would be able to make do with the agency buildings. His estimate of Sullivan's determination, even at this early stage, was decidedly off the mark.[18]

It took almost three months for Sullivan to raise the $15,000 bond required in order to disburse government funds. Considering his family connections and past business experience, his difficulty in arranging this bond suggests that Sullivan had indeed fallen upon hard times. He finally arrived at the agency on October 14, 1880. Two weeks later the Reverend Taylor returned to Keams Canyon with his wife

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Lizzie, their five-month-old daughter, and his brother William. Their virtually unannounced appearance irritated the agent, and his suggestion that they winter seventy-five miles away at Fort Defiance since there was not enough room at the agency was described by Taylor as a "decidedly cool" reception.[19]

The differing views of Sullivan and Taylor towards the Indians were soon apparent. Sullivan reported his efforts to distribute annuity goods the Hopi had been promised—goods that had gathered dust in warehouses during the acting agents' tenures. Taylor believed Sullivan was "spoiling the Moquis in his anxiety to be popular among them," and often expressed his disapproval of "giving them something for nothing." Taylor's method of civilizing the Indians was to provide them with a contrast between their houses and American homes, between their "dirty ragged and beggarly appearance" and that of the well-dressed Americans, and thereby, "inculcate a sense of shame" in them regarding their own practices.[20]

Where the Reverend Taylor found little to praise in the Hopi, Sullivan described them as temperate, industrious, frugal and having "a civilization peculiarly Moqui, which we magnanimously denominate half civilized." While the missionary branded the Hopi as pagans, Sullivan noted that they say their religion is true and hold to it sincerely and tenaciously. He viewed any religious conversion as a mere accommodation by the Indians to whatever church would supply them with flour, sugar, coffee and tobacco.[21]

Besides these differences of principle, relations between Taylor and Sullivan were further strained by attempts to put members of their families in posts that would supplement their limited incomes. Taylor described the agent's $1300 salary as so inadequate, considering the costs of living far from the railroad, that it invited dishonest, incompetent, or transient agents. He therefore sought a salary of $1500 as missionary, although if he had been appointed both agent and missionary, he would have accepted only $1200 from the Mission Board, plus the $1300 from the government. This latter course having failed, as well as the attempt to have his brother William assigned as agent, Taylor sought to have William appointed teacher. Of course financial concerns were also pressing upon

Charles Taylor

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Sullivan. He intimated to Taylor that he intended to have his wife appointed lady teacher, but nothing came of this, probably because Taylor strongly insisted that he and he alone controlled the mission school. In addition, the agent sought a waiver from the Indian Bureau's nepotism rules to have his son Jeremiah appointed agency physician.[22]

Sullivan's situation and mood improved on Christmas Day with the arrival of his son, accompanied by the agency clerk James L. Davis and his father, Jonathan C. Davis. The elder Davis had posted Sullivan's bond and came west with the expectation of being appointed Indian trader. As Taylor had already discovered when he considered appointing one of his flock to the position, there already was a trading post at the agency run by the able and experienced Cornishman Thomas V. Keam.[23]

Soon after Dr. Sullivan's arrival, he began to act as agency physican without official permission. He submitted reports via the agent in the confident expectation that an appointment would be forthcoming. The chiefs and head men of First Mesa soon petitioned that "their 'white medicine man' Dr. Jere Sullivan" be permitted to stay with them. Senator Benjamin Harrison forwarded this petition, enclosing favorable endorsements from the physicians of Madison, Indiana. The most specific recommendation described Sullivan as "a young man of good and temperate habits, of excellent moral character, and well qualified to the appointment of government physician." The appointment was made effective on January 31st, 1881. About this time Dr. Sullivan began to express an interest in Hopi traditions and submitted several descriptions of Indian ceremonies and medical practices to the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution.[24] His accounts, although uninformed by any formal training in ethnography, displayed a desire to contribute to the understanding of Hopi life. His goal of studying Indian culture implied that it was a lifestyle worthy of examination and preservation, an aim directly in conflict with the ethnocentric idealism of the peace program.

In order to continue his studies and to serve the Hopi better, the doctor moved his office some fifteen miles from Keams Canyon to "the government house" at Sichomovi, one of the three nearest Hopi villages.[25] He found a comfortable

situation there. In addition to practicing medicine, he studied the residents, their language and culture, and became assimilated into their community. Numerous travelers in the next five years describe their encounters with Sullivan and mention that he participated in Hopi ceremonials and had been initiated as a "chief" into one of the tribal societies. He wore Indian garb and was reported to have modeled himself after Frank Cushing of the Zuni. His mastery of the Hopi language steadily improved until by November, 1882, he had submitted a 140-page Hopi vocabulary to the Bureau of Ethnology. Two years later he could still be described as "the only white man who can speak the Moki language."[26]

One of his most articulate visitors was Herbert Welsh, corresponding secretary of the Indian Rights Association. Welsh's narrative of his encounter with the doctor is revealing. He visited Sichomovi and referred to his guide, Dr. Jeremiah Sullivan, as "a very intelligent and amusing man, who for several years has lived in the Moqui village, studying the language and customs of its inhabitants." Welsh described his ascent to the cliff village as "very precipitous" and commented upon the "strange sense of isolation and elevation" in this place where houses are "piled one upon another like the cells of the honeycomb." He found Dr. Sullivan to be highly regarded among the Hopi, a people Welsh described as peaceful and kind. Sullivan housed his guest in his own quarters, a room "of which the ceiling was so low that we could not stand upright without striking our heads."[27]

Sullivan's medical practice earned him the affection of the tribe, as well as the remuneration that any Indian healer would expect. One account mentions that on a dance day at Mishongnovi, the doctor was the dinner guest of a man whose arm he had once healed. Another visitor remarked that when they first met, the doctor was engaged in branding an animal, which he had just collected as his fee. But his medical practice was not his only means of support. Dr. Sullivan, like his Indian neighbors, raised his own food in a field within one of the valleys below First Mesa. It is apparent that Jeremiah Sullivan had come close to becoming a full member of the Hopi community.[28]

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This, of course, was a much more serious challenge to those dedicated to carrying out the peace program. By his actions Dr. Sullivan was showing that it was permissible for an educated American from Indiana to adopt Indian ways. Since he adhered to Hopi customs, how could the Hopi be persuaded to abandon them? Since he studied and participated in tribal ritual, how could the missionary convince the Hopi that these practices were evil and Satanic? Clearly a fight was brewing, and Sullivan was, it seems, generally ready for a fight, especially with missionaries. One report that originated with the Taylors says that Dr. Sullivan "is given to the use of profane and vulgar language" and "has a violent temper over which he exercises no control." The Mormon missionary, Christian Lingo Christensen had several encounters with Sullivan, at one of which the doctor "cussed and swore and said he cared nothing for religion."[29]

Not only were the Sullivans implicitly supporting traditional Hopi rituals in opposition to Christian evangelization, they were also working through the existing tribal leaders contrary to democratic egalitarianism. The Reverend Taylor accused the agent of using government goods to win the goodwill of the chiefs, rather than disbursing them equally. But this was only one of a long series of complaints which Taylor raised against the Sullivans in his letters to the Home Mission Board's Superintendent of Indian Schools, Sheldon Jackson. Taylor described Agent John Sullivan as a broken-down, played-out politician who was too old for the job, who lacked any business qualifications, and who was neither a gentleman nor a proper Indian agent. He accused him of having hindered the construction of the mission school by endless correspondence with Washington, of being mainly interested in his own financial well-being, of not visiting the Indian villages, of drinking intoxicating liquors, of purchasing rabbits on the Sabbath and of allowing his son and the former acting agent, Edward S. Merritt, to dominate him. Merritt, the only permanent member of the agency staff, had served since 1875 and had been acting agent several times during the absences of earlier agents. He was once briefly discharged for living with a Navajo woman but later served as Sullivan's clerk.[30]

Taylor's correspondence with Jackson includes a request that a single sound man, perhaps the missionary, be made responsible for selecting and nominating agents, and expressed the expectation that given "my choice of agents ... I predict the greatest results for good." Jackson, acting as "Superintendent of Indian Schools of the Presbyterian Denomination," asked the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to request Mr. Sullivan's immediate resignation. Apparently Jackson was engaged in personal lobbying on this matter, for he wrote on the same day from Washington to John C. Lowrie of the Foreign Mission Board informing him that Mr. Sullivan was to be removed, and requesting that Charles A. Taylor be nominated as his successor. Taylor seemed surprised by the nomination, for he quickly suggested several of his acquaintances to Jackson for the agent's post, which he too was confident would soon become vacant. He had learned that Jonathan Davis, who had posted Sullivan's bond on the hope of becoming Indian trader, would withdraw his support in March. The bond was withdrawn, but Sullivan was not discharged. Instead he was demoted to "Farmer-in-Charge" at the same salary, and given the opportunity to raise a new guaranty.[31]

Meanwhile, Lowrie was none too happy with Jackson's meddling in Foreign Mission Board affairs and began to investigate the facts concerning his Indian agent. He asked the Reverend Henry Little, an advocate of Sullivan's appointment, for his advice and Little informed Sullivan of the charges against him. Sullivan's reply accused the Taylors of knowingly coming to the agency before facilities for the mission school were ready for them. "Ten days after my arrival, in came Mr. Charles A. Taylor, Dr. S. Jackson's teacher with his wife, child and brother and requested me to give them possession of the Agency building, with no place for me, the clerk, teamster, books and papers of the U.S. Agency to move into or occupy." Sullivan then recounted his efforts in boarding the missionary and his family for five weeks at no charge, helping them build their house while they "were writing out these charges and sending them to Dr. Jackson." Taylor was not acting up to Sullivan's ideal of a Christian, particularly as he and his brother "repeatedly threatened another employee of the agency

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[Merritt?] with a sound thrashing." The weakest part of Sullivan's reply is his answer to the charge of drinking. He insisted that the only instance was one of his drinking wine offered him by the officers at Fort Wingate after a raw, rainy night spent lost in the mountains. He "was hungry, cold, and very tired, and under this condition of things some gentlemen asked me as gentlemen to take a stimulant, to warm and strengthen me. I thought it would help me and it did."[32] Granting the slightest credence to Taylor's charges, it appears that he saw a more serious drinking problem and that John Sullivan and John Barleycorn were not strangers.

The spring and summer wore on, with Sullivan attempting to raise a new bond, and with Taylor, although suffering a personal tragedy in the death of his daughter, continuing his criticism of the agent's slowness in finishing the school. Mrs. J. D. Perkins, who ran the Presbyterian Mission School for Navajos at Fort Defiance, declared that the school was completed. She ventured the opinion that the Taylor's problems in operating it stemmed from their poor choice of location in Keams Canyon, fifteen miles from the nearest village. But to the Taylors, this failure could be attributed to obstruction by the Sullivans, and particularly by the doctor who, because of his position of trust, had "the greater opportunity of doing evil."[33]

The problem of educating the Hopi was clearly not that simple. As earlier agents had noted, and as the Taylors soon realized, the most acceptable kind of schools would have been day schools located in or near the villages on the mesa tops. By November the Taylors, as an experiment, decided to set up a day school on First Mesa, and William and Mary Taylor moved to Sichomovi, leaving Charles and his family in Keams Canyon. This experiment was intended to attract students, but Taylor recognized that it might be difficult to get the children to attend a boarding school once a day school was operating in the village. Taylor planned that once the boarding school was made ready at Keams Canyon, the day-school pupils would be transferred there, although "It will be no easy matter.... I shall almost have to carry them down and there will be opposing influences."[34]

The day school was moderately successful, but Taylor proposed the forced transfer of its students to Keams Canyon. Two reasons are readily apparent: one pedagogical, the other financial. The first was based on the generally accepted assumption that Indians could best be educated by immersion in an Anglo-American environment and separation from the traditional influences of their parents and elders. This educational theory, and the cost of establishing three separate schools near each of the Hopi mesas, led to a significant financial constraint. The Indian Bureau had contracted with the Board of Home Missions to operate an industrial boarding school, for which it would be paid $10.50 per quarter for each student that "may be induced to attend."[35] The Mission Board's reimbusement for the salaries of the missionary and teachers would therefore depend on their success in drawing pupils to the boarding school. Taylor also found himself facing difficulties with the Mission Board over approval of the appointments of William and Mary Taylor as teachers at $500 per year, which sharpened his awareness of the Board's financial difficulties.[36] Since the day school would not satisfy the terms of the contract, the children had to move.

As for the Sullivans, they appear to have been more opposed to the missionary's claims of authority than to education *per se*. Although Agent Sullivan was not fully cooperative in completing the building for the boarding school, he reportedly taught his Hopi interpreter, Cha-chuo-nez, to read and write, a fact which led some of the Hopi elders to speak against Cha-chuo-nez.[37] On a later occasion, Dr. Sullivan explicitly avoided involving himself as interpreter in a dispute over educational matters as he was "determined to keep out of the troubles."[38]

One way the troubles manifested themselves was through increased factionalism among the Hopi. Taylor mentioned that some of the Indians called Sullivan a "liar" and a "thief," while Mrs. Perkins reported that "the Moquis and Navajos both like Mr. Sullivan," and that Taylor's actions against him were turning the Indians against the church. The younger Sullivan described how Taylor's talks to certain Indians had estranged nearly the entire village of Tewa from the agent and his employees. The chiefs and head men were aware of this

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tension, and asked, to no avail, that Taylor be removed, since "before he came out to them, they were living happily and heard no bad talk, lies, etc. about their [agent]."[39]

In mid-November Sheldon Jackson was again in Washington calling upon the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior. In view of Sullivan's continued inability to raise his bond, and the complaints that Jackson and Taylor had lodged against him, Agent Sullivan was removed and Jesse Fleming, whose name Taylor had suggested, was nominated as his replacement. John Lowrie reluctantly assented to what he clearly saw as an irregular procedure. Although his Board had applications on file from other qualified men who should have been considered, he submitted Fleming's testimonials to Washington. In closing, Lowrie tartly noted that Sheldon Jackson was not connected with the Board of Foreign Missions. Jackson, meanwhile, expressed his interest in this appointment to Senators Thomas W. Ferry and Omar D. Conger of Michigan and to Senator Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, apparently attempting to forestall any defense that might be raised in Sullivan's behalf.[40]

By early December, Taylor learned the good news that Agent Sullivan would be replaced by Jesse Fleming, a member of his old congregation, and the missionary made it clear that the new broom would sweep the agency clean. Dr. Sullivan, in view of his ethnographic studies, began to look to John Wesley Powell and the Bureau of Ethnology for support. It appears that Powell wished to avoid an outright conflict over this sensitive matter. The replies by his chief clerk, James Pilling, note the political support that the religious boards had in the government and their tenacity in maintaining their rights. Pilling offered the Bureau's assistance if Dr. Sullivan could suggest a way to reconcile his differences with the missionary.[41]

In fact, the differences were irreconcilable. Fleming arrived on February 4, armed with a long letter from Taylor describing conditions at the agency, and by the 6th he reported a major turnover of personnel. He appointed the missionary's brother as agency teamster and his wife as temporary clerk, having accepted Edward Merritt's resignation. William Taylor resigned as teacher, not having been paid for his services, to

take the post of teamster, leaving a vacancy at the school. Missionary Taylor suggested hiring a school matron, and the obvious candidate would be William's wife Mary.[42] John Sullivan left on the 22nd, and, after visiting Washington, settled in Albuquerque, New Mexico. The agency was now a unified and financially sound operation with one exception—physician Jeremiah Sullivan.

The agent was not free to remove him arbitrarily, since he had been appointed from Washington. Fleming did direct, however, that Dr. Sullivan move his office down from the mesa top to the Indian agency in Keams Canyon in order to keep proper control of medical equipment and supplies. Sullivan agreed to move the supplies but sent a letter of protest to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, apparently unaware that Fleming had already requested authorization to discharge him. Even before the authorization arrived, Fleming went up to First Mesa on March 7th and informed Sullivan of his dismissal.[43] Now that he had discharged Merritt and Sullivan, it appeared that the agent's problems were over. He had removed the two men who stood in the path of civilization. There was only one problem: they did not leave.

The continued presence of Dr. Sullivan and Merritt provided an obvious explanation of the continuing difficulties with the Indian School. Despite the unity of purpose among the agency staff, the educational program was a dismal failure. The Hopi would send their children to school and then withdraw them; they would agree to send their children to boarding school at Albuquerque and then change their minds. This has a familiar ring in view of later school conflicts among the Hopi, but to Fleming and Taylor the obvious villains were Sullivan and Merritt, who were poisoning the Indians' minds against the agent.[44]

As there was no reservation set aside for the Hopi yet, Fleming's authority over Sullivan and Merritt was quite limited, but he could exert some pressure. The nearest post office was seventy miles away in Winslow, a two-day round trip under the best of conditions. Mail for the agency and its employees was picked up by the agency teamster and brought back to Keams Canyon. As Sullivan and Merritt were no longer employees,

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Fleming stopped carrying their mail. The physician promptly protested to the commissioner, blaming the stoppage on the "personal spite of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Fleming." In response to inquiries from Washington, Fleming stated that he would resume carrying Sullivan's mail "whenever he chose to come down from the mesa and cease to stand in the way of the civilization of that people."[45]

The dispute was further heated by a series of letters from Merritt to the commissioner, in which he accused C. A. Taylor of dishonesty and hypocrisy and requested permission to inspect the agency books for the second quarter, implying that Agent Fleming was already guilty of fraud after only three months on the job. Merritt expressed his belief "that the interests of the public service demand an investigation" and remarked that his long experience in government service qualified him to perform such an audit. He further insisted that "no influence, either political, religious or otherwise, will govern me in making the examination." These letters were forwarded to the commissioner by John H. Sullivan, then in Washington, who took the opportunity to renew the question of his son's mail. Obtaining no satisfactory action on his complaint, Mr. Sullivan followed with another during August, in which he threatened to bring the matter to the attention of the post office "if the abuse cannot be corrected."[46]

The commissioner promptly replied with two letters, the first informing the elder Sullivan that the agency courier was not part of the U.S. Mail Service, the second directing Fleming "to order [Dr. Sullivan] off the reservation and prevent all intercourse between him and the Indians."[47] But since there was no reservation, the commissioner's action, like that of Fleming some five months earlier, only appeared to have solved the problem. Once again the appearances were illusory.

The first hint that something was amiss appeared in Fleming's reply to the commissioner's order. He noted that there was no reservation for the Hopis, but that he had ordered Sullivan from the villages, only granting him four weeks to get in his crops. If this was not sufficient warning, the Indian Office should have been alerted by Sullivan's letter of protest in which

he claimed to be homesteading the land.[48] But neither of these brought a reaction from Washington.

On October 7th, Fleming reported that Dr. Jeremiah Sullivan had sworn an affidavit agreeing to stay one mile from all the Hopi villages. The agent further requested authorization to send for the soldiers in order to have Merritt arrested. Attached to this letter in the Bureau of Indian Affairs files is an internal memo written in red ink in classic bureaucratic doubletalk:

> We seem to have blundered in ordering this man off the reservation, as the pueblos are not on any reservation...the comm'r says write Fleming and say that he better not take any further steps in the matter *as there is some doubt as to the boundaries of the reservation.*[49]

Soon after the commissioner's letter was sent, Jeremiah Sullivan, as if he were aware of the strength of his position, returned to First Mesa. Fleming's reaction reflects his impotent outrage at a man who, since his return, had come to be regarded by the Hopi as a "bigger man than the agent." Even worse, the Indians had rejected the idea of sending their children to school in Albuquerque, a decision that Fleming traced to "the presence of white men among them who are in secret hostility to my administration." He urgently requested instructions on how to proceed, threatening to resign if no remedy was forthcoming. This time an answer came by telegram directing Fleming to "Describe boundaries for [a] reservation that will include Moquis villages and agency and large enough to meet all needful purposes *and no larger.* Forward same by mail immediately."[50] The agent's reply of December 4th proposed those boundaries that were to appear in the executive order of December 16, 1882. Fleming clearly felt obliged to justify his recommendation of a two and a quarter million acre reservation for the Hopi, which might seem to exceed the bare minimum requested by the commissioner. He emphasized the harsh nature of the territory, the Hopi practice of shifting their crops to more fertile sites as old fields became unfit for cultivation, the constant encroachments

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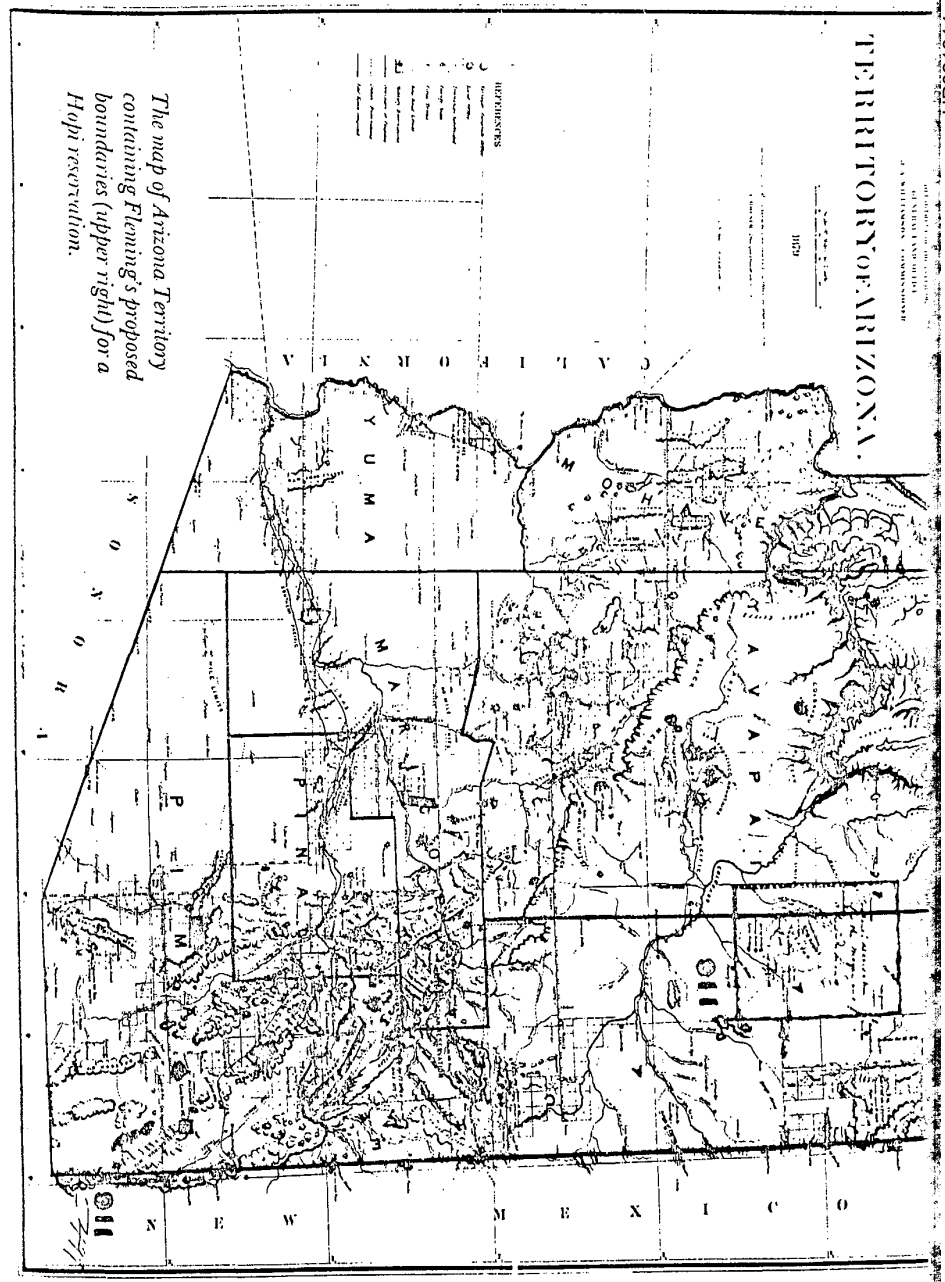
of the Navajo, and that he was excluding some of the most desirable Hopi lands, which had already been occupied by Mormons and others.[51]

There were no demurrals to this proposal and on December 13th a draft executive order was submitted to the Secretary of the Interior. The transmittal letter referred to the agent's difficulties in protecting the Indians from outside influences, and quoted the passage from Fleming's letter of November 11th in which he had threatened to resign.[52]

Within a few days another telegram was on its way to Agent Fleming, informing him of the President's action establishing a reservation for the Moquis and directing him to remove intruders from the reservation. But on the same day that President Arthur had signed the executive order, Jesse Fleming had submitted his "positive, final and unqualified" resignation. During his ten-month tenure he had not succeeded in "advancing this people in civilization" and he saw no prospect of doing so in the future. He described his chief obstacles as men who have lived among the Indians for years, who controlled them, and who, claiming to be advocates of the Indians' rights, sided with them "in their every petty complaint" against the agent, the teacher and the missionary.[53]

With Fleming's resignation, the Presbyterian Home Mission Board recalled the missionary and the teacher, and the Moqui Pueblo Agency itself was dissolved in 1883. For the next sixteen years the Moqui Reservation was supervised from the Navajo Agency at Fort Defiance, and for the first four of those years there was no Indian Office representative residing on the reservation. During this period several attempts were made to reinstate Dr. Sullivan as physician to the Moquis. The sources of his support are enlightening: Herbert Welsh found "Dr. Sullivan to be a man of marked intelligence and cultivation... who speaks the language of the Moquis and seems to be sincerely interested in their advancement." Welsh was impressed by Sullivan's concern for the welfare of those he lived among, and he commented on the deterioration of efforts to aid them: "Sullivan is anxious to aid them if some opportunity were to present itself. He...spoke to me of their need for medicines. They have at present neither agent, missionary, nor



The map of Arizona Territory containing Fleming's proposed boundaries (upper right) for a Hopi reservation.

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schoolmaster." The leaders of the Hopi villages on First Mesa expressed their confidence in Dr. Sullivan; Dr. Washington Matthews, the physician and ethnographer, testified that "his scientific, literary, and professional attainments are of no ordinary character"; the Navajo Agent John C. Bowman, the trader Thomas Keam, and ethnographers Alexander Stephen and H. C. Yarrow expressed their belief that Jeremiah Sullivan was well qualified for the job. The note attached to Bowman's letter summarized the bureaucratic reaction: "Has not this man Sullivan been in the Service, and discharged?"[54]

Among the Indians and those who knew them best, Sullivan was considered the ideal man to be their physician, yet he was not reappointed. Nevertheless, he continued to reside on the reservation and act as physician without pay. One visitor to the Hopi country notes that Sullivan "was warmly received everywhere, and first one place and then another we were called inside to eat *piki* or *pigame,* watermelons, or *neôkpike.*" Other visitors also mentioned Sullivan's presence, in every year but one between 1880 and 1888. His last work among the tribe is mentioned in Alexander Stephen's Hopi notebooks, which record a payment to Sullivan for his assistance in the ethnographic research that Stephen was conducting in 1888.[55]

The abolition of the Hopi Agency was the final round in the drawn out struggle between Charles A. Taylor and John H. Sullivan for control of the agency and of the income from appointments under the agent's control. On a more abstract level this conflict reflected the differing views of the participants on the proper relations between church and state, on the methods and goals of civilizing the Indians, and even on the ethnocentric assumptions underlying the government's Indian policy. The Indian Bureau's response in establishing the Hopi Reservation can then be seen as a prime example of a bureaucracy making a fundamental decision in an atmosphere of crisis. This atmosphere did not arise out of the urgent need to protect the Hopi from Navajo and white settlers, but out of a need to protect the bureaucracy itself from those outsiders who might interfere with the agent's execution of its policies. In fact, this hasty decision failed on both counts, for Fleming's reservation boundaries explicitly excluded those Hopi lands already

occupied by Navajos and whites, and his resignation left his rivals as the sole Anglo-American presence on the reservation.

With the dissolution of their agency, the Hopis were afforded a brief respite from the activities of teachers and missionaries, during which they could begin to come to grips with Anglo-American culture on their own terms. The goals of the peace policy were not to be achieved in a short time by Taylor's method of shaming the Indian to abandon his ways. Rather, a slow process of positive example was required. Some social goals of the peace policy, which ignored the natures of both Indian and Anglo society, were never fully achieved. The peace policy proposed evangelizing and educating the Indians to free them from the ties of family, clan, and ritual society and to convert them into competitive individuals. Its framers ignored the reality, however, that not only the Indians but also Anglos, such as the Sullivans and the Taylors, found their main social and economic support within extended families and their secondary bases of support within the factions of a religious society. Among the Hopi such close ties, traditional religion, tribal organization and customs, and communal landholding still endure today.

As to the institutional reforms of the peace policy, this incident reveals a major limitation of the idealistic reorganization of the Indian Bureau. By placing the Indian agencies under the supervision of the church mission boards, the peace policy was to have insulated them from the demands of political patronage. The pressures of civil politics were, however, compounded with those of ecclesiastical politics. These two sources of pressure, by reinforcing the disturbances among the individuals serving at the Hopi Agency, contributed further to the lack of continuity at the agency, and perhaps more significantly, at the schools.

Thus education was anything but the slow steady process advocated by the informed students of the Indians. And the repeated frustrations experienced by Taylor and Fleming show how unrealistic were their hopes of a rapid transformation of the Hopi by means of the mission schools. In 1887, an Indian School was reestablished at Keams Canyon. But this time the educational program, under the control of government super-

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intendents, had financial resources and enforcement powers which insured the continuity that the mission schools of the peace policy had lacked.[56] Despite recurring Hopi resistance, the Indian Bureau was on the reservation to stay, and the program of "civilizing" began in earnest.

NOTES

[1]*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1877, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), p. 160. All subsequent Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports were published in Washington by the Government Printing Office during the year indicated. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1876, p. 6; see also Harry C. James, *Pages from Hopi History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974), pp. 100–101; Frederick J. Dockstader, *The Kachina and the White Man* (Bloomfield Hills, Michigan: Cranbrook Institute of Science, 1954), p. 82.

[2]Henry E. Fritz, "The Board of Indian Commissioners and Ethnocentric Reform, 1878–1893" in Jane F. Smith and Robert M. Kvasnicka, *Indian-White Relations: A Persistent Paradox* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1976), pp. 57–58.

[3]S. Lyman Taylor, *A History of Indian Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1973), chapter 4; Henry G. Waltmann, "John C. Lowrie and Presbyterian Indian Administration, 1870–1882," *Journal of Presbyterian History*, Vol. 54 (1976), pp. 259–276.

[4]John Wesley Powell, *Report on the Methods of Surveying the Public Domain* (Washington, D.C., 1878), pp. 15–16, quoted in William Culp Darrah, *Powell of the Colorado* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 255–256. Powell still expressed such views in "Are our Indians becoming extinct?" *Forum*, Vol. 15 (1893), pp. 343–354.

[5]Powell, *Surveying the Public Domain*, pp. 15–16.

[6]Philip C. Garrett, "Indian Citizenship" (1886), reprinted in Francis Paul Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indian: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian," 1880–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 58–59; Pratt is quoted in Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), p. 282.

[7]Waltmann, "John C. Lowrie," pp. 263, 271.

[8]Frank McNitt, *The Indian Traders* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), pp. 144–164, 166–181; see also Lawrence R. Murphy, *Frontier Crusader—William F. M. Arny* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1972), pp. 204–205, 225–241; Waltmann, "John C. Lowrie," pp. 265–266.

[9]E. J. Brooks, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Reverend Sheldon Jackson, "Correspondence relating to Pioneer Presbyterian Missions West of the Mississippi ... 1856–1908," Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 10, p. 262, Presbyterian Historical Society (PHS), Philadelphia.

[10]Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860–1890* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1963), pp. 155–156; Robert W. Mardock, *The Reformers and the American Indian* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), pp. 157–159, 192–210, see especially pp. 203–204.

[11]Edward E. Hill, *The Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1880: Historical Sketches* (New York: Clearwater Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 11–14; W. B. Truax to John C. Lowrie, October 12, 1876, Box C, Item 110, American Indian Correspondence Collection (AICC), PHS. See also *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1870–1882.

[12]The only published discussion of Sullivan's life is a biographical sketch in *The Daily Gate City* (Keokuk, Iowa) for October 28, 1929. Additional data appear in his letter of application and in newspaper clippings in the Madison-Jefferson County (Indiana) Public Library, provided by Dr. Elliot McIntire. John H. Sullivan to Carl Schurz, Secretary of Interior, February 26, 1880, File Arizona, S1922, 1880, Interior Department Appointment Papers, Arizona Territory, 1857–1907, Record Group 48, National Archives (RG 48, NA), Washington, D.C., Microfilm Publication M-576, Roll 18.

[13]J[ohn] H S[ullivan], "The Indian Question," *The Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, January 14, 1880.

[14]John H. Sullivan to J. C. Laurie (sic), April 17, 1880; John H. Sullivan to Dr. H. Little, April 17, 1880; Algernon S. Sullivan to the Reverend J. C. Lowrie, May 11, 1880, Box F, Items 11, 12, 17 (15), AICC/PHS.

[15]John C. Lowrie to Sheldon Jackson, June 15, 1880, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 10, p. 187, PHS; Charles A. Taylor to John C. Lowrie, June 14, 1880, AICC/PHS; E. S. Robinson, *The* [Presbyterian] *Ministerial Directory*, Vol. I (Oxford, Ohio, 1898).

[16]Charles A. Taylor to the Reverend Sheldon Jackson, August 31, 1880, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 10, pp. 282–283, PHS.

[17]John H. Sullivan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 8, 1882, file 1882:10504, Letters Received, RG 75, NA.

[18]Charles A. Taylor, "The Great Snake Dance of the Moquis," *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, Vol. 10 (1881), p. 176; Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, July 22, 1880, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 10, pp. 240–241, PHS.

[19]*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1881, pp. 3–4; Department of Interior to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 27, 1880, File Arizona, I 481, 1880; John H. Sullivan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 5, 6, 12, 23, 1880, File Arizona, S2504, S2579, S2586, S2697, 1880m, Letters Received, RG 75, M-234, Roll 28; Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, November 16, 1880, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 10, pp. 350–352, PHS.

[20]*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1881, pp. 3–5; Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, November 16, December 6, 1880 and February 8, 1881, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 10, pp. 352, 375–376 and Vol. 11, p. 46, PHS.

[21]John H. Sullivan, "The Moquis Indians," *The American Antiquarian*, Vol. 6 (1884), pp. 101–103. This is a letter written to H. C. Yarrow at his request on April 10, 1882, and submitted for publication "by direction of Major J. W. Powell."

[22]Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, July 22, August 31, December 27, 1880, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 10, pp. 240–242, 282, 402–403, PHS; John H. Sullivan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 2, 1880, File Arizona, S3814, 1880, Letters Received, RG 75, NA, M-234, Roll 28.

[23]"Moqui Agency Diary," December 25, 1880, MS 1146, RG 75, NA; Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, January 20, 1881, February 25, 1881, July 22, 1880, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 10, p. 241, Vol. 11, pp. 18–21, 64–67, PHS. On Keam see McNitt, *The Indian Traders*, pp. 124–199.

[24]John H. Sullivan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 28, 1881, with enclosed report, File 1881:4435, Letters Received, RG 75, NA; Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, January 20, 1881, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 11, pp. 19–20, PHS; petition from the chiefs and head men dated April 15, 1881, with two enclosures and endorsement from B. J. Harrison, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 13, 1881, in file 1881:10361, Letters Received, RG 75, NA. An annotation gives the effective date of Dr. Sullivan's appointment. The endorsements make no reference to Sullivan's medical education and it appears that, like many of his contemporaries, he began to practice before obtaining an M.D. He received his M.D. from the Medical Department of the University of Louisville in

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1894. D. Cox, Associate University Archivist, letter to the author, March, 1980; Jeremiah Sullivan to Dr. H. C. Yarrow, May 19, 1881, July 20, 1881, July 24, 1881, MSS 1607 (1), (2), (3), National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (NAA/SI), Washington, D.C. See also MS 837, which is apparently a continuation of 1607 (3).

[25]Jeremiah Sullivan to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 11, 1882, File 1882:3994, Letters Received, RG 75, NA. The "government house" was apparently established in late 1869 or early 1870 during the tenure of the first Moqui Agent, Captain Appleton D. Palmer. He stored agency goods at Sichomovi and stayed there when he visited the Hopi villages. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1870, pp. 133–134.

[26]Herman F. C. ten Kate, Jr., "Reizen en Onderzoekingen in Noorrd-Amerika" (Leiden, 1885), pp. 247–264, manuscript translation by Elliot McIntire, Sandra R. Gordon and Rene Reijnhart in Separates 13,499, Library of the Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff; John Gregory Bourke, in Edwin Van Valkenberg Sutherland, "The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke: Their Anthropological and Folklore Content," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1964, p. 783; Jeremiah Sullivan, "Hopi Vocabulary," 140 pp., November, 1882, MS 792, NAA/SI; John H. Bowman, Navajo Agent, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 6, 1884, File 1884:21694, Letters Received, RG 75, NA.

[27]Herbert Welsh, *Report of a Visit to the Navajo, Pueblo, and Hualapais Indians of New Mexico and Arizona* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1885), pp. 34–36.

[28]Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, "Diary," October 21, 1884, F. S. Dellenbaugh Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson; Charles R. Moffet, "In the Moqui Country, 1885," *Overland Monthly*, 2nd series, Vol. 14 (1889), p. 246; Jeremiah Sullivan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1882, File 1882:17519, Letters Received, RG 75, NA.

[29]Jesse H. Fleming to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 6, 1882, File 1882:3688, Letters Received, RG 75, NA. Fleming describes this report as coming from "a most reliable source." In view of the miniscule population, this must have been one of the Taylors. Christian Lingo Christensen, "Journal," April 12, 1884, p. 86, MS f170, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[30]Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, November 16, December 6, 27, 1880, January 20, 1881, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 10, pp. 350–352, 374–376, 401–403, Vol. 11, pp. 18–21, PHS; W. B. Truax to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 28, 1875, File Arizona T800, 1875; Galen Eastman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 21, 1880, File Arizona E56, 1880, Letters Received, M-234, Rolls 15, 26, RG 75, NA.

[31]Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, December 6, 1880, and January 20, 1881, Sheldon Jackson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 10, 1881, E. Conklin to Sheldon Jackson, February 12, 1881, Sheldon Jackson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 15, 1881, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 10, pp. 49, 51–55, 375, Vol. 11, p. 21, PHS; Sheldon Jackson to John C. Lowrie, February 10, 1881, Box F, Item 80, AICC/PHS; Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, February 25, 1881, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 11, pp. 64–67, PHS.

[32]John H. Sullivan to John C. Lowrie, April 28, 1882, Box F, Item 151 (160), AICC/PHS; John C. Lowrie to Sheldon Jackson, May 18, 1881, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 11, p. 170, PHS.

[33]Mrs. J. D. Perkins to Sheldon Jackson, November 7, 1881, Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, November 20, 1881, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 11, pp. 296, 311–313, PHS.

[34]W. D. Grothers to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 29, 1873, File Arizona, C114, 1873; W. B. Truax to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 3, 1875, November 6, 1875, File Arizona, T 700, T 851, 1875, Letters Received, RG 75, NA, M-234, Rolls 8, 15; Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, November 20, December 7, 1881, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 11, pp. 313–314, 335–336, PHS.

[35]Agreement with Presbyterian Home Mission Board, September 21, 1880, Moqui Agency Records, 1876–1883, Entry 1144, RG 75, NA. Dr. Elliott G. McIntire brought this contract to the author's attention.

[36]Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, November 20, 1881, December 7, 1881, January 7, 1882, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 11, pp. 314, 334–336, Vol 12, pp. 42–43, PHS.

[37]T. V. Keam to Mr. Sullivan, undated, Moqui Agency Records, 1876–1883, Entry 1144, RG 75, NA. Dr. Elliott G. McIntire provided this citation. Since Cha-chuo-nez's mother was a Navajo and his father was half Tewa and half Hopi, he was a marginal figure in Hopi society and especially susceptible to criticism. See Alexander M. Stephen, *Hopi Journal* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 223, 930, 1090, where he is discussed under his Hopi name Cha'kwaina.

[38]Jere[miah Sullivan] to Ed [Merritt?], February 24, 1882, Moqui Agency Records, 1876–1883, Entry 1144, RG 75, NA. Dr. Elliot G. McIntire provided this citation.

[39]Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, February 25, 1881, and Mrs. J. D. Perkins to Sheldon Jackson, March 28, 1880 [1881], Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 11, p. 66, Vol. 10, p. 90, PHS. The Tewa are a non-Hopi people who fled the Rio Grande pueblos in 1696 and established the village of Hano or Tewa on First Mesa. See E. Charles Adams, "Synthesis of Hopi Prehistory and History," p. 28, Final Report A-77-127, Museum of Northern Arizona, Department of Anthropology, July 31, 1978; Jeremiah Sullivan to H. C. Yarrow, December 6, 1881, Jeremiah Sullivan to John Wesley Powell, December 6, 1881, Bureau of Ethnology, Letters Received, 1879–1888, Box 28, Folder 29, NAA/SI. Dr. Elliott G. McIntire provided these citations.

[40]H. Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary of the Interior, November 16, 1881; John C. Lowrie to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 17, 1881, File 1881:20247; Sheldon Jackson to Benjamin Harrison, December 19, 1881; Interior Department Appointment Papers, Arizona Territory, 1857–1907, RG 48, NA, Microfilm Publication M-576, Roll 18.

[41]Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, December 7, 1881, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 11, pp. 334–336, PHS; James C. Pilling to Jeremiah Sullivan, December 20, 1881 and January 13, 1882, Bureau of Ethnology Letter Book, July 21, 1881–January 29, 1882, pp. 376, 464–465, NAA/SI.

[42]Charles A. Taylor to Sheldon Jackson, February 6, 1882, Jackson Correspondence, Vol. 12, pp. 91–92, PHS; Jesse H. Fleming to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 6, 1882, File 1882:3688, Letters Received, RG 75, NA.

[43]Jeremiah Sullivan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 11, 1882; Jesse H. Fleming to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 16, 1882, File 1882:3994 and 1882:6015, Letters Received, RG 75, NA; see also "Moqui Agency Diary," March 7, 1882, MS 1146, RG 75, NA.

[44]J. H. Fleming to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 31, and November 11, 1882, File 1882:10514 and 1882:21371, Letters Received, RG 75, NA. On later school troubles see James, *Pages from Hopi History*, pp. 106–145.

[45]Jeremiah Sullivan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 7, 1882, Jesse H. Fleming to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 31, 1882, File 1882:8381 and 1882:10514, Letters Received, RG 75, NA.

[46]John H. Sullivan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 8, 1882, with four enclosures, Letters Received, RG 75, NA; John H. Sullivan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 7, 1882, File 1882:10504 and 1882:14616, Letters Received, RG 75, NA.

[47]H. Price, Commissioner, to John H. Sullivan, August 15, 1882, and H. Price, Commissioner, to Jesse Fleming, August 16, 1882, Letter Book 42, pp. 405–406, 421–422, Letters Sent, Accounts Division, RG 75, NA.

[48]Jesse H. Fleming to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 9, 1882; Jeremiah Sullivan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1882, File 1882:17121 and 1882:17519, Letters Received, RG 75, NA.

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[49]Jesse H. Fleming to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 17, 1882, with attached memo, File 1882:19393, Letters Received, RG 75, NA (author's italics). The resulting letter is H. Price to J. H. Fleming, October 31, 1882, Letter Book 44, pp. 381–382, Letters Sent, Accounts Division, RG 75, NA.

[50]Jesse H. Fleming to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 11, 1882, File 1882:21371, Letters Received, RG 75, NA. The phrase "secret hostility" clearly suggests that Sullivan was not in open opposition to Fleming's policies. H. Price to J. H. Fleming, telegram, November 24, 1882, Letter Book 104, p. 132, Letters Sent, Land Division, RG 75, NA (author's italics).

[51]Jesse H. Fleming to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 4, 1882, File 1882:22383, Letters Received, RG 75, NA. Clerical annotations indicate that Indian Inspector Howard's recommendation of July 31, 1882 (File 1882:15060), that a much larger reservation be established to serve both the Hopi and Navajo was considered and rejected.

[52]H. Price to the Secretary of the Interior, December 13, 1882, Letter Book 104, pp. 483–490, Letters Sent, Land Division, RG 75, NA.

[53]Jesse H. Fleming to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 26, 1882, Moqui Agency Letter Book, 1882–83, pp. 315–316, MS 1145, RG 75, NA; Jesse H. Fleming to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 16, 1882, File 1882:23336, Interior Department Appointment Papers, Arizona Territory, 1857–1907, RG 48, NA, M-576, Roll 18.

[54]*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1884, pp. 136–138, 1887, p. 178, 1888, pp. 198, 248–249; Cimo and others to Commissioners of Indian Affairs, January 11, 1883[1884], File 1884:3962; Herbert Welsh to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 29, 1884, File 1884:14478; Welsh, *Report of a Visit* . . . , p. 36; H. C. Yarrow to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 14, 1885, with four enclosures, File 1885:29695, Letters Received, RG 75, NA.

[55]ten Kate, "Reizen . . . in Noord-Amerika," manuscript translation, p. 17; Alexander M. Stephen, old notebook M, 1888–89, Vol. 7, Elsie Clews Parsons Collections, Columbia University Library.

[56]James, *Pages from Hopi History,* pp. 106–122.

CREDITS—page 371, from Princeton University Archives; page 383, from U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

PLANKS ACROSS THE DUNES

by
Charles P. Kendall

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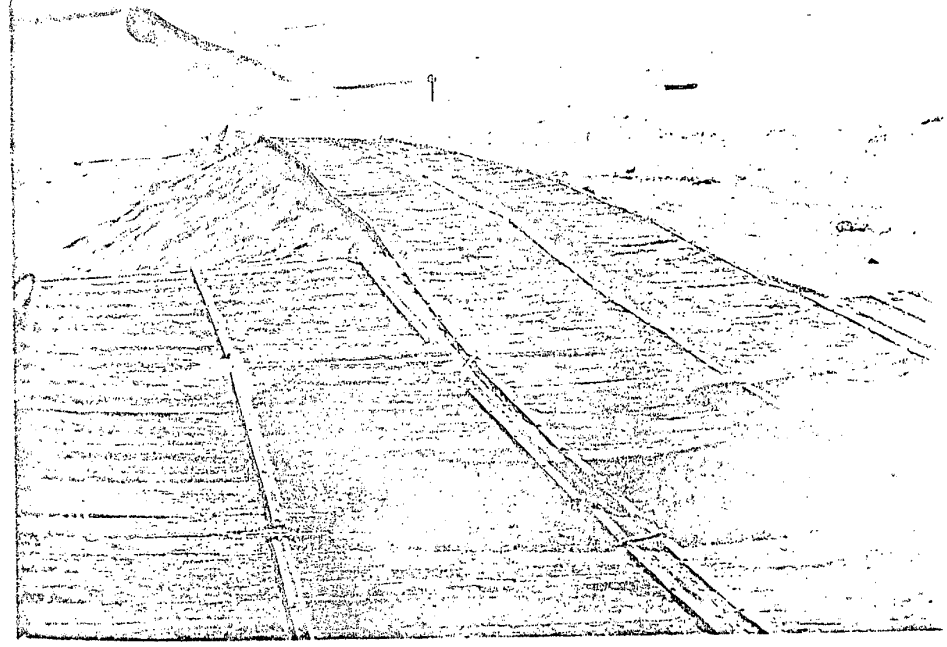

AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, the Southern Pacific Railroad, with a major terminus at Los Angeles, was the chief link between Yuma and the West Coast. San Diego was isolated from the migrant stream that its northern rival enjoyed, and local businessmen were unhappy with the mere trickle of brave travelers who ventured to their community, out of necessity, by wagon or boat.[1] While Los Angeles papers frequently left San Diego off the map, they pictured the City of Angels as a great magnet, drawing processions of autos and railroad cars from the East loaded with bags of money.

Mr. Kendall, a retired newspaper man and teacher, lives in Yuma and has made his specialty the history of that area.