



CHAPTER 23
SCHOOLING/PUNISHING THE LEADERS:
RIVERSIDE, HUACHUCA, AND CARLISLE
(DECEMBER 1906–JANUARY 1907)

This chapter includes documents principally from Parts III and IV of the “Oraiba Troubles” files.

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
December 5, 1906.

Reuben Perry, Supervisor,
Keams Canon, Arizona.

Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th ultimo, giving an outline of the work accomplished and to be accomplished in the endeavor to settle the trouble existing between the “Friendly” and “Hostile” factions on the Moqui Reservation.

I have given this report careful consideration and appreciate your earnestness and common sense in carrying out as you have so far the program which I outlined for the settlement of these troubles. You seem to have grasped in nearly every instance the underlying principles governing me in dealing with these conditions, and your report meets my approval. In considering it, however, several of the items merit more than passing notice.

You say that the Oraibi “Hostiles” who have agreed to obey the orders of the Government in the future have been permitted to return to the village for the winter, but with the understanding that they will be moved out in the spring and have a new home of their own building; that most of them “will not object to building houses down on the level”. I do not quite understand the phrase just quoted. Who asks them to build houses on the lowland? It occurs to me that you may

have been misled as to the policy of the Office by the traditions of past administrations. I have never had, and have not now, any objection to the maintenance of pueblos on top of mesas if the Indians choose such sites because they would rather have the better air and the comparative protection from the fierceness of the sand storms, in spite of the hardships of trail-climbing and the inconvenience of remoteness from the scenes of their daily labors. Equally, I have no objection to their building “down on the level” if they would rather do so.

Referring to the establishment of a temporary government for the pueblo, as required by Section 6 of my outline, you say: “The position of Judge or Laborer at \$7.00 per month should be created and this young man (Ke-wan-imp-te-wa) appointed to it”.

The appropriation of Indian judges has been practically hypothecated, but I am considering a readjustment of this branch of the Service after the first of January. It may be possible then to establish the position of Judge at \$7.00 per month, as requested by you. Meanwhile you may employ him as a laborer at \$7.00 per month until it can be determined whether funds are available for paying him as a Judge. Authority for this purpose will be requested from the Secretary of the Interior, and when it is received the Superintendent of the Moqui School will be directed to take him up on the Agency rolls as such laborer.

Your suggestion that the War Department be informed of the satisfactory service of Captain Holbrook and Lieutenant Lewis with the troops under their command will be carried out; and the appreciation not only of this Office, but of yourself and other officials of

the Government, for the tactful manner in which a difficult situation was handled by them will be communicated to the proper military authorities.

Inform the Superintendents of the Moqui School and of other schools having Moqui children whose parents will not agree to keep them in school anywhere, that the children will not be permitted to return home for vacation but must be retained in the boarding schools the entire year.

You say that the problem is not yet settled, although there is no further need for troops; but that, if the Government obtains obedience, it will be by compelling the seventy men now held to work or remain in prison until they change their ways.

I should prefer that no definite statement be made to these people as to the future, because, although the present administration of the Indian Office might be entirely consistent in carrying out its own program, its successors might not approve of it, and the Indians in their ignorance would not understand the change—the mutinous element accepting it as a victory for themselves, and the others regarding it as a fresh sign that the accusations brought against the Government, of vacillation and bad faith, were true. If no definite statement as to the future is made to the Indians, they will have no reason to attach such improper significance to a mere difference of opinion between successive administrations.

On this general head I have suggestions from various persons to the effect that your prisoners might be profitably employed at a distance from home. It seems to me that if we announce now that they will be kept at work for a stated period, and later deem it advisable to send them off to work in another field, they will be likely to take that as a change of base and think that they have forced the Government to abandon its policy at least to some degree.

I am awaiting with much interest your report on one proposal to employ these Indians elsewhere, and have asked Mr. Dagenett's opinion on some of the suggestions offered.

You say that in the near future you will examine what are considered desirable locations and submit recommendations concerning the same. Meanwhile, you recommend

that the Superintendent be instructed to ascertain the quantity and quality of water for domestic use. I think your investigation and examination of these sites would be a help to the Indians, but I should avoid going too far toward coercing them into accepting any site selected by a white man. They doubtless have a definite conception of what they want themselves, and I should leave them large room for the exercise of their own discretion.

You say that the foregoing plan would contemplate the building of a new day school for the "Hostiles", and that it would seem well to you to have the two day schools and reduce the capacity of the one at Oraibi. I wish to give the "Hostiles" a separate day school connected with their new village, provided there are any children to go to it. But, as I understand the situation, those who will go into the new village are opposed to our educating their children, so that the children will have to be sent away to boarding school; whereas, those who have yielded on the school question are now living at peace in the old village of Oraibi, and I don't know of any reason for removing them from there as long as they behave themselves. As an independent proposition, a reduction of the Oraibi school to the dimensions called for by the attendance would be approved, as it would be in the line of what we are trying to do everywhere.

As to furnishing doors, windows, lumber for floors, window casings, etc., for the new houses, I should be disposed to go as far as I properly can for any "Hostiles" who go peaceably to another place and start a new village. I object, on principle, to issuing building materials, just as I object to issuing non-emergency rations, except in return for labor or other services from the Indians. If it can be arranged for them to give a quid pro quo, I want it done. In all such matters the tact and discretion of the officer having the work in charge are bound to count for a great deal.

You are urged to co-operate actively with the Superintendent of the reservation in the performance of the duty of selecting sites, etc.

Your suggestion that all Indian houses shall have fireplaces and chimneys is a good one, but at the same time I am not forcing

these things on anybody. I should rather have such improvements come as the product of natural evolutionary forces, than arbitrarily to compel their adoption. If one or two of the Indians could be quietly induced to set an example of this kind, others probably would fall in line more readily than if the Government undertook the reform as a compulsory measure of its own; and when any change for the better comes from within it comes to stay and spread, because the Indians look upon it rather as something of their own devising than as an imposition by the conquering race.

Very respectfully,
(signed) F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner.

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
December 6, 1906.

Supt. Sherman Institute,
Riverside, Cal.

Sir:

Your letter of the 26th ultimo has been received, in which you say that the two chiefs, Ta-wa-quap-te-wa and Frank Se-wen-im-te-wa, with their families and a party of pupils of school age, had arrived at your school.

The information you give as to the attitude of the "Friendly" chief is very gratifying. Your action in permitting him to absent himself from religious services is approved. My object in sending him to Riverside was primarily to have him learn English, the language in which the Government frames its laws and transacts its business, so that he can be, when he returns to his people, in a position to fulfil intelligently his obligations as a chief, and conduct their negotiations with the authorities at Oraibi and in Washington. Incidentally to this, it is hoped that he will pick up a fair idea of the civilization and the social order with which, in his future intercourse with his white neighbors, he must perforce sustain relations.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner.

War Department
Washington,
December 7, 1906.

The Honorable,
The Secretary of the Interior.

Sir:

Referring to previous correspondence on the subject, I have the honor to inform you that instructions have been issued to-day to the Commanding General, Southwestern Division, to have the eighteen Moqui Indian prisoners confined at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, which is as far from their present homes as it is practicable to take them without seriously endangering their health by an extreme change of climate.

It is expected that all expenses for the transportation of the Indians and of the necessary guard and for the subsistence and keep of the Indians while in confinement will be borne by the Interior Department.

Very respectfully,
Wm H. Taft
Secretary of War.

The next letter alludes to a plan proposed by Ralph P. Collins, formerly of the Keam's Canyon School, to relocate all Hostiles to Rocky Ford, Colorado. It had been the custom for several years for some Hopi students to go to Rocky Ford, where Collins was now based, to work in the beet fields. The proposal was taken seriously, as Perry's letter, and several following, indicate.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Navaho Indian Agency
Fort Defiance, Ariz.
Dec. 18. 1906.

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

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Office letter "Education 102095-1906" of November 23rd last.

You state "As you are aware the Office must be extremely careful not to create a di-

iciency [deficiency] in the funs [funds] appropriated, and authority should first be obtained in all cases requiring any considerable expenditure to carry them out. Meanwhile, I suggest that you review the situation now and inform me approximately what funds seems likely to be necessary for the Government to expend for the benefit of these Indians, for what purposes they are needed, etc. I am aware that at this time only an approximate estimate can be given, but that will be sufficient to furnish the Office with some idea of the relation of probable expenditures to the funds now available”.

Replying to same I have the honor to state that in case the Oraibi hostiles are required to build a new village or villages as heretofore recommended and the Government feels like helping them, about \$20,000.00 would be required for purchasing lumber, doors and windows for the construction of their houses and sinking wells to furnish a domestic water supply.

Of course the foregoing contemplates the same assistance as was given a number of the friendly families some years ago when they were induced to come down off the mesa and build houses on the level, but if the Office does not care to require as good cottages as were built by the friendlies some years ago roofing and flooring can be eliminated and the cost reduced to about \$15,000.00. Only a portion of this expenditure would be necessary during the current fiscal year, say \$7,500. This amount would enable the majority of the material to be purchased and the work to be started.

In the light of Office letter of the 5th instant and the plan to transport these people to the neighborhood of Rocky Ford, I presume that the Office is not desirous of rendering much assistance in the way of constructing cottages, however, it does seem to me that they ought to be furnished doors, windows, sufficient dimension stuff to support roof, and nails for new cottages, in case they are required to build.

I believe these people are ready to make a step in advancement and if encouraged by being furnished these articles they will build more comfortable homes and their opposition to the Government will cease. In fact the opposition now is greatly checked and will re-

main so if the Government continues to enforce obedience and takes steps to improve the condition of the people, and show the hostiles that they will receive the same treatment accorded the friendlies when they show the same disposition and attitude toward the Government and schools as is shown by the friendlies.

I recommend that this estimate be considered in connection with the plan for taking these people to Rocky Ford and if all or a portion of the hostiles are removed to Rocky Ford revision should then be made in this matter.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry.
Supervisor

The next letter shows that Horton Miller was now present at Keam's Canyon, having been appointed to take over the Hopi Agency from Theodore Lemmon, as one result of the split. Lemmon remains at the Agency through the end of December, however.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Navaho Indian Agency
Fort Defiance, Ariz.
Dec. 18, 1906.

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

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Office letter "Education 104206-1906" of the 5th instant.

I note what the Office says concerning the building of homes on the mesas or in the low lands and will govern myself accordingly in case I am returned to the Hopi country, however I believe there would be but little objection on the part of the Indians to building in the low lands.

While in my letter of the 17th ultimo I said low lands, in reality I did not mean the lowest lands but that their villages should be built in sheltered places off of the mesas but rather in what is known as a second valley where they would be protected from winds and the hardships of trail climbing would not

be imposed upon them where they would be near plenty of water. If these conditions existed their homes could be kept much more cleanly and in a better hygienic condition, and it seems to me that it would be wise to encourage but not coerce the Indians to accept such locations. I probably got the idea that it was desired by your Office for them to build in the valleys from the fact that a number of the Indians had been encouraged to do so in the past.

I have written the new superintendent at Hopi requesting that no discussion of future plans as to the disposition of the men or the location or building of villages be had with the Indians until these matters are settled by your Office. I have also advised him and the superintendent now in charge that the children belonging to the hostile faction will be kept in school during vacation unless the parents of said children agree to keep them in school in the future and to return them at the expiration of the vacation.

I have written you in letter of equal date regarding the plan of Ralph P. Collins for removing these people to the Rocky Ford country and furnishing them employment in the beet fields. I believe his plan should be considered and disposed of before other plans for working out the question are taken up.

I have looked over the country to some extent with Mr. Miller endeavoring to learn the possibilities and conditions and with the view of selecting a proper site for the proposed village for the hostiles, and if I am to return to the Hopi country, more can be done in this line but, as you suggest, I believe the Indians should not be coerced into accepting a site for a village disagreeable to them, but I do believe it would be to their advantage if they were influenced by officials to select a proper site where opportunities for progress and better living would be furnished.

Relative to my suggestion that the plan reported in my letter of the 17th instant would contemplate the building of a new day school for the hostiles, etc., it should be remembered that said letter was written before the matter of sending these people to Colorado was considered. Of course, if they go away their children should be schooled in boarding schools, but if they remain on the reserva-

tion, I have no doubt but what these people will agree in time to keep their children in school and quite a number of them at least will want to have them in a day school near their village, and it seems that such a desire when they show the proper attitude toward the schools, should be considered.

Relative to permitting those who have yielded on the school question and who are now living in the little [?] village of Oraibi to remain, I have to say that section "2" of your letter of October 4th indicated to me that it was the desire of your Office to separate these people and that the return of any of them to the village was for the winter and as a temporary arrangement and I so informed the people. I quote below said section—

"That the Oraibi hostiles, except Yu-ke-oma and To-wa-hong-ni-wa be permitted to return for the winter to Oraibi, on their pledge to behave themselves peaceably, and a like pledge from the Friendlies to treat them peaceably; this to be with the understanding that it is a temporary arrangement, merely to avoid suffering for the old and weak during the bad weather, and that before spring the rest of the program will be worked out by the Government".

I note what you say as to furnishing doors, windows, lumber for roofs, window casings, etc. for new houses. I believe this material can be furnished the Indians without any bad results, they understand of course that they are to do the labor in connection with the building of their own homes. Furnishing this material would be considered by these Indians as a part payment for their old property in the Oraibi village, it would also indicate to them that the Government will be as kindly disposed to their people as it is to the friendlies when they show a willingness to accept the guidance of the Government and comply with its desires.

Relative to the requirement for fire places in the buildings, I would say that I was prompted to make this recommendation from having been in Navajo homes and also in a newer and more improved Hopi houses where stoves were used exclusively and found the air to be foul and ventilation absent. This condition is not an Indian policy but a supposed mark of civilization and ad-

vancement suggested or imposed by white employees.

I do not for a moment believe that the Indian will object to having his fire place and I mentioned the matter as a suggestion to guide the superintendent and his employees than as a requirement imposed upon the Indian.

I have gone over the Hopi situation with the Superintendent Miller and believe that he understands it quite well and in reality see no necessity for my immediate return to the reservation, however, there may be reason in the near future.

Please advise me at this place.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry.
Supervisor

In the following letter, Commissioner Leupp suggests Supervisor Perry has not fully grasped his plan. He re-articulates his policy to "civilize" the Hopi, including the possibility that the Hostiles will be relocated to Rocky Ford to work as farm laborers in the beet fields.

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
December 28, 1906.

Reuben Perry,
Supervisor of Indian Schools,
Fort Defiance, Arizona.

Sir:

I am in receipt of your three letters of the 18th instant concerning affairs at Oraibi and the proposition to remove Oraibi Indians to Rocky Ford to work in the beet fields.

I think you have somewhat misapprehended the aim and tenor of what has been said in recent Office letters regarding the Oraibi situation. If you understood the general policy of the Office, the matter would shape itself logically in your mind and you would see the relations of all the parts of the correspondence to each other. I will try briefly to make my position plain.

I have always been opposed to the Idea of forcing civilization upon any untutored man.

Civilization is something which must proceed from the inside out, if it is to be a real and not a merely specious change. It is true that environment has a great deal to do with perfecting civilization, but the civilization itself is an inward response to the invitations, incentives or inspirations proceeding from without. Civilization must be kept distinct in one's mind, also, from the necessities, economic or social, of any given situation. A man living on a desert island, entirely by himself, might, with the aid of good books, become a very civilized being in the larger sense of that term without having any knowledge of mathematics or even of writing, if what he absorbed from his reading awoke within him a responsive emotion and a purpose which he had character enough to carry out. He might become a person of rather rare refinement and mental culture without having learned one or two of the arts which in our more highly organized society we consider necessary to enable a person to get on with his neighbors and to cope with the conditions that surround his life.

I spoke of civilization "in its broader sense". In its narrower sense and in the light of its etymology it means, of course, the degree of cultivation requisite to fulfilling one's duties to society—that is, the equipment of a citizen. I also spoke in another place of the necessities of any given situation. One of the necessities of a place in the civilized world, where we are in touch with other men and subject to constituted authority, is the attitude of respect for and obedience to law; and one of the first demands made upon the citizen and the non-citizen alike, under the law of universal prevalence in our country, is that the child who is to become an active participant in the country's affairs a little later must have the rudiments of an education, not only to fit him for participation in the community's business, but to keep him out of the poor-house or from otherwise becoming a public charge. In cities, certain regulations are strictly enforced in regard to ventilation, fire defences, a pollution of the water supply, the preservation of the drainage and sewerage system in tact, etc., which from the nature of the case we do not attempt to enforce to any great extent in rural or remote settlements.

Now you will see what this reasoning leads to. One of the first things I did after coming into office was to throw to the winds the old rules, and abolish the statistical tables, concerning citizen's dress and other fol-de-rol of that sort. I should not ask what an Indian wears, any more than I should ask what a white man wears, as long as he keeps within the limits of decency and behaves himself. Costume is, after all, a purely conventional growth. Every people is assumed to have found out by centuries of experience about what will suit its needs in the matter of dress. If the Turk is more comfortable in his baggy trousers or the Chinese in his pajamas I have no quarrel with him. If you put the Turk into Broad Street, New York, as a curb broker he would soon discard his baggy trousers for others more convenient for rapid work. It is to be presumed that the Chinese, placed in certain situations where his pajamas are ill suited to his needs, would in due course exchange the pajamas for something else. But those matters are purely matters of evolution.

I look in the same way upon the question of habitation. A tepee, which can be packed up whenever the weather or any other condition makes its present site disagreeable, and carried to a place where its surroundings will be more satisfactory, has a great many features in its favor, particularly for people who live as the Indians have lived for generations and are still continuing to live to a very large extent. Certainly, housing in permanent domiciles at the present stage of the Indian's development [sic] has not in all cases proved a success. When an Indian has been raised to that point of cleanliness and hygienic care of himself and his family, where he can look out well for the inside of his house, I am always glad to see him cease to be a curio in the landscape and adapt himself to the general practices of the white people about him. But I should never attempt to force him into anything of that sort. The tepee dweller thrust into a house, at once goes to the opposite extreme in his habits of life; and, from having a home which automatically ventilates itself, he proceeds to fill up every chink and corner through which a bit of the fresh air can enter, till presently he becomes as tender as the average white man,

and a good deal more susceptible to the diseases which cluster about ill-ventilated places. Infectious disorders spread with great rapidity through an entire family housed after the modern fashion, unless the family has first been sufficiently instructed in the ways of keeping a dwelling to avoid pestilential conditions. Any sudden change is perilous.

I think I have made plain to you now what I am aiming at in regard to the new homes of either of the two parties who choose to leave Oraibi and settle somewhere else. Where Mr. Murphy and I should disagree—although I assume to know no more than he does about it—is in the first place on the question of forcing the two factions back together for a permanent home. They probably could not live in peace. To me it makes no difference which faction leaves Oraibi, but I felt as if the logic of the situation pointed to the departure of the Hostiles, as the Friendlies had already evicted them. If the Government had kept its hands off entirely, what would have become of the Hostiles? That is a question which Mr. Murphy does not pretend to answer.

In my judgment, if they had determined to return to Oraibi some of them would have been killed; and, as I understand it, the Hostile faction could not bear a very great many killings, as its ranks are not physically overstrong now. What would have happened in case they had been driven off again? Necessarily they would have had to go somewhere else to find a home. Now, whether they choose that home at the Hot Wells [Hotvela], or over on some other mesa, or on some knoll of the low lands, I care little or nothing. I agree with you in thinking, and I believe I have distinctly stated in my correspondence, that it would be well for the Superintendent, and for yourself as Supervisor, to assist the Hostiles in any way that you can in selecting a new site for their home. All I have demanded of them at any time was that they should send their children to school, and that demand I made upon the Friendlies equally, and every civilized white government makes it upon every man and woman within its jurisdiction, no matter of what race or color. I think I should limit the punishment of the Hostiles, if practicable to do so, to their ninety days' work on the road—except

of course the ring-leaders who were driven out of the country altogether. I should give them the opportunity of saying whether they would like to go to Rockyford and work there or not. But as for requiring them, or requiring the Friendlies if the Friendlies prefer to leave Oraibi, to build on the low lands, or to build houses of other construction than those in which they have been living, or, indeed, in any way to force upon them brand new habits of life, I should not be willing to stand for it. I should try to help them to see what was a wise and good thing to do, and bear very firmly in upon their minds the fact that I was pointing out these things for their own good and not for any good the Government would receive, explaining each point as thoroughly as possible; but after all that was done I should leave the ultimate decision to them, with the understanding that if they did not prosper under their new conditions they must not blame the Government for it.

I notice that you assume that there is a discrepancy between a statement contained in an Office letter of October 4 and later references to the separation of the factions. If you will reread the letter of October 4 you will find that its drift was in the direction of avoiding the forcing of the situation at any point except in extreme cases. I did not say that at the end of the Winter the Oraibi Hostiles who spent the winter in the old village would be driven out from there. I was very careful to avoid saying anything of that kind. What I did lay stress upon was that any arrangement made now for the purpose of meeting the exigencies of the situation that we were immediately confronted with, should be understood on all sides to be merely a temporary arrangement. I had no means of knowing, for instance, whether the factional disturbances might not be healed by spring, in which case the two factions might live in Oraibi until the end of time for anything that I should do to disturb them. But I wished to place the compulsory re-admission, by the Friendlies, of those Hostiles who asked for readmission to the village, upon the distinct logical ground that it would be only an act of mercy and of temporary necessity to let them return for the winter, and that on their part they were to be under pledge to keep the peace.

The only criticism I have to make upon your argument regarding handling this case, is that you viewed the attitude of the Office from the narrow rather than the larger lines of its policy. If you will read all the correspondence in the light of the big principles which the Office is trying to impress and to illustrate in this Oraibi case, I think many difficulties which present themselves to your mind now will disappear. You took hold of, and have handled, the situation at Oraibi very creditably indeed. It has been the general remark in the Office that you were obviously the right man in the right place. All I wish to have you avoid now is getting too restricted a view of either the situation close at hand or the lines of reasoning followed at headquarters. And it is for this reason that I have gone so extensively into the subject in this letter.

In your letter of the 17th instant you make suggestions relative to the building of a new day school for the Hostiles, and say that if these people go to Colorado their children should, of course, be placed in some of the boarding schools, but that if they remain on the reservation you have no doubt they will agree to keep their children in school.

If they elect, after being given an opportunity to express their wishes, to go to Rockyford, the question of providing schools for their children will be considered. It seems, however, that if a sufficient number go to the beet fields they will remain there probably until the first of October, and you may say to them that arrangements will be made to give them a little day school as near their habitations as possible, provided they will give the Government satisfactory assurance that they will keep their younger children in the school when it is ready. Whoever is in charge should promptly look over the situation and see whether quarters can be rented for day school purposes, or a cheap structure built.

If, on the other hand, rather than send their children to such a day school, they prefer to place them in Grand Junction or some other boarding school, no objection will be raised.

For the purchase of lumber, doors and windows for the construction of their houses, and the sinking of wells to furnish the domestic water supply, you think that about

\$20,000 would be required; but you add that, if the Office does not require cottages as good as those built by the Friendlies some years ago, the roofing and flooring can be eliminated and the cost reduced to \$15,000, of which only \$7,500 would be required this year.

As this estimate is predicated on recommendations which you made before submitting the plan for employing the Indians at Rockyford, I would rather not take this matter up until definite information is received as to the number who are to go to the beet fields.

In your letter of December 18 confirming your message of that date you say that unless otherwise instructed you will, after seeing Mary Y. Rodger, return to the Navajo Agency on the 31st, finish your work at that place and request instructions as to the future.

It is preferred that you return to the Moqui as soon as possible and there take up these unfinished matters with the Superintendent, and in the light of this letter make a definite report with recommendations.

Very respectfully,
(signed) F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner

Department of the Interior,
Indian School Service,
Moqui School,
Keam's Canon, Ariz.
Dec. 28, 1906.

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

Sir;

I have the honor to inform you that while confined to bed with a case of pneumonia at the Second Mesa Day School, from whence I have just returned, Quavenca [Kwaavenqa, Snow, 2M], a woman of Shimopivi, formerly living at Oraibi, but married to one of the Hostile Shimopivis while these were stopping with the Hostiles at Oraibi came to me with the following statement:—

“When the Hopis (hostiles) were taken prisoner and sent away with the soldiers we were told that the young men would be sent

to school. My husband, Ki-wan-i-i-ma [Tuwani'yma, Bearstrap, 2M] was one that they said would be sent to school somewhere and we were told that we would be sent with them. The men were sent to Keam's Canon and then somewhere else. The soldiers came up to the camp and made us all go over to Shimopivi.

“My husband had raised corn at Oraibi this year and he did not gather it because the soldiers took him and sent him away and I was sent to Shimopivi and the horses and cattle ate up all the corn. I have no corn and no beans and no food only what they give me in the village. And I want to know if we have to try to live that way, or if we are going to be let to go to our husbands to school?”

I had to tell her that I did not know what the intentions of the Honorable Commissioner were in the matter. This morning she came to me in the Office and again asked me about it. I am just out of bed from sickness and have had no other time to investigate the matter. She informs that exactly the same conditions exist in the case of Ma-ho-i-ma [?], and baby, husband and father Jos-wy-te-wa [Tsorwaytiwa, Sun, 2M], and Si-cia-wis-nim [Sikyawisnöm, Bluebird, 2M] and baby, father Washington, and whose Indian name I believe to be Ta-li-emp-ti-wa [Talayamtiwa, Sun, 2M]. These women, Qua-ven-ca informs me, want to go to school now as they want food and want to be with their husbands.

It is my belief that an investigation will show that they have lost their crops, and that they are in need of food. I have no desire in the world to intrude in this matter and only write that I am writing that your Office may be informed of the facts as the Indians claim, and as I believe investigation will show them, to exist. I feel that such hardships were not intended by your Office and that you should be put in possession of the facts—or what I believe to be the facts in the case.

If I may suggest, nothing better can be done than put these young people in school as originally intended by Supervisor Perry. Even if the husbands return here at once it will not change the condition of poverty and a year must pass before crops can be grown. If my recommendation in the matter is of any

value to your Office under the conditions then I earnestly recommend that these young people be put in school and at some time returned at a time of year that they can grow crops for sustenance the following year.

We are now closing the papers and will make the transfer with the close of the year, and I will be going out, these women would, they say, gladly go with me, and I will willingly take them either to Haskell or Chilocco if it be the wish of your Office that they go there as I know them to have been told that they would.

When I am out of the Service so that there can be no feeling that I am actuated by any motive other than the welfare of all concerned if a statement of some things that I believe would be helpful to your Office in the mixed condition that exists here would be welcome to your Office I hope you will command me in the matter and I will cheerfully give you some information that I believe will be helpful, a part of which has come to me within the past few days.

Very respectfully,
Theo. G. Lemmon.
Superintendent

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service
Navaho Indian Agency
Fort Defiance, Ariz.
Jan. 3, 1907.

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

Sir:

. . . within a very few days I will proceed to the Moqui reservation to carry out your desires.

I am very glad to have your letter of the 28th ultimo as I feel that it will be a great help to me in the future, not only at Oraibi but in general, and I am very thankful to the Office, and the Commissioner especially, for taking the time and giving the consideration necessary for furnishing me with all the information contained in said letter.

There are a few more places on this reservation that Doctor Harrison and myself

should visit together and we will endeavor to do so in the next few days.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry
Supervisor

The following letter indicates that those prisoners to be sent to Carlisle remained, as of January 1907, detained at Fort Wingate. The prisoners sent on to Fort Huachuca in southern Arizona were evidently transported there in December 1906.

The Department of the
Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Navaho Indian Agency
Fort Defiance, Ariz.
Jan. 3, 1907.

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

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith copy of a letter written to the military secretary at Denver, Colorado, by the commanding officer at Fort Wingate concerning the eleven prisoners now held at Fort Wingate waiting orders from your department. These eleven were recommended for school instead of imprisonment on account of their being young men and it was believed that school would be better than prison for them.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry.
Supervisor

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
January 7, 1907.

Superintendent Moqui School,
Keams Canon, Arizona.

Sir:

I am in receipt of a letter from Ex-superintendent Lemmon dated December 28, in which he says that Quavenca, a woman of Shimopivi, formerly living at Oraibi but mar-

ried to one of the hostile Shimopivis, informed him that her husband Ki-wan-i-i-ma, who was taken prisoner and sent away with the soldiers, would be sent to school somewhere; that her husband had raised corn at Oraibi this season but did not gather it on account of the soldiers taking him away; that she was sent to Shimopivi, and the horses and cattle ate up all the corn; that she has now only the provisions which are given her in the village, and she wishes to go to school with her husband. She added that the same conditions exist in the cases of Ma-ho-i-ma and baby, husband and father Jos-wy-te-wa, and Si-cia-wis-nim and baby, father Washington (Ta-li-emp-ti-wa), and that these women wish also to go to school with their husbands.

On this information Mr. Lemmon suggests that these young people be sent to school as originally intended by Supervisor Perry.

As you are aware, it is not my intention to impose any greater hardship on these people than is essential for good discipline. Make an investigation of the statements made by Quavenca to Mr. Lemmon, and if the facts are as reported there will be no objection to granting the request of Quavenca and the other women. Report promptly, and give the names of the schools to which the husbands have been or are to be sent, the names of the wives and their ages, number and names of children in each family, and their ages, and if each of the mothers will voluntarily request to be transferred to school.

On receipt of this information the subject will be taken up with the several superintendents in regard to their enrollment as requested.

Very respectfully,
(signed) F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner

The following telegram suggests that, rather than having been chosen by Leupp, Carlisle Indian School, Pennsylvania, was actually the preferred option of the prisoners, from among several possibilities.

Telegram
Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.,
January 11, 1907.

To
Perry, Supervisor,
Fort Defiance, Arizona,
Via Gallup, New Mexico.

Make necessary arrangements for sending the eleven Hopi prisoners recommended for school, now at Fort Wingate, to any Government school they may elect. The Superintendent of the school selected will be authorized to arrange transportation and you will so inform him.

Report your action.

(signed) Leupp
Commissioner

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Moqui School,
Keams Canon, Arizona.
January 14, 1907.

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

Sir;—

Referring to Authority granted in your letter of September 15, 1906. "Accounts, Auth. 101086". I have the honor to inform you that 15 police privates have been on duty since November 15th, under this authority, and as the 90 days sentence of the Hopi prisoners will not expire till Feb. 18th, it will be necessary to continue a part of the irregular police on duty. Mr. Tucker, foreman in charge of the prisoners, thinks 5 policemen will be all that is necessary after the 14th instant.

Please grant authority to employ 5 irregular police privates at \$20.00 per month each from January 15, to February 19th 1907.

Very respectfully,
Horton H. Miller
Superintendent

Telegram

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
January 15, 1907.

Department of the Interior,
Office of Indian Affairs,
Washington.
January 23, 1907.

To
Superintendent,
Indian School,
Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Superintendent,
Moqui Indian School,
Kearns's Canon, Arizona.

You will make necessary arrangements with Supervisor Perry for transfer to Carlisle of eleven Hopi prisoners now at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, Supervisor is advised of this order.

Sir:
On November 10 last Supervisor Perry recommended that the Hostile prisoners be employed for ninety days in working on the roads in the Hopi country, and on November 20 I approved his recommendation. Again, on December 28 I wrote the Supervisor as follows:

(Signed) Leupp,
Commissioner.

I think I should limit the punishment of the Hostiles, if practicable to do so, to their ninety days' work on the road—except of course the ringleaders who were driven out of the country altogether. I should give them the opportunity of saying whether they would like to go to Rockyford and work there or not.

Department of the Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Navaho Indian Agency
Fort Defiance, Arizona,
Jan. 17, 1906.

It is noted in your letter of the 14th instant that the term of the prisoners will expire on February 18 and that it will be unnecessary to continue the full force of 15 police privates until that time, but that 5 irregular police privates should be continued at \$20.00 per month each from January 15 to February 19, 1907.

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

Sir:
Referring to message of the 14th instant informing the Office that the eleven prisoners at Fort Wingate selected Carlisle for their school I have the honor to state that all arrangements for their transfer and an escort were made before I left the fort yesterday.

You are therefore advised that the relief of the 10 police privates on January 14th instant is approved, and you may continue the 5 until February 19 at \$20.00 per month, as requested.

I have just arrived at Fort Defiance and find some mail pertaining to my affairs at this agency. I will remain here tomorrow in order to answer the same and will proceed to Kearns Canyon on the 19th.

You will report on the work done by these prisoners, what roads have been improved, etc.; also what answer was made to the option given them to go to Rockyford.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry,
Supervisor

If Supervisor Perry is on the reservation, confer with him with reference to these matters.

Very respectfully,
(signed) F. E. Leupp,
Com.

Department of the Interior,
 United States Indian Service,
 Moqui School.
 Keams Canon, Arizona.
 January 28, 1907.

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

Sir;—

. . . Quavenca, Ma-ho-i-ma and Si-cia-wis-nim called on me a few days ago and requested an interview, where no one else could hear what was said. At this meeting Quavenca, who talks fairly good English, made a statement to this effect; we felt bad and wanted to be with our husbands when we called on Superintendent Lemmon and asked him to arrange for us to go to school. We made statements to him concerning the lack of corn and other provisions, because we were willing to do anything in order to be sent to our husbands. Now we have changed our minds and we do not want to go away to school or any other place but we want to stay at Chimopivi and we hope our husbands will come back to us sometime.

Quavenca talked Hopi to the other women and seemed to be explaining to them the questions, regarding their conditions and desires, as I asked them. . . .

Very respectfully,
 Horton H. Miller
 Superintendent

The next letter signals the real beginning of Horton Miller's involvement with factional issues at Orayvi. Perry had been briefly recalled from Fort Defiance. Miller was to remain Agent for almost four years. Perry records the Hostiles' rejection of the proposal to remove to Rocky Ford to work in the beet fields. It is significant, notably to the materialist explanation of the split discussed in Chapter 4, that Perry indicates the Hostiles would still be able to plant in their old fields—i.e., including in the Oraibi Valley—despite having removed to Hotvela. Perry also points out that Tawakwaptiwa was attempting to influence events in Orayvi—particularly regarding fields (see Miller's letter of May 25,

1908, below)—via the mail. Perry recommended sending someone to Sherman Institute to stop him from doing so, and on February 8, 1907, Perry was directed to go to California in person, taking Frank Jenkins (Kuwangöytiwa, Patki) with him (see chap. 24).

Department of the Interior,
 United States Indian Service,
 Keams Canon, Arizona.
 January 30, 1907.

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

Sir;—

Obedient to instructions contained in Office letter "Education 112323, 112324 and 112074, 1906" of the 28th ultimo, I have the honor to report my return to Keams Canon, on the 20th instant, for the purpose of taking up unfinished matters with the Superintendent and certain Indians.

On the 21st, Supt. Miller and myself went over some of the correspondence, and on the following day, laid the proposition to employ the prisoners in the beetfields at Rocky Ford, Col. before them, explaining as fully as possible the advantage such a program would be to them, but they refused the proposition. At this meeting the Indians were assured that the Government desires to be kind to them, but they would be required to keep their children in school as the Friendlies do.

On the 23rd, I talked to them again and they declared their intention to oppose school and said they would not keep their children in school and they do not desire to make friends with the Friendly faction. They say the Friendly Chief, Ta-wa-quap-te-wa, told them that the schools are for his people and not for the Hostiles. When at Oraibi, I warned the Friendlies against making such statements and they said they would not in the future.

On the 24th instant, Supt. Miller and myself went to Oraibi and on the 25th held a council with the Friendlies and returned Hostiles now inhabiting the village. There had been some friction between the factions over what is known as the Flute dance, the Friend-

lies claiming that the other faction had no right to have this ceremony. It further appeared that the Friendly Chief, before going away to school, named his brother to rule the village during his absence and they were not inclined to obey the teacher and judges in matters pertaining to village affairs. They requested the dismissal of the old friendly Judge but seemingly all their reasons for desiring to dismiss him were good reasons why he should be retained in the position.

They were told that the Government did not desire to interfere in any way with their ceremonies but wished them to settle such matters among themselves; that their new chief could not be recognized; that the teacher and judges are to govern the village and must be obeyed; that the old judge would not be dismissed but must be treated with respect and obedience. They promised to govern themselves in accordance with the foregoing.

I then asked them how they had been getting along since the return of some of the Hostiles to the village and if they thought they would make friends and the Hostiles who had returned and are keeping their children in school would be allowed to remain in the village. They stated that their chief, who is away at school, would have to be consulted before they could answer and that his desire in the matter would be theirs. They were told that the chief would be in school for a term of three years and could not have anything to do with their affairs during that period at least. They say they look to him for guidance and have been receiving instructions from him by mail. They suggested that Ta-wa-quap-te-wa could be seen and whatever he would agree to they would do. Of course, it would seem like attaching much importance to Ta-wa-quap-te-wa to consult him in such matters, but they will recognize him as their leader, even though the Gov't. does not, and the letters he is sending his people keep matters in an unsettled condition. It might be well to have some Official take one of the Friendly Indians to Riverside and talk over these affairs and see that he sends no such letters in the future as he has been sending in the past.

The Hostile parties, who returned to the

village, have been very orderly, kept their children in school and obeyed the teacher and their young judge. They desire to remain in the village if the Friendlies become willing.

Mr. Stauffer, who has been among the Hopis for a number of years and who understands the language well, visited the prisoners yesterday and talked over school matters, etc. but they hold out that they will not agree to any thing or make any promises until their Chief Yukioma returns to direct them. Notwithstanding the fact that these Indians have been told that Yukioma would never return to the Hopi country, they believe he will return and that he and his following will be able to take possession of the village and eject the Friendlies.

The prisoners, when released, will return to Hotevilla (Hot Wells) where they had their camp. They have water and wood at this new village and are near enough to their old fields to cultivate them.

I have said nothing to the hostiles as to extending their term of work, but as their children are to be kept in school during vacation unless they promise to return them, it would seem unnecessary to extend the time much beyond the original ninety days, which will end February 18th.

As these people will return to Hotevilla where they have already built some fairly good houses, no great amount of material will be needed to assist them in providing habitations, but they will need some and a few of the Friendlies who desire to move down off the Mesa and build will need some material. It is believed, the way matters are turning, that about \$2000.00 worth of material will be sufficient to meet the requirements at present and that the Indians can be required to pay something in labor for what they receive.

I have gone over all these matters with Supt. Miller and he understands the conditions as well as I do and will be able to handle the affairs. I see no further need of my remaining on this reservation and therefore request instructions.

Very respectfully,
Reuben Perry,
Supervisor