

April 10, 1950

APR 10 1950  
BUREAU RECEIVED  
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Dear Senator,

You will be asked to vote today or tomorrow, we are told, on the so-called 90-million dollar Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Bill (H.R. 2734). We cannot speak for the Navajos, but we Hopis do not want any part of this bill. We do not want to be rehabilitated by the Indian Bureau. It may appear strange to you that we are objecting to your spending 90-million dollars for our benefit. But think how much stranger you appear to us when you insist on spending 90-million dollars for benefits to us that we do not want.

And if you still think our objection is strange, ask yourself this question: Would you like to have the Indian Bureau spend 90-million dollars or any other sum rehabilitating you and your family and your home without asking your consent?

Please remember that our Indian people have had nothing to do with the making of this bill. We were not consulted in its drafting. The only connection we have ever had with this bill has been to protest against it, which we have done again and again.

This 90-million dollar bill was drafted by the Indian Bureau. All the 90-million dollars will go to the Indian Bureau, and most of it will be used on Bureau payrolls. The only Hopi Indians that have spoken in favor of the bill are a few Indians who have been paid by the Indian Bureau.

With the 90-million dollars the Indian Bureau will build dams on our reservation that will not hold water, and roads for tourists to make it easier for them to come into our homes without being invited. Then the cost of these foolish and troublesome things will be charged against our people and our land. That is what the Government has done in past years. Our people are a proud people. We have taken good care of ourselves and our lands for thousands of years. We do not need any instruction from the Indian Bureau either in Government or in farming. If they want any instruction from us, we will give it to them without charge. Meanwhile, we protest against being pictured as starving, helpless savages and used by the Indian Bureau as bait to attract larger appropriations for the benefit of the Indian Bureau.

We think the Senate of the United States intends to be generous. But we think that many of the Senators who vote for this measure do not know what happens when this money reaches our Hopi country.

What we are protesting against is not just a waste of your money.

What we are protesting against is not just the unfairness of imposing debts on our Indian people and our Indian land.

What we are protesting against is a desecration of the national honor of the United States. This is a serious matter for all of us.

That national honor is pledged that the Hopi people would be consulted in advance before any plans for spending money on our land were sent to Congress. That promise, which Congress made to us on June 18, 1934, is being violated by the Indian Bureau, in this 90-million dollar bill. When the United States violates its pledges towards a little nation which has always lived in peace with its white brothers, the light which shines from Washington to all the nations of the world will grow dark and unclear. If that light were made clean, it would shine around the earth and bring peace and understanding to all the nations of the world.

EXHIBIT 41a

If that light grows dirty and dark, the white man's civilization will crumble into dust. That is what our wise men have said is the meaning of your atomic bombs.

We ask you to keep that light fresh and clean. We ask you to exempt our people from this 90-million dollar fraud. If the Indian Bureau wants 90-million dollars to use somewhere else, we will not object. We ask that you keep faith, that you may not be ashamed before the world.

Sincerely yours,

Dan Katchongwa  
Sun Chief, Hotevilla  
for the Hopi Pueblos  
of Hotevilla  
and Shungopavi  
and for the Hopi Nation

Hopi Indian Nation  
Shungopavi, Arizona  
March 2, 1950

Honorable John R. Nichols  
Commissioner of Indian Affairs  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

We have received your letter dated February 13, relative to the Navajo-Hopi bill. Mr. Viets Lomahaftewa has kindly referred to us for reply. Accordingly we held a meeting in Shungopavi village at which our highest chief, Talaftewa, of the Bear Clan, was present. We have read your letter carefully and thoughtfully.

As village advisors of Hotevilla, Shungopavi we speak for our respective headmen and for those villages that are still following the traditional form of self-government.

You know as well as we do that the whole mankind is faced with the possibility of annihilation as it was done in the lower world because of greed, selfishness, and godlessness. People went after wealth, power and pleasures of life more than the moral and religious principals. Now we have floods, strikes, civil wars, earthquakes, fires and the H-bomb! To the Hopi these are but the smoke signals telling us to set our house in order before our "true white brother" comes. Whom will he punish, a white man or an Indian?

Because we know these terrible truths and facts we the religious leaders of the Hopi people have been continuously opposing the \$90,000,000 long-range program. It will not solve these larger issues for us. It will only destroy our moral and spiritual foundation thereby destroying the peace and security of the whole world. This is the traditional law of this land. It cannot be changed because it was planned by the Great Spirit, Massau'u. He has given us these laws and sacred Stone Tablets which are still in the hands of the proper leaders of Oraibi and Hotevilla villages. Shungopavi holds all the major alters and fetishes, being the mother village and which represent the true Hopi.

EXHIBIT 41b

You stated that the \$90,000,000 "will be of real assistance to the Hopi people, but it cannot succeed without their understanding and wholehearted cooperation in achieving these desirable goals."

Yet the Land Claims Commission we understood will deduct these "helpful assistances" when and if the Indians file their land claims and win their cases against the government. No, we do not want to be indebted to the United States government at the present time.

In a letter to Dan Kitchongva of Hotevilla you mentioned the fact that, "you stated that this money is not needed by the Hopi Indians, although you admit that the Hopis have been made poor by the reduction of your land and livestock...the reduction of your stock was forced upon you by the severe droughts of the past years."

Suppose you had spent most of your life working hard to accumulate large stock and land only to have someone come to you and force you to reduce your hard-earned stock and land because of "severe droughts." Wouldn't you too say that you have been made poor?

How would you like also to have someone make laws and plan your life for you from afar? Pass laws without your knowledge, consent and approval? This Navajo-Hopi bill is being passed by the Senate and House of Representatives without our approval and against our will. Therefore whatever happens in the future the Hopi must not be to blame but the government of the United States.

We are not children but men, able to choose and decide for ourselves what is good and what is bad. We have been able to survive worse droughts and famine in the past. We do not fight droughts and famine with money out by our humble prayers for more rain and forgiveness of our wrong doings. Our land will bloom again if our hearts and souls are right and clean. No, we are not going to sell our birthright for a few pieces of silver such as the \$90,000,000. Our land, our resources and our birthright are worth more than all the money the government of the United States may have. We are still a sovereign nation, independent, and possessed of all the powers of self-government of any sovereignty. King of Spain recognized this long ago. Government of Mexico respected it, and it is still recognized by the United States Supreme Court. Now why, in the face of all these facts, are we required today to file our land claims with the Land Claims Commission in Washington? Why are we required to ask a white man for a land that is already ours? This whole western hemisphere is the homeland of all the Indian people. In this fact all Indian people should know.

Now, by what authority does the government of the United States pass such laws without our knowledge, consent nor approval and try to force us to relinquish our ancient rights to our land? Is it only for money? We do not want money for our land. We want a right to live as we please, as human beings. We want to have a right to worship as we please and have our own land. We don't want to have someone plan our lives for us, issue us rations, social security or other dole. Our plan of life has all been laid out for us long ago by our Great Spirit, Massau'u. This is our traditional path we must travel now.

Now if you truly and seriously want to help the Hopi people and honestly want us to understand one another we demand that you come to us who are the religious leaders of the Hopi tribe. This is the only way we can settle any problem. We must come together. The white people seem to be at loss as to what to do now in the face of this terrible H-bomb. Why don't you come to the most ancient race who know these things to learn what is to be done? We must meet together so that the common man may have his freedom and security. We want everlasting life; so do you.

EXHIBIT 41c

We both are aware of the fact that we are coming to the same point. To the white man it is a Judgement Day or the Last Days. To the Hopi it is the cleansing of all the wicked forces of the earth so that the common man have his day.

The Hopi Tribal Council is being reactivated today but to us religious leaders it is not legal; it does not have the sanction of the traditional head-men. And it is composed of mostly young and educated men who know little or nothing about the Hopi traditions. Most of the men supporting it are Indian Service employees, men who have abandoned the traditional path and are after only money, position and self-glory. They do not represent the Hopi people.

These major issues must be settled by the highest traditional leaders of the Hopi people and the proper leaders in Washington. It is time we get together peacefully and seriously to settle these matters now. If we fail to do this our lives are in very grave danger of being totally destroyed. Because we do not want this to happen to us or to our people we again demand that you come. Should you fail to come we shall be forced to bring this matter before the United Nations which we understand is for the purpose of settling matters of this nature. Our life is at stake so let us meet together.

Sincerely yours,

Hernquistown  
Blue Bird Clan, Shungopavi  
Dai Katchongwa  
Sun Clan, Mosville  
Victor Katchongwa  
Shungopavi

STATEMENT OF DAI KATCHONGWA, SUN CLAN, MOSVILLE

The Hopi would like to see H.R. 2734 amended so as to remove the Hopi and their lands from the bill entirely, giving the grant to the Navajo, or if this cannot be done, then defeated.

See the circular letter of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs interpreting Sec. 16 of the Act of June 18, 1934 (25 USC 476) to mean that every tribe shall have "the right to be advised of all appropriation estimates affecting the tribe, before such estimates are submitted to the Bureau of the Budget and Congress." (P. 130, Handbook of Federal Indian Law by Felix S. Cohen, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942.)

The Hopi do not need the grant. They are a group of about 4,000 people, a fairly stable population, who have made excellent spiritual adjustment to the land in which they live. They do dry-farming and sheep-herding, and they have religious ceremonies which only have significance in this kind of economic life. They have been living in this land continuously since before the year 1300, and their culture is a very stable adjustment to this kind of life.<sup>1</sup>

The Navajo on the other hand were nomads who came in from the plains shortly before the whites, and they increased rapidly, until they are now 61,000. They have made no economic adjustment. They ask the government for aid. Their own culture does not satisfy them, and perhaps the white man's will. They may need the aid.<sup>2</sup>

1. The Hopi Way, Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph, 1944

2. Ibid.

EXHIBIT 41d

The \$90,000,000 will provide a large WPA for the benefit of increasing Navajo, and may help them adjust by satisfying their expanding wants; but if young Hopi are tempted into this in any numbers, then their traditional religion and ceremonies which are built around dry-farming and herding will no longer have any meaning. A \$90,000,000 government program will go a long way to erase their civilization.

In return these young people will be given nothing that is culturally the equal of their Hopi tradition as a real spiritual basis for adjusting to the white man's world. It is easier to destroy their spiritual adjustment to the kind of economy they now have, than to give them a spiritual adjustment to a new economy. Recent tests indicate that while the Hopi are one of the most intelligent groups of Indians they have developed attitudes indicating that they are saved from mental and nervous breakdown only by their group existence.<sup>3</sup> If anything, even a large gift, started to dissolve their group ties, there is danger of mental and emotional maladjustment worse than anything that the white man would regard as uncomfortable in their present mode of life.

The Hopi have never fought a war against the United States, nor even signed a treaty surrendering their lands to the United States. They do not understand why the Indian Bureau treats them the same as conquered Indians. Their religion forbids war, and their name means 'peaceful people'. It should not injure the dignity of the United States to recognize the extra-territorial status of the three mesa tops on which they live and their grazing land any more than it does to recognize the status for all of the embassy grounds in Washington. It is because of this different status of the Hopi that they will not appear at Congressional hearings to testify; they are one of the most culturally obdurate tribes in the U.S. and they want the white man to testify at their hearings.

If the desert needs developments, let the Navajo, who are spiritually able and want it, do it, and let the Hopi continue to live their traditional lives, with some control over their own children.

Chief Dan Katchongva and his people did not know of the two people whom the Indian Bureau brought to testify at the hearings until afterwards, and they have not heard yet what happened there. Perhaps recent intellectual movements concerning Indian relations have been too one-sided in the direction of cultural absorption and have not been flexible enough to be helpful to those who want to preserve their own culture.<sup>4</sup>

Dan Katchongva  
Sun Chief, Hotevilla

3. Ibid.

4. For instance the Hoover Commission recommendation of Indian Affairs.

EXHIBIT 41e



UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

FILE COPY  
SURNAME:

Tribal Relations

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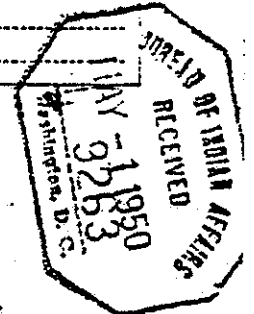
Through: James D. Crawford  
Supt., Hopi Agency

Mr. Dan Kootschonseva

Hotsville, Arizona

APR 21 1950

Dear Mr. Kootschonseva:



When we talked together recently you asked that I supply a written statement covering the question of the legality of the Hopi Tribal Council which has recently been reorganized. I am happy to do this.

Let me first say that members of my staff have carefully read the minutes of the meetings held on January 27, February 9 and March 1, and on the basis of the information obtained from these minutes a final decision has not been made at this time as to the legality of the actions taken. I desire, however, to clarify three points for you.

1. The Hopi Constitution did not go out of existence although the Tribal Council ceased to function after 1943. A constitution is created by the people. The people have the power to destroy it, not the Tribal Council. The people, if they desire to do so, may destroy the constitution by the same process they used to bring it into existence, namely, by voting to do away with it and adopting a new one. Since the Hopi people did not vote to terminate the existence of their Constitution it remains in force.

2. The Hopi people who created the constitution always retain the power to bring it back into force after years of non-use. This could be accomplished by electing village delegates to the Tribal Council under a method prescribed by Article V, Section 3, of the Constitution; if these delegates have been duly elected, and if the village delegates are sufficient to constitute a quorum, the Tribal Council will then have been reactivated. The Hopi Constitution will then control the conduct of the Council.

3. Any meetings called under the authority of the Hopi Constitution would have to conform to the provisions contained in the Constitution with respect to giving notice, announcing the purpose of the meetings, and other requirements. If the people wish to hold a special meeting they may do so without conforming to the Constitu-

CARBON FOR INDIAN OFFICE

EXHIBIT 42 a

Filed by L. B. L.

tion. See Article IX, Section 2, of the Constitution which provides that all members of the Tribe shall be free to meet together. Any action taken at such a meeting would not constitute the exercise of constitutional power. However, the duly elected Hopi Council could, if it so desired, adopt the actions of the special meeting as its own. This could be accomplished by the passage of an appropriate resolution of the Council.

There are then several questions to be answered before a final decision is made as to the legality of the reactivation of the Hopi Tribal Council. Among these questions are whether the meeting of January 27 was called under the terms of the Hopi Constitution or was called by the Hopi people in an effort to resume activity under the Hopi Constitution, whether delegates have been duly elected from the villages, and whether sufficient delegates have been elected to constitute a quorum.

Since our information on these and other points is not complete, I have written for further information. Upon receipt of all the facts this Office will then make a final decision. A copy of this letter is being sent to Superintendent Crawford and he will keep you advised.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) JOHN H. PROVINSE

Acting Commissioner

Copy for: Allan G. Harper, Area Director

Window Rock Area Office

McNickle:csw 4/19/50

CARBON FOR INDIAN OFFICE

EXHIBIT 42b



*Harper*

UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

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FILE COPY  
SURNAME:

Tribal Relations

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Mr. Allan G. Harper, Area Director

Window Rock Area Office

OCT 20 1950

Dear Mr. Harper:

After discussing with you recently the problems of Hopi tribal organization, I have reviewed the matter further with members of the staff here. Without coming to a final conclusion on procedure, certain interim actions suggest themselves and I pass them on to you.

It is now definite that Dr. Kennard cannot locate the draft translation of the Hopi Constitution and Bylaws which he worked out several years ago. As suggested in my previous letter to you, I am strongly of the opinion that a good translation into the Hopi language ought to be made available to members of the Tribe. Mr. Crawford ought to get together a committee of translators made up of members who are thoroughly versed in both languages and who have the confidence of the Hopi people. Once a translation is available, it should be mimeographed and distributed widely. Also, discussion groups might very well be organized for the purpose of reading and explaining the provisions of the Constitution and Bylaws.

We have under consideration a suggestion, offered I believe by Dr. Colton, that the three Mesas be organized separately in place of a tribal organization. I understand that in Burton Ladd's superintendency livestock committees were organized on each of the Mesas with the exception perhaps of the third Mesa. It might be helpful if you arranged a meeting with Mr. Ladd at an early date and learn from him how he proceeded in creating these committees, what functions they performed, what support they had among the several villages on each Mesa, and what remains of the committee organization. Possibly the committees, unless they have been completely abandoned, might serve as a starting point for a Mesa organization designed to deal with claims and related matters. There are legal questions that need to be explored if this type of organization is to be considered.

After you have looked further into the problem of organization, you may decide that it is still possible to work within the existing Constitution and Bylaws, and either with or without the Tribal Council as now constituted. Naturally, if the existing Council has a chance of succeeding, the problem is greatly reduced.

CARBON FOR INDIAN OFFICE

EXHIBIT 43a

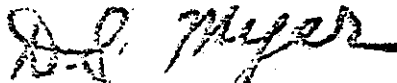


Assuming that the present Council will not win the support of the people as a whole, but still assuming that the present situation can be made to function, then you should explore what can be done to bring about a representative and acceptable Council. It has been suggested that careful work with the traditional villages, particularly Shungopavi, might in time gain acceptance for the Council. Doubtless you will have some view as to the practicality of this suggestion.

We asked the legal staff to examine into the possibility of allowing Upper Moenkopi to adopt a written Constitution separate from Lower Moenkopi. The Constitution (Article IV, Sections 1 and 5 particularly) apparently precludes such separate organization, and Superintendent Crawford was so advised by this office a year or so ago. If written Constitutions were adopted at Moenkopi and New Oraibi, possibly some of the tensions would be relaxed.

Decisions in these matters should not be hurried, and the Hopis themselves should not have the impression that we expect prompt answers. On the other hand, the problem ought to be worked at persistently, and you and Superintendent Crawford should give to it all the time you possible can.

Sincerely yours,



Commissioner

Copy to: Mr. James D. Crawford  
Supt., Hopi Agency

DMcNickle:mm 10/11/50

EXHIBIT 43b

SECRET

Hopi Indian Sovereign Nation  
Craibi, Arizona

October 8, 1950

INTERIOR DEPT.  
SECRETARY'S  
MAIL CENTER

INTERIOR DEPT.  
RECEIVED  
OCT 17 1950

Harry S. Truman  
President of the United States  
Washington, D. C.

INDIAN

Mr. President:

"I also wish to assure the members of both the Hopi and Navajo Tribes that their religion and social customs will be fully respected in accordance with this Nation's long-established laws and traditions".....Harry S. Truman

Today, our ancient Hopi religion, culture and traditional way of life are seriously threatened by your Nation's war efforts, Navajo-Hopi bill, Indian Land Claims Commission and by the Wheeler-Howard bill, the so-called Indian self-government bill. These death-dealing policies have been imposed upon us by trickery, fraud, coercion and bribery on the part of the Indian Bureau under the Government of the United States, and all these years the Hopi Sovereign Nation has never been consulted. Instead we have been subjected to countless number of humiliations and inhuman treatments by the Indian Bureau and the Government of the United States. We have been dipped in sheep dipping vats like a herd of sheep. Our young girls and women folks were shamefully disrobed before the people and then were either pushed or thrown into these vats filled with sulphur water. Our religious headmen were beaten, kicked, clubbed with rifle butts, their <sup>hair</sup> ~~hair~~ cut and after being dragged were left bleeding on the grounds in their villages.

*True Real*

RECEIVED  
OCT 13 1950  
Washington, D.C.

EXHIBIT 44a

These immoral acts were done to us by the Government of the United States all because we want to be peaceful, to live as we please, to worship and make our own livelihood the way our Great Spirit Maswataiwa has taught us.

Hopi Sovereign Nation has been in existence long before any white man set foot upon our soil and it is still standing. It will continue to hold all land in this western hemisphere in accordance with our sacred Stone Tablets for all his people who are with him here.

But now you have decided without consulting us you have turn away from us by leading your people down the new road to war. It is a fearful step that you have taken. Now we must part. We the Hopi leaders will not go with you. You must go alone. The Hopi must remain within his own homeland. We have no right to be fighting other people in other lands who have caused us no harm. We will continue to keep peace with all men while patiently waiting for our "true brother" whose duty it is to purify this land and to punish all men of evil hearts.

Because we have never fought your government, never relinquished our rights and authority to any foreign nation and made no treaty with your government whereby our young Hopi men be subject to conscription laws of the United States, therefore, we demand that you, as President of the United States, now and for all times, <sup>stop</sup> /the drafting of our young Hopi men and women and release, immediately, all those who are now in the armed forces of the United States. And we also demand that a full and complete investigation of the Navajo-Hopi bill,

EXHIBIT 44b

so-called Hopi Tribal Council and the Indian Bureau be made by the President of the United States, Congress and the good people of the United States. This is your moral obligation to the Red Man upon whose land you have been living. Time is short and it is our sacred duties as leaders of our people to bring these truths and facts before them. We must set our house in order before it is too late. If the government of the United States does not now begin to correct many of these wrongs and injustices done to the Red Man the Hopi Sovereign Nation shall be force to go before the United Nations with these truths and facts. We are,

Sincerely yours,

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Dan Matchongva  
Advisor, (Sun Clan)  
Hotevilla, Arizona

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Andrew Bernequastewa  
Advisor, (Blue Bird Clan)  
Shungopovy, Arizona

CC: Sec. Chapman  
Dillion Myer, Commissioner of Indian Affairs  
James D. Crawford, Agent, Keams Canyon, Arizona  
Allen A. Harper, Window Rock, Arizona  
Chairman of the Havajo Tribal Council  
National Congress of American Indians

EXHIBIT 44c

C O P Y

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMM. 3E  
Pacific Southwest Regional Office  
426 North Raymond Ave.  
Pasadena 3, Calif.

February 16, 1951

To: Rhoda Gilman

From: Ed Saamel, Clarence Yarrow and Chuck McEvers

Subject: Hopis

The immediacy of the concern we wish to express is occasioned by the fact that the appointment of a new superintendent for the Hopi Reservation is pending at this time, and the basic causes for our concern stem from our observations of the manner in which the former superintendent administered his post. In case you are not familiar with the Hopi situation as we have found it, perhaps a few words on its background will be in order.

There has been for some time a tendency among the Hopis to split themselves into two major opposing groups - roughly speaking, the conservatives and the progressives. Such a tendency is, of course, not unusual in any cultural or racial group and is not in itself a bad thing. From the interaction of two such extremes there has often come progress along a middle road. The fact is, however, that the Hopi people today are split so widely and so deeply that the possibilities for interaction seem to be almost nil while the tendency toward a mutually destructive separation seems to be increasing. To say that there are two opposing groups is an oversimplification; the conservative, traditional side especially is further split into groups whose origins run back into the centuries. But the differences between the many small factions are generally resolved sufficiently on the larger issues at stake so as to produce, in dealing with the government at least, two major antithetical factions. The antagonism which exists between these factions is not a teapot tempest, but a destructive force which is making itself felt in the lives of Hopis all over the reservation.

The factor which most concerns us in this situation is the role which the United States Government has played in the matter through the person of the reservation superintendent. It has seemed apparent to observers, both on and off the reservation, that Superintendent Crawford was possessed of a rather single-minded purpose when he came to the Hopi Reservation. It was clear, almost from the outset of his administration, that he had come to organize the Hopis on the basis of the constitution which had been set up in 1936 under the Wheeler-Howard Act. The constitution had been accepted by the Hopis but the tribal government which came into being at that time did not function for long. For all practical purposes the constitution had been abandoned by the time Superintendent Crawford arrived. It should have been expected, then, when it was proposed to try out the constitution for the second time, that there would be some opposition to it, if only on the basis that it had not worked the first time. It should also have been expected, we feel, that a rather long and relatively slow process of education would have to take place before the constitution could be completely accepted as a means of self-government. It should have been realized that in dealing with a culture so complex and so diversified as the Hopi pattern it might be difficult to impose forthwith a new pattern based on concepts totally foreign to the Hopi way of life. Truths which we hold to be self-evident may not be so evident to the traditional Hopis, especially our views about the rule of the majority, the importance of aggressive competition in politics and economic life, and the necessity for a clear division between "church and state."

EXHIBIT 45a

Instead of pursuing a slower policy of education and of action involving a willingness to meet opposition halfway, the superintendent seems to have pursued his objective by means of hasty and forceful action. There seems to have been no attempt to meet the traditionalists on their own ground and very little effort made even to understand their position. However well motivated Mr. Crawford may have been personally, it is not possible to overlook the fact that his actions were not calculated to reassure the traditional Hopis of the good faith of the government and of its respect for the democratic ideals of self-determination and freedom of worship.

To the mind of the traditional Hopi, the fundamental problem which must be met before other things are considered is the Hopi land question. The encroachment of the Navajos, by government authorization, upon the original Hopi Executive Order Reservation has long been a sore point with the Hopis. Although they were not using most of the land in question, it has been considered theirs for hundreds of years. It is the land of their gods and their sacred places, and it represented to them not so much an economic asset as a concrete base for their ceremonials and religious philosophy. The fact that much had already been taken away meant to the Hopis that nothing of theirs was necessarily held sacred by the government and it should not be difficult even for outsiders to understand their present feelings of insecurity in view of the fundamental tenet of their philosophy which holds that if the land goes the Hopi way cannot survive.

As reported by many traditional Hopis, in almost his first meeting with the traditionalists from several villages, Mr. Crawford did urge that the people get together to work out their land claims. Many of the leading men met to discuss their claims and a map on which to base their claim was submitted to Mr. Crawford. From that time on, however, there seemed to be no interest by the Agency in the land claims, and in subsequent meetings Mr. Crawford became more and more insistent in urging that they turn their attention to the matter of oil leases. The whole point of Hopi unification now seemed to be shifted in the direction of obtaining a body which could legally sign leases for mineral rights on the reservation. No one yet knows whether or not there is oil on the reservation, but we were informed by a geologist at Oraibi that as many as thirty-two oil companies have had parties of geologists and surveyors on the reservation and that his own company, along with many others, was going to keep someone there until a lease could be obtained.

The tribal council which was recently organized may or may not be a legally constituted body. We will not question this rather involved point, although the fact that the government has never committed itself on this, in spite of the council's pleas to be recognized, would seem to indicate that a grave uncertainty exists. The point is that perhaps half of the Hopi people do not consider it to be a valid body and at present are holding themselves aloof from any participation in it. There may have been a fairly general acceptance of the principles of the Hopi Constitution when it was first presented some years ago, but it is unfortunately true today that a great many of the Hopis do not see any compatibility between the terms of the constitution and the traditional methods of government which they have used for generations. We are pretty well convinced that most of the blame for this state of affairs must rest with Mr. Crawford and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. We could go on to give many other instances of insensibility and dictatorial methods on the part of Mr. Crawford; there is the matter of a road through the Hopi sacred places, of pressure being brought to bear on school teachers, of favors granted to those who were willing to cooperate, etc. But Mr. Crawford is gone, and the fact of his going probably indicates some lack of confidence in him on the part of the Indian Bureau. We are concerned, however that

EXHIBIT 45b

this lack of confidence be not merely a disappointment at the results of his efforts but a real disavowal of his methods.

Let us say at this point that we are not plugging any particular candidate for the office of superintendent. We would hope merely to point to a set of principles which could be used as a guide in the present situation and which seem to us to be valid as the basic approach in any similar situation.

It would seem imperative, first of all, that a new superintendent approach his duties with no preconceptions as to what must be done, with no obligation to carry out a predetermined program, and with a realization of the fact that there are widely differing Hopi viewpoints. This would mean that outside pressures must be temporarily ignored, whether they come from oil interests or merely from those interested in setting up "democratic" institutions among the Hopis. A constructive approach would mean a slow approach, made with understanding and sensitivity and with a real regard for the traditional ways. It will have to be admitted that the traditional ways have been successful in preserving a strong and good culture and in forming a pattern of life from which we have much to learn. We are not interested, however, in preserving for sentimental reasons a relic of a day that is past. The Hopi culture will have to change to meet present conditions, but change of so radical a sort can rarely be imposed from outside without bringing about a serious breakdown of many moral and spiritual values. The change must come from within if it is not to destroy the people we are trying to save.

The fact that the Hopi people are at present rather desperately divided among themselves does not necessarily mean that some resolution of the present open conflict cannot be reached. We are convinced that a compromise must be reached so that constructive action can be taken in matters concerning the Hopi people as a whole. It will have to be borne in mind by a new superintendent that he will have no difficulty in working with the so-called "progressives". They will be eager to form a relationship with the new superintendent which will not only justify their actions of the past but which will preserve the positions of power and authority to which, in many cases, they have attained. On the other hand, the "conservatives" will probably remain aloof, waiting to observe what will take place, and some effort will be required of the superintendent in order, first, to understand their position, and second, to reach them with constructive proposals. Each side has its extremists, and the majority of the Hopis seem to have been forced by the actions of the former superintendent to take their stand at one of the two opposite poles. There are still many Hopis, however, who can see good in both sides and who are convinced of the necessity for working together for the good of the whole. We feel, therefore, that an understanding and intelligent approach on the part of the superintendent would meet with acceptance from Hopis of both factions and that a working agreement could be reached.

The Hopis have never been a strongly unified people from a political standpoint, but they have managed to live together relatively peacefully and with a strong concept of the good of the whole as opposed to mere individual good. With this as a background the idea has been put forth by several people who are well acquainted with the Hopi situation that perhaps the only constructive approach open to the government at this time is to deal with the matter of tribal organization on the basis of the autonomous village units, among which a loose confederation might be set up. The traditional pattern of fairly independent villages loosely organized for the common good could thus be maintained and a step taken toward a higher degree of organization

EXHIBIT 45c

Rhoda Gilman

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February 18, 1951

in the future should the Hopi people see value in its development.

If not resolved in some manner the present conflict can only result, we feel, in furthering the moral and spiritual disintegration which is already in evidence in some elements of the population and in furthering the retreat from present-day reality which can be seen in other elements. The responsibility for reversing the present trends will rest largely with the new superintendent. We feel that it is crucial whether or not he understands the real causes of the Hopi conflict, many of which we certainly are not aware of, and whether or not the Bureau of Indian Affairs will back him in a wise and carefully thought out course of action.

EXHIBIT 45d



(Received by Hopi Agency  
June 7, 1950)

C O P Y

VERDE VALLEY SCHOOL  
SEDONA, ARIZONA

PLEASE

To be released when received

VERDE VALLEY SCHOOL FINDS NEW HOPI TRIBAL COUNCIL UNDEMOCRATIC

It was announced last night by Hamilton Warren, Director of the Verde Valley School at Sedona, Arizona, that the school had just returned from an expedition to the Hopi Indian Reservation and that the faculty and students had been deeply disturbed by the methods being used to set up a new Hopi Tribal Council. On returning to the school the students and faculty met to consider the matter and it was decided to send the attached letter to Mr. Dillon Meyer, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

EXHIBIT 45e