THE MOQUI PUEBLOS OF ARIZONA.

The Moqui Pueblo Indians are in Apache county, northeastern Arizona, in the country called by the Spaniards "The Province of Tusayan", and from 95 to 100 miles north of the Atlantic and Pacific railroad. The station nearest to them is Holbrook. They are located on what is known as the Moqui reservation, their old lands in fact, which were set aside to them out of the Navajo reservation by the President by proclamation of December 16, 1882. It is said to contain 2,472,320 acres, or 3,863 square miles. (*a*) Of this enormous acreage only 10,000 are estimated to be tillable, and these only with irrigation, the water being entirely the property of the Moquis. This reservation is merely tentative and was to give the United States authority over the Moquis and to really protect them from white people and the Navajos. The name which they call themselves by is Ho-pi, or Ho-pi-tuh-lei-nyu-muh, meaning "peaceful people". The Zuñis knew them in 1540 and prior as the A-mo-kwi. The Spaniards changed this to Moqui, or Moki. In the Moqui language moki means "dead". The Moquis are pueblo or town Indians. Their homes, consisting of 7 pueblos, or villages, are situated at an elevation of from 700 to 800 feet above the valleys on the almost level tops of 3 long mesas or tables. (*b*) These 3 mesas project in a southwesterly direction from the main table-land into the desert south. On the first, or eastern, mesa, about 3 miles long and from 6 to 200 feet wide, are the pueblos of Sichumnavi, Tewa, and Walpi; on the second, or middle, 3.5 miles long and from 50 to 300 feet wide, those of Mishongnavi, Shimopavi, and Shipaulavi; on the third, or western, is Oraibi, which is the largest, and which contains almost as many inhabitants as all the rest combined, viz, 900. The altitude of Oraibi is 6,730 feet. At Walpi the mesa is hardly 200 feet wide on top and a short distance beyond, toward Sichumnavi, it narrows to 8 or 10 feet.

From Walpi, on the first, or eastern, mesa, all the other villages can be seen. Oraibi and Shimopavi appear to be the highest, while Mishongnavi and Shipaulavi appear to be the lowest. Their situation, upon these 3 narrow stone arms, or long fingers, that project from the main plateau into the desert, was selected for defensive purposes, no doubt, as a view of the country for 50 miles about is assured. There was plenty of timber about them when the villages were first built, and more water probably near the base of the mesa; but the timber has all disappeared for miles, and the appearance of the towns is that of decay and dreariness. They are remote from water, and still more remote from wood, from 7 to 10 miles. Their fields are scattered far away along the washes, below them in the valleys, where they depend upon the retained moisture after rains for a crop, and their orchards are interspersed among the sand hills at the foot of the mesas. Their flocks and herds are driven daily from the rock corrals, built on the sides of the mesas, into the distant valleys for grazing and water, and at night they are returned.

The life of the Moquis is one of great toil, yet they find time for their ceremonies, dancing, visiting, and other amusements. They are entirely self-sustaining. Their blankets, baskets, and pottery find a ready market, the proceeds from which and from the sale of some sheep and horses, with their crops, yield them support, the latter giving them in good seasons a food supply for emergencies.

The evidence of the position of the water supply about the Moqui pueblos and the deep worn walks in the stones from the water to the mesas, or rather the paths from the tops of the mesas down to the water, indicate an occupancy of the mesa tops for habitation for many centuries; besides, there are no ruins directly about the springs in the valleys and below the mesas, except those of Mishongnavi and old Shimopavi.

Indian time records are usually given by "snow flies" and minor events, and are not reliable. The Moquis' years are recorded by the sun's declination, which is observed by watching the shadows.

The ruins of Awatubi and those east of it are on the same mesa. As shown on the map, old Shimopavi was built about the springs, under the east side of the mesa. The town was destroyed during a war hundreds of years ago; its ruins indicate that it was much larger than Oraibi, and must have contained 2,500 or 3,000 people. From these ruins the mesa, where the present Shimopavi is, is very imposing. Near the springs, under Mishongnavi, are the ruins of the old town, which was destroyed during one of the wars. These are almost the only ruins of note around the Moqui country off the mesas.

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a Before correction in 1891 the area of the Moqui reservation was given at 2,508,800 acres, or 3,920 square miles.

b Although the basis of the plain abutting against the mountain regions on the east is mostly cretaceous and tertiary, volcanic flows have penetrated into it, and they form isolated videttes in the form of table mountains or mesas. The mesa is one of the distinctive traits of southwestern mountain scenery. Frequently a thin crust or layer of metamorphic trap or basalt covers a base of sedimentary rocks, and the difference in hardness between base and top has given a hold to erosion by water as well as by atmospheric currents: a hold that causes the sides to give way and leaves the surface as a projecting table, whence the Spanish popular term mesa, now universally accepted, is derived. Erosion has been exceedingly powerful; not only the mesa formation but the gigantic gorges or cañons are due to this agency. With their vertical walls incasing a narrow bottom, these deep ravines are a testimony of a slow corrosive and erosive force exerted through long periods of time.—A. F. Bandelier.

NAMES OF MOQUI PUEBLOS BY VARIOUS AUTHORITIES.

The names of the 7 Moqui pueblos have been given by good authorities in a number of ways, viz:

E. S. Clark, supervisor, and F. M. Zuck, census enumerator, 1890: First mesa, Tegua, Sichumniva, and Walpi; second mesa, Mishonginivi, Shepauliva, and Shimopova; third mesa, Oriabe.

Thomas V. Keam, old resident, and Julian Scott, special agent: First mesa, Tewa, Sichum-navi, and Walpi; second mesa, Mishong-na-vi, Shi-paul-a-vi, and Shi-mo-pa-vi; third mesa, Oraibi or Orabi.

Major J. W. Powell: First mesa, Te-wa, Si-choan-avi, and Walpi; second mesa, Mi-shong-i-niv, Shi-pau-i-luv-i, and Shong-a-pa-vi; third mesa, Oraibi.

A. F. Bandelier: First mesa, Tehua, Sichomivi, and Gualpi; second mesa, Mishonginivi, Shipaulavi, and Shimopavi; third mesa, Oraybi.

Professor Otis T. Mason, Smithsonian Institution: First mesa, Tewa, Sechumavi, and Walpi; second mesa, Meshongnavi, Shepolavi, and Shemopavi; third mesa, Oraibi.

Captain John G. Bourke: Tegua, also called Hano; Suchongnewy, Hualpi, Mushanguewy, Shupowlewy, Sumopoy, and Shupowla.

A. M. Steven, old resident and observer: First mesa, Teh-wa, Si-tchom-ovi, and Walpi; second mesa, Mi-shong-in-ovi, Shi-powlo-vi, and Shung-op-ovi; third mesa, Oraibi.

The following are the names of the 7 Moqui pueblos given by Don Jose Cortez, an officer of the Spanish engineers in 1799, stationed in New Mexico: Oraibe, Taucos, Moszasnavi, Guipaulavi, Xongopavi, Gualpi, and a village which has no name, situated between the last town and Tanos (Taos). The unnamed village is undoubtedly Tewa.

Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, in 1853, while near Zuñi, noted the names and population of the Moqui pueblos (Pacific Railroad, Whipple's Report, volume III, page 13.) The population is probably largely overestimated, as it was the period of the smallpox epidemic, and the figures were given him by Mr. Leroux, one of his party, who had visited the Moquis some years before. The Moquis refer to the smallpox year as the year of their decline.

MOQUI PUEBLOS.	In Zuñi language.	Number of warriors.	Total population.
O-rái-bè	U-lè-ô-wà	400	2,400
Shú-mŭth-pà	Shú-mŭth-pài-ô-wá	150	900
Mŭ-shài-i-nà	Mú-shài-è-nòw-à	150	900
Áh-le'-là	Áh-lè-lá	150	900
Quái-i-pi	Wathl-pi-e	150	900
Shi-wĭn-nà	Shi-wĭn-è-wà	20	120
Te'-quà (a)	Te'-è-wŭn-nà	100	600

a Probably should be Tigue, one of the ancient tribes of Rio del Norte.

Dr. P. S. G. Ten Broeck, assistant surgeon United States army, who visited the Moquis in 1852, gives the names of but 2 pueblos: Oraivaz, called Musquint by the Mexicans, and Harno.

Lieutenant Jones in 1857–1858, while stating that there were 7 Moqui pueblos, names but Oraybe (Oraibi), Mooshahneh (Mishongnavi), and Tegua (Tewa).

The caciques (governors) of the 7 Moqui pueblos visited Special Agent James S. Calhoun at Santa Fe, October 6, 1850, and gave the names of the 7 pueblos as follows: Oriva, Samoupavi, Inparavi, Mausand, Opquiva, Chemovi, Tanoquibi.

John Ward, United States Indian agent, who visited the Moquis in 1861, gives the names of the pueblos as follows: Oraiva, Sho-mon-pa-vi, Tano, Ci-cho-mo-oi, O-pi-ji-que, Mi-shan-qu-na-vi, Sha-pan-la-vi.

H. H. Bancroft thus writes of the Moquis:

> The Moquis, who speak a distinct language, and who have many customs peculiar to themselves, inhabit 7 villages, named Oraibe, Shumuthpa, Mushaiina, Ahlela, Gualpi, Siwinna, and Tegua.

On a map of southwestern New Mexico, compiled and drawn by Seth Eastman, captain United States army, 1853, and found in Schoolcraft, volume IV, page 24, the names of the 7 Moqui pueblos are given as "towns": Harno, Sheeourkee, Hoepeckee, Shomoparvee, Sheepon-arleeve, Mooshongeenayvee, and Orayvee.

In 1872 J. H. Beadle, an experienced traveler and author, who spent much time with the Indians, gave the names of the 7 Moqui towns as follows: Moqui, pronounced Mokee; Moquina, pronounced Mokeenah; Tequa, pronounced Taywah; Hualpec, pronounced Wallpake; Shepalawa, pronounced Shapalawah; Orayba, pronounced Orybay; Beowawe, pronounced Baowahay.

NAMES OF PUEBLOS, 1890, FOR CENSUS PURPOSES.

The purely Indian names of the Moqui pueblos, or villages, are not attempted, and for census purposes the following will be the names used:

First mesa, Sichumnavi, Tewa, and Walpi; second mesa, Mishongnavi, Shimopavi, and Shipaulavi; third mesa, Oraibi.

Julius Bien & Co. Photo Lith.

JOHN SENEX' MAP OF 1710

Map contains Taos and other now New Mexican Pueblos and the Moquis Pueblos.

STOCK AND LANGUAGE.

The Indians of the pueblos of Mishongnavi, Oraibi, Sichumnavi, Shimopavi, Shipaulavi, and Walpi are of Shoshonean stock, or of the Numa group of American Indians, while the single Moqui pueblo of Tewa is of Tewan or Tanoan stock. The people of all the Moqui pueblos speak the same language, except those of Tewa, who speak the language of the Tewan or Tanoan family, which is also spoken by those of 11 of the 19 pueblos of New Mexico. Future investigation will probably show that all of the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico are of Shoshonean stock.

ANCIENT MAPS OF THE PUEBLOS OF ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO AND THEIR NAMES.

On a map published by Bolognino Zaltieri at Venice in 1566, which was engraved on copper, can be found a pueblo called "Civola" (Cibola). This Civola is located on the map near the present Moqui pueblos and Zuñi. The information was, of course, obtained from the Spaniards, as the map was published 15 years after Coronado's march in 1541, the Spanish permanent occupation occurring in 1591.

On a map published in the third volume of Purchas' Pilgrims, London, 1625, is a picture of a castle with the legend, "Pueblos de Moqui", with no reference to Zuñi or other pueblos, or "Cibola". This castle is placed on the map near the present Moqui pueblos.

The John Senex map of North America, a reduced copy of which is given elsewhere, was published in London in 1710. Senex was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an authority. His map purports to give data up to 1710, and from the observations communicated to the Royal Society of London and the Royal Academy at Paris. It will be observed that Taos and other pueblos are given, and Zuñi is marked as Zuñi or Cibola. To the west and north of Zuñi 10 Moqui pueblos are noted under the general title of "The Moqui", as follows: Quiana, Orawi, Macanabi, Iogopapi, Gualpi, Aguatubi, Aguico, Alona, Masaguia, and Quaguina. Aguatubi (Awatubi), which is now known and given on modern maps, is an extinct Moqui pueblo of 1700–1701; Gualpi is probably the present Walpi, and may have been removed to the site now occupied since 1710. From the present location (including the above), and comparing this map with the location of the Moqui pueblos in 1890, Iogopapi was near Shimopavi, Aguico was near Walpi, Alona near Sichumnavi, and Masaguia near Tewa. The country adjacent to the present Moqui pueblos contains numerous ruined and abandoned pueblos, covering a space of country 40 miles square. With so much unoccupied territory without a recorded history speculation has a vast field. Oraibi, as has been noted, is probably the ancient Orawi. It is the most ancient looking of the pueblos, and from the amount of dirt in its streets one would give it great antiquity. Many of the other towns were removed because they became so dirty as not to be habitable, or the water or fuel supply gave out; others were destroyed by war. It will be noted that the present names are those given the Moqui pueblos by white men, and in some cases subsequently changed to meet the views of new comers.

POPULATION, 1583-1890.

Espejo estimates the Moquis in 1583 at 50,000. They received him cordially, he writes, giving him feasts and dances. His imagination seems to have developed with their hospitality.

In 1745 two friars claimed to have counted the persons in the Moqui pueblos, and they numbered 10,846.

In 1775 Governor Anza gave them as 7,497.

Escalante, in 1775, gave the population of the Moqui pueblos at 7,494.

In September, 1780, Governor Anza gave the Moqui population as 798. No rain had fallen for 3 years, and in that time the Moqui deaths were given at 6,698.

Governor Charles Bent of New Mexico, November 10, 1846, gave the population of the Moquis as 350 families, or 2,450 persons.

In 1852, Surgeon P. S. G. Ten Broeck, who visited the Moquis, gave the population at 8,000.

Early in 1853 Lieutenant Whipple, United States army, in charge of an exploring party for surveying a railroad to the Pacific, gave the population of the Moquino (Moqui) pueblos at 6,720, and follows Governor Martinez in his estimate of the population of the 19 pueblos in New Mexico. This was prior to the smallpox of 1853–1854.

In 1861 John Ward, United States Indian agent, gave the population of the Moqui pueblos at 2,500.

In 1865 Mr. Ward stated the Moquis to be 3,000.

In 1869 Vincent Colyer gave their population as 4,000 (estimated, of course).

The various agents of the Moqui Pueblos in 1864 have made estimates of their number varying from 2,000 to 4,000.

The Eleventh Census gives the 7 pueblos a population of 1,996.

Agent Ward's estimate of 1861 was the nearest to the actual number at that time.

story, to which the owners ascend by a wooden ladder, which they rest thereon and remove as often as they desire to go up or down. On the terrace, upon which all the doors of the lower story open, is a ladder whereby to ascend to the upper story, which is divided into a hall and 2 or 3 rooms, and on that terrace is another ladder with which to ascend to the roof or to another story, should there be one.

4. Each town is governed by a cacique, and for the defense of it the inhabitants make common cause. The people are of a lighter complexion than other Indians. Their dress differs but little from that worn by the Spanish-Americans of those remote provinces, and the fashion of their horse trappings is the same. They use the lance and the bow and arrows.

5. The women dress in a woven tunic without sleeves, and in a black, white, or colored shawl, formed like a mantilla. The tunic is confined by a sash that is usually of many tints. They make no use of beads or earrings. The aged women wear the hair divided into 2 braids and the young in a knot over each ear. They are fond of dancing, which is their frequent diversion; for it there is no other music than that produced by striking with 2 little sticks on a hollowed block and from a kind of small pastoral flute. At the assemblages, which are the occasions of the greatest display, there is not a Moqui of either sex whose head is not ornamented with beautiful feathers.

THE MOQUIS IN 1818-1819.

The Moquis appear in history again as objecting to the Navajos settling around 5 of their pueblos. On this subject Mr. H. H. Bancroft (volume XVII, page 287) writes as follows:

In 1818-1819 the Navajos renewed their hostilities. It was reported in Mexico in January, 1819, that Governor Melgares had in December forced them to sue for peace; but it appears that they had to be defeated twice more, in February and March, and that the treaty was finally signed on August 21. A notable feature of this affair is the fact that the Navajos, being hard pressed, settled near the Moqui towns, and the Moquis sent 5 of their number to ask aid from the Spaniards. This was deemed a most important occurrence, opening the way to the submission of this nation after an apostacy of 139 years. It was resolved to take advantage of the opportunity, but of the practical result nothing is known, since this is the only mention of this remnant of a valiant and independent people that I have been able to find in the records of the period.

THE MOQUIS IN 1834.

In Victor's River of the West, page 153, it is noted that in 1834 a trapping party of 200 men of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company went from Bill Williams fork to the Moqui towns, where several trappers plundered the gardens and shot 15 or 20 peaceful Moquis. In Spanish, Mexican, and American annals the Moquis are found complaining of the Navajos, who were almost constantly robbing them, and who would drive them away from the water now, so as to use it for their herds, but for fear of the law and soldiers.

The Moquis do not appear again in history until 1846 and after the occupation of New Mexico by General Kearny. They were so merged in history and tradition with the New Mexican Pueblos up to 1866 that they are only heard of as Moquis at long intervals. They were surrounded by deserts and the fierce Navajos, and these were sufficient to stop visitors or adventurers; only armies could reach them. Prior to 1846 and to 1866 the United States authorities were ignorant both of the condition of the Moquis and the names of their pueblos.

THE MOQUI PUEBLOS, 1846-1891.

The Moqui Pueblos in New Mexico in 1846 (under Mexican control from and after 1822 and citizens of the republic of Mexico the same as the Pueblos along the Rio Grande and adjacent country) came under the control of the United States authorities by the capture of New Mexico in 1846.

Governor Charles Bent, appointed by General S. W. Kearny, August, 1846, in a report to Hon. William Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated November 10, 1846, wrote of the Moquis:

The Moques (Moquis) are neighbors of the Navajos and live in permanent villages, cultivate grain and fruits, and raise all the varieties of stock. They were formerly a very numerous people, the possessors of large flocks and herds, but have been reduced in numbers and possessions by their more warlike neighbors and enemies, the Navajos. The Moques (Moquis) are an intelligent and industrious people.

The Mormons pushed their settlements down toward them after 1846 and tried to convert them to Mormonism. The Moquis received the missionaries, accepted their presents, and then sent them home. Tuba city, a Mormon settlement, is about 70 miles to the northwest of Oraibi. The Mormons and Moquis constantly visit one another and trade together. At one time the Moquis let some of their farming lands on shares to the Mormons or other white people.

In March, 1850, Mr. Calhoun made the following report as to the Moqui Pueblos. In this report he says "the Pueblo Indians are all alike entitled to the favorable and early consideration of the government", showing that the Moqui Pueblos were considered to be the same as the other Pueblos.

INDIAN AGENCY, SANTA FE,
NEW MEXICO, March 29, 1850.

SIR:

Herewith I return the section of a map of New Mexico which you inclosed to me on the 28th day of last December.

You will find marked in this (o) the various Indian pueblos located in this territory upon the section of country which the map represents. It may be well to remember that there are 2 Indian pueblos below El Paso, Isletta and Socorro, and Zuñi, an Indian pueblo 88.30 miles northwest of Laguna. Of course, neither of these 3 pueblos could be marked upon the map. Beyond Zuñi, west perhaps 150 miles, the Moqui country is reached. These Indians live in pueblos, cultivate the soil to a limited extent, and raise horses, mules, sheep, and goats, and, I am informed, manufacture various articles.

Careful investigation shows that the Moquis have an almost ideal form of government, administered on one side by the high priest, or, perhaps, priests, and on the other by the council. It works harmoniously and is fitted to the daily wants of this curious people. It is necessary to add that they have no lawyers living with them, and they further present the extraordinary spectacle of a people living in 7 pueblos or towns, and numbering about 2,000, who have no crimes and no punishments: no murders, no adultery, no vice. Such disputes as there are, about a donkey, a field, crops, or melons, are settled by the officers. Adultery and murder would be punished with death, probably secretly, under the direction of the high priest.

PRESENT SOCIAL ORDERS, RELIGION, AND CUSTOMS.

Mr. A. M. Steven (*a*) wrote in 1890 of the social orders of the Moquis as follows:

Ancestry and inheritance are about on the same general lines as with the Navajo, but in their land property there are still traces that it was once divided on a communal basis for the use of the families composing the gentes and not as individual holdings. They still count many gentes, and there are about 26 of these extant, but some of them are only represented now by 1 or 2 persons. Their gentes are named after the sun, clouds, animals, plants, mythologic and common objects, deriving their names either from mythic ancestors or traditional incidents in their early history. The priests and chiefs are not privileged personages. The former are the leaders in all religious ceremonies and the latter preside at councils, decide matters of controversy, and to some extent conduct the affairs of the village. They are not hereditary, but most of them nominate their own successors. They engage in the same labors and lead precisely the same life as the other villagers, and no actual difference in social rank is recognized.

RELIGION.

Of the religion and ceremonies of the Moquis in 1890, Mr. A. M. Steven also writes:

Their thronged mythology has given rise to a very complex system of worship, which rests upon this theory: in early days certain superhuman beings, called Katcheenas [Cachinas], appeared at certain seasons, bringing blessings or reproofs from the gods, and, as indicated by their name, they listened to the people's prayers and carried back their desires to the gods. A long while ago they revealed certain mystic rites to a few good men of every clan, by means of which mortals could communicate directly with the gods, after which their visits ceased, and this, the Moquis say, was the origin of their numerous religious or Katcheena societies. To a limited extent certain women were also similarly endowed; hence, the membership of some of these societies consists entirely of men, others of women only, and in many both sexes bear a part. The public ceremonies of these societies are participated in by all the members, fancifully dressed in cotton tunics, kilts, and girdles, and wearing large masks decorated with the emblems pertaining to the Katcheena whose feast they celebrate. Emerging from the kiva, the maskers form in procession and march to the village court, where they stand in line, rattle in hand, and as they stamp their feet with measured cadence they sing their traditional hymns of petition. The surrounding house terraces are crowded with spectators, and some of these celebrations partake much of the nature of dramas. Feats of war are mimicked or the actions of wild animals and hunters, and many mythic incidents are commemorated, while interludes afford an opportunity for a few grotesquely arrayed buffoons to crack coarse jests for the amusement of the rude audience. Every moon witnesses some celebration.

Mr. J. H. Beadle, after visiting the Moquis in 1872, wrote of their religion as follows (The Undeveloped West, pages 582, 583):

All my endeavors failed to discover the slightest trace of any religion. The simplest form in which I could put questions on that point seemed to completely bewilder them. The Spanish word Dios they had never heard, and the American word God only as an oath, and did not know what it implied. To my question, "Who made all these mountains"? Papa only smiled, then stared, and finally replied, "Nada; siempre son aqui (nothing; they are always here)". Fearing from this that my limited command of Spanish had caused him to misunderstand me, I entered into a very minute explanation, in the simplest possible words, of our belief, and had him repeat till I was sure he fully understood it, but apparently it roused no answering conceptions in his mind. Part of the talk struck me as so curious that I at once copied it:

Myself.—The Melicans and Mexicans have one they call God, or Dios. We think He made us; made this mesa; made these mountains; made all men and all things. We talk to and ask good things of this God. Papa.—Yes; I much hear Melican man say "G—d d—n (repeating an oath too blasphemous to be written)".

Myself.—No, no; that is bad. He was a bad Melican man who said that. We think this God all good. Have the Moquis a God like that? Papa.—Nothing (nada). The grandfathers said nothing of Dios, what you say Got—God (making several attempts at the word).

Myself.—But, say to me, who made this mesa; these mountains; all that you see there? Papa.—Nothing; it is here.

Myself.—Was it always here? Papa (with a short laugh).—Yes; certainly; always here. What would make it be away from here?

Myself.—But where do the dead Moquis go; where is the child I saw put in the sand yesterday; where does it go? Papa.—Not at all; nowhere; you saw it put in the sand; how can it go anywhere?

Myself.—Did you ever hear of Montezuma? Papa.—No; Monte—Montzoo (attempting the word). Melican man?

Myself.—No; one of your people, we think. What are these dances for, that you have sometimes? Papa.—The grandfathers always had them.

a Mr. A. M. Stephen (or Steven) was commissioned a special agent of the Eleventh Census on the recommendation of Governor L. Bradford Prince, of New Mexico, in 1890, as A. M. Steven. He has been the main reliance of many visitors to the Moquis for years past, and generally furnishes much of the substance of the reports written on them. He is proficient in the Moqui language, being one of the few white men understanding it. Having furnished many pages for numbers of books for other people, the wonder is that he does not make a book on the Moquis and put his name to it. Unfortunately, when Mr. Stephen's commission reached Arizona he was absent, and so failed to qualify. A special agent who was working in another field was at once dispatched to the Moqui Pueblos to make observations and report. The census of the Moquis was taken by Mr. F. M. Zuck under the direction of Supervisor Clark of Arizona, but many of the statistics are by Special Agent Scott. The expert special agent in charge of the division of Indian statistics of the Eleventh Census is under obligation to Mr. Stephen for the information he furnished, either in person or through Mr. Keam, to the special agents who visited the Moquis, and for matter prepared or written by him and used in this report in regard to the Navajos and Moqui Pueblos. It is understood that not only the substance of the report of the United States Indian agent of the Navajos and Moqui Pueblos for 1890 was furnished but much of the report was written by Mr. Stephen, and from this report some data has been taken.

As an evidence of how difficult it is to obtain a satisfactory answer from a Moqui as to his religion, Dr. Oscar Loew, chemist to the Wheeler surveying expedition in 1874, who was with the Moquis for a time, writes:

With regard to the religion of the Moquis, diligent investigation failed to develop anything definite. To the inquiry whether they worshiped Montezuma, the reply was, in broken Spanish, "No sabe (I don't know)". By Mesayamtiba (a Moqui man) we were informed that he believed the "sun to be the true God", but that the so-called "happy hunting ground" was, in his opinion, but a creation of the imagination. * * * The Moquis sometimes hold religious meetings in caves in the vicinity of their settlements.

Major J. W. Powell wrote in 1875 of the religion of the Moquis as follows:

The people seem to worship a great number of gods, many of whom are personified objects, powers, and phenomena of nature. They worship a god of the north, a god of the south, a god of the east, and a god of the west; a god of thunder, and a god of rain; the sun, the moon, and the stars; and, in addition, each town has its patron deity. There seems also to be ingrafted on their religion a branch of ancestral worship. Their notion of the form and construction of the world is architectural, that is, composed of many stories. We live in the second.

Special Agent Julian Scott, after 2 trips to the Moqui villages, wrote on May 20, 1891:

There is no use talking about their religious beliefs, of which little is known. Dr. [Washington] Matthews is probably the best informed man respecting their mythology.

Mr. J. Walter Fewkes (1891) writes:

The Ho-pi (Moquis) recognize that they have copied much from the Zuñis in their religious ceremonials. Many of their Kat-tci-na (Chiachuia) dances are said to be Zuñi Ka-tci-nas. It is perfectly natural that they should copy their neighbors, especially if they believe the ceremonials more effective, and, also, the Ho-pi observances have evidence of being copied from many sources.

It is a most baffling task to obtain from the Indians the proper names of their ceremonies. It is probable that for each celebration they have several names, which are mostly descriptive of some portions of a dramatic episode or some particular phase with more or less mystic elements.

Mr. A. F. Bandelier says the Moquis are Pueblo Indians to all intents and purposes, their language excepted. This probably includes their religion, Pueblo referring to the Pueblos of New Mexico.

It would seem from the authorities that the Moqui religion consists of "mythology" and a number of ceremonies of a devotional character; in fact, a highly developed materialism with ceremonial aids.

It will be recalled in this connection that there is no christian church in any of the 7 Moqui pueblos, and but little evidence of the remains of even a memory of the Catholic faith, whose clergymen were once with them, save, perhaps, in the rough shrines and altars now seen.

SACRED FIRES NOT PERPETUAL IN THE ESTUFAS.

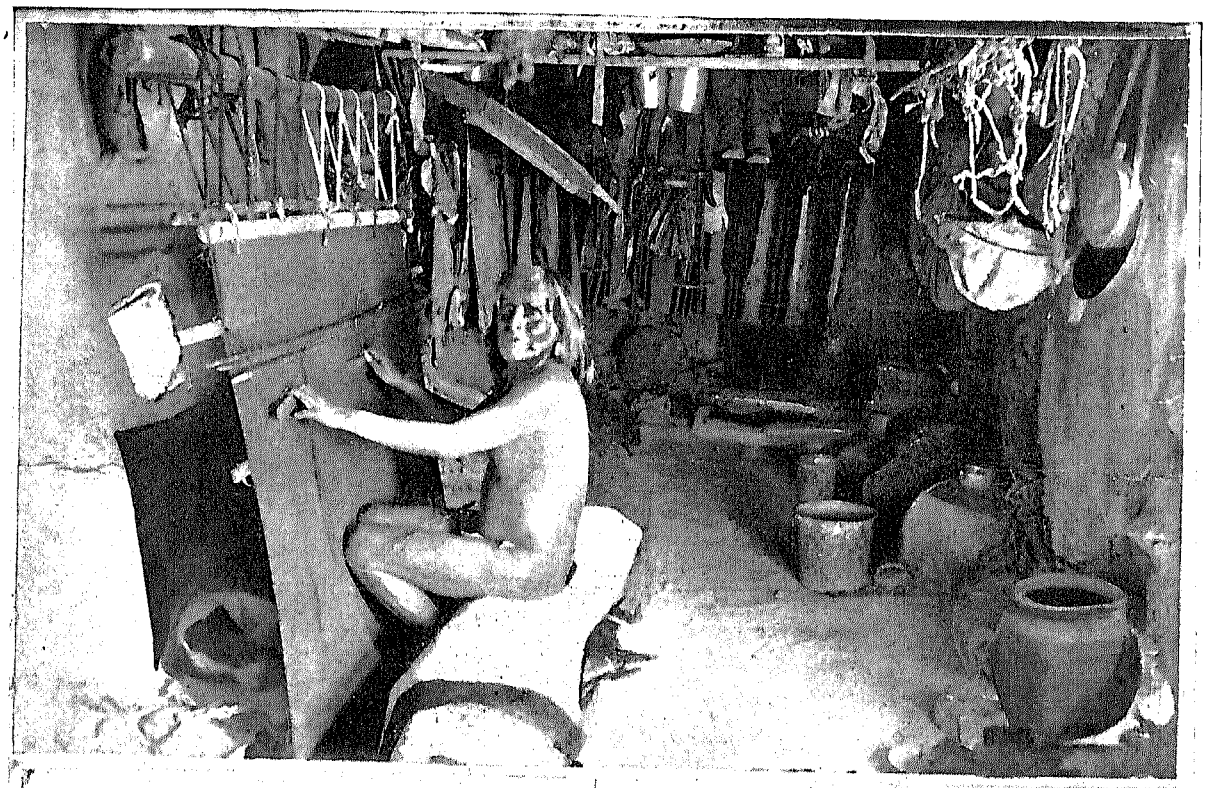
With a view to placing the life and actual condition of this curious people (the Moquis) on record in the Eleventh Census, the special agents who visited the Moquis were instructed to observe closely as to their alleged mysteries. It is stated by several modern writers that the Moquis kept alive the sacred fires. Mr. Scott wrote in 1890 both as to this and the venerable pipes as follows:

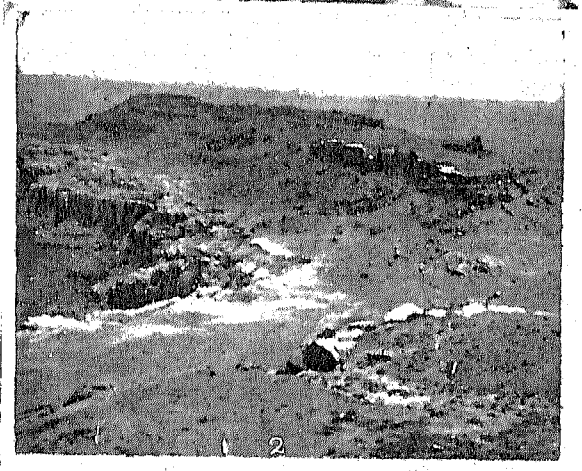
I have heard of the sacred fires that are ever kept burning in the kevas [or kivas] of the Moqui Pueblos, and naturally looked for them. But alas! like many other things I read about and was told of, they proved a myth. During ceremonies they always keep a little fire going, which may be properly called their altar. These fires are prepared by the priests who preside over the ceremonies, and who sit directly in front of them and go through their invocations addressed to the smoke, which, rising upward and through the hatch, disperses itself in the air and carries their entreaties to the deities; besides, the priests are usually naked and the fire protects them. They smoke tobacco during the ceremonies, which seems to form a part of the rites, and which is never omitted. It is the cigarette as a rule, and is there omnipresent. While they use to some extent the different kinds of modern pipes, I have never seen one about in the kevas; the cigarette is universally used. Now and then an ancient pipe is seen, but all my efforts failed to get one. Pipes are only used in their ceremonies, and the Moquis attach superior attributes to them, believing that they are charmed by the spirits of the dead who, in life, smoked them. The story of the sacred fire seems to have no truth in it. There has been a misunderstanding. It is true that in some of the kevas or estufas of the 7 pueblos there are always ceremonies going on, conducted by the priests. These ceremonies are also the schools of instruction for their young men when admitted into the different orders. It is in the estufa that the traditions and folklore of their race are told over and over again. They are the natural resorts of the old men who are unfit for labor, and it is from them that the Moqui youth obtain the traditional part of their education and all data as to the history of their people. This history is all oral, as they have no written language. The fire that is kindled in the keva is upon the flat stone floors and about in the center. About it are a few blocks of stone, which are used by the priests for seats. These stones are utilized, for practical use, as seats by being covered with blankets, rolled up, to make cushions of. The priests are perfectly naked while going through their religious performances, excepting, of course, the gee string (always worn around the waist of the male), which is not used at all as a covering, but as a suspensory.

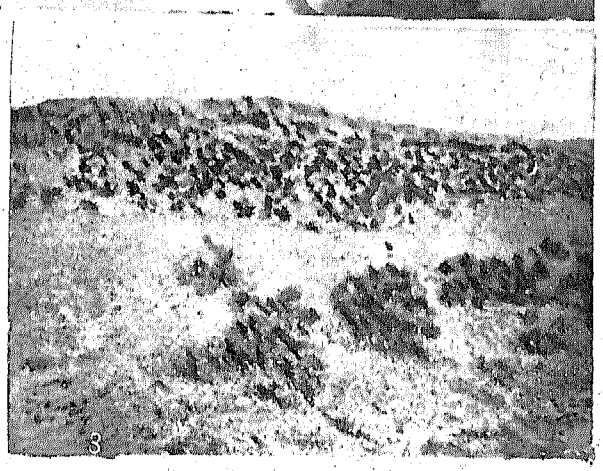
Mr. J. Walter Fewkes (1891) says that "in none of the kib-vas (kivas, or estufas) in the Moqui pueblos is there a fire burning all the time".

CUSTOMS.

A noticeable trait of the Moquis, from their first mention by the Spaniards to this day, is their traveling on foot; one reason for this, stronger than any other, was and is the poverty of the country through which they move in the matter of forage and water for animals. The Moqui, when he starts out for a journey, always carries rations enough to last several days. They are not generally horsemen; the men of Tewa are the horsemen of the Moquis,







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1. Moqui man at Oraibi Weaving. 2. Walpi and the Mesa. 3. Characteristic Scene, Moqui Reservation, Sand, Sage Brush and Desert. 4. Moqui Children and Man "Adam."

the cavalry. These Tewas are hired fighters, who were employed and settled by the 6 Moqui pueblos as soldiers to aid them against the Navajos after 1680 to 1700; they were in fact Hessians or Swiss soldiers, always to let.

In 1866 the Moquis sent a delegation of their chief men to Prescott, Arizona, to see the governor. In a talk it was suggested that the Moquis remove to a more favored locality; this was after the water famine of that year. As a curious sequel to this visit the members of the delegation were promptly arrested and put in the guardhouse. Explanations followed and they were released and sent home with presents. The humor of the matter was that the Moquis had always been the allies of the Americans. The Moquis finally concluded not to move, saying that the high mesa suited them best.

The Moquis cling to the high mesas. The fear of sudden floods and consequent danger to life and property keeps them out of the valleys or away from the low lands about the mesas. The altitude of the 7 Moqui villages can not be given, and that of Oraibi alone is noted, as reported on page 13. Shimopavi, isolated and standing clearly above the mesa, has the appearance of being the highest. An instrument only can settle this point.

The usual description of a Moqui wedding is a fiction. Mr. Scott fully describes one. With the newly married couple happiness reigns supreme; they deck themselves out with gaudy ribbons, the groom exceeding the bride: the ribbons are tied about their hats and in bows on their shoulders. To meet a newly wedded pair in the desert or on a mountain trail, both astride the same burro, the bride in the saddle and the groom behind, is a pleasure; donkey and all are arrayed in the bright colored flowing ribbons, and over all is a large red umbrella. They, including the donkey, seem happy and contented.

HABITS AND HEALTH.

The Moquis are a temperate people, rarely indulging in anything to excess. Very few of them use intoxicants, and such intoxicants as they have are brought to them by outsiders.

In relation to the health of the Moquis, Special Agent Scott, November 7, 1891, wrote:

> There are evidences of scrofula now and then, but as a rule the Moquis are healthy. The great elevation at which they live prevents many of the ordinary diseases. It has been "the survival of the fittest" for hundreds of years, and the generations now living are healthy, considering all things. The wonder is, considering their crowded state, that they are not more sickly than they are and the death rate greater. There is scarcely a home in the towns on the first mesa but what I have not entered. I don't remember seeing a sick person except a young woman just recovering from childbirth; she was lying on the ground or earth floor of her house, covered with blankets, with her head toward the fire. She was very proud of the new little Moqui stranger and showed it to us, as if it were the prettiest child ever born. I don't think a Moqui finds out he is sick until he is dead. In none of the 7 Moqui pueblos do you see any half-breeds; they are a pure stock of people, with no indications of intercourse with the whites, and have but little if any syphilis.

In illustration of how exclusive the Moquis have been as a people, Mr. Peter Moran, the artist, in visiting the 7 Moqui pueblos in 1883, found but one man who could or would speak a word of English; he was a mail carrier at Tewa, and all that he could say was, when asked the price of an article, "Una (one) dollar".

THE MOQUIS FROM THEIR DISCOVERY BY THE SPANIARDS IN 1540 TO 1891.

From the records, the Moqui Pueblo Indians are an ancient American people, of whom the early Spanish explorers made frequent notes. From 1540 to 1891 these Indians have held with desperate tenacity to their homes and beliefs.

Friar Marco de Niza, who, with the negro Estevanico (or Stephen, of Cabeza de Vaca's expedition, of whom the Pueblos still preserve traditions as the "black Stephen", the discoverer of Arizona), crossed, in April, 1539, what is now Arizona from the southwest to the northeast, was the first to mention the Moqui Pueblos, calling them the "Totonteac". The citizens of Cibola, who met Friar Marco at a small village early in 1539 and told him of the kingdom of Totonteac, said it was the greatest and most important kingdom in the world, thickly populated, and very rich; that the people dressed in woolen cloth like the dress of the friar, but much handsomer, and that there were accomplished people in Totonteac (Moqui), civilized, and different from others. This encouraged the friar to push on toward this wonderful region. He was crossing Arizona from southwest to northeast, and proposed approaching the Moqui pueblos from the Colorado river side. He got no further than Cibola (old Zuñi), however, and did not reach the Moquis. Stephen, or Estevanico or Estevan, was killed by the people of Cibola a few days before Friar Marco reached there.

The first visit of white men to the Moqui pueblos was made in August, 1540, by Don Pedro de Tobar, one of the officers of Vasquez de Coronado's expedition, who visited the 7 villages of "Tusayan", or Moqui villages. The people of 2 of the largest Moqui pueblos were called by the Zuñis "people of Usaya", hence "Tusayan"; the Spaniards called it the province of Tusayan.

Of the expedition to the Moquis by Tobar in August, 1540, after a 5 days' march from Zuñi, Governor L. Bradford Prince writes:

While the whole army, thus reunited at old Zuñi, was resting after its desert march, Coronado endeavored to obtain information of the surrounding country. He was soon told of a province called Tusayan, 25 leagues distant, where there were 7 cities similar to those of Cibola. The inhabitants were said to be very brave, but the Cibolans could give no very exact information concerning them, because there was no intercourse between the 2 provinces. Coronado was unwilling to continue his march until this province had been visited, and consequently sent a small detachment under Don Pedro de Tobar, in whose bravery and address he had special confidence, to reconnoiter, and, if practicable, take possession of the country. With them was sent as an adviser, half spiritual and half military, Friar Juan de Padrila, a Franciscan monk, who had been a soldier in his younger days. The expedition marched so rapidly and secretly that it arrived in the province and up to the very walls of the houses of the first village without being discovered, and encamped after dark in the midst of the unsuspecting population. At dawn the Indians were astonished to see the strangers at their doors, and especially amazed at the sight of the horses, the like of which they had never seen before. An alarm was sounded, and the warriors quickly assembled with bows and clubs to drive away the invaders. The Spanish interpreter endeavored to explain that they came as friends, but the Indians, while hearing them politely, insisted that the strangers should withdraw, and, drawing a line on the ground, forbade any of the Spaniards to pass beyond it. One soldier rashly ventured to cross, when he was immediately attacked and driven back. At this the friar, who seemed to have been more aggressive even than the captain, urged a charge, exclaiming in vexation at the delay, "In truth, I do not understand why we have come here"! at which the Spaniards rushed forward and killed a great number of Indians, while the remainder fled to the houses for protection. These soon returned in the attitude of suppliants, bringing presents and offering their own submission and that of the whole province. During the day deputations came from the other towns to confirm their surrender and to invite the Spaniards to visit them and trade. In this province, which was then called Tusayan, but which is identical with the modern Moqui, were 7 villages, which were governed as were those of Cibola by a council of aged men, having also governors and captains. They raised large quantities of corn, some cotton, and had well-tanned leather; and among the presents which they brought to Tobar were poultry and turquoise. In a few days he returned to Cibola.

Cardenas, one of Coronado's officers, with a small force, also went through the Moqui towns in the latter part of 1540, to the Colorado river, in search of a race of giants, who were reported as living there.

In 1583 Antonio Espejo, with a small force, marched from the Rio Grande valley to the east of the Moqui villages, and reached them by way of Zuñi. H. H. Bancroft, in volume XVII, page 27 of his works, writes of the Espejo expedition as follows:

With 9 soldiers, the 3 Mexican Indians, and 150 friendly Cibolans, Espejo marched westward from Zuñi, and in a journey of 4 days, or 28 leagues, reached the province of Mohoce, or Mohace, with 5 large pueblos and over 50,000 inhabitants. One of the towns was Aguato, or Zaguato. There can be little doubt that the Mohoce province was identical with the Moqui towns. The people, though they sent messengers to warn the strangers not to approach on pain of death, were easily convinced of the strangers' friendly intentions, and gave them a most enthusiastic welcome, loading them with cotton mantas and food, besides delighting their ears with confirmation of the tales respecting wealth in the far west. The horses inspired more fear than the men, and Espejo humored the terror of the natives by admitting the animals' ferocity, thus inducing the chief to build a kind of stone fort to hold the monsters: a fort which, in case of trouble, might be useful to the small Spanish force. Hakluyt notes this as "a witty policie, to be used by the English in like cases". Here they remained 6 days, visiting all the pueblos, and being so firmly convinced of the natives' friendship that the leader left in the province 5 of his men to return to Zuñi with the luggage.

In illustration of the misrepresentations given by natives to some of the early Spanish explorers, an additional account of Espejo's march to and occupation of the Moqui pueblos, condensed from the original by Hon. L. Bradford Prince, in his History of New Mexico, is given. The estimates of population are interesting when the character of the country and its resources at that time are considered. The reason the Spaniards usually left the Moqui country so quickly after entering it was because of the prospects of starvation.

In 1583, Espejo marched directly west to Zuñi, where he found still living 3 of the Mexican Indians who had accompanied Coronado, and who, on the return march, had concluded to remain at Cibola. Their names were Andrew, of Culiacan; Gaspar, of Mexico, and Antonio, of Guadalajara. They had been so long (40 years) among the Cibolans that they had nearly forgotten their original language, but their meeting with the new expedition of Spaniards was a most interesting one. Among other things, they gave Espejo information of a rich and populous country to the westward, which bordered on a great lake, and in which the precious metals abounded. They said that Coronado had endeavored to reach it, but had been forced to turn back for want of water. Espejo was not to be deterred by the ill-success of his predecessor, and so, taking but 9 soldiers with him and leaving the remainder of the army at Cibola, he started on the march. At a distance of 28 leagues he came to the most populous province which he had yet visited, as he estimated its inhabitants at 50,000, and which was no doubt the modern Moqui. Here the chiefs, pursuing somewhat the same course which they adopted in the time of Coronado, warned the Spaniards not to approach their towns under penalty of death, but, after being assured that the visit was altogether friendly and pacific, this policy was entirely changed, and they were not only allowed to enter, but received with special honor. No less than 2,000 natives came out from the first town to welcome the strangers, and exchange of presents of all kinds took place, the festivities continuing a number of days.

Permanent occupation of New Mexico was made by a large number of Spaniards in 1591, and from that time to 1630 missionary priests came to Tusayan. They were escorted by Spanish troops to assert authority, and perhaps to show the peaceful intent of their mission! They brought sheep, oxen, horses, and fruit trees as gifts to the Moquis. This mission epoch is held in great contempt by the Moquis, for, although they admit that the Spaniards taught them to plant peach orchards and brought them other benefits, yet they claim to have suffered many severities at the hands of the priests, who also held many of the Moquis as peons at the mission stations, besides the Inquisition was established by them in New Mexico.

In 1598 Don Juan de Oñate, the conqueror of New Mexico, after receiving its submission, moved westward in October or November in search of the South sea. He moved west via Zuñi, conquering it, and then on to the

Mohoquis (Moquis), whose chiefs surrendered the pueblos, November 9 and 15, 1598. He remained there until about December 20, 1598. He was hospitably received and generously treated. The Moquis organized hunting parties for his entertainment, and made feasts of the game secured. They also guided the Spaniards through the country on their exploring expeditions. Oñate's men found silver mines 30 leagues to the west of the Moqui pueblos and also large salt deposits.

In 1604 Oñate passed through the Moqui pueblos again on an expedition westward in search of the South sea. Having started on October 7, 1604, from San Juan, now New Mexico, with 30 men, accompanied by Padres Francisco Escobar (comisario) and San Buenaventura, he passed through the Zuñi provinces, which, he says, were "more thickly settled by hares and rabbits than by Indians", and "where the chief town of the 6 is now called Cibola or, in the native tongue, Havico or Ha Huico," and on to the "5 Moqui towns with their 450 houses and people clad in cotton", reaching the Pacific ocean in January, 1605.

Between 1598 and 1604 it is believed that the Moqui Pueblos nominally accepted christianity. Of the period between 1600 and 1700 H. H. Bancroft, volume XVII, page 349 of his works, writes:

At the beginning of the century [1600] the Moquis, like the other Pueblos [probably], accepted christianity, were often visited by friars from the first, and probably were under resident missionaries almost continuously for 80 years; yet of all this period [1600 to 1680] we know only that Fray Francisco Porras, who worked long in this field, converting some 800 souls at Aguatuvi [Awatubi], was killed by poison at his post in 1633; that Governor Penalosa is said to have visited the pueblos in 1661–1664, and that in 1680 4 Franciscans were serving the 5 towns or 3 missions. These were José Figueroa at San Bernardino de Aguatuvi, José Trujillo at San Bartolome de Jougopavi, with the visita of Moxainavi, and José Espeleta, with Agustin de Santa Maria, at San Francisco de Oraibe and Gualpi, all of whom lost their lives in the great revolt of 1680. From 1680 to this day the valiant Moquis maintained their independence of all Spanish or christian control. It is not clear that they sent their warriors to take part in the wars of 1680–1696 in New Mexico, but they probably did, and certainly afforded protection to fugitives from the other pueblos. * * *

In 1692 they had, like the other nations, professed their willingness to submit to Governor Vargas; but in the following years no attempt to compel their submission is recorded. In 1700, however, fearing an invasion, they affected penitence, permitted a friar to baptize a few children, and negotiated in vain with the Spaniards for a treaty that should permit each nation to retain its own religion.

Of the revolt of the Indians from Spanish rule, Mr. A. M. Steven wrote in 1890:

In 1680 there was a general revolt of all the village Indians, in which the Moquis participated by slaying all the Spaniards who were then among them. Fearing lest a Spanish force might be sent against them, shortly after the massacre they evacuated their villages and rebuilt them higher up, on the mesa points they now occupy.

RECAPTURE OF THE MOQUI PUEBLOS, 1692.

Governor Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan in 1692 began the reconquest of New Mexico. On the 12th of September he was at Santa Fe. He moved rapidly over the country and recaptured the missions. At Jemez he sent a messenger to the Moqui pueblos. The Navajo Indians passed on before Vargas and warned both the Moqui Pueblos and Pueblos to place no faith in him. Vargas was as much interested in the discovery of certain mines of cinnabar and red ocher, reported to lie to the west of the Moqui pueblos, as he was in the recapture of the pueblos. From Zuñi he sent a second message to the Moquis, asking them to give him a friendly interview at their pueblos, where he would soon arrive, and assuring them that they were pardoned for their participation in the revolt of 1680.

Governor L. Bradford Prince, in his History of New Mexico, page 211, writes of the Vargas expedition as follows:

Having allowed a little time for this message to have an effect, he started from Zuñi, with 63 soldiers and 2 priests, on November 15. The first of the pueblos reached was Aguatubi, 5 days distant, where the Spaniards were at first met with apparent hostility, 700 or 800 Indians, well armed, surrounding the little band and singing their war songs. The tact of Vargas, however, extricated him from this difficulty, as it had from many previous dangers, and the chief, named Miguel, directed his people to lay aside their weapons and receive the Spaniards as brothers. It afterward appeared that when the letter of Vargas from Zuñi was received at this pueblo word was sent to the other towns of the Moquis (Gualpi, Jongopabi, Monsonabi, and Oraybi) and a great council of the natives was held, at which a chief of Gualpi, named Antonio, was the leading spirit, and where it was determined to resist the Spanish invasion by every available means. Miguel claimed to have opposed this course of action, and urged that a friendly reception be accorded to Vargas, who had come a long distance on a mission of peace. The hostility at first manifested was attributable to the decision of that council, but afterward the more pacific policy of Miguel and his friends prevailed. Had the attitude of the Indians not been changed, it would certainly have been impossible for the Spaniards to have entered the town, as the passage was only sufficiently wide for one man to pass at a time, and it was well defended by fortifications. Even as it was, Vargas was continually fearful of treachery, and declined to enter the houses to eat, or even to encamp at night in the plaza; but nothing occurred to justify his apprehensions. The people erected the cross as usual in the center of the plaza, 122 were baptized, and Vargas acted as sponsor for 2 children of Miguel, whom he confirmed in his authority as governor of the pueblo.

Leaving 15 men in charge of the animals, the governor, with 45 soldiers, pressed on to Gualpi, the next town of the Moqui nation, where he was well received and entertained by the same Antonio whose feelings had been so hostile a few days before. Here, as at Monsonabi and Jongopabi (in the former of which Pedro, the messenger who had been sent from Jemez, was found), in the midst of the people in the plaza, holding aloft a large cross, Vargas made the usual address explanatory of his peaceful intentions toward all who respected the authority of the king and the church, and the people were absolved and baptized, nothing unusual occurring to mar the ceremonies. Vargas then left for Zuñi.

After Vargas left in 1692, and until 1700, the Moquis were unmolested by the Spanish. From 1701 to 1745 the church was incessant in its demands for their conversion. The following history of the period 1680–1745 is from

H. H. Bancroft's works, volume XVII, pages 363, 364. It is made up of translations by officials and priests from the original documents and reports, which were in Spanish and Latin.

Meanwhile, in 1680 to 1700, the Moquis of the northeast maintained their independence of all Spanish or christian control. The pueblo chieftains of the cliff towns were willing to make a treaty of peace with the king of Spain, but they would not become his subjects, and they would not give up their aboriginal faith. At intervals of a few years from 1700 there were visits of Franciscan friars to explore the field for a spiritual reconquest or of military detachments with threats of war, but nothing could be effected. At the first town of Aguatuvi the Spaniards generally received some encouragement; but Oraibe, the most distant and largest of the pueblos, was always closed to them. The refugees (Tehuas, Tanos, and Tiguas) of the new pueblos were even more hostile than the Moquis proper, and by reason of their intrigues even Zuñi had more than once to be abandoned by the Spaniards. In 1701 Governor Cubero in a raid killed and captured a few of the Moquis. In 1706 Captain Holguin attacked and defeated the Tehua pueblo, but was in turn attacked by the Moquis and driven out of the country. In 1715 several sedisant ambassadors came to Santa Fe with offers of submission, and negotiations made most favorable progress until Spanish messengers were sent, and then the truth came out that all had been a hoax, devised by cunning Moqui traders, seeking only a safe pretext for commercial visits to New Mexico. The governor thereupon made a campaign, but in 2 battles effected nothing. From about 1719 the Franciscans understood that the Jesuits were intriguing for the Moqui field, but beyond visiting Aguatuvi and obtaining some favorable assurances for the future, they did nothing (except, perhaps, with their pens in Europe) in self-defense until 1742, when, the danger becoming somewhat more imminent, 2 friars went to the far northwest and brought out 441 apostate Tiguas, with whom they shortly re-established the old pueblo of Sandia. Again, in 1745, they visited and preached to the Moquis, counting 10,846 natives, obtaining satisfactory indications of aversion to the Jesuits, and, above all, reporting what had been achieved, with mention of the Sierra Azul and Teguayo and the riches there to be found. Their efforts were entirely successful, and the king, convinced that he had been deceived (that a people from among whom 2 lone friars could bring out 441 converts could be neither so far away nor so hostile to the Franciscans as had been represented), revoked all he had conceded to the Jesuits. With the danger of rivalry ended the new-born zeal of the padres azules, and for 30 years, or in 1774–1775, no more attention was given to the Moquis.

From 1745 to 1774 the Moquis were free from Spanish invasion or attempt at control, but in 1776 religious zeal again insisted upon their control. Of this period, H. H. Bancroft (volume XVII, pages 260–263) writes as follows:

The conquest or conversion of the Moquis was a matter still kept in view, though for about 20 years no practical efforts in that direction are recorded down to 1774–1776, when the project was revived in connection with the California expeditions from Sonora. Captain Juan Bautista de Anza made an experimental or exploring trip by way of the Gila to California in 1774, and it was desired that, in connection with his second expedition, the region between Gila and Moqui towns should be explored. This region had not been traversed since the time of Coronado, in 1540–1543, except by Oñate, whose journey was practically forgotten. The country and its people were wrapped in mystery, and were the objects of much curiosity and theorizing. To find a way to Moqui was deemed important, especially as it was proposed, if possible, to occupy the Gila valley and some of its branches. The New Mexican friars were called upon for their views, and Padre Escalante developed much enthusiasm on the subject. In June 1775, or possibly 1774, he spent 8 days in the Moqui towns, trying in vain to reach the Rio Grande de Cosninas beyond. In a report to the governor he gave a description of the pueblos (where he found 7,494 souls, two-thirds of them at Oraibe, in 7 pueblos on 3 separate mesas) and his ideas of what should be done. He earnestly recommended (subsequently writing to his superior a long argument in support of his position) that the Moquis should be reduced by force of arms and a presidio established there. The Moquinos [Moquis], he said, were well disposed, but their chiefs had determined not to give up their power, not only keeping their own people from submission, but the Cosninas as well, who were eager to be christians. As to the routes, Escalante thought from what he could learn by Indian reports that the way from Terrenate by the Gila and thence north to Zuñi would not be very difficult; that the central route from the Colorado to Moqui would probably be found impracticable, but that the best of all was one leading from Monterey eastward in a nearly direct line to Santa Fe.

Alas for the good padre's geographical theories! In 1776, with a party of 9, including Padre Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, he attempted to reach Monterey from Santa Fe by the northern route. This tour belongs mainly to the annals of Utah and Colorado, as recorded in other volumes. The explorers reached Utah lake, and thus accomplished results that should make their names famous; but fortunately (else they would not have lived to tell the story), when on the approach of winter provisions became scarce and the natives showed no knowledge of Spaniards in the west, lots were cast, and fate decided that the journey to Monterey should be postponed. Accordingly they returned southeastward, forded the Colorado, came to the Moqui towns, and returned to Santa Fe. The Moquinos, though furnishing food and shelter, would not receive presents. A meeting was held to discuss submission, but, while willing to be friends of the Spaniards, the people promptly refused to be subjects or christians, preferring to "go with the majority" and be gentiles, as the traditions of their fathers directed them. Not only did Escalante fail to demonstrate the merits of his favorite northern route, but earlier in the same year the central one was proved to be practicable; and this, so far as the Moqui question was concerned, was the only result of Anza's California expedition. Padre Francisco Garces, leaving Anza at the Gila junction, went up the Colorado to the Mojave region with a few Indian servants, and after making important explorations in California, started eastward for Moqui, which he reached without any special difficulty in July. The Moquis, however, would not admit him to their houses or receive his gifts, cared not for his painting of heaven and hell, and refused to kiss the image of Christ. After passing 2 nights in the courtyard he wrote a letter for the padre at Zuñi, returned in sorrow to the Yamajabes, or Mojaves, and went down the Colorado, finding his way to Bac in September. His was a wonderful trip, though not very effective, in respect of Moqui salvation.

It was in 1776 that Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Bonilla, of Coahuila, embodied in a formal report not only a résumé of New Mexico's past history, but his views as to what should be done to avert impending ruin. He believed that as a frontier outpost among gentile tribes who had now lost all the fear and respect inspired by the first conqueror, and who themselves used firearms and horses, the holding of the province had an importance far beyond its direct value as a Spanish possession, since if it were lost the savage hordes would direct their whole force against Nueva, Vizcaya, and Sonora. Therefore a vigorous warfare should be waged by veteran troops from New Mexico as a center.

It was also in 1776–1777 that the northern provinces of Mexico were organized as the provincias internas, under the Caballero de Croix as commandante general, independent of the viceroy. This change and the following complications of the military and civil status of the various districts had but slight direct bearing on New Mexico, simply depriving the governor of his title of captain general, and making him subordinate at times to the commandante general instead of the viceroy.

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EXPEDITION OF FATHER GARCES TO THE MOQUI PUEBLOS, JUNE, 1776.

Father Garces' expedition to the Moqui Pueblos in June, 1776, is detailed at length in the Spanish chronicles and given by H. H. Bancroft (volume XVII, pages 394–396) as follows:

Left by Anza on the Colorado river, Father Garces immediately set out on his exploring tours, leaving his companion at Palma's rancheria to prepare the Yumas for mission life. In December, 1775, he went down to the mouth of the Colorado, and in February, 1776, up the river to the country of the Yamajabes, or Mojaves, crossed the country westward to San Gabriel in March, explored the great Tulare valley in April and May, and returned to the Colorado. Details of these Californian wanderings do not belong here. Though in receipt of Anza's letter, the explorer resolved to visit the Moqui towns, and set out from the Mojave region on the 4th of June. This journey, as the second through this region, and the first of which we have a detailed account, is a most interesting and important one, to which nothing like justice can be done in the appended résumé of the diary, which, however, as a record can not be omitted. The starting point was probably in the region of the later Fort Mojave, or latitude 35°, and the winding and complicated route corresponded in a general sense with that of Oñate in 1604–1605 and the line of the modern Atlantic and Pacific railroad. Garces was most kindly treated everywhere on the way, but on the Moquis even he could make no impression. They would have nothing to do with him, and took no interest in his picture of hell and heaven. Some visiting Zuñis offered to guide him to New Mexico, but he deemed it unsafe to make the trip, fearing also that his coming might be deemed by the authorities an intrusion, and so, having passed 2 nights in a corner of the courtyard at Oraibe, and having written a letter to the padre at Zuñi, he left this inhospitable tribe and found his way back to the Colorado, down that river to the Yumas, and thence back to his mission of San Xavier del Bac in September.

EFFORTS OF GOVERNOR ANZA TO CONVERT THE MOQUIS, 1780.

Father Garces reported to Governor Anza his failure at the Moqui pueblos, and the governor at once took steps to convert them. H. H. Bancroft (volume XVII, pages 265, 266) gives the following details, translated from the original documents, of the efforts of Governor Anza to convert the Moquis:

Back from this campaign [in 1778] Governor Anza gave his attention to the Moquis. A failure of crops had reduced that people to such straits that the time was deemed most favorable for their conversion, even christianity being perhaps preferable to starvation. Many of them were said to have abandoned their towns to seek food in the mountains and among the Navajos, and these fugitives were reported as disposed to submit, though the others still preferred death. It was feared that if something were not done now all the Moquis might quit pueblo life and join the hostile gentiles. Anza wrote repeatedly to Croix on the prospects, inclosing letters from the padres, and advising that an effort should be made either to establish missionaries at the towns, which would require some additional force, or to induce the natives to migrate en masse and settle in new pueblos nearer Spanish centers. In reply, the commandante general did not favor the use of force, but advised that Anza on some pretext, as of an Apache campaign, should visit the Moquis, give them some food, and persuade them, if possible, to settle in New Mexico; otherwise the foundation might be laid for future conversion. The governor continued his efforts, and in August, 1780, a message came that 40 families were ready to migrate if he would come in person to bring them. He started in September with Padres Fernandez and Garcia, visiting all the towns, 2 of which were completely abandoned. The 40 families had been forced by hunger 15 days ago to go to the Navajo country, where the men had been killed and the women and children seized as slaves. Moqui affairs were indeed in a sad condition. Escalante in 1775 had found 7,494 souls; now there were but 798; no rain had fallen in 3 years, and in that time deaths had numbered 6,698. Of 30,000 sheep 300 remained, and there were but 5 horses and no cattle. Only 500 fanegas of maize and beans could be expected from the coming crop. Pestilence had aided famine in the deadly work; raids from the Yutas and Navajos had never ceased. There were those who believed their misfortunes a judgment for their treatment of Padre Garces in 1776. The chief at Oraibe was offered a load of provisions to relieve immediate wants, but he proudly declined the gift, as he had nothing to offer in return. He refused to listen to the friars, and, in reply to Anza's exhortations, declared that, as his nation was apparently doomed to annihilation, the few who remained were resolved to die in their homes and in their own faith. Yet his subjects were free to go and become christians if they chose to do so; and finally 30 families were induced to depart with the Spaniards, including the chief of Gualpi [Walpi]. I find no record as to what became of these converts, but I have an idea that with them and others, a little later, the pueblo of Moquino, in the Laguna region, may have been founded.

Not only among the Moquis did pestilence rage, but smallpox carried off 5,025 Indians of the mission pueblos in 1780–1781, and in consequence of this loss of population Governor Anza, by consolidation, reduced the number of missions, or of sinodos, to 20, a change which for the next decade provoked much protest on the part of the friars.

After 1780 the Moquis seem to have been let alone in their faith.

THE MOQUI PUEBLOS IN 1799.

A translation by Buckingham Smith, secretary of the American legation at Madrid, prior to 1853, of a manuscript report by Don José Cortez, an officer of the Spanish royal engineers, who was stationed in the northern provinces of New Spain in 1799, gives the following as to the Moquis:

1. The province or territory of the Moqui (or Moquino) Indians lies to the westward of the capital of New Mexico. The nation revolted toward the close of the seventeenth century, driving out the Spaniards from the towns, and from that time no formal attempt has been made to reduce them to submission by force of arms; nor does a hope exist of its being accomplished by means of kindness, which on several occasions has already been unavailingly practiced. The towns in which they reside and are established are 7 in number: Oraibe, Taucos, Moszasnavi, Guipaulavi, Xougopavi, Gualpi, and there is also a village, which has no name, situated between the last town and Tanos, the inhabitants of which are subordinate colonists to the people of Gualpi.

2. The Moquinos are the most industrious of the many Indian nations that inhabit and have been discovered in that portion of America. They till the earth with great care, and apply to all their fields the manures proper to each crop. The same cereals and pulse (semillas) are raised by them that are everywhere produced by the civilized population in our provinces. They are attentive to their kitchen gardens, and have all the varieties of fruit-bearing trees it has been in their power to procure. The peach tree yields abundantly. The coarse clothing worn by them they make in their looms. They are a people jealous of their freedom, but they do no injury to the Spaniards who travel to their towns, although they are ever careful that they soon pass out from them.

3. The towns are built with great regularity, the streets are wide and the dwellings 1 or 2 stories high. In the construction of them they raise a wall about a yard and a half above the pave of the street, on a level with the top of which is the terrace and floor of the lower

story, to which the owners ascend by a wooden ladder, which they rest thereon and remove as often as they desire to go up or down. On the terrace, upon which all the doors of the lower story open, is a ladder whereby to ascend to the upper story, which is divided into a hall and 2 or 3 rooms, and on that terrace is another ladder with which to ascend to the roof or to another story, should there be one.

4. Each town is governed by a cacique, and for the defense of it the inhabitants make common cause. The people are of a lighter complexion than other Indians. Their dress differs but little from that worn by the Spanish-Americans of those remote provinces, and the fashion of their horse trappings is the same. They use the lance and the bow and arrows.

5. The women dress in a woven tunic without sleeves, and in a black, white, or colored shawl, formed like a mantilla. The tunic is confined by a sash that is usually of many tints. They make no use of beads or earrings. The aged women wear the hair divided into 2 braids and the young in a knot over each ear. They are fond of dancing, which is their frequent diversion; for it there is no other music than that produced by striking with 2 little sticks on a hollowed block and from a kind of small pastoral flute. At the assemblages, which are the occasions of the greatest display, there is not a Moqui of either sex whose head is not ornamented with beautiful feathers.

THE MOQUIS IN 1818-1819.

The Moquis appear in history again as objecting to the Navajos settling around 5 of their pueblos. On this subject Mr. H. H. Bancroft (volume XVII, page 287) writes as follows:

In 1818–1819 the Navajos renewed their hostilities. It was reported in Mexico in January, 1819, that Governor Melgares had in December forced them to sue for peace; but it appears that they had to be defeated twice more, in February and March, and that the treaty was finally signed on August 21. A notable feature of this affair is the fact that the Navajos, being hard pressed, settled near the Moqui towns, and the Moquis sent 5 of their number to ask aid from the Spaniards. This was deemed a most important occurrence, opening the way to the submission of this nation after an apostacy of 139 years. It was resolved to take advantage of the opportunity, but of the practical result nothing is known, since this is the only mention of this remnant of a valiant and independent people that I have been able to find in the records of the period.

THE MOQUIS IN 1834.

In Victor's River of the West, page 153, it is noted that in 1834 a trapping party of 200 men of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company went from Bill Williams fork to the Moqui towns, where several trappers plundered the gardens and shot 15 or 20 peaceful Moquis. In Spanish, Mexican, and American annals the Moquis are found complaining of the Navajos, who were almost constantly robbing them, and who would drive them away from the water now, so as to use it for their herds, but for fear of the law and soldiers.

The Moquis do not appear again in history until 1846 and after the occupation of New Mexico by General Kearny. They were so merged in history and tradition with the New Mexican Pueblos up to 1866 that they are only heard of as Moquis at long intervals. They were surrounded by deserts and the fierce Navajos, and these were sufficient to stop visitors or adventurers; only armies could reach them. Prior to 1846 and to 1866 the United States authorities were ignorant both of the condition of the Moquis and the names of their pueblos.

THE MOQUI PUEBLOS, 1846-1891.

The Moqui Pueblos in New Mexico in 1846 (under Mexican control from and after 1822 and citizens of the republic of Mexico the same as the Pueblos along the Rio Grande and adjacent country) came under the control of the United States authorities by the capture of New Mexico in 1846.

Governor Charles Bent, appointed by General S. W. Kearny, August, 1846, in a report to Hon. William Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated November 10, 1846, wrote of the Moquis:

The Moques (Moquis) are neighbors of the Navajos and live in permanent villages, cultivate grain and fruits, and raise all the varieties of stock. They were formerly a very numerous people, the possessors of large flocks and herds, but have been reduced in numbers and possessions by their more warlike neighbors and enemies, the Navajos. The Moques (Moquis) are an intelligent and industrious people.

The Mormons pushed their settlements down toward them after 1846 and tried to convert them to Mormonism. The Moquis received the missionaries, accepted their presents, and then sent them home. Tuba city, a Mormon settlement, is about 70 miles to the northwest of Oraibi. The Mormons and Moquis constantly visit one another and trade together. At one time the Moquis let some of their farming lands on shares to the Mormons or other white people.

In March, 1850, Mr. Calhoun made the following report as to the Moqui Pueblos. In this report he says "the Pueblo Indians are all alike entitled to the favorable and early consideration of the government", showing that the Moqui Pueblos were considered to be the same as the other Pueblos.

INDIAN AGENCY, SANTA FE,
NEW MEXICO, March 29, 1850.

SIR:

Herewith I return the section of a map of New Mexico which you inclosed to me on the 28th day of last December.

You will find marked in this (o) the various Indian pueblos located in this territory upon the section of country which the map represents. It may be well to remember that there are 2 Indian pueblos below El Paso, Isletta and Socorro, and Zuñi, an Indian pueblo 88.30 miles northwest of Laguna. Of course, neither of these 3 pueblos could be marked upon the map. Beyond Zuñi, west perhaps 150 miles, the Moqui country is reached. These Indians live in pueblos, cultivate the soil to a limited extent, and raise horses, mules, sheep, and goats, and, I am informed, manufacture various articles.

I am extremely anxious to visit these Indians, but it would be unsafe to do so without a sufficient escort, as the Apaches are upon the left and the Navajos on the right in traveling from Zuñi to the Moquis.

The Pueblo Indians are all alike entitled to the favorable and early consideration of the government of the United States. My information concerning the Moqui Indians is not of a character to justify me in making suggestions in reference to an agent or agents further than to say, without an absolute examination by some one deputed for that purpose, information precise and reliable may not be looked for.

J. S. CALHOUN.

VISIT OF MOQUIS TO SANTA FE, 1850.

October 6, 1850, a delegation from the 7 Moqui pueblos came to Santa Fe to visit Mr. Calhoun, and of this visit he wrote:

SANTA FE, October 6, 1850.

The 7 Moqui pueblos sent to me a deputation, who presented themselves on the 6th day of this month. Their object, as announced, was to ascertain the purposes and views of the government of the United States toward them. They complained bitterly of the depredations of the Navajos. The deputation consisted of the cacique of all the pueblos, and a chief of the largest pueblo, accompanied by 2 who were not officials. From what I could learn from the cacique, I came to the conclusion that each of the 7 pueblos was an independent republic, having confederated for mutual protection.

One of the popular errors of the day is, there are but 5 of these pueblos remaining; another is, that 1 of the pueblos speaks a different language from the other 6. I understood the cacique to say the 7 [pueblos] spoke the same language; but the pueblo in which he resided, Tanoquibi, spoke also the language of the pueblo of Santo Domingo, hence the error first mentioned. These pueblos may be all visited in 1 day. They are supposed to be located about due west from Santa Fe, and from 3 to 4 days' travel northwest from Zuñi.

The following was given to me as the names of their 7 pueblos: Oriva, Samoupavi, Inparavi, Mausand, Opquivi, Chemovi, and Tanoquibi. I understood further they regarded as a small pueblo Zuñi, as compared with Oriva. The other pueblos were very much like Zuñi and Santo Domingo. They supposed Oriva could turn out 1,000 warriors.

I desired, and believed it to be important, to visit these Indians, and would have done so if Colonel Munroe had not, in reply to my application for an escort, replied that he could not furnish me with one at that time. They left me apparently highly gratified at the reception and presents given to them.

It will be observed that the Moquis gave Mr. Calhoun the Indian names of their 7 pueblos. The United States took no further notice of the Moqui Pueblos until 1863. They cared for themselves and were in nowise a charge on the national treasury.

VISIT OF DR. TEN BROECK TO THE MOQUIS IN 1852.

In 1851–1852, Dr. P. S. G. Ten Broeck, assistant surgeon United States army, stationed in New Mexico, made several journeys among the Moqui Pueblos and Navajos. In March, 1852, he visited the Moquis, of which visit he writes as follows:

WALPI, March 31, 1852.

Between 11 and 12 o'clock to-day we arrived at the first towns of Magui [Moqui]. All the inhabitants turned out, crowding the streets and house tops to have a view of the white men. All the old men pressed forward to shake hands with us, and we were most hospitably received and conducted to the governor's house, where we were at once feasted upon guavas and a leg of mutton broiled upon the coals. After the feast we smoked with them and they then said that we should move our camp in, and that they would give us a room and plenty of wood for the men and sell us corn for the animals. Accordingly a Magui [Moqui] Indian was dispatched with a note to the sergeant, ordering him to break up camp and move up town. The Indian left on foot at 12.30 p. m., and although it took an hour to catch the mules and pack up, the men arrived and were in their quarters by 6 p. m. The camp was about 8.5 miles from the village. He could not have been more than an hour in going there, but they were accustomed to running from their infancy, and have great bottom. This evening we bought sufficient corn for the mules at $5 per faneja (2.5 bushels), paying in bayjeta, or red cloth, and they are now enjoying their first hearty meal for many days. The 3 villages here [Walpi, Sichumnavi, and Tewa] are situated on a strong bluff, about 300 feet high, and from 30 to 150 feet wide, which is approached by a trail passable for horses at only one point. This is very steep, and an hour's work in throwing down the stones with which it is in many places built up could render it utterly inaccessible to horsemen. At all other points they have constructed footpaths, steps, etc., by which they pass up and down. The side of the rock is not perfectly perpendicular, but after a sheer descent of 60 or 70 feet there are ledges from 5 to 8 yards wide, on which they have established their sheepfolds. The bluff is about 800 yards long, and the towns are some 150 yards apart. That upon the southern part contains fully as many inhabitants as both the others, and the houses are larger and higher; horses can not reach it, as the rock is much broken up between it and the second town.

The houses are built of stone, laid in mud (which must have been brought from the plain below, as there is not a particle of soil upon the rock), and in the same form as those of the other pueblos. They are, however, by far the poorest I have seen. The stories are but little over 6 feet high, and scarcely any of the houses can boast of doors or windows. The rafters are small poles of piñon, 7 feet, with center pole, and supporting posts running lengthwise through the building. Over these, and at right angles with smaller ones, poles covered with rushes are placed, and a coating of mud over all forms the roof. They are whitewashed inside with white clay. Hanging by strings from the rafters I saw some curious and rather horrible little Aztec images made of wood or clay, and decorated with paint and feathers, which the guide told me were "saints"; but I have seen the children playing with them in the most irreverent manner. The houses are entered by means of ladders, as in the other pueblos. The bluff runs nearly north and south, inclining a very little to the northwest. When a quarter of a mile from its foot, it is impossible for a stranger to distinguish the town, as, from the little wood used, there is no smoke perceptible, and the houses look exactly like the piles of rocks to be seen on any of the neighboring mesas, and I did not know where the Moqui was until fairly on the top of the ridge and just entering Harño [Tewa], the first town, which is situated on the north end. * * *

There is a mountain in the plain southwest from Moqui, which is covered with perpetual snow, and called by the Navajos, Cierra Natary, the "chief mountain". * * *

When there is great drought in the valley the Moquis go in procession to a large spring in the mountain for water, and they affirm that after doing so they always have plenty of rain. * * *

There is no running stream near here, and they obtain all their water from a small spring near the eastern base of the mountain, or rather bluff. They do not irrigate, nor do they plow, as they have no cattle, and I have not seen 10 horses or mules about the place. The valley is most miserably poor, but there are thousands of acres in it. They plant in the sand.

SICKMUNARI, April 1.

At Sickmunari [Sichumnavi], the middle town of the first mesa, I was awakened at midnight by the Indians, who were singing and dancing in the plaza for some hours, doubtless in preparation for to-day. I have been trading to-day with Moquis, Navajos, and Payoches [Pai Utes], and going now and then to look at the dancing in the plaza just behind us, which they tell me is a religious ceremony to bring on rain. * * *

The dance to-day has been a most singular one, and differs from any I have ever seen among the Pueblo Indians, the dresses of the performers being more quaint and rich. There were 20 men and as many women, ranged in 2 files. The dresses of the men were similar to those I have described at Laguna during the Christmas holidays, except that they wear on their heads large pasteboard [wooden] towers, painted typically and curiously decorated with feathers, and each man has his face entirely covered by a visor made of small willows with the bark peeled off, and dyed a deep brown. They all carry in their hands gourds filled with small pebbles, which are rattled to keep time with the dancing. The women all have their hair put up in the manner peculiar to virgins, and immediately in the center, where the hair is parted, a long, straight eagle feather is fixed. They are also adorned with turkey and eagle feathers, in much the same way as the malinchi of the Lagunians. But by far the most beautiful part of their dress is a talma of some 3.5 feet square, which is thrown over the shoulders, fastened in front, and, hanging down behind, reaches halfway below the knee. This talma is pure white; its materials I should suppose to be cotton or wool; its texture is very fine and has one or more wide borders of beautiful colors, exceedingly well wrought in, and of curious patterns. The women also wear visors of willow sticks, which are colored a bright yellow, and arranged in parallel rows, like pandean pipes. On each side of the files is placed a small boy, who dances or capers up and down the line, and is most accurately modeled after the popular representation of his satanic majesty's imps. With the exception of a very short, fringed tunic, reaching just below the hip joint, and a broad sash fastened around the waist, the boy is entirely naked. On his head he wears a thing like a sugar loaf, painted black, which passes over the whole head and rests upon his shoulders. Around the bottom of this, encircling his neck, is a wreath made of twigs from the spruce tree, and on the top are fixed 2 long feathers which much resemble horns, and are kept in their places by a connecting string. The whole body is painted black, relieved by white rings placed at regular intervals over the whole person. The appearance of these little imps as they gamboled along the line of dancers was most amusing. They had neither a tombe accompaniment nor a band of singers; but the dancers furnished their own music, and a most strange sound it was, resembling very much the noise, on a large scale, of a swarm of bluebottle flies in an empty hogshead.

Each one was rolling out an aw, aw, aw, aw in a deep bass tone, and the sound coming through a hollow visor produced the effect described. The dance was a most monotonous one, the dancers remaining in the same place, and alternately lifting their feet in time to the song and gourds. The only change of position was an occasional "about face". When they first came in, 2 old men, who acted as masters of ceremonies, went along the whole line, and with a powder, held between the thumb and forefinger, anointed each dancer on the shoulder. After dancing a while in the mode described above, the ranks were opened, and rugs and blankets being brought and spread upon the ground, the virgins squatted on them, while the men kept up a kind of mumming dance in front. Every third or fourth female had at this time a large hollow gourd placed before her, on which rested a grooved piece of wood, shaped like an old-fashioned washboard; and, by drawing the dry shoulder blade of a sheep rapidly across this, a sound was produced similar to that of a watchman's rattle. After performing the same dance on each side of the plaza they left to return again in about 15 minutes, and thus they kept it up from sunrise till dark, when the dancing ceased.

As appendages to the feast, they had clowns who served as messengers and waiters and also to amuse the spectators while the dancers were away. The first batch consisted of 6 or 8 young men, in breechclouts, having some comical daubs of paint on their faces and persons, with wigs made of black sheepskins. Some wore rams' horns on their heads, and were amusing themselves by attempts at dancing, singing, and running races, when they were attacked by a huge grizzly bear (or rather a fellow in the skin of one), which, after a long pursuit and many hard fights, they brought to bay and killed. They then immmediately opened him and took from out his body a quantity of guavas, green corn, etc., which his bearship had undoubtedly appropriated from the refreshments provided for the clowns; but no sooner had they disposed of bruin than a new trouble came upon them in the shape of 2 ugly little imps, who, prowling about, took every opportunity to annoy them, and when, by dint of great perseverance, they succeeded in freeing themselves from these misshapen brats, in rushed 8 or 10 most horrible looking figures (in masks), all armed with whips, which they did not for a moment hesitate to apply most liberally to any of the poor clowns who were so unlucky as to fall into their clutches. They even tied some hand and foot, and laid them out in the plaza.

It seemed they were of the same race as the imps, and came to avenge the treatment they had received at the hands of the clowns; for the "limbs of satan" returned almost immediately and took an active part in their capture and in superintending the flagellating operations. Such horrible masks I never saw before, noses 6 inches long, mouths from ear to ear, and great goggle eyes, as big as half a hen's egg, hanging by a string partly out of the socket. They came and vanished like a dream, and only staying long enough to inflict a signal chastisement on the unfortunate clowns, who, however, soon regained their wonted spirits, after their tormentors left, and for the rest of the day had the field to themselves. The simple Indians appeared highly delighted by these performances, and I must avow having had many a hearty laugh at their whimsicalities.

While the dances were going on large baskets, filled with guavas of different forms and colors, roasted ears of corn, bread, meat, and other eatables were brought in and distributed by the virgins among the spectators. The old governor tells me this evening that it is contrary to their usages to permit the females to dance, and that those whom I supposed to be young virgins were in fact young men dressed in female apparel for the occasion. This is a custom peculiar to the Moquis, I think, for in all the other pueblos I visited the women danced. * * *

We seated ourselves with the governor and other principal men, smoked and had our "big talk", obtaining from them as much information as possible relative to their history, customs, origin, religion, crops, etc. The principal ruler was present.

This government is hereditary, but does not necessarily descend to the sons of the incumbent, for if the people prefer any other blood relation he is chosen.

The population of the 7 villages I should estimate at 8,000, of which one-half is found in the first 3. (*a*) They say that of late years wars and disease have greatly decreased their numbers. They spoke of fevers and disease which I supposed to be phthisic and pertussis. They observe no particular burial rites. They believe in the existence of a Great Father, who lives where the sun rises, and a Great Mother, who lives where the sun sets. The first is the author of all the evils that befall them, as war, pestilence, famine, etc., and the Great Mother is the very reverse of this, and from her are derived the blessings they enjoy: fertilizing showers, etc.

In the course of the "talk" the principal governor made a speech, in which he said: "Now, we all know that it is good the Americans have come among us, for our Great Father, who lives where the sun rises, is pacified, and our Great Mother, who lives where the sun sets, is smiling, and in token of her approbation sends fertilizing showers (it was snowing at the time), which will enrich our fields and enable us to raise the harvest whereby we subsist". They say it generally rains this time of the year. Of their origin they give the following account:

"Many, many years ago their Great Mother brought from her home in the west 9 races of men, in the following forms: first, the deer race; second, the sand race; third, the water race; fourth, the bear race; fifth, the hare race; sixth, the prairie wolf race; seventh, the

a This estimate was made prior to the smallpox epidemic of 1853–1854.

rattlesnake race; eighth, the tobacco plant race; ninth, the reed grass race. Having placed them on the spot where their villages now stand, she transformed them into men, who built the present pueblos, and the distinction of races is still kept up. One told me he was of the sand race, another the deer, etc. They are firm believers in metempsychosis, and they say that when they die they will resolve into their original forms and become bears, deer, etc., again. The chief governor is of the deer race. Shortly after the pueblos were built the Great Mother came in person and brought them all the domestic animals they now have, which are principally sheep and goats and a few very large donkeys."

They have scarcely any horses and mules, as there is no grass nearer than 6 miles from the rock, and their frequent wars with the Navajos render it almost impossible to keep them. The sacred fire is kept constantly burning by the old men, and all I could glean from them was that some great misfortune would befall their people if they allowed it to be extinguished. They know nothing of Montezuma and have never had any Spanish or other missionaries among them. All the seeds they possess were brought from where the morning star rises. They plant in May or June and harvest in October and November. They do not plow or irrigate, but put their seeds in the sand and depend upon the rains for water. They raise corn, melons, pumpkins, beans, and onions, also cotton, of which I procured a specimen, and a species of mongrel tobacco.

They have also a few peach trees, and are the only Pueblo Indians who raise cotton. They have no small grain of any kind. They say they have known the Spaniards ever since they can remember. About 20 years ago a party of about 15 Americans, the first they ever saw, came over the mountains and took the Zuñi trail; 6 years afterward another party, with 4 females, passed through. Their crop last year was very small, and sometimes fails them entirely on account of the drought. For this reason they hoard up their corn, and that sold us was 4 years old. Roasting ears hanging around the room are of the same age.

Their mode of marriage might well be introduced into the United States, with the bloomer costume. Here, instead of the swain asking the hand of the fair one, she selects the young man who is to her fancy and then her father proposes the match to the sire of the lucky youth. This proposition is never refused. The preliminaries being arranged, the young man on his part furnishes 2 pairs of moccasins, 2 fine blankets, 2 mattresses, and 2 of the sashes used at the feast, while the maiden for her share provides an abundance of eatables, when the marriage is celebrated by feasting and dancing. Polygamy is unknown among them, but at any time either party, if dissatisfied, can be divorced and marry with another. If there are children they are taken care of by their respective grandparents. They are a simple, happy, and most hospitable people. The vice of intoxication is unknown among them, as they have no kind of fermented liquors. When a stranger visits one of their houses the first act is to set food before him, and nothing is done "till he has eaten".

In every village is one or more edifices (estufas) underground, which one reaches by descending a ladder. They answer to our village groceries, being a place of general resort for the male population. I went into one of them and found it stifling hot, all the light and air coming through the scuttle above. In the center was a small, square box, of stone, in which was a fire of guava bushes, and around this a few old men were smoking. All about the room were Indians (men) naked to the "breechclout"; some were engaged in sewing and others spinning and knitting. On a bench in the background sat a warrior, most extravagantly painted, who was undoubtedly undergoing some ordeal, as I was not allowed to approach him. They knit, weave, and spin, as in the other pueblos, also make cotton fabrics.

Pipes belonging to the chief men are of peculiar shape and made of smooth, polished stone. These pipes have been handed down from generation to generation, and they say their pipes were found in their present form by their forefathers centuries ago in the water of a very deep ravine in a mountain to the west.

Their year is reckoned by 12 lunar months. They wear necklaces of very small seashells, ground flat (doubtless procured from California), which they say were brought to them by other Indians who lived over the western mountains, who claim that they obtained them from 3 old men who never die. Several Navajos, who were present at the conversation, appeared perfectly friendly. I saw to-day a Navajo chief, named Cavallada, who has a paper from Governor Calhoun, making him a chief.

The villages of the Moquis are 7 in number, and more nearly correspond to the 7 cities of Cibolal (spoken of by Mr. Gallatin in his letter to Lieutenant Emory, United States army, than any which have yet been discovered. They are situated in the same valley; they are upon the bluff. Oraivaz [Oraibi], called Musquin by the Mexicans, is about 30 miles distant, and almost due west from the bluff. There is another town at 20 miles west by south, and 2 others about south southwest, and some 8 or 10 miles distant from the first three. Of these, the 2 at the southern extremity of the bluff are the largest, containing probably 2,000 inhabitants. Oraivaz [Oraibi] is the second in size. The inhabitants all speak the same language except those of Harno [Tewa], the most northern town of the 3, which has a different language and some customs peculiar to itself. It is, however, considered one of the towns of the confederation, and joins in all the feasts. It seems a very singular fact that, being within 150 yards of the middle town, Harno [Tewa] should have preserved for so long a period its own language and customs. The other Moquis say the inhabitants of this town have a great advantage over them, as they perfectly understand the common language, and none but the people of Harno [Tewa] understand their dialect. It is the smallest town of the 3. The dress of the men when abroad is similar to that of the other Pueblos, but when at home they have a great fancy for going in "puris naturalibus", wearing nothing but the breechclout and moccasins. If they slip out for a moment, they perhaps throw a blanket over their shoulders. They dress their hair like the Lagunians. I was much amused with one fellow who had a kind of full dress on. The coat was made of alternate pieces of red and blue cloth, with large bright buttons, shoulder knots and tops of horsehair, and with it buttoned up to the chin, and naught else on, he would strut about with as much self-satisfaction as any Broadway dandy. He had obtained the coat from the Eutaws [Utes] of the Great Salt lake, who were here last fall. (The governor showed me a letter signed by one Day, an Indian agent, and Brigham Young, the Mormon governor, which the Eutaws [Utes] had with them. This was their first visit, but they are to return next fall.) The women are the prettiest squaws I have yet seen, and very industrious. Their manner of dressing the hair is very pretty. While virgins, it is done up on each side of the head in 2 inverse rolls, which bear some resemblance to the horns of the mountain sheep. After marriage they wear it in 2 large knots or braids on each side of the face. In the northern town they dress their hair differently, the unmarried wearing all the hair long and in 2 large knots on each side of the face, and after marriage parting it transversely from ear to ear, and cutting off the front hair in a line with the eyebrows. These people make the same kind of pottery as the Zuñians and Lagunians. * * *

We started on our return to the Navajo country at 9 a. m., and were truly an hour getting down the trail, so slippery was it from the melting snow. We have had a very fair sample of the hospitality of these kind people to-day. As it was known that we were to depart this morning, woman after woman came to the house where we were stopping, each bringing us a basket either of corn meal or guavas that we might not suffer for food while on the road home. The governor killed a sheep and presented it to us. When we were fairly started, and passing through the towns, the women stood at the tops of the ladders with little baskets of corn meal, urging us to take them.

THE MOQUIS IN 1853.

In 1853 the Moquis appear again in a report by Lieutenant Whipple, who writes, in his Pacific Railroad Report. volume III, as follows:

CAMP 77, December 4, 1853.

This has been a day of rest. Lieutenant Tidball, with the additional escort from Fort Defiance, not having yet overtaken us, it seems proper to move slowly. Mr. Campbell discovered upon the lowlands near camp traces of ruins quite similar to those on Rio Gila. Among them he found an arrowhead of jasper, and a sort of earthen amulet. The buildings must have been of adobes, differing in that respect from the walled pueblos previously seen upon mesa heights. Those of Moqui are said to be upon hills more than a thousand feet above the surrounding plains. Barricaded passes, like those at old Zuñi, lead to the top. It was probably a powerful enemy that drove the people from watered valleys to arid heights, notwithstanding their strange tradition of a flood.

SMALLPOX VISITATION OF 1853-1854.

The Moquis have been frequently scourged with epidemics; the one accompanied by famine in 1775 was frightful. The severe modern smallpox scourge among the Moquis (which came from Zuñi) was in 1853–1854. Lieutenant Whipple refers to it in his Pacific Railroad Survey Report. He was en route from Zuñi to explore, as a side trip, the Colorado chiquito, and needed guides. He sent some Zuñians to the Moqui Pueblos for them. In an account of his itineracy he writes:

NOVEMBER 28, 1853.

We had sent to Moqui hoping to obtain Indian guides through this country also, but the messengers returned unsuccessful. They brought tidings that by hundreds the Moquis were dying by smallpox; only 3 men could be found in health, and they were insufficient to throw the dead over the walls.

Lieutenant Whipple, in his journal, under the same date, continues:

José Maria, Juan Septimo, and José Hacha were the guides sent to us by the caciques of Zuñi. They described the country to the Colorado chiquito as being nearly a level plain, with springs of permanent water at convenient distances. This is their hunting ground. Of the country west of that river they know nothing. Moqui Indians are, however, supposed to have a knowledge of the region, and we intend to seek among them for a guide. José and Juan are to go as bearers of dispatches to the Moqui nation, with the understanding that, after having accomplished their mission, they will report to us upon the Colorado chiquito.

NOVEMBER 29, 1853.

To-morrow José Maria and Juan Septimo leave our trail and proceed to Moqui. At our request they traced a sketch of the Moqui country and the route they propose to travel. They say that the population of the 7 towns of Moqui has been greatly diminished lately, and now is about the same as that of Zuñi, that is, according to our previous estimate, 2,000 persons. But it is a difficult matter to determine satisfactorily the population of an Indian pueblo without an examination more minute than would have been agreeable to us in Zuñi during the prevalence of the smallpox. The houses are so piled upon each other that they can not be counted, nor does any one seem to know how many families occupy the same dwelling. Different authors therefore vary in their estimates for this place [Moqui] from 1,000 to 6,000 persons. Mexicans say that in joining them in expeditions against the Navajos, there have been known to turn out 1,000 warriors. Leroux agrees with me that this is doubtless an exaggeration.

DECEMBER 5, 1853.

José Hacha took leave of us this morning to return to Zuñi. He had despaired of meeting those sent to Moqui, but this evening they came prancing into camp. Every one was glad to see them, and their arrival created quite an excitement. Their mission had been performed, but no Moqui guide could be obtained. The smallpox had swept off nearly every male adult from 3 pueblos. In 1 remained only the cacique and a single man from 100 warriors. They were dying by fifties per day, and the living, unable to bury the dead, had thrown them down the steep sides of the lofty mesa upon which the pueblos are built. There wolves and ravens had congregated in myriads to devour them. The decaying bodies had even infected the streams, and the Zuñians were obliged to have recourse to melons both for food and drink. The young of the tribe had suffered less, few cases among them having proved mortal. Juan Septimo brought for us several excellent robes of wild cat or tiger skin, such as the Moquis wear in the winter.

VISIT OF LIEUTENANT J. C. IVES TO THE MOQUI PUEBLOS, 1858.

In 1857–1858 Lieutenant J. C. Ives, Topographical Engineers, United States army, made a survey of the river Colorado of the west (Colorado river) from its mouth on the Pacific coast up and to the Moqui villages. In May, 1858, he crossed from Colorado river to Fort Defiance via the Moqui pueblos or villages, a desperate journey, through a country which he called "the deserted and ghastly region". The men and mules were almost famished with thirst, so he had to go back to the river for water. May 8 he resumed his march and passed several salt springs, near an Indian trail, and afterward found that there the Moquis obtained their salt. Again, on May 8 and 9 his water supply was nearly gone, but new hope came as he saw the "Blue Peak mountains".

The description of the country and the Moqui pueblos which Lieutenant Ives gives is so accurate and correct that it might have been written in 1890. Reading this account, and the reports of Special Agents Scott and Clarke, also the notes of late Special Agent Steven of the Eleventh Census, a vivid picture of the condition of these people is given in 1858 and in 1890–1891, leaving a gap of 33 years. Especially interesting is the description of the country adjacent to the Moqui pueblos. If anything, the country is in a worse condition now than in 1858. Lieutenant Ives and party, on approaching the Moqui pueblos, were famishing for water and in a desert, with no signs whatever of being near a supply, and yet they were only 3 miles from the spring at the base of Mishongnavi. Of the journey and visit to the Moqui pueblos, Lieutenant Ives writes:

MAY 7, 1858.

The night spent upon the desert showed that this condemned region was not entirely devoid of life, as the sun declined, and a pleasanter atmosphere succeeded to the oppressive heat, scorpions, spiders, rattlesnakes, and centipedes emerged from their retreats to enjoy the evening air.

MAY 9, 1858.

The supposed position of the Moqui towns turns out to have been erroneous. We should already, according to the maps, be in sight of them, but a view from the top of the hill by which we are encamped discloses no signs of habitations. The blue peaks in the direction of the trail are nearly passed, and the country northward looks arid and unpromising.

CAMP 92, LIMESTONE SPRING, May 10, 1858.

It was resolved to make a long march should no water be reached, and we started at an early hour. 3 miles from camp, while passing through some hills that exhibited every indication of utter dryness and sterility, we found at the bottom of a ravine a growth of young willows surrounding some springs and a patch of fresh, green grass. The packs were removed. A trench was dug across the ravine, which filled slowly, but in a few hours had enabled all the mules to drink. It did not take them long to eat up the grass, and an hour before noon the packs were replaced and the march resumed. The path had again become hard, and 13 miles were accomplished without trouble. This brought us to a rough ravine that led through a limestone ridge to the edge of a broad valley. Some tolerable grass and a little spring of water offered sufficient inducement to camp.

FIRST VIEW OF MOQUI PUEBLOS.

As the sun went down and the confused glare of the mirage disappeared I discovered with a spyglass 2 of the Moqui towns, 8 or 10 miles distant, upon the summit of a high bluff overhanging the opposite side of the valley. They were built close to the edge of the precipice, and being of the same color as the mesa it would have been difficult to distinguish them, even with a glass, but for the vertical and horizontal lines of the walls and buildings. The outlines of the closely packed structures looked in the distance like the towers and battlements of a castle, and their commanding position enhanced the picturesque effect.

LIEUTENANT IVES MEETS MOQUI GUIDES.

MOQUI PUEBLOS, May 11, 1858.

The trail crossed the valley, making straight for the pueblos. For 6 miles not a sign of life was perceived, but while ascending a hill near the base of the bluff 2 Indians mounted on 1 small horse charged suddenly upon us, the riders shouting vociferous welcomes and both insisting upon shaking hands with the whole company. One was respectably dressed, wearing a blue coat, cotton pants, a hat, a belt of circular brass plates, and a variety of ornaments, and armed with a flintlock musket of ancient pattern. The little horse was nearly as thin as our mules, but garnished with red trimmings and a Mexican saddle and bridle. The most remarkable feature about both men was their neatness. Their hair was finer than is usual with the race and carefully combed. They were arrayed, to be sure, in their best attire, but cleanliness is seldom considered by Indians as forming any part of the most elaborate toilet.

I asked the leader to be directed to water, and he pointed to a gap where a ravine appeared to run up the bluff, rather behind the pueblos, and signified that there we would find an abundance. He further informed me that there was an excellent grass camp at the same place. A great deal of pantomime brought about this understanding, and then he signified that we must leave the trail and follow him, which we accordingly did, diverging a little to the left from our former course. * * * Our new friend had a pleasant, intelligent face, which expressed, however, misgivings as to our character and object in coming into that unvisited region; but he rode along humming to himself, with a palpable affectation of being cool and unconcerned, occasionally glancing back with a dubious air to see what was going on behind. The 2, who had been selected to bear the brunt of the first interview, had, I suppose, brought the horse as a means of escape, for soon others of the tribe, satisfied of our pacific intentions, came up on foot. All were running at the top of their speed. They approached to the very sides of the mules, greatly to the alarm of those animals, and suddenly brought up to shake hands, commencing with me and continuing through the train. They were clean and nice looking, but no particular costume prevailed. Every available article acquired by trading with other Indians (for they have no communication with whites) had been converted into raiment or material for personal adornment. Their figures were of medium size and indifferently proportioned, their features strongly marked and homely, with an expression generally bright and good-natured. 30 or 40 joined us, and the cortege in a little while became of considerable length.

The face of the bluff, upon the summit of which the town was perched, was cut up and irregular. We were led through a passage that wound among some low hillocks of sand and rock, extending halfway to the top. Large flocks of sheep were passed. All but 1 or 2 were jet black, presenting when together a singular appearance. It did not seem possible, while ascending through the sand hills, that a spring could be found in such a dry looking place, but presently a crowd was seen upon a mound before a small plateau, in the center of which was a circular reservoir 50 feet in diameter, lined with masonry and filled with pure, cold water. The basin was fed from a pipe connecting with some source of supply upon the summit of the mesa. The Moquis looked amiably on while the mules were quenching their thirst, and then my guide informed me that he would conduct us to a grazing camp. Continuing to ascend, we came to another reservoir, smaller but of more elaborate construction and finish. From this the guide said they got their drinking water, the other reservoir being intended for animals. Between the two the face of the bluff had been ingeniously converted into terraces. These were faced with neat masonry and contained gardens, each surrounded with raised edge so as to retain water upon the surface. Pipes from the reservoirs permitted them at any time to be irrigated.

Peach trees were growing upon the terraces and in the hollows below. A long flight of stone steps, with sharp turns that could easily be defended, was built into the face of the precipice, and led from the upper reservoir to the foot of the town. The scene, rendered animated by the throngs of Indians in their gaily colored dresses, was one of the most remarkable I had ever witnessed. My state of admiration was interrupted by the guide, who told me, to my astonishment, that we had reached the camp ground. Besides the danger of the mules trampling upon and ruining the garden, it was no place to stop, inasmuch as there was not a blade of grass. I called the attention of the Indian to the latter fact, which he did not appear to have considered. While he was reflecting upon the matter we were joined by a pleasant looking, middle aged man, with a handsome shell suspended from his neck and a kind of baton in his hand, whom I supposed to be a chief. Like the rest, he shook hands all around and held a consultation with the guide and with the crowd generally about the grass. They finally concluded that there was plenty a little further ahead, and we proceeded around the ascent by a side trail that led away from the pueblo. In 10 minutes a spot was reached which all agreed was the best grazing camp the country afforded. I no longer wondered that their 1 horse looked thin. A single animal could scarcely have existed for 3 days upon all the grass in the neighborhood. Some distance back in the valley I had seen a small patch of grass, and now signified to the troubled looking Indians that I would send the train back and let the mules be driven to the reservoir when they needed water. I also told him that Dr. Newberry, Mr. Egloffstein, and myself would visit the houses before following the rest of the party to the camp. This arrangement seemed satisfactory, and the chief accompanied by several friends led the way with an inconvenient alacrity, considering the steepness of the ascent. The stone steps being surmounted, we came upon a level summit, and had the walls of the pueblo upon one side and an extensive and beautiful view upon the other. Without giving us time to admire the scene, the

Indians led us to a ladder planted against the center of the front face of the pueblo. The town is nearly square and surrounded by a stone wall 15 feet high, the top of which forms a landing extending around the whole. Flights of stone steps led from the first to a second landing, upon which the houses open. Mounting the stairway opposite to the ladder, the chief crossed to the nearest door and ushered us into a low apartment, from which 2 or 3 others opened toward the interior of the dwelling. Our host courteously asked us to be seated upon some skins spread along the floor against the wall, and presently his wife brought in a vase of water and a tray filled with a singular substance that looked more like sheets of thin, blue wrapping paper rolled up into bundles than anything else that I had ever seen. I learned afterward that it was made from corn meal, ground very fine, made into a gruel, and poured over a heated stone to be baked. When dry it has a surface slightly polished, like paper. The sheets are folded and rolled together and form the staple article of food with the Moqui Indians.

As the dish was intended for our entertainment and looked clean we all partook of it. It has a delicate fresh-bread flavor, and was not at all unpalatable, particularly when eaten with salt. After eating and drinking, Mr. Egloffstein took a pipe from his pocket, which was filled and passed around. I noticed then and afterward that the Moquis when commencing to smoke bow with solemnity toward each point of the compass. While they were engaged with the pipe we had a chance to examine the contents of the apartment. The room was 15 by 10 feet, the walls were made of adobes, the partitions of substantial beams, and the floor laid with clay; in one corner a fireplace and chimney. Everything was clean and tidy. Skins, bows and arrows, quivers, antlers, blankets, articles of clothing, and ornaments were hanging from the walls or arranged upon shelves. Vases, flat dishes, and gourds filled with meal or water were standing along one side of the room. At the other end was a trough divided into compartments, in each of which was a sloping stone slab, 2 or 3 feet square, for grinding corn upon. In a recess of an inner room was piled a goodly store of corn in the ear. I noticed among other things a reed musical instrument, with a bell-shaped end like a clarionet, and a pair of painted drumsticks tipped with gaudy feathers. Another inner room appeared to be a sleeping apartment, but this being occupied by females we did not enter, though the Indians seemed to be pleased rather than otherwise at the curiosity evinced during the close inspection of their dwelling and furniture.

While Mr. Egloffstein was making a sketch of the place and its owners I had a talk with the latter. Spreading a map of the country we had been exploring, I pointed out our route and the place with which I supposed they were familiar. They seemed to comprehend, and the chief designated upon the map the position of the other 6 Moqui pueblos. I told him that we wished to go further to the north, and he signified that 4 days' travel in that direction would bring us to a large river. Whether there were watering places between it was difficult from his signs to determine. I then asked for a guide, promising a mule to any one that would accompany me, whereupon he said that he would be ready to go himself early the next morning. A bargain was likewise made for some sheep, which they agreed to send to camp, receiving a blanket in exchange for each animal.

We learned that there were 7 towns; that the name of that which we were visiting was Mooshahneh [Mishongnavi]. A second and smaller town was half a mile distant, 2 miles westward was a third, which had been seen from camp the evening before. 5 or 6 miles to the northeast a bluff was pointed out as the location of 3 others, and we were informed that the last of the 7, Oraybe [Oraibi], was still further distant, on the trail toward the great river.

From the heights, the ascent to which is so difficult and so easily descended, the Moquis can overlook the surrounding country and descry at a vast distance the approach of strangers. The towns themselves would be almost impregnable to an Indian assault. Each pueblo is built around a rectangular court, in which we suppose are the springs that furnish the supply to the reservoirs. The exterior walls, which are of stone, have no openings, and would have to be scaled or battered down before access could be gained to the interior.

The successive stories are set back, one behind the other. The lower rooms are reached through trapdoors from the first landing. The houses are 3 rooms deep and open upon the interior court. The arrangement is as strong and compact as could well be devised, but as the court is common and the landings are separated by no partitions it involves a certain community of residence. The strength of the position unfortunately does not protect the animals upon the plains below, and our friends informed us, with rueful faces, that the Comanches and Navajos had driven off a great deal of their stock during the previous year. The Moquis do not look warlike, and but for their natural and artificial defenses would doubtless long ago have been exterminated by their powerful and aggressive neighbors.

Curious faces were peering at us from the openings and landings during these observations. Many of the women and girls made their appearance, all but 1 or 2 having previously kept out of sight. The hair of the young girls is gathered into large knots, or rather knobs, one at each corner of the forehead, which gives them an odd appearance, but their skins are rather fair and their faces pretty. They are quiet and retiring, neat in appearance, and prepossessing in expression and manner. The members of the tribe are of a much lighter hue than any Indians met upon our route.

Having made a long visit we descended to camp, inviting the chief and 2 of his friends to go with us, which they did, taking us down by a more direct route than that by which we had ascended. The sheep were soon forthcoming to agreement, and several brought bags of corn and little packages of dried peaches to trade. Some beautiful and really valuable Navajo blankets were also offered and readily exchanged for a woolen shirt or some common article of apparel.

The 3 who accompanied us down I invited into my tent and regaled with bread and molasses, which they ate greedily. They had scarcely commenced eating when suddenly as many Indians as the tent could hold entered without invitation and joined in the repast.

Like the Zuñi Indians, the Moquis have albinos among them. A woman with a fair, light complexion and hair has been in camp this evening. It seemed incredible that she could be of Indian parentage, but such cases are by no means rare in the pueblos of New Mexico.

Satisfied with the conduct of the chief, I gave him a red sash, which excited great admiration. He then departed, promising to be in camp early in the morning, ready to accompany us as guide.

The day has been still and clear and the heat intense. It is hard to realize that the region about us was covered with snow but 48 hours ago, and that we were nearly frozen by the cold wind and pelting sleet.

CAMP 94, ORAYBE [ORAIBI], May 12, 1858.

This morning the Moquis were in camp exhibiting an insatiable curiosity to see everything that was going on. Our promised guide did not come with the others, and I suppose he was preparing himself for the journey. Corn meal was brought in for trade, and one individual opening his blanket disclosed a dozen fresh eggs, for which he found a ready sale.

Starting for Oraybe it was difficult to decide, being without a guide, which direction to take. I inquired of the Indians for the trail to Oraybe, but they could or would not understand, and no one would consent to lead the way. Concluding to pursue a northwest course we started through the sand hills, following, as nearly as possible, that direction, but had scarcely ridden a hundred yards when the chief appeared over the brow of a hill, running as the Indians had done on the day before, at full speed. He rushed to the head of the train, shook hands, told me that he had to go back to his house, but would soon overtake us by a short cut, ordered a boy near by to guide us meanwhile, and disappeared as rapidly as he had approached.

Under the guidance of the lad we followed a sinuous and difficult road through the hills that form the slope from the bluffs to the plain below. The trail led close to a second town whose inhabitants were gathered on the walls and housetops to gaze at us as we passed.

Two more reservoirs and several gardens and peach orchards were seen. A few miles of tedious traveling brought us to the edge of the valley. The chief overtook us here, and a mule was furnished to him, upon which he mounted and led the way.

The country now traversed was the most promising looking for agricultural purposes than any yet seen. It had nearly all been under cultivation. Immense fields were passed, and our guide stopped constantly to gossip with his neighbors, who were busy planting corn. Their method of doing this was very primitive. With a sharp stick a hole was punched in the ground a foot deep, and the corn dropped in and covered up. No women were engaged in the labor. Unlike other tribes of Indians the men do the out-door work, leaving to the females the care of the households, the spinning, weaving [the men do the weaving], sewing, etc. At the end of a few miles Oraybe [Oraibi] came in sight. It was larger than the other pueblos. Though we had made but a short march several mules gave out and could not be driven even without their packs. The scanty grass of the 3 preceding days had taken away the remnant of strength left to them. We had to camp, though the pasturage was neither good nor abundant.

The Oraybe reservoirs are a mile or two distant, but we shall pass one to-morrow and be able to water the animals and fill the kegs as we go by. A large number of citizens came to see us. I subsequently learned that one of them was the chief, but he did not accost any one nor seem desirous of making acquaintances. It was apparent that he was out of humor, and the chief [from Mishongnavi] who had guided us informed me that the other, who seems to be the senior of all, had objected to any of the tribe accompanying the expedition north on the ground that there was no water; that the country was bad; that we would have to travel several days before coming to a river, and that if we did reach it the mules could not get to the bank. Arguments and promises were vain. The Oraybe continued to express disapproval, and his influence seemed to be all-powerful. His ill temper increased as the discussion proceeded, and at last he left in a sulk and went home. I then had a talk with the other. He was friendly in his manner, but said that he could not go while his superior objected, and intimated, if I understood him aright, that the Oraybe captain had some reason for not being well disposed toward Americans. He said that there was a water hole a long day's journey off, where we could get a small supply; that to this point he would guide us, and that there was a trail beyond, which could be followed as well without guidance as with it. He persisted that there would be a march of 3 or 4 days without water before reaching the river. As nearly as I have been able to judge they consider a day's march 30 miles. If his statement is true, the question of crossing this desert in the present condition of the mules may be considered as settled.

The Oraybe Indians are more quiet than their brethren of Mooshahneh [Mishongnavi]. They collect in a circle to witness anything that may be going on, but are almost silent, and when they speak or laugh do so in a suppressed tone, like children under restraint. There is much uniformity of dress. All were wrapped in Navajo blankets, with broad white and dark stripes, and a crowd at a distance looks like the face of a stratified rock.

The external and internal arrangements of the houses are like those of the other town, but there is generally less neatness and thrift in the appearance both of the place and its inhabitants.

CAMP 95, ORAYBE GARDENS, May 13, 1858.

Neither of the chiefs nor many of their tribe appeared in camp this morning. They are late risers and we were off soon after sunrise, but had proceeded only a mile when an Indian came running after us. He said that he had been dispatched by the Oraybe chief to conduct us to the next water, and we began to think the old fellow less churlish than he had appeared, and gladly availed ourselves of his civility and of the newcomer's knowledge.

Selecting a course among numerous intersecting trails that would have puzzled a stranger considerably, he led the way to the east of the bluff on which Oraybe stands. 8 or 9 miles brought the train to an angle formed by 2 faces of the precipice. At the foot was a reservoir, and a broad road wound up the steep ascent. On either side the bluffs were cut into terraces and laid out into gardens similar to those seen at Mooshahneh [Mishongnavi], and, like them, irrigated from an upper reservoir. The whole reflected great credit upon Moqui ingenuity and skill in the department of engineering. The walls of the terraces and reservoirs were of partially dressed stone, well and strongly built, and the irrigating pipes conveniently arranged. The little gardens were neatly laid out; 2 or 3 men and as many women were working in them as we passed. * * *

While on the road to-day the guide pointed out a place where the Navajos had recently made a descent upon the Moqui flocks. He had himself been herding at the time and showed me 2 scars upon his sides from wounds received at the hands of the conquerors, who made off with their stock. * * *

CAMP 97, ORAYBE GARDENS, May 15, 1858.

No Indians came again to camp. The guide before leaving had told a Mexican that the distance to the river was more than 100 miles, and that the only watering place was about 25 miles from Oraybe. Preferring to see for ourselves the condition of the country, we pursued the same general course as before, toward the northwest. The top of the mesa on which we had been encamped proved to be very narrow, and before we had traveled a mile we came to its northern edge, where there were the usual precipice and foothills, forming the descent to a broad valley. Here also the bluffs had been formed into terraced gardens and reservoirs. The descent was steep and difficult. The valley furnished better grass than any seen since leaving Flax river, but the soil was soft and the traveling laborious. We crossed the lowland and ascended the opposite mesa. The trail was found and its course followed for 10 or 11 miles, when most of the mules again gave out and became unable to proceed; though the weather was cloudy and cool and they had rested and had had tolerable grazing and water during the previous day and night it was evident that their strength was gone. * * *

To fully test the practicability of proceeding further, * * * 2 experienced water hunters, mounted on the least broken down mules, rode ahead to explore. If they found water they were to send up a smoke as a signal for the train to advance. They traveled about 20 miles, finding a deserted Indian encampment where water had been at some seasons, but which was then perfectly dry. From the point where they halted, on the summit of a lofty plateau, the country could be overlooked for 50 or 60 miles, and there was every indication that it was a waterless desert. There was no alternative but to return, and the next morning we retraced our way and encamped near the northern Oraybe gardens at the edge of the large valley. We remained here for a day to let the mules rest and graze before undertaking the trip to Fort Defiance. As it is we half anticipate reaching that place on foot.

The Oraybe chief, gratified at the fulfillment of his prediction in regard to the impracticability of the trip northward, has been to visit us and comported himself with much amiability. He told me that he would send a guide to show us the best route to Fort Defiance, and I accordingly regaled him with the best the camp afforded. He ate till he could eat no more and then stowed away what was left in the folds of his blanket.

Several of the tribe have been working in the gardens and tending the sheep during the day. In the former labor here the women as well as the men assist. The walls of the terraces and the gardens themselves are kept in good order and preservation; the stone and earth

for construction and repairs they carry in blankets upon their shoulders from the valley below. The soil is of a poor character, and the amount which they extract from it speaks well for their perseverance and industry. Both turkeys and chickens have been seen in the pueblos. They have the material for excellent subsistence if they choose to avail themselves of it. In the neighborhood are beds of coal, which Dr. Newberry thinks of a character to burn well, but they appear to have no idea of the value of these deposits, although wood for culinary and other purposes has to be transported from a distance of several miles. We have tried to make them comprehend the worth of the fuel close at hand, but with doubtful success.

CAMP 98, NEAR TEGUA [TEWA], May 17, 1858.

Climbing the bluff south of camp and descending the opposite side of the mesa, we were joined by the promised Moqui guide, who came up, according to what appears an invariable custom, at the last moment and in a great hurry.

When the place was reached where the trail turned west to go to Oraybe I asked the guide if he could not take a short cut to Tegua [Tewa], the most eastern pueblo, which the Moqui chief said was on the trail to Fort Defiance. He said that he could, and struck off toward the east. In ascending a mesa 5 or 6 miles beyond an almost impassable precipice was encountered, but the mules, after sundry falls, succeeded in reaching the summit. Beyond was a valley 9 or 10 miles wide, and upon the opposite side a plateau with 3 Moqui towns [Tewa, Sichumnavi, and Walpi] standing in a line upon the top. We camped 3 miles from them, sending the mules to their reservoir for water. The valley was well covered with grass, and large flocks of sheep attested the wealth of the citizens of this department of the Moquis. Almost the entire population came out to see us, evincing the greatest curiosity at everything they witnessed. In dress and general appearance they have a smarter look than the citizens of the other towns and seem to be more well to do in the world. All the Moquis have small hands and feet but ordinary figures. Their hair is fine and glossy. Many have an Italian physiognomy. The men wear loose, cotton trousers, and frequently a kind of blouse for an upper garment, over which they throw a blanket. The dress of the women is invariably a loose, black woolen gown, with a gold colored stripe around the waist and the bottom of the skirt. The stripe is of cotton, which they grow in small quantities. The material of the dress is of their own weaving.

They seem to be a harmless, well meaning people, industrious at times, though always ready for a lounge and gossip. They are honest so far that they do not steal, but their promises are not to be relied upon. They lack force of character and the courageous qualities which the Zuñians and some other Pueblo Indians have the credit of possessing. Their chiefs exercise a good deal of authority, but by what tenure they hold their power or how many there are we could not learn.

A singular statement made by the Moquis is that they do not all speak the same language. At Oraybe [Oraibi] some of the Indians actually professed to be unable to understand what was said by the Mooshahneh [Mishongnavi], and the latter told me that the language of the 2 towns was different. At Tegua [Tewa] they say that a third distinct tongue is spoken.

These Indians are identical in race, manners, habits, and mode of living. They reside within a circuit of 10 miles and, save the occasional visit of a member of some other tribe, have been for centuries isolated from the rest of the world, and it would seem almost incredible that the inhabitants of the different pueblos should not preserve a system of intercourse. If what they say is true, it would appear that this is not done. Tegua [Tewa] and the 2 adjacent towns are separated by a few miles from Mooshahneh [Mishongnavi] and another pair [of towns]. Oraybe [Oraibi] is a little greater distance from both. Each place, depending upon its internal strength, is independent as regards defense. The people are indolent and apathetic and have abandoned the habit of visiting each other till the languages, which with all Indian tribes are subject to great mutations, have gradually become dissimilar.

CAMP 99, PEACH ORCHARD SPRING, May 18, 1858.

Passing by the reservoir to water the mules and fill the kegs we were joined by the Teguan [Tewain] chief and several of his friends. The guide having disappeared during the night I asked for him, and was told by the chief that it would be unsafe for 1 or 2 of them to take the trip alone, but that he himself and 9 others were going to the fort as soon as they could have some corn ground and make other preparations, and that they would join us at the first watering place, which we would reach about noon. There was little doubt in the minds of any who heard this statement that it was a wholesale fiction, but he pointed out the direction of the best route to Fort Defiance, and, bidding the Moquis good-by, we followed the course that had been designated. The chief accompanied us a short distance, and at parting renewed the assurance that 10 of his people would overtake us before night. Crossing the valley in a nearly easterly direction, at the foot of the bluff upon the opposite side we reached a large and excellent spring about the time our friend had indicated.

The ravine is the prettiest spot seen for many a day, covered with rich turf, shaded by peach trees, and surrounded by large gooseberry bushes. The water is clear and cold. The trail from Tegua has been plainly and deeply cut, showing constant travel. After reaching camp 2 Navajos rode in upon horses that we had seen yesterday hobbled near the Moqui pueblo. I supposed at first that they had stolen them, but a soldier told me that he had seen one of the men at Mooshahneh, and that the Moquis had told him that there were 2 or 3 Navajos there on a visit.

That the latter should have the face to go to the Moquis so soon after the recent foray speaks well for their boldness, but does not indicate much spirit on the part of the others. The 2 that came to see us were merry, impudent looking knaves; they ate and smoked and laughed, and finally asked for a glass of liquor as independently as though they were at a tavern. It was impossible to put them down; favors or rebuffs made the same or rather no impression; they received all with a grinning indifference that would have been good-natured had it not been so impertinent. A third joined them after a while, also from the direction of the Moquis, and the first 2, after a rest, saddled their ponies and departed, informing me that the other would stay and accompany us. They perpetrated one act of civility, however, before leaving, presenting me with a cheese of dirty exterior but almost white inside, and very good. 2 Moqui Indians came into camp at sunset and told us that they were going on with us.

CAMP 100, WHITE ROCK SPRING, May 19, 1858.

We had proceeded but a few miles this morning when a shouting was heard behind, and looking back we saw the Moqui chief and 8 of his followers running to overtake us. They left Tegua before daylight, with the Navajo leading off upon his pony, and the company of Indians formed a respectable looking retinue, doubling the size of the party. I was glad to see that each had brought his own provisions tied up in the corner of a blanket and swung over the shoulder. We had made 24 miles to-day when the Indians signified that it was the place to camp. * * *

We are now in the Navajo region; a little way back of camp, in a broad valley where herds of horses and flocks of sheep were. A great many Indians have come into camp, both male and female, all mounted, the women riding astride like the men, there being little to distinguish them apart excepting that the former wear a blanket and carry the luggage when there is anything to be transported. They are rather a fine looking race, with bold features, but look like rascals, and undoubtedly are such. Fortunately our camp and grazing ground are inclosed on 3 sides by the walls of the ravine. The camp is pitched near the mouth, the mules are inside, and can not be taken out without passing by us.

The Moquis and the Navajos have the semblance of being on good terms, and have been talking and laughing together in the most friendly manner; but the Tegua [Towa] chief privately informed me during the evening that these same men had stolen their stock, and that they were a bad set.

The spring is beneath a projecting rock of white sandstone that almost forms a cave. It is in a recess at the extreme end of the ravine, and the ravine itself is a mile from the trail and surrounded by so many similar formations that we should have probably missed the place but for the Moqui guides.

CAMP 101, PUEBLO CREEK, May 20, 1858.

Several Moquis who have been visiting the Navajos swelled the train to-day. There are now 23 accompanying us, and as we proceed mounted Navajos fall into the ranks till we find ourselves moving in great force. * * *

Countless herds of horses and flocks of sheep were grazing upon the plain. The Moquis said that we were entering one of the most thickly populated sections of the Navajo territory.

Hundreds of Navajos have come into camp and, considering their natural impudence and the weakness of our party, have astonished me by the correctness of their behavior.

One old fellow was pointed out by a companion who spoke pretty good Spanish as the chief. They were curious and a little concerned to know why we had come from the west. No party of whites had ever entered their country from that direction. The chief said that we must have just left the country of the Apaches, who had lately stolen the Moquis' horses, of which act the Navajos had been wrongfully accused; that the Apaches had plundered them also, and that, as our animals were safe, we must be friends to the Apaches, which proved that the Apaches, the Moquis, and the Americans were all leagued against "the poor little Navajos", to use his own expression. The reasoning was logical, but the throng of saucy vagabonds that were listening to the speech with grins that they took no pains to conceal were not calculated to enlist much sympathy, and we concluded that the pitiful harangue was intended for the benefit of the Moquis, to disarm them of their suspicions in regard to the perpetrators of the late theft.

I perceived, however, that the Moquis were as unconvinced as ourselves by the plausible reasoning. We asked how far we had still to travel before reaching Fort Defiance, and they said that a single day's march would take us there. * * *

The Navajos displayed one trait of character which I had never seen exhibited by Indians: they paid for what they got. A crowd of women surrounded the place where the doctor and myself were sitting, and were amusing themselves by inspecting the remnant of the Indian goods and trinkets that had been brought along. Having no further occasion for the articles, as the expedition was now so nearly ended, and pleased with the unexpected civility we had experienced, I distributed most of the things to those standing about. The women were highly delighted, and not long after some of the men, whom I supposed to be their husbands, brought into camp a quantity of cheese and joints of mutton, enough to have lasted our company a week. I offered to pay for what we required, but they insisted upon my accepting all as a gift.

May 22, 1858, Lieutenant Ives reached Fort Defiance.

It will be observed that in the intercourse of Lieutenant Ives with the Moqui Indians they were hospitable and generous, and at all times aided and welcomed him. This is the universal testimony of all white people who have come in contact with them.

THE MOQUIS, 1850–1864.

During the period of the fearful and bloody Navajo war in Arizona and New Mexico, 1859–1865, the Moquis aided the United States troops when necessary, but most of the time they remained peacefully at home tilling the soil. They also went on the warpath against the Navajos under the command of Colonel Kit Carson, an extract from whose report is given elsewhere.

Some idea may be formed of the knowledge the United States authorities charged with the conduct of Indian affairs had of the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona from the report, in October, 1862, of J. L. Collins, superintendent of Indian affairs for New Mexico (Arizona was not then organized into a territory), that "the Pueblos of western Arizona are known by the names Pimos, Papagas, and Maricopas". The tribes named never have been Pueblos.

The territory of Arizona was organized from New Mexico in 1863, and the Moqui Pueblos became a part of the population of Arizona April 1, 1863. Charles D. Posten, who had been appointed superintendent of Indian affairs for Arizona, made the following statement in regard to the Moqui Pueblos to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from New York in 1864. It will be observed that Mr. Posten calls these Indians Moquins.

The Moquins are one of the most interesting tribes of Indians in Arizona. They have almost a classical reputation from the extravagant stories that were told about them by the early Spanish explorers and the interest they excited in Europe. A romancing friar, called Marco de Nica [Niza], first gave the governor, Muno de Guzman, such marvelous accounts of the 7 cities inhabited by these Indians, then called the Seven Cities of Civola [Cibola] (buffalo), that he attempted an expedition to them, which failed (1538). He afterward induced the viceroy, Mendoza, to order an expedition, which was successfully conducted by Caronado [Coronado], the governor of New Gallicia, in 1540, but without finding the golden treasures and magnificent cities so enthusiastically described by the romancing friar. They found, however, very interesting aborigines living in good stone houses, cultivating fields of maize, beans, peas, melons, and pumpkins, and tending their flocks and herds. They wove blankets from the wool of their sheep and made cotton cloth from the indigenous staple, which was fine enough for a canvas on which to paint the pictures of their beasts and birds.

The expedition of Caronado did not satisfy the expectations which had been raised in Europe about the golden treasures and magnificent cities of Civola, and in 1742 we find an order from Philip V to the viceroy, ordering the reduction of the province of Moquin.

The Moquins have continued to live in their mountain homes, cultivate the maize, tend their flocks and herds, and make themselves comfortable blankets for the winter and cotton for the summer. Their numbers are variously estimated at from 4,000 to 7,000.

It may be only necessary to preserve friendly relations with them, and make them a few presents as an earnest of our good will.

Mr. Posten, under date of September 30, 1864, again wrote of the Moquis:

In passing to my field of labor, I stopped a few days in Salt Lake city to confer with Governor Doty, ex officio superintendent of Indian affairs in Utah. 3 Moqui chiefs from my superintendency had recently visited his excellency to ask for protection against the Navajos, who were continually committing depredations on their stock, which induced them to seek a closer alliance with the Americans. The Moquins are

peaceable and friendly, and from their isolated positions and the romantic tradition of their Welsh origin and the curiosity their stone cities excited among the early Spanish explorers are Indians of more than ordinary interest. I was told by some intelligent Welsh Mormons that the Moqui chiefs could pronounce any word in the Welsh language with facility, but not the dialect now in use. The 3 chiefs left their photographs in the city of the saints and returned home, accompanied by some Mormon traders and preachers, who express great zeal for the conversion of the descendants of Medoc.

It was not possible for me to visit this interesting tribe in their mountain homes for reasons hereafter explained. I take the liberty of appending a report of Colonel Christopher Carson, commanding First cavalry, New Mexico volunteers, in which he speaks of these lost and forgotten people in terms of truthful simplicity that ought to excite an interest in their favor in the Indian bureau.

[EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF COLONEL KIT CARSON REFERRED TO BY MR. POSTEN.]

DECEMBER 6, 1863.

On the 21st of October, 1863, arrived at Moqui villages. I found on my arrival that the inhabitants of all the villages, except the Oribis [Oraibis] had a misunderstanding with the Navajos, owing to some injustice perpetrated by the latter. I took advantage of this feeling, and succeeded in obtaining representatives from all the villages, Oribi [Oraibi] excepted, to accompany me on the warpath. My object in insisting upon parties of these people accompanying me was simply to involve them so far that they could not retract; to bind them to us and place them in antagonism to the Navajos. They were of some service and manifested a great desire to aid in every respect. While on this subject I would respectfully represent that these people, numbering some 4,000 souls, are in a most deplorable condition, from the fact that the country for several miles around their village is quite barren and is entirely destitute of vegetation.

They have no water for purposes of irrigation, and their only dependence for subsistence is on the little corn they raise when the weather is propitious, which is not always the case in this latitude. They are a peaceful people, have never robbed or murdered the people of New Mexico, and are in every way worthy of the fostering care of the government. Of the bounty so unsparingly bestowed by it on other Pueblo Indians, even on the marauding bands, they have never tasted, and I earnestly recommend that the attention of the Indian bureau be called to this matter. I understand that a couple of years' annuities for the Navajos, not distributed, are in the possession of the superintendent of Indian affairs at Santa Fe, and I consider that, if such an arrangement would be legal, these goods would be well bestowed on these people.

C. CARSON,
Colonel First Cavalry, New Mexico Volunteers.

Here it will again be noted that the Moquis were the friends and allies of the United States.

Colonel Carson's recommendation that the Navajo supplies at Santa Fe be turned over to the Moquis was partially carried out in 1864–1865.

THE MOQUIS, 1865.

During 1864 the Moquis were confined to their homes by the hostile Navajos, and their crops failing for want of water, a famine ensued. United States Indian Agent John Ward, who visited the Moquis at this time, reported on them as follows:

PUEBLO AGENCY, NEW MEXICO,
PENA BLANCO, NEW MEXICO, April, 1865.

You will perceive that the accounts for provisions and fuel exceed in amount those of previous quarters for the same items, but this could not be otherwise. In addition to the unavoidable expenses incurred by the almost daily visits of the Indians under my charge, and the high rates of prices to be paid for everything, in consequence of the depreciated state of our present currency, the agency, during the greater part of the quarter, has been completely overrun with destitute Zuñi and Moqui Indians; the failure of their crops for the past 2 years has reduced them to a state of beggary.

Although the Moquis do not now properly appertain to this superintendency, yet they seem to know no other rallying point in time of distress than our settlements. This is owing to their mutual relations and extensive acquaintance with our Pueblo Indians, and the fact that they consider themselves as belonging to this country. I have endeavored by every possible means to explain to them that they no longer appertain to this superintendency, but to that of Arizona, to which they must go hereafter to transact all their business and make their wants known. They can not comprehend the reason of this transfer, and think strange that we should try to put them off.

The corn and implements turned over by you for distribution to these people have all been issued, and I can assure you that it was a great blessing to them; there never was a more timely and charitable issue made, and had it not been for your assistance I should have been entirely at a loss to know how to act with them.

The very fact that most of them, men, women, and children, have come on foot a distance of at least 300 miles, through deep snow, during one of the most severe winters for many years, for the purpose of procuring something to eat and what little they can pack to their homes, is of itself sufficient evidence of their deplorable condition, and fully warrants the charity which has been extended to them.

In connection with the foregoing, it may not be out of place to state, for your information, that one of my first official acts, after receiving the appointment of Indian agent in 1861, was to make a trip to the Moqui Pueblos, at which time I visited every one of the 7 pueblos. I found them very poor and badly in need of assistance; they had scarcely any implements worthy of the name; they had no hoes, no spades, that I could see; the corn, which is usually their main crop, they planted by the aid of sticks, by digging holes in the ground, into which they dropped the seed. They principally depend on the rain for their crops, having no permanent running water in their vicinity; thus they are, comparatively speaking, at the mercy of the seasons. A short time previous to my visit to them they had been attacked and robbed by the hostile Navajos; and to make their condition worse the independent campaigns from this territory against the Navajos had also gone to their village and taken from them even the very corn they had in store for their subsistence. This was done, as I afterward learned, under the plea that the Moquis were in league with the Navajos against us.

All these facts, as well as their true condition, I reported on my return to the then superintendent, and did all in my power to impress upon him the necessity of relieving their wants; but, strange to say, my honest appeal in their behalf had no effect whatever, and nothing was done toward it.

The only succor worthy of notice which these people have received from this superintendency, so far as I am aware, is that which has been extended to them during this winter. I can safely say that there never was a tribe of Indians so completely neglected and so little cared for as these same Moqui Indians; indeed, for some time they seem to have belonged nowhere. For several years previous to the creation of Arizona territory they were not mentioned in the annual reports of my predecessor.

From personal observation and the best of my judgment, the aggregate population of these Indians does not exceed 3,000 souls. Their location and circumstances make them an easy prey for their more formidable and warlike foes, Navajos and southern Apaches, by which they are surrounded. As these Indians no longer appertain to this superintendency, I would respectfully suggest (through you to the department) that the Arizona superintendency be instructed to take the entire charge of the same, and to extend to them the relief and protection to which they may be entitled, and thereby free this superintendency from a burden for which no allowance whatever is made. The responsibility, care, and expense should be attached wherever they properly belong.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN WARD, Indian Agent.

April 21, 1865, M. Steck, superintendent of Indian affairs for New Mexico, in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, forwarding a report by John Ward, United States Indian agent, writes from Santa Fe:

I have the honor herewith to inclose copy of communication from John Ward, Pueblo agent, relative to the Moqui Indians. There has heretofore been but little known of these Indians. A few travelers have visited them in passing hurriedly through the country. Their description and the fabulous accounts of the Spanish conquerors savor more of fiction than reality.

John Ward, under instructions from my predecessor, Colonel Collins, visited these villages in 1861, and reports the names and population of each, viz:

Oraiva (Oraibi)	800
Sho-mon-pa-vi	600
Tano	250
Ci-cho-mo-oi	100
O-pi-ji-que	300
Mi-shan-qu-na-vi	250
Sha-pan-la-vi	200
Total	2,500

Major Kendrick, who visited the Moqui Pueblos previous to 1865, and who also gives the population of the 7 villages at about 2,500, wrote as follows:

The towns are all within an area of about 15 miles, and built upon an elevated plateau or table land. The idea of great stone edifices among the Moqui villages is fiction. The houses are built of adobe (stone) and inferior to those of the pueblos of New Mexico, mostly 2 stories high, and entered by ladders, and bear evidence of great antiquity. The Province of Moqui, as it was termed by the early Spanish historians, was at that time, no doubt, a prosperous and powerful division of the Pueblo or village Indians, and the fact of Montezuma having gone from his birthplace, near Santa Fe, to Moqui, when on his way to the city of Mexico, and the further fact that the people of Tanos, one of the villages, at present speak the Tequa language, which is also spoken by several of the New Mexican pueblos, leaves but little doubt as to their common origin with all the village Indians of this country.

THE MOQUIS, 1866.

Hon. D. N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1866, in his annual report for 1865–1866, wrote of the Moquis as follows:

In regard to the Moquis, the interesting village Indians living in the northeastern part of Arizona, near the borders of New Mexico, and very similar in character to the Pueblos of that territory, but little is known in addition to that presented in former reports. They are, however, peaceable and self-sustaining, costing the government nothing except in cases of extreme necessity resulting from failure of crops.

THE MOQUIS, 1869.

Lieutenant Colonel Rodger Jones, assistant inspector general of the United States army, in a report to Inspector General Marcy, from San Francisco, July 21, 1869, in speaking of the Indians of Arizona, wrote of the Moquis:

This tribe live in pueblos or villages north and east of the Little Colorado and west of the Navajo reservation at Fort Defiance. It is not known that any reservation has ever been assigned to them, nor is there any definite knowledge as to their numbers, though they live in 2 villages, Moqui and Oriba, each of which is said to contain from 2,000 to 2,500 souls. They subsist by the chase, the culture of fruits, such as peaches and apricots, and cultivate the soil sufficiently to supply their own wants. They also make blankets, inferior, however, to those made by the Navajos in fineness and closeness of texture. At certain seasons of the year they range as far south as Prescott and in a southeasterly direction to Zuñi, on the borders of New Mexico, but these expeditions are mostly for the purpose of trading. * * * Although they have been for years plundered by the Navajos and occasionally by the Apaches, who, however, rarely venture so far north, they still own a number of horses and cattle and extensive herds of sheep. They are not a warlike race, but claim they can defend themselves from attack and punish the aggressors. Their proximity to the powerful tribe of Navajos compels them to keep at home for the protection of their families and property. They possess a few muzzle-loading guns, and procure their ammunition at Zuñi. They are at peace with the whites, and, it is believed, with all other tribes except the Navajos and Apaches.

Vincent Colyer, special agent of the Indian office, who visited the Moquis in 1869, journeying from Fort Defiance to the Moqui pueblos, wrote of the country and Indians as follows:

There is a good trail, and there could easily be made a good wagon road, from Fort Defiance, west through the Navajo country, to the villages of the Moquis, 100 miles. The country is well wooded, and with the aid of irrigation much of it could be made productive.

The scarcity of water is the greatest drawback. The Moquis are particularly interesting as being the descendants of the ancient Aztecs, with whom the white people, since the days of Columbus, have had but very little to do. As they are in nearly all respects as far advanced in civilization as their brother Pueblos of the Rio Grande valley, the boast put forth by the Spaniards that these Pueblos owe their present orderly condition to them is completely disproved. Their pottery, blankets, dresses, ornaments, and the construction of their houses are similar and equally as good.

They received us with great rejoicing, 1,000 or 2,000 of them, men, women, and children, turning out of their houses and welcoming us with cheers as we mounted the rocky cliffs, on the top of which their villages are constructed. They have large flocks of sheep and goats, which they drive up to their pens for safety on the top of the cliffs by the side of their own habitations nightly. They cultivate many acres of corn wheat, beans, and have peach orchards in the valley below. Having no other weapons than bows and arrows and the wooden boomerangs, they live in constant fear of the better armed Apaches and Navajos, their neighbors. There are 7 villages of them, and they number about 4,000. They ought to receive more attention from our government, and I am happy to learn that the honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs has sent an agent, Major Palmer, to see to their wants.

I received a letter from this gentleman a few days since, in which he asks for a few needful articles for the Moquis, which I trust will be forwarded to them. They asked me, with the same earnestness as their brother Pueblos of the Rio Grande, for schools.

THE SEVERAL UNITED STATES AGENTS FOR THE MOQUI PUEBLOS, 1864–1891.

The Moqui Pueblos were in New Mexico after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of February, 1848, and until the territory of Arizona was organized in 1863. August 1, 1864, Charles D. Posten, superintendent of Indian affairs for Arizona, recommended the appointment of John H. Moss as agent of the Moquis, at a salary of $1,000 per year.

In 1868 Major A. D. Palmer was appointed special agent for the Moquis and went to Arizona in pursuance of his appointment in 1869. He served during 1869–1870. W. D. Crothers was agent in 1871–1872.

The Moqui Pueblo agency was really established in 1870. In 1873–1874 W. S. Defrees was agent for the Moqui Pueblos, as they were called, and erected the first agency building at what is now Keams Cañon, Arizona. In 1875–1876 W. B. Truax was the agent. The separate agency was abandoned between October, 1876, and February, 1878. After this time the agency was continued with the Navajo agency. William R. Mateer was agent in 1878–1879, John H. Sullivan in 1880–1881, J. D. Fleming in 1882, F. W Vanderer in 1889–1890, and A. D. Shipley in 1891. The reports of the various agents can be found in the annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1866 to 1890. The agent's report for 1890 is very full and interesting. It is understood that it was written by A. M. Stephen.

MOQUI BOARDING SCHOOL.

The government school at Keams Cañon, which is on the Moqui reservation, was opened in July, 1887. The buildings for the school, which were purchased from Mr. T. V. Keam (*a*), were formerly used for a trading post. The old Moqui agency was on the site of these buildings, which were sold by the United States. The establishment of this school is due to the efforts of Mrs. Harriet R. Hawley, wife of Senator Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut. It is a government boarding school with a capacity for 50 children. During the year ended June 30, 1890, it cost the government $11,716.46. The enrollment of pupils was 45. The average attendance was 27. The session was 10 months. The average cost to the government per capita per month was $36.16, or at the rate of $361.60 per pupil for the 10 months, or $433.92 per year. The pupils cultivated 25 acres of ground. In all cases board and lodging were furnished.

The school was managed by 8 white and 5 Indian employés, 10 males and 3 females (position and salary of 3 not given), as follows:

	SALARY.
Superintendent and principal teacher	$1,200
Clerk and physician	1,000
Teacher	600
Industrial teacher	840
Matron	600
Seamstress	480
2 laundresses (each, $480)	960
Herder	180
Carpenter	840

Brevet Major General A. D. McCook, commanding the department of Arizona, in his report for 1890–1891, wrote of this school:

The school established at Keams Cañon for the education of children from the Moqui villages (12 miles from the first one) is in successful operation. I visited there during the day and evening of the 19th of August of this year, 1891. I was kindly received by Mr. and Mrs. Collins, who have charge of the school. The children looked neat and clean, and are well fed and cared for by the principal and employés of

a Mr. Thomas V. Keam, proprietor of the Tusayan trading post, near the old United States Moqui agency, now Keams Cañon, Arizona, 12 miles from Walpi, on the first mesa, is well known in the southwest as an old soldier and experienced prospector, who speaks Navajo and the Moqui language. He has visited the various Moqui pueblos for years, and has made several collections of their pottery and other articles. His home is an interesting stopping place for travelers to the villages, and his store, which is a post office, with a stage running to it from Holbrook, is the only point to find Americans and secure accommodations in the immediate vicinity of the Moqui pueblos. At his store conveyances to the Moqui villages can also be procured. For this reason Keams Cañon is quite noted, and is a rallying point for visitors to the Moqui pueblos, but there are other routes than from Keams Cañon to the pueblos, among them: from Flagstaff and Prescott, Arizona, keeping to the left of Keams; from Fillmore city and St. George, Utah; from Moankopi and Tuba city, all from the northwest; from Gallup, and from Fort Wingate, bearing north of Keams when some miles west of Wingate, following a trail from and through Washington pass over the Canby route. Many railroad surveying and prospecting parties have in recent years traveled over these routes, one of which is an old Indian trail sometimes used by the army in early days, and by the Indians of northern New Mexico to reach San Diego and the seacoast for shells. Mr. Keam has been of great assistance to all who have written about the Indians of Arizona and New Mexico since 1878. He was of great service to the Eleventh Census in furnishing information and aiding the special agents who visited the Moqui country. The expert special agent takes this method of expressing his thanks for the courtesy, information, and transportation extended by Mr. Keam to these gentlemen.

the school. The children are nearly of an age; consequently they will leave the school at the same time, carrying with them an education and habits of life far superior to any they had heretofore enjoyed, and no one can fail to believe, or to hope at least, that the 103 children now present in the school, returning to their homes imbued with another and better civilization, will produce much good. To the casual visitor the efforts made by these handsome children to speak our language is pathetic.

Mr. and Mrs. Collins should be encouraged in their good work, and the school should be liberally supported by the proper department. The location is a good one; the parents and relatives can visit the school and meet their children during the term, which is humane and proper. The children take great interest in their work, with their practical lessons as well as with their books.

I have assured Mr. and Mrs. Collins that they have my moral support all the time, and will have physical support when necessary to protect the school from the interference of obdurate Areibes. Nothing but good can come from this school. The dormitories are too small; they are now crowded. The mess room is one-half too small.

If an object lesson is to be learned by these interesting children the government should place proper buildings for this purpose. The sooner this is done the better. If there were greater facilities of accommodations there would be a greater number of children in the school. I am glad to report that 44 of the pupils are from the Areibe [Oraibi] village and not the least comely of the pupils gathered there.

THE ORAIBI CAMPAIGN OF 1891.

Dissatisfaction existed for some time prior to and during 1890–1891 among the Moquis in regard to sending their children to the government school at Keams Cañon. They urged that they loved their children and wanted them about them, and to this end desired schools at the pueblos.

Special Agent Scott's report detailing the experience of Commissioner Morgan and party on their visit to the Moquis in 1890 in relation to the Keams Cañon school and a supplemental report on the proposed school at Weepo and proposed allotment of land in 1891 are of much interest.

Soldiers were sent to Keams Cañon, under Lieutenant Grierson, as early as December, 1890. They went to Oraibi and released Lolami, the chief, from the estufa where some of his people held him prisoner. In June, 1891, the opposition of the Moquis to the Keams Cañon school continued, and it was reported that the Oraibis would fight before permitting their children to be taken to it. It was given out that they were tearing up the surveyor's stakes, destroying survey monuments, and threatening to raid the school. They objected to their children being taken from them by force and placed at the school at Keams Cañon, so many miles away from them, but they did not object to day schools or a school near where they could see their children. Much of the trouble arose from the fact that a scheme of allotment was about being applied to them, and they could not understand why United States surveyors should come to their farms and lands and proceed to survey them under orders of the department without their first having it fully explained to them; they could not comprehend why they should be dispossessed of land owned and occupied for homes by their ancestors and themselves for certainly 350 years, and perhaps thousands of years. In fact, being citizens of the United States, they could not understand why they should not be treated as other citizens and their property respected. On application of the Indian office a small detachment of soldiers from Keams Cañon, under Lieutenant Brett, was sent to Oraibi, June 21, 1891, and the result is shown in the following dispatch to the assistant adjutant general at Los Angeles, California:

Came to Oraibi to arrest several Oraibis, who have destroyed the surveyor's marks and threatened to destroy the school. When we entered the village we were confronted by about 50 hostiles armed and stationed behind a barricade. They openly declared hostility to the government, and a fight was barely averted. A strong force should be sent here with Hotchkiss guns, as I anticipate serious trouble if the hostiles are not summarily dealt with.

Lieutenant Brett returned to Keams Cañon, reported, and waited for the arrival of more troops. On the strength of Lieutenant Brett's report and dispatch an expedition was organized against the Oraibis by command of General A. D. McCook, commanding department of Arizona. Colonel H. C. Corbin, who accompanied the expedition, reported on it as follows:

To Adjutant General United States Army, Washington, D. C.:

Following just received and repeated for information of War Department:

In Camp near Clipalines Village, Arizona, July 1 (via Holbrook, July 2).

Commanding General Department of Arizona, Los Angeles, Cal.:

Happily we have been able to carry out your instructions to completed success without the loss of a single man. We left this camp at 3 o'clock this a. m. and after 4 hours' hard marching were in front of the Areibe village. After some 2 hours' parley we secured the arrest of all the medicine men, privates, and soldiers. We afterward marched through the streets of the pueblo and saw every evidence of a great preparation for defense. They were only persuaded to surrender peacefully by the presence of the large command so wisely ordered for this duty.

They openly admit that our numbers only deterred them from making that fight for which they had made so much preparation. Pursuant to your general instructions, I have ordered the prisoners to Fort Wingate via Holbrook, and the command, after a 4 days' needed rest in Keams Cañon, to return to their respective posts. The presence of this command has done much good in this part of the territory, and for some time to come little concern need be had on account of further troubles here. These men arrested are all very bad Indians, with two exceptions the hardest looking Indians I have ever seen.

Without exception the conduct of every officer and soldier has been of the finest, this under conditions that have been very trying. All the good things you predicted on the part of Major McLellan have been more than realized. I shall leave for home to-morrow.

H. C. Corbin, Assistant Adjutant General.

I have ordered the Indians taken prisoners at the Areibe village to Fort Wingate, New Mexico, to be held subject to the orders of the Interior Department.

McCook, Commanding.

A letter of Mr. Thomas V. Keam, of date July 16, 1891, gives the details of the march and the expedition, from a civilian's standpoint, as follows:

I think in my last I wrote of the arrival of Colonel H. C. Corbin with 4 troops of cavalry and 2 Hotchkiss guns. On their arrival, June 30, they called down to see me, and asked me to accompany them to Oraibi, which I could not refuse. Of course, all kinds of questions

were then asked in regard to the resistance the Oraibis would make, and my idea of the whole matter, and last, but not least, their dependence on my knowledge of the water supply for the whole command. This you know, owing to the scarcity of that article, was a very important matter, as I had learned there was none to be had at the first mesa.

After consultation we decided to get an early start on July 1 and go to the west side of the village of Mishongnavi, where the large spring is, and camp midway between it and a large spring at the foot of the village of Shimopavi. We got an early start and reached camp in good season under a broiling hot sun, and fortunately found sufficient water in the first spring for our whole command. Here we met a courier from Oraibi, who informed us that the bad Oraibis had threatened to kill La-lo-la-my on sight of the troops and were prepared to fight. In the evening we decided to leave all baggage, food, etc., except a lunch, in camp, and start for Oraibi at 3 a. m., July 2, so as to be near the village shortly after daylight. After a cup of coffee, promptly at 3 a. m., on the 2d of July, with Eone and I leading, we moved up the sides of the Shimopavi mesa, over it and into the Oraibi valley, and on and to within 3 miles of the village. Here a halt was made, and after consultation with those in command I volunteered to go to the mesa, send for the hostiles, and, if possible, get them to come back with me to where the troops had halted. I rode up close to the village and sent "Honani" of Shimopavi to inform the leaders I desired to see them. He returned saying they would not come. I again sent him back to tell them that serious trouble would result if they did not meet me at once. This brought 6 of the leaders down, and prominent among them was your old captive, as ugly and sullen as ever. After saying a few words to them, I escorted them to the troops, where they were made prisoners and heard some good advice from Colonel Corbin. They were quite sullen and refused to answer questions. The order was now given to mount, and we rode up into the village, taking the whole command, with the 2 Hotchkiss guns. Here we took the war chief and his son prisoners. Both were finer and better looking men than any of the others. The son, on being asked what he had to say, replied: "I was prepared to fight the few soldiers that were here some days ago, because I thought we could kill them and drive them away; now, however, it would be useless. I never saw so many Americans before. You have my friends prisoners and I am not able to fight all these soldiers; take me, as I am in your power." The troops were then arranged in front of the village, and after Colonel Corbin had explained to the people what was to be done with the prisoners, and impressed them with obedience to their chief La-lo-la-my, he said he would show them what would have been done with the Hotchkiss guns if they had offered resistance. I had started toward the guns to witness the firing, when I heard loud shouting, yelling, and screaming from the Indians, and as I turned saw an Indian pursued by a soldier jump off the mesa. It was one of the prisoners escaped, and the excitement was great for awhile. He succeeded in getting away, and has not yet been caught. A strict guard was kept on the others, who were brought safely to camp and well guarded that night. Next day we reached the cañon. The troops proceeded to their different stations, the 11 prisoners being taken to Wingate. A small detachment with an officer remains here until everything is quiet.

The following is from the annual report of Brigadier General A. McD. McCook, commanding department of Arizona:

SEPTEMBER 1, 1891.

The Moqui Indians are Pueblos, or "remnant of the Aztec Indians". (*a*) They are a peculiar people, living in 6 [7] villages located upon table rocks averaging 600 feet above the plain.

These Indians have been heretofore friendly to the whites, with the exception of the most distant village of the Areibes [Oraibis]. The people of this pueblo resisted the census enumerators and did not desire to have anything to do with the white men, calling them dogs and coyotes. The people of this pueblo refused to furnish their quota of children for the school established by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Keams Cañon, Arizona. Lolami, the governor of the village, with a few followers, favored the school, but the medicine man and the majority of the people resisted; because obdurate, arrested the governor and imprisoned him in an estufa.

Upon application of the Interior Department, Lolami was released by a detachment of troops under First Lieutenant C. H. Grierson, Tenth cavalry, who was stationed at Keams Cañon from December 18, 1890, to March 22, 1891. Lieutenant Grierson performed his duties there with intelligence and good judgment.

In May last the inhabitants of this village again became rebellious, defying the orders of the acting agent, and troops were called for, when First Lieutenant L. M. Brett, Second cavalry, was ordered, with 30 enlisted men, to proceed at once to the Areibe [Oraibi] village, with orders to arrest the medicine man and the principal supporters of the rebellion. On June 21, 1891, Lieutenant Brett was met near this village by Lolami, the governor, warning him not to enter the village with his small detachment, as most of the men, under the influence and direction of their medicine man, were in arms and fortified to resist his command, notifying him that should he enter the village he and his men would be killed. Lieutenant Brett, with proper foresight, arrested some of the recalcitrants on the plain at the foot of the mesa, and placing one of these prisoners alongside of each of his men ascended the mesa, but soon found himself confronted by at least 50 rifles in the hands of men securely placed behind loopholed walls.

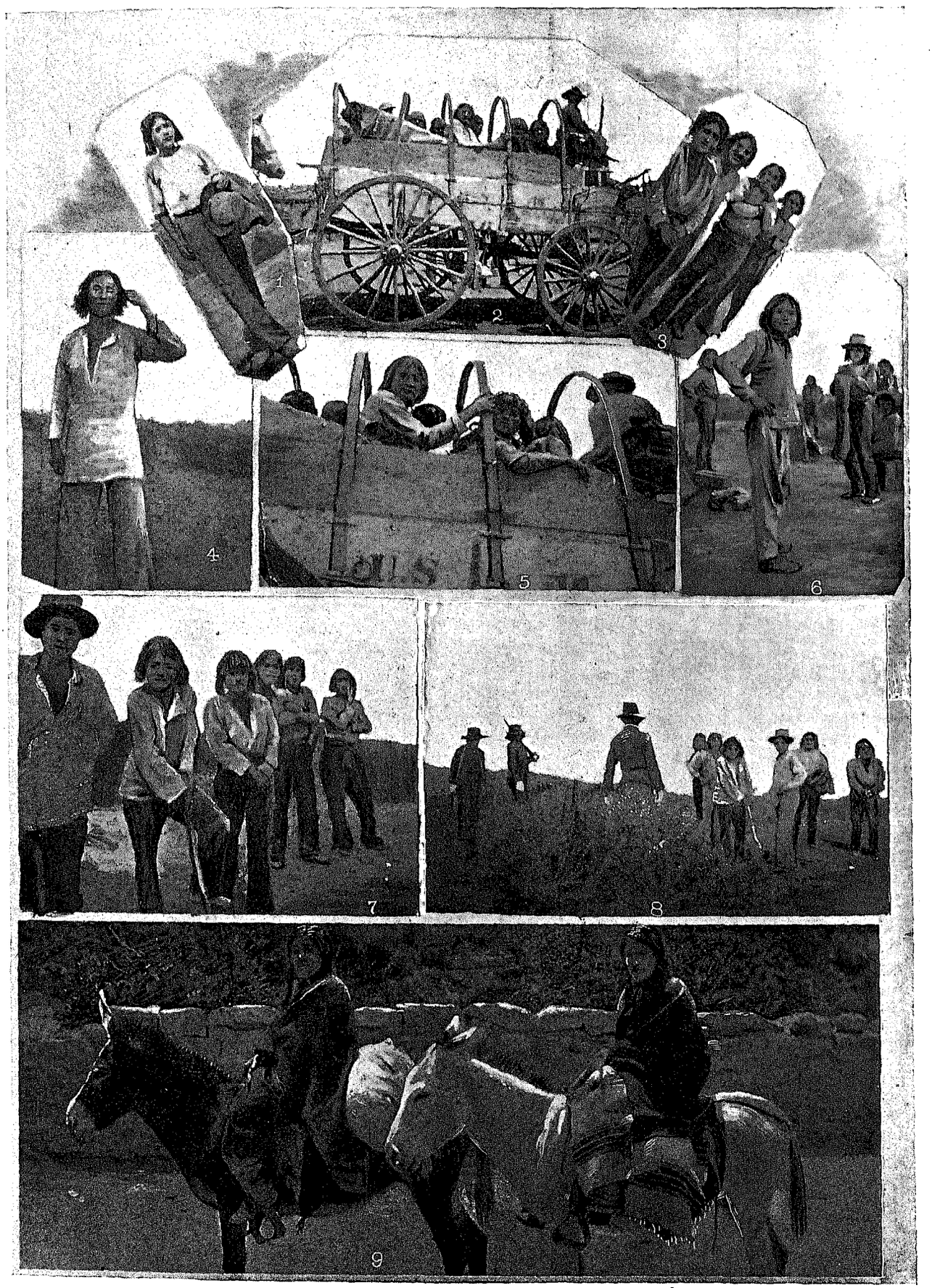
The medicine man came out dressed for war, telling Lieutenant Brett if he did not leave the village he and his men would be killed. Having but 10 enlisted men with him, this officer very properly withdrew from the unequal contest and returned to Keams Cañon, near the school located there. He sent dispatches to these headquarters giving an account of the situation, when orders at once issued for 2 troops of the Tenth cavalry from Fort Apache, under Major C. B. McLellan, to march at once to Keams Cañon, also 2 troops of the Second cavalry from Fort Wingate, with 2 Hotchkiss mountain guns, to march upon the same point.

Lieutenant Colonel H. C. Corbin, assistant adjutant general of the department, was directed by me to proceed to Keams Cañon, joining the command from Fort Apache at Holbrook, Arizona, marching with these troops to point of concentration.

Lieutenant Colonel Corbin was charged to deliver in person the commands and instructions of the department commander to Major McLellan, Tenth cavalry, the senior officer in command. The united commands from Forts Apache and Wingate moved upon the Areibe [Oraibi] village. The presence of these troops had the desired effect; the arrest of the medicine man, with his principal followers, was made, and they are now prisoners at Fort Wingate, New Mexico. The troops returned to Keams Cañon, where orders were issued for their return to their stations, leaving Lieutenant J. T. Nance, Second cavalry, with 20 men, to remain as guard to the school. During the march of the troops the heat was intense, water was scarce, and the roads dusty upon both routes, causing suffering to men and animals.

The officers and soldiers composing these expeditions performed their duties with intelligence and cheerfulness. My commendations were expressed to them by telegraph previous to their leaving Keams Cañon. Lieutenant L. M. Brett, Second cavalry, deserves special mention for his conduct and the good judgment exercised by him in the performance of his duties at the Areibe [Oraibi] village on June 21, 1891.

a The gallant general is speculative in this.—T. D.



New York Engraving & Printing Co.

1. Oraibi Prisoner taken July 1, 1891. 2. Oraibi Prisoners in a Wagon. 3. Oraibi Prisoners. 4. Great Medicine Man of the Moquis, an Oraibi Prisoner. 5. Prisoners taken at Oraibi. 6. Oraibi Prisoners at Fort Wingate. 7. Oraibi Prisoners captured July 1st, at Oraibi, at Fort Wingate digging ditches. 8. Same with Navajo Indian Soldier Guard over them. 9. Two Moqui Women Traveling.

THE MOQUI PRISONERS IN 1892.

Mr. R. P. Collins, superintendent of the Indian school at Keams Cañon, who almost constantly visited the Moquis for the Indian office, knew the names of the objecting Oraibis. As shown, 7 of the Oraibis were made prisoners and taken to Fort Wingate, where 5 of them now are (October, 1892). A series of views of these prisoners is given elsewhere.

It may be well to mention here that these prisoners are citizens of the United States and that no court has ordered their commitment. Judge Green, of the United States district court, Oklahoma, September 28, 1891, decided in a similar case that there was no authority of law to arrest and imprison Indians who refused to send their children to school, and in the matter of Indians and schools no instructions or regulations, under the act of March 3, 1891, giving extraordinary powers, had been issued to agents at the time of the arrest of the Oraibis.

The following is an extract from a letter from an officer at Fort Wingate, January 17, 1892, relating to the Moqui prisoners:

> I see the Moquis are attracting considerable attention in archæological circles, with a prospect of some thorough researches being made into their antiquities. We still have the captured war chief and associates here as "prisoners of war". They are paving the way to a better future by breaking rocks on the post thoroughfares. You see we have improved a little in the Spanish treatment of captured warriors. I hope you will some day get at your picture of the capture of the Moqui children and make this outrage of national fame.

It may be well to mention that the grievance of these Indians in 1890–1891 was not, as formerly, against the settlers in their neighborhood, but against the government of the United States.

History repeats itself. Lieutenant A. W. Whipple visited the Moquis in 1854, and in writing of the white man's tendency to drive the Indian from the fertile and useful lands, said:

> The rude, untutored savage without doubt believes that he has a right to the spot where his wigwam stands, to the fields where his maize (corn) and melons grow, to the land which has been cultivated by his forefathers since time immemorial. He can see no reason why he should yield up his home and the graves of his ancestors to the first grasping white man who covets the spot.

Are the lessons of history worthless? Are we to read of events between the lines or of facts? The shadows of murdered and poisoned priests and Spaniards hover around and about the Moqui country. They were killed because they attempted to civilize the Moquis in Spanish fashion. Why should we be more fortunate than the Spaniards, or shall we be compelled to keep a garrison of 250 to 300 men at the Moqui pueblos in order to educate 100 to 200 children at a distance from their homes? We began with soldiers and Hotchkiss guns. Are we to end in the same way? Such civilizing has not heretofore been a pronounced success.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE MOQUIS.

The Moquis were considered the same as other pueblo Indians by all Spanish, Mexican, and early American officials.

In 1849, after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848, James S. Calhoun, special United States Indian agent, in a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, notes the pueblos of New Mexico as far west as Zuñi, and the Commissioner of the General Land Office, of date August 24, 1849, in giving William Pelham, surveyor general of the territory of New Mexico, instructions and a form of procedure in cases of proof and proceedings in private land claims in said territory (New Mexico then embraced the present territory of Arizona) cited Calhoun's report and copied the census of the pueblos from Taos on the north to Zuñi on the west, saying "this statement has no reference to pueblos west of Zuñi", thus conceding that there were such pueblos, and of course they were the Moqui pueblos.

The act of Congress of July 22, 1853, made it incumbent on the surveyor general of New Mexico to "make a report in regard to all pueblos existing in the territory, showing the extent and locality of each, stating the number of inhabitants in the said pueblos, respectively, and the nature of their titles to the land".

When the agent, Mr. Calhoun, reported on the pueblos of New Mexico (October 4, 1849) he omitted the 7 Moqui pueblos then in New Mexico, but in October, 1850, he reported them and advised that they receive the same treatment as the pueblos on the Rio Grande. Arizona was not erected into a territory until 1863. In the case of the Moqui pueblos then in New Mexico (now in Arizona), they were not reported on in 1849 because they were in the country of the fierce Navajo, where Mr. Calhoun dared not venture to make an examination. They were not reported by him in either of his reports of October 4 and October 15, 1849, from Santa Fe, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Commissioner Wilson, of the General Land Office, knew of this omission when he instructed Surveyor General Pelham that "this statement has no reference to pueblos west of Zuñi".

The claim of the Moquis to their pueblo sites and the land adjacent, used for agriculture and grazing, of the same area granted to other pueblos, is a title originating under the Spanish and Mexican governments, preceding the United States in sovereignty, and it is the obligation under treaty and right of the United States to deal with such title or claims, or pueblo claims, precisely as Mexico would have done had the sovereignty not changed. We are bound to recognize such claims and titles as Mexico would have done.

The statute of limitation has not as yet expired in the matter of the Moqui pueblos. There is no laches on their part. Open and notorious possession for 21 years gives a title under the common law. Open and notorious possession since 1539, and for some hundreds of years before 1539, surely should give the Moquis ownership.

Why have the Moquis not applied for a confirmation of their title? Because they did not know it was necessary and because they have no money.

The eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo expressly stipulates for the security and protection of private property. The law on this point was settled by the Supreme Court of the United States (United States vs. Percheman, 7 Peters' Reports) in the following language:

> The people change their allegiance, their relations to their sovereign is dissolved, but their relations to each other and their rights of property remain undisturbed.

The Supreme Court of the United States (United States vs. Arredondo et al.) also declared that—

> Congress have adopted, as the basis of all their acts, the principle that the law of the province in which the land is situated is the law which gives efficacy to the grant, and by which it is to be tested whether it was property at the time the treaties took effect.

The private land titles, including pueblos in New Mexico, were derived from the authorities of Spain as well as of Mexico. Under this system there were and are many imperfect and mere inceptive titles. The Supreme Court of the United States has always decided such claims with great and liberal equity, and has always held that an inchoate title to land was and is property. In the case of the United States vs. Joseph (United States Supreme Court Reports 94–97, page 295, decided May 7, 1877), given elsewhere in this report, it was decided, broadly, that the acts of executive officers of the government do not alter or change the legal status of Indians or deprive them of their property. The President of the United States, by executive order December 16, 1882, drew a line around an area of land and called it the Moqui reservation. This did not, in fact, make it so, and this and the subsequent acts of executive officers could not change them into an Indian tribe or wild Indians, or deprive them of their rights under the laws and treaties of the United States.

As is shown, the Moqui Pueblos get title to their towns and the water and lands adjacent from the former owners of the soil. Spain found them there, and called their country the "Province of Tusayan". Viceroy, captain general, military commander, governor, and all recognized and mapped these pueblos. On the southern edge of the Navajo country these Moqui towns were for years the outposts of Spain and Mexico on the north, and were a bulwark between the Spaniard and Mexican and the relentless Navajos.

It will be remembered in this connection that the right of possession and occupancy gave an acknowledged and perfect title to land under Spanish and Mexican custom and law, although there were military and community grants, and grants for mining and agriculture. Location claims, made at the will of the locator, and varying from 1 to any number of acres which could be used, were recognized. The Moquis of Arizona, even if they had no military, pueblo, or community grants, would be entitled to hold the lands they now occupy under possessory title and the law of occupancy. By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo they were to have the same rights, protection, and guarantees under the laws of the United States as they claimed or had under the laws of Spain or Mexico. The rights of the Pueblos of New Mexico have been respected. Why not respect the rights of the Pueblos of Arizona, once a part of New Mexico?

Situated far from traveled routes, the Moquis have been visited by few white men. With no money, no friend in particular, these people deserve from the nation the treatment usually meted out to its good citizens.

The equities are all with the Moquis, and to those familiar with their history it would seem almost as much a violation of rights for the nation to now lay hands upon their pueblos as it would be to attempt to assume control of the pueblos of New Mexico, the lands of 16 of which are held in fee by patent over the signature of Abraham Lincoln, the inhabitants being citizens of the United States.

The attention of the new private land claim court should be called to them and the title to the lands of these people settled. Let them continue to live, as the other Pueblo Indians do, in community.

AN ANTIDOTE FOR VENOMOUS SNAKE BITES.

The investigations of the special agents of the Eleventh Census among the Moquis of Arizona have confirmed the statements of others that the Moquis possess an antidote for the bite of the rattlesnake and probably other venomous snakes. Much information as to this is given elsewhere. What this decoction is is not definitely stated, but its effects are vouched for. Thorough investigation should be made by medical men into this matter for the benefit of mankind. The Moquis will, no doubt, give up the secret when properly approached.

Special Agent Scott, in his report on the snake dance of the Moquis at Walpi, August 21, 1891, wrote that—

> During the dance 2 of the snake order were struck by rattlesnakes, one in the nose, the other in the upper portion of the arm. They drew back for a moment but continued the dance, and no ill effects were afterward noticed from the bites. The one struck in the nose had some difficulty in getting the snake off, and only did so with his attendants' assistance.

To confirm this statement the expert special agent wrote Mr. Scott in November, 1891, for further details as to the kind of snakes which bit the men at the dance, as above described, and received the following:

There was no apparent swelling of the nose or of the arm of the 2 men bitten at the snake dance. I saw them after the dance, during the vomiting act, which was laughable, and I could not observe any effects therefrom, except the small incisions made by the snakes' fangs. I know of no dogs having been bitten at the dance of August 21, 1891, by one of the snakes, but I have heard of a dog that was struck by a rattler at one of the dances, and that the dog died. This is hearsay, but I believe the story.

Special Agent Peter Moran, who witnessed a snake dance at Walpi in August, 1883, wrote of the snakes used in the dance and the antidote for their bites, as follows:

During the dance, between 4 and 5 p. m., a rattlesnake struck one of the dancers on the right ear and held on. The antelope man became frightened and ran away. The dancer, becoming angry, grabbed the snake, which was a large one, tore it from his ear, and threw it on the ground, but the bitten ear did not swell. The snake, thus released, coiled and struck at a Navajo, who was standing near the edge of the mesa, which so frightened the man that he drew back and ran off, and the snake bounded back of the sacred rock and got among some Indian women, who were mortally afraid and ran away in fright, then he escaped. If the snake had been doctored, and was not venomous, they would not have been afraid of it.

We went again, the day of the dance, in the afternoon from 1 to 4, to the estufa where the snakes were kept. * * * We found that the altar had been destroyed and in its place, on the spot, was a bowl containing a medicine or decoction which Burke uncovered and tasted. This was the snake antidote. Of this Captain Burke writes: "I lifted the cloth and found the basin or platter to be one of the ordinary red ware. It was filled with water. * * * The water had a slightly saline taste and evidently contained medicine."

Of the race of the dancers from the springs to the town on the morning of the snake dance, Mr. Scott says:

It is a most exciting scene, and in their running great endurance is exhibited, for they (the racers) have fasted for 4 days previous, partaking of nothing but a decoction prepared by the chief priest or priestess of the order as an antidote to the rattlesnake bite in case any may be bitten during the ceremonies. This antidote is only known to the chief priest and the priestess, and the secret is only imparted to their successors.

A laughable scene followed the dance: as is their custom, all of the snake order who had fasted for 4 days, partaking of nothing but a liquid prepared for them by the snake priest, * * * assembled at a point just beyond the snake keva, where each drank of a liquid which produced violent vomiting.

Mr. C. F. Lummis, who witnessed the snake dance of 1891, in "Some Strange Corners of Our Country", writes:

In the 1891 dance over 100 snakes were used. Of these about 65 were rattlesnakes. I stood within 6 feet of the circle, and one man (a dancer) who came close to me was bitten. The snake which he held in his mouth suddenly turned and struck him upon the right cheek. His antelope companion unhooked the snake, which hung by its recurving fangs, and threw it upon the ground, and the pair continued the dance as if nothing had happened. Another man a little farther from me, but plainly seen, was bitten on the hand. I never knew one of them to be seriously affected by a rattlesnake's bite. They pay no attention to the (to others) deadly stroke of that hideous mouth, which opens as flat as a palm and smites like one, but dance and sing in earnest unconcern. * * * The reptiles used in the dance are as deadly as ever; not one has had his fangs extracted.

Captain Burke, in 1883, wrote of the antidote and the estufa ceremony with the snakes prior to the dance as follows:

The head medicine men alone know the secrets of this ceremony, the means to be taken to keep the reptiles from biting, and the remedies to be applied in case bites should be received.

The decoction or antidote is kept on hand at all times by the snake priest, and is not only administered to the dancers at the snake dance, but to all requiring it. Of this Mr. Scott writes:

The liquid which the snake order drink during the 4 final days of the ceremony is an antidote to the poisonous effects of the rattlesnake bite, and I have been assured that it never fails. I saw a Moqui [in 1891] who had been bitten while in the fields, who did not get the aid of the snake priest for an hour later, but who recovered, although his arm was greatly swollen before he received the antidote. He was unable to do much for several days, but he got well.

WERE THE SNAKES DOCTORED FOR THE DANCE?

Special Agent Scott reports, after thorough observation, that the snakes were not, to his knowledge, doctored for the occasion.

Mr. Moran wrote of the snakes used in the dance of 1883 that he was "convinced that the snakes were not doctored, neither was their poison exhausted by letting them strike a board or other object".

Captain Burke, August 12, 1883, wrote:

Our mules (the day of the snake dance) were brought up from the plains very soon after daybreak. Nobody in the pueblos could be hired for love or money to take care of them during the dance, and, as a measure of prudence, they should not be exposed to the risk of bites from the venomous reptiles which the Moquis might release after the ceremony and allow to wander unchecked over the country. The chances were largely in favor of their being bitten, and I was not willing to incur any such responsibility.

SUBDIVISION OF MOQUI LANDS.

The subdivision of the lands of the Moquis was ordered by the Department of the Interior in 1891. The purpose of this survey was to allot the lands to the Indians for homes, in pursuance of the general allotment law of 1887, which applies to reservation Indians and not to pueblo Indians. (*a*)

It is usual, on ordinary reservations, after a sufficient quantity of land has been set aside by allotment for the use of the Indians, to purchase the remainder of the reservation from the Indians for cash. To attempt to allot these lands to the Moqui Indians will work them a grievous injury. The water holes and springs are so few and far between that one man with one tract of 80 acres of land will be likely to get all the water now used by the inhabitants of any one of the several towns. Unless the government, after enlarging the present springs, sinks wells and builds ditches and reservoirs allotment of these lands would be useless. (*b*) Scarcity of water compelled the Moquis hundreds of years ago to live in community, and if they are to remain in their present locality it will force them to so live in the future. It is cruel to deprive these people of their ancient homes, their lands, and their means of livelihood.

WATER SUPPLY AND THE COUNTRY OF THE MOQUIS.

A casual view of the country of the Moquis from a mountain top shows probably the most uninviting landscape in the west; still, where water can be obtained to apply to seeds the most abundant yield follows. Irrigated lands make up for limit of acres by increase of production, and small irrigated areas sustain large numbers of people.

What the Moqui ancestry did for flesh food or other food in variety (there is now no fish) prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, who brought horses, goats, sheep, and burros, and melons and peaches to the southwest, one can only conjecture. Jack rabbits and rabbits, deer and antelopes, or mountain sheep, and game in the distant mountains or on the far off plains must have been more plentiful than now. Corn, the common food of the North American Indian, which now makes 90 per cent of their food other than meat, must have been their staple, along with flesh obtained in the distant mountains and jerked or sun-dried beef.

No better description of the country about the Moqui towns and of the plains below the timber line of the mountains can be given than the following, in part from notes by Mr. Charles R. Moffet and from personal observation:

The country of the Moquis is the abode of desolation, rattlesnakes, and cacti (growing flat on the sand and spreading many feet around), dangerous and uncomfortable neighbors. Now and then there are patches of grama and bunch grass, both black and white. These treeless plains contain some giant pitihayas, or torch thistles, some so high as to look like trees. Yucca brevifolia, with its grotesque growth, is frequently seen, backed by a landscape dotted with fields of sandstone, red, white, yellow, and other colors. Many petrified trees lie prone upon the ground, whether washed from the mountains above or the remains of adjacent ancient forests is a question. This petrified wood is susceptible of high polish, and is used as an ornamental stone, looking like jasper or agate. Basaltic dykes cut across the sands and bear witness to a heated term in the long ago, and the high black volcanic buttes about, driven up from below and through the sandstone, vouch for volcanic and earthquake action. But for the springs of water this immense area would be entirely uninhabitable. The entire region on a heated day, with waves of heat rising and coming and going, looks like the ocean at dead calm in midsummer, and is one of the most inhospitable spots the sun has ever shone upon. The eye turns for relief from sky to sand and sand to sky. The sand, sparkling with bits of mica, reflects back the heat of the sun with intense reproduction, and one instantly thinks of ocean, lakes, and rivers far away. Crows and ravens have been known to fly over it, but usually after night.

Brush grows about the hills and on and about them grow piñon, or pine. From these hills, 7 to 12 miles away from the towns, the Moquis get fuel and timber for their buildings. Elevation here as elsewhere is a condition of timber growth. The 7 Moqui pueblos are on elevations overlooking and crowning this desolate landscape. The springs of water which the Moquis own alone permit them to remain. Were the springs to go dry they would perish of water famine. In 1868 their water supply failed, and food as well, for the limited rainfall is too irregular to rely upon.

Notwithstanding this desolation, it is a curious fact that in and about the mesas on which the Moqui pueblos are situated humming birds and mocking birds are found. The mocking birds are also found in great numbers in

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a The following, from Special Agent Scott, August 13, 1891, is in relation to the allotment of lands for the Moquis: "The surveyors are sectionizing the Moqui reservation, rather have sectionized it, and are endeavoring to place the Moquis on 40-acre lots; some of them object to the localities assigned them, complaining that since the object of leaving the mesas, coming down from their old houses, is to get to water, some of their lots are quite as far away from the springs and there would be no actual benefit derived. When the Oraibis submitted, good old La-lo-la-ma said that he wished to make a request for his people. He wanted a few cooking stoves, a few hoes, and some ax handles; that they had no wood hard enough to make the latter. All the Moquis are sadly in want of farming implements."

b The future water supply of the Moquis is a problem. If the government would sink an artesian well in any one of the washes near the mesas the underground water supply, if any, could be tested. As to the probabilities of there being an underground water supply in the vicinity of the mesas, Dr. Oscar Loew, chemist of the Wheeler expedition, writes of the soil of the fields used by the Moquis for crops as follows: "The seed is planted at from 1 to 2 feet beneath the sand, and very wide apart. At this depth they have found, by experience, that there is sufficient moisture to develop and sustain the plant. On analyzing specimens of the soil the chemist of the expedition has found that the experience of these untaught Indians is in full accord with the results of his investigations. The interesting fact was elucidated that subsoil at a distance of 1 foot contains 2 and 2.1 per cent of moisture to 1 per cent at the surface, from which it may be inferred with reason that at no great depth there must be a stratum of water. This water, ascending by capillary attraction, is rapidly evaporated as soon as it reaches the surface on account of the looseness of the soil and the arid atmosphere."

J. H. Beadle, in "The Undeveloped West", writes: "Approaching the foot of the mesa (the first one) we found the sand a little more loose and dark. Here I noticed rows of stones a foot or so apart, and was amazed to find, on examination, we were in a Moqui field. By every little hill of corn or beans they had laid a stone about the size of a peck measure, for what I can not imagine, unless it is to draw moisture."

the pueblos of New Mexico. The Moquis, as do the Pueblos of New Mexico, cage the mocking bird, which thrives and flourishes in captivity. Doves are also found along the foothills of the Moqui and Pueblo country; in fact, these birds can be seen in great numbers anywhere on the American desert.

The Moquis are not reservation Indians in the general acceptation of the word. They were not wild Indians, roaming at will over the country, gathered up by the government and placed on a reservation to protect the whites from them. They have been town dwellers and cultivators of the soil since the Europeans first came to the country, and how many hundred or thousand years before no one can tell. The definition of their reservation by the President December 16, 1882, was for the purpose of drawing the line over which the Navajos were not to cross. This was also done in the case of the Zuñis. Water was protected by this action, and the President increased the area of the reservation to save it.

The United States has never had a treaty with the Moquis. It has never assumed any direct control over them other than the naming of an agent for them and presenting them with a few useful articles from time to time. It has, however, agreed, through the agents, to keep the Navajos from murdering and robbing them. Entitled to just as much consideration as the other Pueblos now in New Mexico, these people should be permitted to earn their own living and not be compelled hereafter, to the number of 2,000, to live upon the treasury of the United States. They should be given sufficient land, of their own selection, to enable them to hold the water and provide as men for their families. Grants in fee and in community, similar to the grants to the other Pueblos, should be made to them. They can only live in community on the land they occupy. A small number of acres cultivated by irrigation will yield them a living. There is not water enough to irrigate a very large area. It would sink in the land before reaching any broad surface of ground. There is no running water, no streams, only springs and water holes.

In the case of the United States, plaintiff in error, vs. Antonio Joseph (Supreme Court), 4 Otto, 614–619, argued April 20, 1877, decided May 7, 1877; also United States Supreme Court Reports, 94–97, page 295, the learned and broad national jurist, Mr. Justice Miller, in deciding that the Pueblos of New Mexico were not a tribe of Indians in the legal or governmental sense, and in considering the question of their citizenship, having in view, of course, the fact that the United States had appointed an agent for the Pueblos of New Mexico (as it has at times for the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona, formerly of New Mexico), and also the fact that acts by executive officers of the nation (such as the President creating a reservation for the Moquis), held that such acts do not alter or change the legal status of Indians; and the court further held that the pueblos of New Mexico (and necessarily those in Arizona, once in New Mexico) were citizens of Mexico by reason of that government having given them all civil rights, including the right to vote, and that the United States was not a proper party to this action, having no legal control over them, and that the Taos Pueblos must bring their own action in the proper court of New Mexico.

CONCLUSIONS.

While the Moqui is stationary in many things he is progressive in adopting articles of comfort or utility. He was cunning enough to stop weaving cotton cloth when he found he could buy it of the traders cheaper than he could weave it. It is true that there is not much more evidence of progress toward a real Anglo-Saxon civilization among the Moquis in 1890 than there was in 1540. In 1540 they were of the stone age in utensils and tools, and never since, by their own exertions, have they advanced from this condition. They are, however, as are other North American Indians, quick and ready imitators, and the evidences of European and American influences are now seen on every hand, in dress, implements, and furniture, but not in customs or ceremonies. They had, according to the general belief of the Spaniards, at the time of their discovery in 1540 made progress from a wild condition, and were in a progressive state, but it was not a civilized condition.

Some 20 years ago a distribution of various supplies was made by the United States to the Moquis. Among the articles distributed were some cultivators, but the Moquis having no harness for their horses (very indifferent ponies), these cultivators were useless, so they concluded to make charms of them, and many of these charms are now to be seen lying on the roofs of the Moqui dwellings, called "good medicine". At this distribution a number of grindstones were also issued. The Moquis had always used a short slab of stone or the surface of a large stone to sharpen knives or other like instruments upon, and the grindstones amused them for a time, but now several may be seen in the various pueblos as tops for the estufas.

Investigation shows that the Moquis of Arizona are not a remnant of any effete people or successors of a passed away people; that they are not Aztecs; that they are not the last of a great passed away civilization; that they are not the remnants of a former race, now living amid the ruins of the homes of their forefathers, but that they are a portion of the North American Indians of the present day, and are allied to them in speech, figure, and customs; that they are, to all intents and purposes, local conditions excepted, the same Indians as the Pueblos of New Mexico; that the people of 6 of the villages or pueblos are of Shoshonean stock, and that the people of the seventh, Tewa, of Tewan or Tanoan stock, are probably of Shoshonean stock also, and that their isolation in a

forbidding and desert portion of the country, out of the usual line of travel, has kept up the mystery about them. (a) The Spaniards quickly relinquished their hold upon the Moquis in 1540 and after, because in their country they found but little forage for their horses and poor food for their soldiers.

The Moqui civic government, relatively the same as that of the New Mexico pueblos along the Rio Grande, will always be a curious study for ethnologists, as an aid to arriving at the method by which roaming Indians become town dwellers, with a community system, but with some reserved personal rights, both of person and property. Their religion of materialism, with evidences of former Phalic worship, is curious and earnest. Had the Moquis been directly surrounded by an Anglo-Saxon people their personality would long since have passed away, as they, in common with other North American Indians, are essentially imitative. Their isolation has preserved their forms and customs and their primitive virtue, and they live uncontaminated by the vices of civilization; they are still children of nature.

Perched upon his isolated butte, the Moqui Pueblo for centuries has defied climate and nature. He has faced the fierce Navajo, battled with wild beasts, struggled with smallpox and famine, and met the Spaniard; he was conquered for a time, but in 1680 he rose up and threw his enemies from the battlements of his home, never to return.

Self-supporting, self-sustaining, peaceful, minding his own business, a heritage of the nation by purchase and capture from a foreign power, by nature of the law, being a Pueblo or town dweller, he became a citizen, and deserves fair treatment at all times.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE FOR THE MOQUIS, 1892.

The Moqui has but little property, estimating from an Anglo-Saxon standpoint; still, he has more than he requires, excepting watering places, which should be improved and developed. He could be taught more stringent laws of health and economy, and made to guard against disease and famine.

His condition in 1890 was good, and his wants, but few, were well supplied by himself. His great needs are water and timber. These people should have a competent irrigating engineer sent to them for a few months to show them how to construct reservoirs in which to preserve their water, how to run levels and grades for their ditches, and how to develop springs or water holes. They should have issued to them quick growing trees for timber and fuel, a few head of stock to improve their herds and flocks, and a small number of improved agricultural implements. $20,000 is ample to do all this, and when done the Moquis should be let alone and given to understand that they must take care of themselves, as they have done for centuries.

An industrial school or a few day schools could be established among them, but its officers should see to the school only. A physician could be utilized as one of the teachers and be of much service to the Moquis. The civil policy, government, and daily lives of these people should be let alone. With their water supply properly developed, they are better located in the villages where they are on the mesas than they would be in the valleys. Considering their small holdings of land, no allotment of an equitable nature can be made. The water in the vicinity of the mesas is now the property of the Moquis and has been for centuries. Its ownership commands an enormous area of grazing lands in the vicinity, which envious whites are now anxious to utilize for their herds and flocks, stealing the water of the Moquis. The Moquis leaving the mesas would be in aid of this, and would terminate in their being driven from the water and from the land. Allotment, the granting of small areas of land in fee, would place the springs in the hands of individual owners.

These people were town or pueblo Indians and citizens under the republic of Mexico, and by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 with Mexico, they, as well as the Pueblos of New Mexico, became citizens of the United States. They have had no friend at court, are remote from railroads or white settlements, in a barren country, holding the Navajo at bay and keeping him from making inroads upon the whites of the south. Precedent and usage and a long occupancy demand that their land holdings by metes and bounds be given them by patent and in community, as has been done in the case of other pueblo Indians in New Mexico. Their claims, embracing all the pueblos and springs, should be surveyed and a patent issued to them in fee; above all, let one of the 4 sections of Indians in the United States who now sustain themselves continue to do so; do not by law or executive action

a The Moquis are Pueblo Indians to all intents and purposes, their language excepted, which has been classed with the Shoshoni or Numa group of American idioms. Nothing can be said about them as they appeared in the past centuries to the first European visitors that does not apply to the New Mexican Pueblos also. The differences are purely local, and can at once be explained by physical causes. Thus the Moquis raised cotton, whereas the Zuñis did not, and the reason for it is found in the southerly exposure of the lands which the Moquis cultivate. The blankets of rabbit hair, which Fray Marcos was informed were made and worn at Totonteac, were not exclusively Moqui; the Zuñis made them also. There is one point, however, that attracts our attention in regard to the Moquis, and that is the feeling of coldness, not to say hostility, which prevailed between them and their nearest neighbors, the Zuñi Indians. As early as the time of Coronado the 2 clusters were not on good terms. There was comparatively more intercourse between the Moqui and some of the Rio Grande pueblos than between the Moqui and Zuñi. Up to the present day this feeling, strengthened by events subsequent to the reconquest of 1694, is very marked. Another curious fact, which may be deduced from the report of Fray Marcos, and which is corroborated by Moqui and Zuñi tradition, is the existence of a cluster of 12 pueblos inhabited by people of Moqui stock, the ruins of which villages exist to-day, and which have given rise to the name of Totonteac. We are led to infer in this case, as well as in that of the ancient villages at the salt marshes near Zuñi, that the said cluster of 12 was abandoned but shortly before the sixteenth century. One of their number, Ahuatu, even remained occupied until the first half of the past century. These are among the few historical data that may be gathered from early Spanish records now at my disposal, and which relate to a period anterior to the coming of the white man.—A. F. BANDELIER, 1890.

make this people "leaners on the treasury". There is no question as to their being law-abiding, peaceful, virtuous, and honest. This was their condition June 30, 1891. These virtues they have practiced for centuries. They differ from the whites in the mere matter of creed, but they practice religion. Let them continue to be self-reliant, peaceful citizens.

STATISTICS OF THE MOQUIS, 1890-1891.

The following statistics of population, wealth, and social condition of the Moqui Pueblos show that, although isolated from the Anglo-Saxon, the Moqui Pueblo is amply able to care for himself if aided merely by an issue of those things which will multiply in the future to his advantage.

The enumeration was made by Francis M. Zuck, under direction of E. S. Clark, supervisor of census for Arizona, and the statistics of property and values by Julian Scott, special agent, and the expert special agent.

The population of the 7 Moqui pueblos in 1890 was 1,996; males, 999; females, 997; over 18 years of age, 1,118; under 6 years of age, 288; over 5 years of age and to 18, inclusive, 590; heads of families, 364; house owners, 364; farmers and weavers, 456; day laborers, 6; medicine men, 2; pottery makers, 366; governors, 7. 1,749 speak nothing but the Indian language; 6 speak Spanish, 51 speak English, 33 read it, and 25 write English. This does not include the 44 children at the United States Indian boarding school at Keams Cañon.

POPULATION OF THE 7 MOQUI PUEBLOS.

Pueblos.	Population.			Age.			Heads of families.	House owners (all women).	Language used.									At school.
									Indian.			Spanish.			English.			
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Over 18 years.	Under 6 years.	Over 5 and to 18, inclusive.			Speak.	Read.	Write.	Speak.	Read.	Write.	Speak.	Read.	Write.	
Total	1,996	999	997	1,118	288	590	364	364	1,749	.....	6	6	.....	.....	51	33	25	93
Walpi	232	117	115	134	37	61	44	44	193	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	4	3	4	13
Sichumnavi	103	51	52	59	24	20	21	21	77	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	6	6	7
Tewa	161	80	81	71	36	54	24	24	113	.....	1	1	.....	.....	13	12	12	18
Mishongnavi	244	126	118	123	36	85	42	42	213	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Shipaulavi	126	62	64	60	15	51	21	21	112	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6
Shimopavi	225	118	107	111	15	99	42	42	211	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Oraibi	905	445	460	560	125	220	170	170	830	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	28	12	3	44

OCCUPATIONS OF THE INDIANS OF THE 7 MOQUI PUEBLOS.

Pueblos.	Farmers and weavers.	Day laborers.	Medicine men.	Pottery makers.	Governors.
Total	456	6	2	366	7
Walpi	74	.....	.....	67	1
Sichumnavi	31	2	.....	30	1
Tewa	46	1	.....	37	1
Mishongnavi	73	.....	.....	66	1
Shipaulavi	32	.....	.....	33	1
Shimopavi	65	.....	.....	60	1
Oraibi	135	3	2	73	1

All the Indians wear Indian clothing. The oldest man is 96 years and the oldest woman is 94 years of age. There were 79 school children in 1890 and 93 in 1891.

PERSONAL WEALTH AND LIVE STOCK.

The value of the Moqui personal property, including live stock, is estimated at $84,900, as follows:

20,000 sheep, worth $2 each	$40,000
5,000 goats, worth $1.50 each	7,500
1,100 horses or ponies, worth $10 each	11,000
800 cattle, worth $17 per head	13,600
3,200 burros or donkeys, at $4 each	12,800
Total	84,900

The Moquis consume annually 2,500 of their own sheep and goats, besides what they procure from the Navajos. They sell 26,000 pounds of wool a year to the traders at from 8 to 9 cents a pound and utilize the remainder in making blankets or garments. They also sell each year many blankets and baskets and some pottery and ornaments and trinkets (about $1,000 of ornaments and trinkets), their cash income from these sources being not less than $10,000 a year. Money is not as essential to them as to white people, as they produce everything they eat, drink, or wear, except coffee, tea, sugar, and some spices. These they buy from the traders. They have considerable personal property in the way of silver, jewelry, turquoise, household furniture, blankets, etc. Silver is preferred to gold for jewelry or ornamentation.

The amount of cotton raised and made into cloth is not estimated, but the Moquis used to spin and weave enough cotton to make light summer clothing for their people; of late years they wear but little clothing of their own manufacture, as they can buy cloth cheaper of the traders than they can raise the cotton.

THE ANNUAL FOOD SUPPLY OF THE MOQUI PUEBLOS.

The Moqui pueblos (*a*) contain 1,996 people; to properly feed and clothe so many people requires thrift and labor, especially when the barren country in which they live is taken into consideration. In 1890 and 1891 the corn crops were as follows:

	ACRES.
First mesa	1,000
Second mesa	1,000
Third mesa (Oraibi)	1,600
Total	3,600

The yield per acre is about 12 bushels, and there are about 56 pounds to the bushel, so that in the 3,600 acres there would be—

Bushels	43,200
Pounds	2,419,200

	POUNDS.
Home consumption	919,200
Bartered to Navajos for sheep, goats, etc.	650,000
Sales to traders	150,000
Surplus stored	700,000
Total	2,419,200

The above, of course, is an estimate made from information gathered at the trading posts and a general observation of the land under cultivation.

The peach orchards and vegetable gardens yield ample fruit and small vegetables and melons. The onion garden at Weepo, used in common, is of great service to the people. There are about 2,000 acres planted in vegetables between the 7 villages that are tilled by the Moquis collectively, distributed thus:

First mesa	500
Second mesa	500
Third mesa (Oraibi)	1,000
Total	2,000

There are fully 1,000 acres in peach trees, distributed as follows:

First mesa	300
Second mesa	200
Third mesa (Oraibi)	500
Total	1,000

The peach orchards are located among the sand hills at the foot of the mesas, with the exception of 2 on the first mesa, 1 on the second mesa, and about 20 on the third. Oraibi is built on one of the lower "benches" of the

a Oraibi partially estimated.

third mesa. The sands have drifted over the bench toward the north and northwest, forming large hills, which have all been covered with peach trees. The peach, vegetable, and melon crops are worth at least $10,000 per year. The Indians eat great quantities of the peaches when ripe and dry the remainder for winter use.

VALUE OF THE MOQUI REALTY.

The total estimated value of the Moqui realty is $188,000. This only includes the area they now use. There is water enough to irrigate 6,000 acres more of agricultural land, which would be worth $40 per acre, or $240,000.

The Moquis farm 3,600 acres of corn land. They have water for this, and these lands are cheaply estimated as of the value of $30 per acre (the water being the real value), or $108,000.

They have 1,000 acres of peach orchards of a value of $20 per acre, or $20,000, and 2,000 acres of garden land, at $30 per acre, $60,000 (the water, making cultivation possible, is the real value), in all $188,000.

This estimate of value of the lands is based upon the common and average value of lands of like character in New Mexico and Arizona adjacent to the Moquis, and in view of the fact that considerable outlays for ditches and irrigation will be necessary. Similar lands with water are held in New Mexico and Arizona at from $40 to $50 per acre, and more when buildings are included.

The value of the houses is nominal; still, they are homes. The springs about the Moqui pueblos are the value, as water commands the lands. About the first mesa, near Sichumnavi, Tewa, and Walpi, there are 3 springs, and 3 miles beyond to the north, at Conellabah and Weepo, 1 each, and a mile and a half northeast of Weepo, at Mishongnavi, 2; at Shipaulavi, 1; at Shimopavi, 3; at Oraibi, 5 small ones. These few springs sustain the people and herds of the Moqui pueblos and raise the crops. There is a spring at Keams Cañon post office, 1 at the school, 3 miles northeast, and 1 near the ruins of Awatubi.

HOUSES IN THE MOQUI PUEBLOS—POPULATION.

The total number of houses in the 7 pueblos is 347. It is difficult to count the houses in any of the Moqui pueblos, there being 3 ways of counting them, all of which might be correct, yet varying greatly as to numbers. For instance, there are 5 long rows of buildings at Oraibi, each row divided into from 28 to 41 sections, and nearly all 3 stories high, thus:

	SECTIONS.
First row	32
Second row	41
Third row	28
Fourth row	30
Fifth row	29
Total	160

Some of these sections accommodate more than 1 family; then, if the 5 rows be regarded as so many tenement houses, each section could be counted as 2 or 3 houses, but they were estimated in sections and counted as the houses in our large American cities are numbered.

PUEBLOS.	Houses.	Population.
Total	347	1,996
First mesa	81	496
Walpi	33	232
Sichumnavi	21	103
Tewa	27	161
Second mesa	106	595
Shimopavi	38	225
Shipaulavi	26	126
Mishongnavi	42	244
Third mesa (Oraibi)	160	905

Pueblo houses are quickly destroyed or abandoned. About 50 years ago the smallpox about depopulated Sichumnavi, and the pueblo was nearly all pulled down afterward. Whenever a pestilence breaks out the houses infested are at once destroyed and rebuilt at another point. Sometimes an entire pueblo is abandoned for this reason.

The individual landholders number 285, the areas being from 1 to 16 acres, as follows:

AREAS OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS.

PUEBLOS.	AREA OF HOLDINGS (ACRES).														Total individual landholders.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	16	
Total	37	19	49	37	26	33	16	28	7	6	1	23	2	1	285
Tewa	.....	3	1	1	1	2	2	5	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	21
Sichumnavi	1	4	5	2	1	2	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18
Walpi	.....	1	8	3	1	6	2	3	1	1	1	1	.....	.....	28
Mishongnavi	.....	.....	8	9	4	6	2	5	.....	2	.....	4	.....	.....	40
Shipaulavi	.....	1	3	2	3	3	.....	3	1	.....	.....	2	1	.....	19
Shimopavi	.....	1	5	8	8	7	2	3	2	2	.....	2	.....	1	41
Oraibi	36	9	19	12	8	7	8	7	2	1	.....	8	1	.....	118

The men are the landholders of the mesas; the women are the house owners in the towns on the mesas.

REPORT ON THE MOQUI PUEBLOS OF ARIZONA.

BY E. S. CLARK, SPECIAL ENUMERATOR.

I have the honor herewith to transmit the census report and population of 7 pueblos of the Moqui Indians of Arizona, as follows:

First mesa:		
Pueblo of Tegua (Tewa)	161	
Pueblo of Sichumniva (Sichumnavi)	103	
Pueblo of Walpi	232	
Total		496
Second mesa:		
Pueblo of Mishonginivi (Mishongnavi)	244	
Pueblo of Shepauliva (Shipaulavi)	126	
Pueblo of Shemopova (Shimopavi)	225	
Total		595
Third mesa, Oraibi (a)		905
Total for the 7 Moqui pueblos		1,996

For the work of enumeration I employed Francis M. Zuck, whose experience among the Moqui Indians, and as an enumerator in the regular census of the territory in the Eleventh Census, made him an invaluable assistant.

The expenses of this enumeration far exceeded my estimate. I found it impossible to elicit the desired information through the medium of the Navajo tongue in very many instances, and was obliged to employ a white man familiar with the Moqui tongue at an expense of $3 per day.

In order to get from one mesa to another I was obliged to hire Indian ponies and burros accustomed to ascending and descending the rugged steeps of the mesas, which I found sufficiently trying to nerves and patience.

I found the work very slow, tedious, and annoying. Many of the Indians seemed unwilling or unable to give their names, requiring much time and more patience. Outside of this we had but little opposition until we reached Shepauliva, where the "one-eyed-chief", Komiwanuwa, ordered us to desist and leave the village. After much persuasion we were able, by the use of a little money, to secure the enumeration of this village. The inhabitants were, however, sullen and uncommunicative to the last.

From thence we moved camp to Oraibi, a distance of 15 miles, where we secured an interview with Chief La-lo-la-my [or La-lo-la-mai] and 3 of his friends, to whom, during the afternoon, we explained the object of our visit. The chief exhibited a hearty friendliness and desire to assist in the work. He called the chief men together in the evening and held a council until 4 o'clock in the morning, during which time we made every explanation of the purpose of our visit, impressing upon them the penalty for refusing to obey the law.

We found that the Oraibis are decided in their prejudice against the Indian school at Keams Cañon, and considerable dissatisfaction was also manifested in the other villages of this community. This, coupled with the fact that the Navajos had been making repeated raids upon their fields, to which depredations the agent of the Navajos had paid no attention, doubtless explains much of their opposition to the census work, but the real motive for their persistent refusal to submit to enumeration is doubtless the deep-rooted superstition they entertain, which they carry to the extremes only reached by the fanaticism of heathens, that the wrath of the gods inevitably follows such a count as the Americans desire to make of the Indians. They cite the instance of the Zuñis, who, shortly after the Ninth Census, were visited by a scourge of smallpox, which swept away nearly one-half of the tribe. Seeing that there was no prospect of succeeding, we made such observations as I deemed prudent, took Chief La-lo-la-my's advice to make no further effort with the chief men, and after vainly trying to get some information from the members of the tribe generally we took our departure. The people of Oraibi absolutely refused to talk, and as the information required by the Census Office rests entirely within their village, and is utterly unknown outside thereof, it will be seen how thoroughly impossible it was for us to fulfill the object of our visit with the mouths of those from whom we sought information obstinately sealed. White men long acquainted with the Oraibis

a Estimated in 1890 and confirmed and partially enumerated by special agents in 1890 and 1891.

estimate their number at 1,000, but after looking the ground over carefully, coupled with my experience in the other 6 villages, I do not feel justified in placing the number above 905 (*a*), which I believe to be above the true number rather than below it. There are about 165 houses, while the other 6 villages have about 190 houses.

The general disposition of the Moqui Indians seems to be that of docility and friendliness, having great affection for each other and for their children, their religious superstitions and customs alone standing in the way of their advancement to civilization. Their general health is good, except some evidence of scrofula.

A fearful mortality about 20 years ago, which swept their children away by families, is an incident still vivid in their memories. I could learn nothing about their dead. White men familiar with the Moquis seem to have no idea of how or where they dispose of the dead, there being no external evidence of burial grounds; hence no report could be gathered of their mortality. So long as they are permitted to live in their present crowded condition their death rate must be great and their civilization very tedious.

As indicated by the schedules, they are an agricultural people, sustaining themselves by growing a little corn, beans, chili (red peppers), and many melons and peaches. To those of us living in this arid belt, who grow nothing except by irrigation and with the idea that nothing can be grown here (with the exception of potatoes) without it, the success of the Indians in agriculture is a wonderful revelation, their farms, many of them, being miles away from the villages they inhabit, located in valleys totally devoid of water, 600 to 1,200 feet below them, involving the necessity of carrying all their products, fuel, and water on the backs of their men, women, children, and burros these long distances up the steep sides of their several mesas. This severe labor has given to their women, who do most of the packing, a kind of racking gait, more like that of an animal than of a human being.

In consequence of their farms being so widely scattered, and their total ignorance of anything like acreage, quantity, or value, I have labored at a great disadvantage in arriving at a reliable report of the extent of their farming interests, but after having thoroughly drilled my Indian interpreters in areas and viewed their farms in passing to and from their villages, I feel that a very fair approximation has been reached, as found on the schedules.

"The probable wealth and wages earned" is a problem beyond my ability to solve, as they grow very little to sell beyond their own necessities, but always reserve 1 year's supply of corn on hand for fear of a failure of the growing crop. Their peach orchards and the fruit are marvels in size, quality, and product. Many of these they dry upon the rocks, by which process they are rendered practically unfit for use by white men on account of the sand they take up and the crude method of curing.

It would be an injustice to a good and worthy man should I fail to make favorable mention of the Indian of Tewa who devoted his time so generously in the height of the harvest season to our interests, who has forsaken the home of his fathers and many of their ways by moving his home down from the mesa and breaking away from many of the customs and superstitions of his tribe, thereby invoking the anathemas of his people; a man whose highest ambition is to learn and adopt the ways of the white man in all things (excepting possibly the vices). It is with profound respect and admiration of a good, true, and brave man that I commend to the fostering care and generous treatment of those who have charge of the nation's wards the big, kindhearted Tom Polacca [Polaki].

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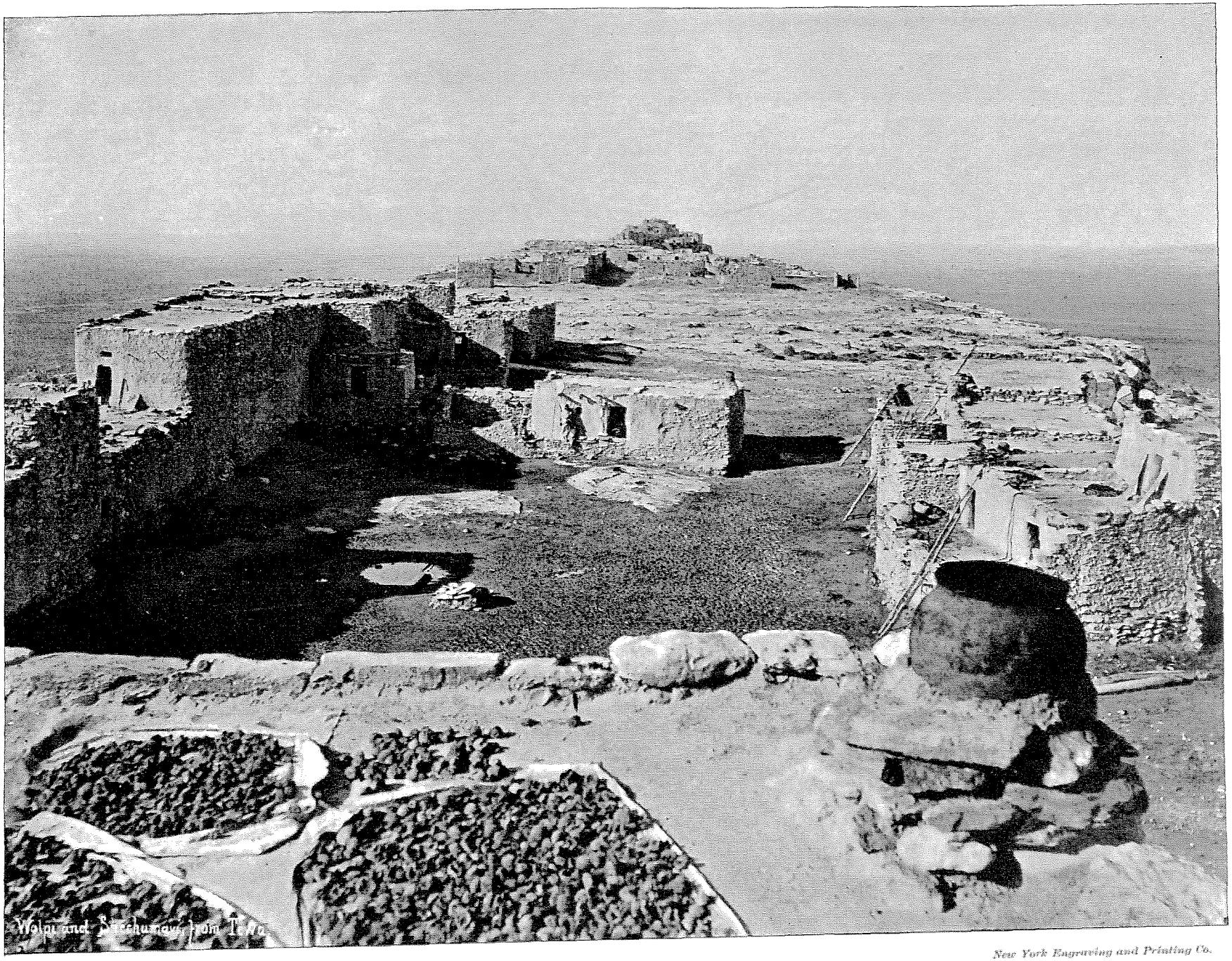
a Found by Mr. Scott in 1891 to be about correct.

POOBITCIE-MOQUI GIRL OF PUEBLO OF SICHUM-NAVI, ARIZONA



New York Engraving and Printing Co.

J. K. Hillers, Photo.

THE FIRST OR EASTERN MOQUI MESA, ARIZONA, LOOKING SOUTH.

FROM A HOUSETOP IN TEWA—PEACHES DRYING ON THE ROOF—THE COURT OF TEWA AND TOWNS OF SICHUMNAVI AND WALPI IN THE DISTANCE.