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Many Generations, Few Improvements: "Americans" Challenge Navajos on the Transcontinental Railroad Grant, Arizona, 1881–1887[1]

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Between 1863 and 1868, the US Army waged a war on the Navajo people that ended in the Army holding perhaps half of all Navajos at Fort Sumner, New Mexico. The Navajo homelands before this time extended from southeastern Utah and southwestern Colorado across northeastern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico. Fort Sumner was hundreds of miles to the east. In 1868, a dozen Navajo headmen inscribed their Xes on a treaty with the US Army, which set aside a reservation in the middle of their much larger traditional homeland. Released from captivity, the Navajos gravitated to their former homes, including those off the reservation. Other tribal members who escaped the Fort Sumner entrapment also resettled in their homeland.[2]

But things were different than they were before the forced march. The Navajos were to be governed from Fort Defiance, located near the new reservation's southern boundary, by military authorities temporarily and by civilian authorities ultimately. The Navajos were to receive rations at Fort Defiance, so many settled nearby, at least until they could restore their sheep herds. In 1866 Congress set aside a swath of land south of the treaty reservation for a transcontinental railroad that would travel through the middle of the Navajos' traditional homeland. The grant, alternate square-mile sections in a corridor soon expanded to 100 miles wide, was supposed to generate funds to finance railroad construction.[3]

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For generations before the Fort Sumner events, many Navajos in the valley around Fort Defiance often used these more southern lands for hunting and refuge. They returned from Fort Sumner along with crowds of other families seeking rations, and were forced to start living more permanently in the southern lands, outside the reservation, which were now a part of the railroad grant.[4] There they collided with incoming self-styled "Americans"—non-Indian cattle ranchers who hoped to profit from sales in distant markets made accessible by the new railroad and from government contracts. The new reservation and attempts to squeeze all Navajos inside it forestalled Navajo self-sufficiency, created a need for rations, and enhanced boarding-school enrollments with hungry children.

Studying the ensuing clashes between Navajos and Americans exposes, once again, the important role that colonial traders played in creating and maintaining reservations. This role, of course, meshes with many others in colonial systems, about which an already vast literature keeps expanding alongside today's capitalist globalization. In this paper we do not dissect systematically the structure and functionality of colonialism in Navajoland. Instead, we scrutinize the particular colonial relations of a specific time and place where violence has exposed them. We describe and explain clashes between Navajos and Americans in perhaps the most violent segment of the railroad grant, the area south of the western half of the treaty reservation. No one place name, either Navajo or English, covers this area, hereafter called Chambers Checkerboard (see fig. 1). It covers about 1,000 square miles. The word *checkerboard* reminds one that this land was outside the Navajo Reservation. It consisted of alternating railroad land and public domain, all of which Navajos had used for generations within much larger semiarid areas around which they moved their herds, calling on networks of clan relationships to follow unpredictable water and range conditions.

A CHRONICLE OF VIOLENCE IN THE CHAMBERS CHECKERBOARD

Non-Indian Settlement in and around the Chambers Checkerboard before the Railroad

The main water course through the Chambers Checkerboard, the Rio Puerco, heads on the Continental Divide in New Mexico and flows west 100 miles to the Little Colorado River in Arizona. At the New Mexico–Arizona state line, the river, perennial in the 1880s, emerges from a broad-bottomed canyon framed by tall yellow and red sandstone cliffs sparsely covered with pinon and juniper. For thirty-five miles it flows west-southwest through the Chambers Checkerboard. Passing through a wide grassy floodplain between rolling, sparsely forested uplands, it drops into a narrow dark red siltstone canyon at Houck, emerges into another wide grassy floodplain, descends through a rocky narrow west of Chambers, then continues onto rolling grasslands past Navajo Springs and on westward out of the Chambers Checkerboard into the clay hills of the Petrified Forest and the Little Colorado.

THE CHAMBERS CHECKERBOARD

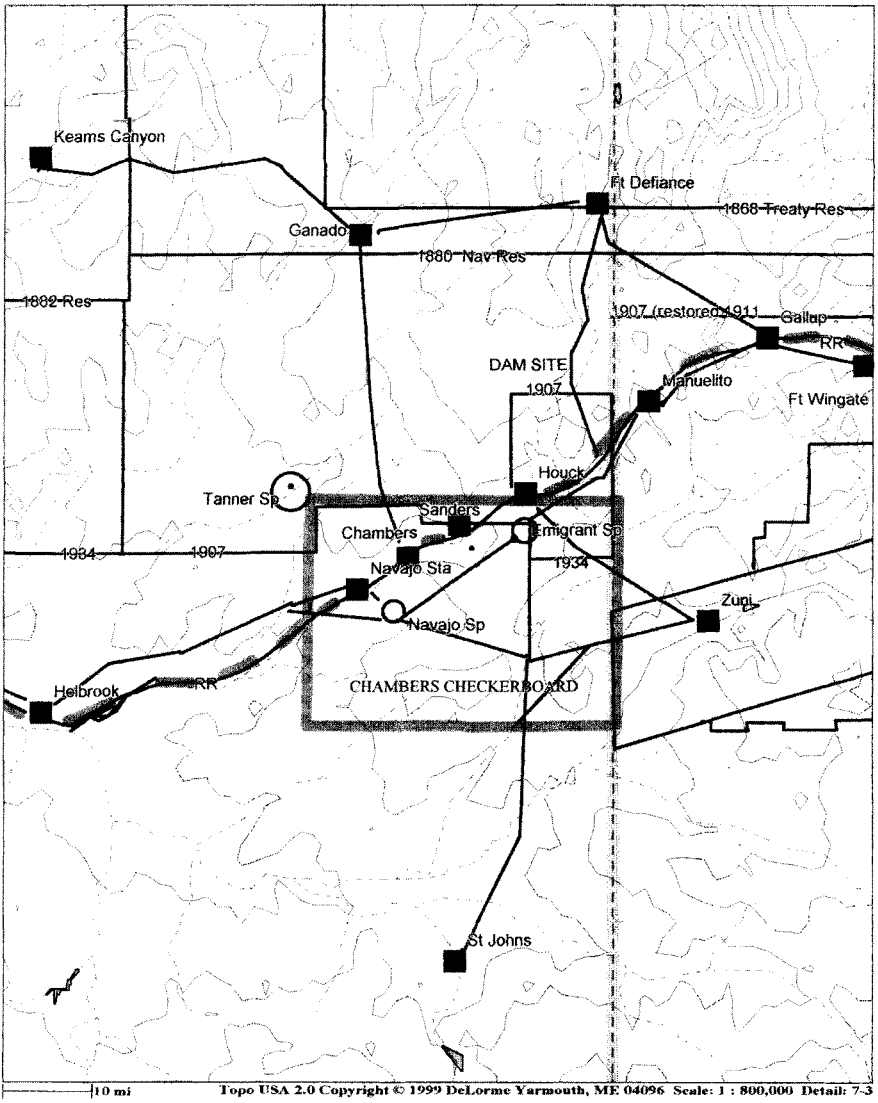

FIGURE 1.

In this dry country, light winter snow melts quickly and rain soon evaporates. But water is surprisingly plentiful in the side drainages of the Puerco and in waterholes, including Navajo Spring, strung along a swale south of the Puerco Valley where a trail passes from Zuni northwest to Hopi. Some of these springs contain salt and attract the antelope that abound year round.

Before the railroad, the nearest non-Indian settlements were at Fort Wingate in New Mexico and Fort Defiance and St. Johns in Arizona, all twenty to forty miles beyond the Chambers Checkerboard, plus a few outlying trading posts and ranches. Forts Wingate and Defiance were military posts meant to control the Navajos. St. Johns was a farming, ranching, and trading center on the Little Colorado River, first settled in the 1860s by Hispanic families from western New Mexico, soon followed by Mormons.[5]

The Chambers Checkerboard itself may have had only one non-Indian settlement, that of James D. Houck from Cuba, New Mexico. In 1874 Houck was carrying mail between Fort Wingate and Fort Whipple in Arizona. The route was the Overland Stage Road, a wagon road that had developed after the 1850s to 1860s' military reconnaissances for a possible transcontinental railroad route (the actual railroad would soon parallel the wagon road). In the Chambers Checkerboard, the Overland Stage Road and the railroad paralleled the Rio Puerco of the West, now deeply entrenched and often dry, but in the 1880s more often running. This same corridor later accommodated the Route 66 of many a twentieth-century song and story. Houck set himself up, possibly in a stage station, at Coyote Spring (soon called Houck's Tank) and at Navajo Spring, both places where the Overland Stage Road crossed indigenous trails between the Zuni villages to the southeast and the Hopi villages to the northwest. Houck traded and raised sheep.[6]

1881

In January 1881 Federal Indian Agent for the Navajos at Fort Defiance Captain Frank Tracy Bennett writes to the commissioner of Indian Affairs (CIA) in Washington, D.C., predicting trouble:

> [A few days earlier] one of the Navajo captains [Navajos appointed as police], Hosteen Dil-gnish-ey-Begah [Shouter's son] and his father [a pre–Fort Sumner headman and war leader] came in, and reported to me that they lived at a spring about 40 miles south west of here [probably Coyote Spring, Houck's Tank], in the vicinity of Puercho River, and that they had lived there for more than twenty (20) years past. That they farmed there, raised crops, and did not come to this Agency for rations, or supplies. That three (3) Americans had come there, was cutting logs, preparing to put up a house. And they supposed would soon attempt to drive them away from their home, and wanted me to protect them. . . . I would therefore respectfully request that I be instructed what advice to give these Indians, and how to decide other similar cases that may come up. I suppose that there will be quite a number of similar cases, as the Atlantic and Pacific Rail Road is now near here and will be completed through the country twenty five (25) miles south of here, probably inside of six months. The question to be decided is, whether Navajo Indians—if they sever their tribal relations, cease to draw rations and supplies from the government, and settle on public lands, and comply with the requirements of the law regulating such cases—can hold the land the same as any settlers.[7]

Bennett's question about how off-reservation Navajos can secure their land-use rights against non-Indian settlers will hang unanswered until the new century.[8] This legal vacuum will soon encourage a free-for-all over land.

In May military reports tell of a conflict between Navajos and non-Indians evidently somewhere near Navajo Springs. Captain Charles Parker has taken forty-nine troops from Fort Wingate and has stayed at "Hauck's Ranch," probably Navajo Springs, where Navajos have told him what happened. Some Navajos had visited the place of Mr. Colgan, who had earlier swindled them in some way, and Mrs. Colgan mistakenly thought they "proposed to outrage her person." Parker thinks that the Rio Puerco valley should be given to the Navajos because they grow a lot of corn there.[9]

1882

In March F. W. Smith, superintendent of the Atlantic and Pacific (A&P) Railroad, telegraphs to ask Fort Defiance Agent Galen Eastman to go to Navajo Springs and talk with Navajos who demand $500 restitution for a Navajo run over by a train "last week." Eastman reports to the CIA that he went to Navajo Springs, announced that such restitution would not be available in the future, and that Indians and their stock must learn to stay off the tracks. But he also has asked the railroad to pay for items including two plows for the deceased's two sons, "who are farmers residing in the Puerco Valley of the west." In April Eastman writes to two settlers, Messrs. Bennett and Hardison, in Navajo Springs, about delivering two steers to Navajo Charlie and his brother. Evidently the agency has bought the steers for restitution. Railroad reimbursement to the agency is not evident.[10]

1882–1883

The railroad through the Chambers Checkerboard is finished in 1882. Between September 1882 and February 1883 land surveyors under contract with the federal General Land Office (GLO) survey and monument the township, range, and section lines within the railroad land grant in the Chambers Checkerboard. The odd-numbered sections in these townships are part of the railroad grant. The evens are federally controlled public domain, open to homesteading.

The GLO surveys, homesteading records, and other documents from 1882 to 1883 show the beginnings of a transportation and central place system connecting the Chambers Checkerboard to national systems, as well as sparse non-Indian settlement.[11] Among these settlers are several who will figure in the violence of the next few years.

Infrastructure and central places on the GLO plats include the railroad and telegraph line, wagon roads and trails, and central places where the roads or trails cross the railroad. The two largest central places are Houck's Tank in the east and Navajo Springs in the west, each a place where an indigenous Zuni-to-Hopi trail crosses both the Overland Stage Road and the railroad. The segment of this trail from Navajo Springs to Zuni is the road that military

parties under Beale and Whipple reconnoitered in the 1850s as a possible railroad route. Navajo Station, according to GLO records, has a section house/eatery, engine house, water tank, two-story railroad depot and telegraph office, slaughterhouse, and corral. The GLO surveyors do not mention homesteader Lewis Lynch, who files a homestead claim during this year at Navajo Station. A single man of twenty-six years, he first lives in a tent while he builds a house.[12]

Between Navajo Station and Houck's Tank is a small station at Saunders (present-day Sanders) near Emigrant Springs, where the Overland Stage Road meets another road north from St. Johns.[13] At Houck's Tank, strung along the track a couple of miles, are a well, pump, tank, railroad quarry, boarding house, Kinsella store, and James F. Bennett's store and dwelling, corral, and outbuildings (including saloon).[14] Bennett (evidently not related to Captain Frank Tracy Bennett) is also trading at Manuelito (Defiance Station) in 1882 on the railroad about fifteen miles northeast, in partnership with Stephen Aldrich, a veteran of the Apache wars and an army contractor.[15] A few miles east of Houck's Tank is Allantown, which consists of another section house, telegraph house, and two tool houses.

Among the non-Indian settlers whom the GLO surveyors report are eight Hispanic men with houses and corrals (some also have sheep and gardens). One man's house is on a homestead patented in 1885 to a woman who evidently homesteaded elsewhere and sold her husband's soldier's scrip (coupons that entitled Civil War veterans to 160 acres of public homesteading land) to a scrip dealer, who then sold it to John A. Benson, a GLO land surveyor of townships west of the Chambers Checkerboard. In 1882 Benson uses the scrip to claim the spring near this house as well as several springs in the Chambers Checkerboard and west.[16]

The Hispanic men, all but one of whom held claim to places in the eastern part of the Chambers Checkerboard, may be part of the wave of Hispanic families that have settled west-central New Mexico, St. Johns, and Concho in Arizona south of the Chambers Checkerboard in the 1860s and 1870s. They may be the "Mexican" herders "working for Whites" who will soon force the Navajo Cuthair from the home where GLO surveyors find him amid the scattered Hispanic dwellings.[17] Another hint that these men are herders is that their places are near upland playas rather than reliable springs.

The GLO surveyors also report houses and corrals of twenty other non-Indian settlers. One dwelling is at another spring that GLO surveyor Benson has "scripped." A third spring that Benson probably scripped, Jacob's Well, is near the dwelling of a Navajo.[18] The settlers include several who figure in events to come, including:

- Palmer, whose desert land claim and house are north of Navajo Station. An E. T. Palmer will figure in an 1887 incident; whether he is the same Palmer or a relative is unknown.
- James Houck, whose house, corral, shop, and stable are on the Overland Stage Road at Navajo Springs.

- Commodore Perry Owen, whose house is at Squaw Springs along the Overland Stage Road. As later documents will show, Perry Owen's exploits in the Chambers Checkerboard hardly predict the "colorful frontier sheriff" that later generations will extoll.[19] In a few years a photograph will capture Sheriff Owen and his flowing mane kinked from unbraiding, evidence that he is the "fierce white man with braids down his back" who local Navajos will later recall camping at Navajo Springs around 1876 and then homesteading there, stealing Navajo horses and killing a Navajo for trailing horses too close to his homestead.[20]
- Charles Hardison, whose storehouse and corral are at Taylor Spring near the railroad. Charles Hardison had worked at Fort Sumner and returned to Fort Defiance with the Navajos in 1868. He had been chief herder for the agency until discharged on May 16, 1871. He then moved west of Fort Defiance to ranch on the lands of his Navajo wife's family at Kinlichee near Ganado and the treaty reservation's southwest corner. After a few years, the marriage broke up and he moved away. He had lived near Ganado as late as 1878, on evidence of reports about local Navajos killing an accused witch in front of "Hardenson's house." Hardison files a homestead application forty miles south of Ganado in 1883. The land is about two miles southwest of the storehouse and spring shown on the 1882 GLO survey plat.[21]
- James Moore, whose house is on the Overland Stage Road at Emigrant Springs. Moore's name appears in no other records and may be "Walker," which GLO surveyors mishear (Walker also evidently has a penchant for aliases). In 1909, Friar Anselm Weber of St. Michael's Franciscan Mission will state that the house in the GLO record belonged to John Walker, an Irishman with a Navajo wife and children, one of whom became St. Michael's Mission's interpreter Frank Walker. In the years after 1867, John Walker, under the name John Garrett, had driven a stage between Fort Wingate and Fort Apache or had been a Pony Express rider between Santa Fe and Fort Huachuca. By the late 1880s he will become a buddy of Commodore Perry Owen. John Walker will disappear in 1889.[22]
- Hawthorne, whose house is at Graywater Spring. Freeman Hawthorn, a single man born around 1840, settles here in June 1882. He had been a packer in the 1872–1873 military campaign against the Apaches and in 1881 was a cook and assistant to D. D. Graham, the first permanent trader at Zuni. Younger brothers will soon follow him to the Chambers Checkerboard and one, Orville, will marry into a local Navajo family.[23]
- Tanner, whose house is at a spring about fifteen miles northwest of Navajo Springs. Seth Tanner had originally settled at the spring named after him, then moved a few miles southwest, where GLO surveyors find him. Tanner had come in with the Mormon colony

at Tuba City in northwest Navajoland in the 1870s. He will become the progenitor of generations of Indian traders still prominent in Navajoland today.[24]

Four other settlers have improvements in the Tanner Springs township. Two are probably George M. (Barney) Williams and John L. French, soon to inundate the Fort Defiance agent with indignant letters. In March 1882, Williams is working at a trading post in Ganado owned by W. B. Leonard, licensed post trader at Fort Defiance.[25]

The GLO surveyors also record several Navajo settlements, including:

- a house and corral owned by Ontsiligodie, also known as Tsii'agodii or Cuthair. There is much livestock near the Zuni (Beale) road amid the scattered Hispanic homesites. Cuthair was forced to Fort Sumner as a child. He will live near where the GLO surveyors record him for a few more years until Mexican herders force him to move near Coyote Spring (Houck's Tank). Cuthair's parents and their extended families ranged from south of Fort Defiance toward St. Johns before forced removal to Fort Sumner.[26]
- a "desert land claim" near the railroad west of Navajo Station, owned by Mr. Dodge, who is undoubtedly Chee Dodge, up-and-coming interpreter for the Navajo Agency at Fort Defiance. Dodge was born before the Fort Sumner happenings to a Navajo mother and a non-Navajo father attached to Fort Defiance. By the early twentieth century, Chee Dodge will ship cattle to Kansas from here.[27]
- Many Horses's house and corral south of Navajo Spring near the Zuni (Beale) road. A large stockowner and the son of headman Ganado Mucho, whose customary use area was the Pueblo Colorado Wash between the Chambers Checkerboard and Ganado, Many Horses also claims land use rights around Tanner Springs. Since the return from Fort Sumner, Ganado Mucho has been one of a handful of headmen through whom the agent at Fort Defiance communicates with the Navajo public. Like his father, Many Horses is a mentor to the Ganado trader J. Lorenzo Hubbell.[28]
- Manuscito's house and corral. His many horses and sheep are observed along Zuni (Beale) road near Jacob's Well. He is probably the Mancisco who, thirty-five years later, will want to buy railroad land just south of this site.[29]
- Indian houses near Graywater Spring. Unnamed residents may include Hastiin Tółbáí, or Mr. Graywater (named for the spring), who lived nearby before and after relocation to Fort Sumner.[30]
- Navajo fields along Puerco and Overland Stage Road west of Houck. "Vegetables of all kinds are raised by the Navajoes on bottomland," GLO surveyors find.[31] Unnamed farmers may include Hastiin Daaz (Mr. Heavy), who will soon complain about a homesteader's stock in his field.

Although the GLO surveyors do not report them, at least twelve other Navajos and their families are in the Chambers Checkerboard, most of them probably relatives or in-laws of the Navajo men on whom the GLO surveyors report, especially Many Horses and Cuthair.[32]

Altogether, then, at least thirty non-Indian settlers and eighteen Navajo men plus their families are in the Chambers Checkerboard. Most non-Indian settlers (at least the non-Hispanic ones) seem to be single men without dependents; the few with families have Navajo wives and children. In contrast to the non-Indians, most Navajo residents named are wealthy with many dependents and relatives. Navajo coresident families in nearby localities in the early twentieth century will average eight,[33] so the Navajo population of the Chambers Checkerboard is probably 144-plus compared with about thirty-plus non-Indians (not counting non-resident speculators and the mobile railroad workers).

Even though Navajos probably outnumber non-Indians by more than four to one, almost every reliable water source identified by the GLO surveys and other documents in the Chambers Checkerboard has some kind of non-Indian presence at or near it (if only a scripped claim of an absentee speculator).[34] Navajos tend to locate homesites close to water, but not too close,[35] and the non-Indians take advantage of that.

1883

Tanner Springs settler Barney Williams complains in June to Fort Defiance Agent Denis Riordan that Navajos are threatening to kill him and other settlers if they do not let the Navajos water livestock at Tanner Springs. There are 15,000 sheep and horses now watering at Tanner Springs, and Riordan must come down and lay down the law. Williams implies that one Navajo, "To-yel-te" (probably Doo Yáłti'í, Mute) did have rights to the water.[36]

Riordan goes down ten days later. He tells the whites to avoid violence and the Navajos to leave the area. The only exception is Toh-yel-te, whom Riordan's predecessor Agent Eastman authorized by letter to use the spring. "I learned," Riordan writes the CIA, "that Tanner (after whom the spring is named) lived there for some time but finally left it after a dispute with the Indians. It transpired that the cause of his leaving was [this] letter. . . ."[37]

Later in the summer Williams and his neighbor, John L. French, complain again to Riordan that Indians are stealing their horses and cattle (and those of Lewis Lynch) and vandalizing Williams's reservoir. One of the thieves is Many Horses of Navajo Spring, son of headman Ganado Mucho. Agent Riordan responds with a retinue of twenty troops from Fort Wingate. He crows to the CIA,

> The leader of the Indians, Toh-yel-te by name, declared his purpose to die right there sooner than give up the spring. I heard the story of each side fully. The Indians talked all night. After listening to everything bearing on the subject, I told Toh-yel-te he could begin getting ready to die just as soon as he pleased, that he must leave that place. . . . [T]he Indians came to me and accepted my terms.

> I then told them I was not disposed to be unnecessarily harsh with them, that they might stay there and gather the present crop of corn, after which they must move north of the southern line of the reservation.
>
> This matter has kept the settlers to the south and west of here thoroughly alarmed for some time past. It is now settled and, I trust, for all time.

Riordan adds that on his June trip to Tanner Spring he also settled a dispute over two cows and four calves claimed by both a Navajo and a non-Indian by awarding the stock to the Navajo.[38]

Three weeks later all hell breaks loose. On September 15, 1883, J. D. Houck telegraphs Riordan, "Indians fired on Ranche. Please assist us." A hysterical story in the *Albuquerque Globe Democrat* on the same day reports that one hundred Navajos fired on the "Hancho ranch" a quarter-mile from Navajo Station after they found a Navajo boy dead and believed a "Hancho" cowboy killed him.[39] "Hancho" is probably a misunderstanding of "Houck," but another possibility is "Hashknife," the brand of the cattle company owned in part by the railroad and nicknamed for its brand.[40]

Navajos reach Riordan at Fort Wingate to report the killing. He follows them back to Navajo Springs with troops and learns that,

> On Saturday early in the morning a Navajo boy, the son of a chief called Sin-ah-jin-ni-be-gay [Tsi'naajinii Biye'] was shot twice by an American. The boy lingered until that night when he died. When he reached help, which he managed to do, he told his story which was, that a man named C. P. Owen had shot him, that he (the Indian) was unarmed and did not know the reason of his being shot.
>
> Two other Navajos who had started out with the one who was killed to herd up their horses, and who were a mile or so from him at the time of the shooting, immediately got on the trail of the murderer and followed him to his house, or rather, the house of J. D. Houck where he lived. I went over the ground with Lieut. Lockett of the 4th Cavalry and trailed the tracks right from the place where the Indian fell from his horse when he was shot to the door of Houck's house. I arrested Owen and charged him with the killing of the Indian boy. He is now in keeping of the military authorities at Ft. Wingate.
>
> These men Owen and Houck are men dangerous to the peace and good order of this region. I saw over twenty five Indians who have been shot at by them during the past year or two, including an Indian woman. I despair of securing a conviction of either of them; and realize that I am liable to be assassinated by them for having undertaken to punish them for their crimes. [Letter asks for a unit of scouts of platoon of cavalry to be based at Ft. Defiance.][41]

Two weeks after the incident, a judge in Albuquerque, New Mexico Territory, rules that Owen's crime is under the jurisdiction of civil authorities in Apache

County, Arizona Territory (not federal, since it happened off the reservation). Owen is sent west. With much more foresight than he showed about Tanner Springs, Riordan writes CIA,

> My opinion is that no conviction will follow. In fact, I do not believe the man will even be tried.
>
> Meanwhile, the other murderer I arrested [in another incident from the northern Navajo country before September 15] lays in the guard house at Wingate, in irons. He too committed the crime off the reservation. But he is an Indian and habeas corpus acts don't reach such as he.[42]

Probably prompted by this incident, Riordan later notifies Tsi'naajinii, "chief of the Navajos living southwest of the reservation" along the railroad in Arizona Territory, that "he and his people" must move on the reservation this spring and "never plant another crop in the valley of the Puerco." The reason is to prevent clashes with non-Indians.[43]

1884

This June, like last, Barney Williams complains to Riordan about Navajo encroachment and asks for troops. Riordan wants Williams to justify his request to a Navajo scout that Riordan will send down.[44]

The next month, John Bowman replaces Riordan as agent. He corresponds with Lewis Lynch at Navajo Springs about a Navajo who came to the agency to complain that Lynch has usurped a spring that the man's sister and her family had improved and built a house near. Bowman has told the Navajos that Lynch is entitled as a citizen to make entry but must pay occupants for improvements ($100) and let them harvest their crop. Lynch wants Bowman to tell the Navajos that Lynch will share the spring with them. Each will keep his stock on separate sides of the spring. Lynch also will pay the Navajos for their improvements. The spring may be one east of Tanner Spring in the same township, where Lynch's brother Hugh later will have a well.[45]

Evidently in the first days of Agent Bowman's tenure, disputes occurred at Emigrant Springs, Allantown, and Navajo Springs. "Old Man" Leonard is at Navajo Springs.[46] Leonard is the licensed Fort Defiance post trader for whom Barney Williams was working at Ganado in 1882. The Emigrant Springs dispute is evidently the complaint by the "old gray-headed man and sister" (see above) that one Walker sold land with a spring to Bennett (the trader at Houck's Tank), but they had occupied this land for years and have improvements on it. Bowman asks Bennett for his side.[47]

Bowman writes to W. B. Leonard in August and September. Bowman first says he will send a scout to Leonard's place to investigate Leonard's complaint and tell the Indians who are giving him trouble to stop or they will be punished. Whether Leonard's place is Navajo Springs (where a notation in the Agency letterbook places him earlier in year) or Tanner Springs (where 1885 correspondence places him) is unclear. Later, Bowman tells Leonard he is

sending "Chee" (Dodge, presumably), the interpreter, to fix things up for Leonard and have a Navajo scout (law-enforcement officer), Man-the-Dog-Bit, arrest the offender. In November and December Bowman again is caught in the middle of mutual complaints between Leonard and Navajos. Bowman deferentially sends Navajo scouts to Leonard twice to hear Leonard's complaints, and once sends to Leonard a note with "Bearer," one "Little Man," who says he had some cows on Leonard's range and now cannot find them. Little Man wants Leonard to tell him where to find his cows.[48]

As he starts to deal with Leonard in August, Bowman is also mediating another dispute at Allantown and Emigrant Springs. T. M. Hainch or Hinch, who lives thirty miles east in the new railroad town of Gallup, New Mexico, comes to the agency to report that a Navajo stole horses from his ranch near Allantown. Hinch and two other non-Indians saw the theft. "Navajo John" got one horse back for them. Bowman sends scouts Balone and Navajo John to Emigrant Springs, where Hinch will meet them and point out the thief. Navajo John will interpret and the scout will arrest the thief.[49] In October someone steals horses from trader J. W. Bennett at Houck's Tank.[50]

1885

In May, Agent Bowman writes to W. B. Leonard at Tanner Springs that an "old Indian" wants to plant at the wash near Leonard's place and that headman Ganado Mucho has endorsed the elder's request. Bowman has told the elder that he could plant only with Leonard's consent.[51] Later in the month, Houck's Tank evidently is the scene of some kind of crime. Agent Bowman tells trader Bennett there to have Hastiin Nez "arrested and tried by civil law," since Indians living outside the reservation are subject to territorial laws.[52]

James Houck stops operating his store in 1885 and moves to one of the new railroad towns to the west, Holbrook or Winslow.[53] Meanwhile, Peter-Joseph Hill applies for a homestead around the stage station west of Bennett's trading post at Houck's Tank, which may have been Houck's original trading post.[54] Soon Hill's Navajo neighbor Hastiin Ndaaz (Mr. Heavy) visits Fort Defiance to complain that Hill's cattle have eaten all his corn. Samuel E. Day, a clerk acting as agent, sends Hastiin Ndaaz to Hill with a note that Hill could pay him something. The field of Hastiin Ndaaz is probably the large Navajo field that GLO land surveyors reported in 1882 just north of Hill's homestead.[55]

Two years have passed since Owen killed the Navajo youth near Navajo Springs. At the beginning of November, Andrew Cooper, a cowboy at Tanner Springs, shoots and kills the Navajo "To-yel-ti" in front of three Navajo children and one man. The victim's kin, led by headman Ganado Mucho, threaten to massacre the other non-Indians at Tanner Springs but acting Agent Samuel Day Sr. intervenes. Cooper then holes up at Navajo Springs.[56] Agent Bowman asks the district attorney in Prescott, Arizona, to investigate and bring the killer to trial. Bowman offers some background:

> The place where this affair occurred is about thirty miles south of the Moquis [Hopi] reservation. Near this place there is a fine large spring,

> at which members of this tribe [Navajos] have lived for many generations although they have made no improvements of a substantial character. Some four years ago [1881 or 1882], two Americans took a small herd of cattle to this place, and made an agreement with the Indian who lived there (and the same one who was killed) to the effect that they would both live there and occupy, and own, the spring in common. [See "1883" above. The agreement probably refers to the agent's letter on behalf of Toh-yel-te that caused Seth Tanner to move away.] Everything went along smoothly for a while but finally the whites having erected a stone house, and made other improvements, began to look on their Indian neighbor as a trespasser and to commence proceedings for getting rid of him [this probably refers to efforts of Barney Williams]. The result was that by the means of coaxing, bribery, and intimidation, they induced the Indian to consent to move away and relinquish any claim on the spring. He moved away several miles and built his hogan at another small spring where he soon found himself again in the way. The white men coaxed the Indian to sell his right to them and to leave the section. He did leave for a while but a few days ago moved back with his family and herds of sheep. The next day after his arrival, and while he was watering his sheep at a pool, a few miles west of this ranch, Cooper, a man who was employed as a herder by Mr. Smith, the present owner of the Tanner Spring ranch, rode down there and asked the Indian to take his sheep away. [See "1886" below. There is no documentation on E. T. Smith.] The white man could not talk Navajo and the Indian could not talk English. . . . N[o] one knows who fired first, but the white man shot the Indian's horse, which fell. In falling the Indian grapsed the white man by the arm and both came to the ground together. The white man being by far the strongest shook off his opponent, and shot him twice killing him instantly, then started home on the run.[57]

The Navajos take some of Smith's cattle. Bowman soon will send John N. Stuart, agency blacksmith and chief of scouts, among the Chambers Checkerboard Navajos to buy them back.[58]

1886

Having quit in April as Fort Defiance agent, Bowman takes up a homestead 1.5 miles east of Navajo Station. Improvements are a stone house of four rooms, stable or barn, tool house or store house, two corrals, windmill, and tanks. He has 1.5 acres in fruit trees and has tried without success to grow alfalfa. His cattle and horses range on the surrounding "public domain."[59] These improvements could not have sprung up overnight. Records do not show whether Bowman built them while he was agent or whether they belonged to someone else (Leonard?).

1887

It turns out that Bowman also has land at Tanner Springs, which he sells at the end of January to the Defiance Cattle Company. When he acquired this holding is not clear, nor is the identity of Defiance Cattle Company.[60]

A little more than a year after the murder of To-yel-ti comes the most violent incident to date.[61] It starts at Bennett's Houck Tank store, when Hastiin Łichíí (Mr. Red) brings in a stray horse for Bennett to find the owner. Bennett says that the horse belongs to Frank Palmer, who evidently works sometimes for Bennett (Bennett will say he was mentally unstable). Mr. Red leaves the horse with Bennett, who gives it back to Palmer. Palmer claims to find some damage to the horse, and gets a warrant from the justice of the peace at Navajo Springs (Station?) to arrest Mr. Red for horse theft. A deputy, George Lockhart, together with Palmer and one T. V. King, then leave their home at Navajo Springs to go after Mr. Red.

The three men descend on a Navajo hogan fifteen to twenty miles south of Houck's Tank near Cuthair's home. Lockhart enters the hogan, shooting at the occupant(s), killing one "Ugly Gun,"[62] and wounding (perhaps mortally) Jose, a Spanish interpreter and sheep herder with Mr. Red's group. Others in the hogan shoot Lockhart down in the doorway. At least two Navajos then run out chasing Palmer and King. Four miles north of the hogan the fugitives dismount because one horse is wounded and the terrain is too steep to descend on horseback. They evidently are trying to get back to Bennett's Ranch at Emigrant Springs. There the Navajos catch and kill them.

Bowman's successor Agent Patterson discredits King and Palmer as army deserters. John Bowman himself helps search for the bodies and tells other local non-Indians to be peaceful toward the Navajos. A century later, a local Navajo resident will state that Navajo survivors from the hogan left for somewhere on the Navajo Reservation far to the north and never came back.[63]

Non-Indians steal 157 horses of headman Ganado Mucho and others from near Navajo Springs and drive them fifty to sixty miles before Navajos recover the horses. At Agent Patterson's request, General Miles then stations a company of troops from Wingate at Navajo Springs.[64] Acting Fort Defiance Agent Ford tells C. P. Owen, who has metamorphosed from Agent Riordan's "bad man" into sheriff of St. Johns, that he cannot come on the reservation with a posse to arrest Navajos.[65] Why Owen wants to do this is not stated, but the March 15 incident seems the most likely reason (Owen may have been an enforcer for the Hashknife). Agent Riordan in 1883 rightly foresaw that Owen would remain free despite the Navajo(s) he had killed.

After 1887

After the crescendo of conflict in 1887, silence falls. Financial panic grips the nation and cattle prices nosedive.[66] Investors take their money out of ranches, and ranchers sell the cattle to pay off the investors. As the cattle disappears, so do the cowboys. The non-Indians who stay in the Chambers Checkerboard are the ones who have actually filed on homesteads and built trading posts: Lynch at Navajo Station, Hardison nearby (until his death in a few years),

Bennett at Emigrant Springs and Houck's Tank, along with his neighbor Hill (for a few more years) and the Hathorn brothers. Most of these people will have generations of descendants in the area, including many Navajo families.

Perhaps the most dramatic sign of economic reversal is that Tanner Springs, the object of so much bloodshed, by 1891 comes into the hands of two Navajos, Arthur Chester and former Fort Defiance Agency interpreter and all-around troubleshooter Chee Dodge, whose desert land claim along the railroad west of Navajo Station was noted by GLO land surveyors in 1882. Since 1884, Dodge also has been a trader in partnership with S. E. Aldrich at Round Rock in the northern Navajo Reservation. Aldrich is the Apache wars veteran and army contractor who owns a store with James Bennett at Manuelito.[67] Chee Dodge buys land at Tanner Springs from Defiance Cattle Company (possibly W. B. Leonard) sometime after the Defiance Company got it in 1887 from John Bowman. Homesteader Freeman Hathorn may have brokered this sale.[68]

EARLIER, IN THE SEATS OF COLONIAL POWER . . .

The Chambers Checkerboard between 1882 and 1887 offers an oblique view of Fort Defiance, where the drama of early government agents and merchants set patterns for Navajo history in the coming decades. This particular perception shows certain aspects of this drama that Western histories conventionally downplay.

The drama seems to flow from a conflict between civilian and military authorities. Civilian authority consisted of the hierarchy from agent up through commissioner of Indian Affairs to secretary of Interior, which connected to networks of philanthropists (like the Presbyterian Church, which the federal government allowed to vet Indian Service personnel) and capitalists (like the mine speculators at whose behest Fort Defiance Agent Arny between 1873 and 1875 tried to get part of the treaty reservation restored to the public domain).[69] Military authority consisted of the army west of the Missouri and its various outposts, most obviously Fort Wingate. Tied up with the military were merchants of the Santa Fe Trade, whose coziness with the army went back to Fort Union in northeastern New Mexico, the guardhouse of the Santa Fe Trail. These merchants contracted to supply the military posts and the traders licensed at those posts. These same merchants supplied trading posts at the civilian Indian agencies, including Fort Defiance. The Spiegelburgs seem to have been the main Santa Fe merchants involved with Fort Wingate and Fort Defiance in the 1860s and 1870s.[70] The conflict may have pitted national elites against territorial ones. Here we are generalizing about atomistic, opportunistic actions of individuals constrained by political/economic institutions, not proposing sharply defined conflicts among those institutions.

The conflict worked itself out at Fort Defiance between agents and certain traders, most notably Thomas Keam. Keam's biographer Laura Graves describes the conflict as it engulfed one of Keam's several bids to be Navajo agent:

> But the secretary of interior was in no humor to listen to [General] Sherman's advice about Thomas Keam's [1878] application for the [Fort Defiance] agent's job or anything else, because the Department of the Interior . . . and the War Department were locked in a bitter dispute over who should control Indian affairs. Following the Civil War . . . the transfer issue had gained public attention. General Sherman was a particularly vocal advocate for transfer, claiming that the army, with its fort system and quartermaster and commissary staffs in place, could effectively and efficiently issue annuity goods, and that the commanding officer could implement policy. . . . That Thomas Keam had worked for and was supported by the United States Army and had Sherman's recommendation was, to the secretary of the interior, the commissioner of Indian affairs, and Reverend John Lowrie [of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, which vetted Office of Indian Affairs appointments in the Southwest] a clear indication of his unfitness to serve.[71]

Backgrounds given above on Chambers Checkerboard residents of the early 1880s (Hardison, Chee Dodge, and William Leonard) show that, like Keam, they were 1870s alumni of the Fort Defiance Agency. By the late 1870s, Keam seems to have been a mentor of W. B. Leonard, the rancher at Tanner Springs and Navajo Station.

Historians conventionally emphasize Keam as a pioneer trader to both Navajos and Hopis. But when one views him through the network of agency cronies who ranched in the Chambers Checkerboard during the 1880s, his trading seems more like an appendage to ranching than the other way round.

For most of the early traders in northeastern Arizona, trading was of secondary importance. These men, among them "Old Man" William Leonard, Thomas Keam, Lorenzo Hubbell, and Sam Day Sr., originally settled outside the reservation boundary and established cattle ranches with trading posts at the ranch headquarters.[72] Keam's role in the factional squabbles at the Fort Defiance Agency in turn throws light on the aims of the early ranchers of the Chambers Checkerboard. The story is as follows.

1869–1873

Keam was a soldier who mustered out at Fort Stanton (Apache) in 1866 and by 1869 was Spanish interpreter to agents James Carry French and then Frank Tracy Bennett at Fort Defiance (French and Bennett were military). Keam soon became assistant agent (1871–1872), then acting agent (1872–1873). As Agent, Keam got in good with Navajo headmen, especially Manuelito and Ganado Mucho, two important leaders of the Navajo resistance to the Fort Sumner internment, later appointed by agents as the main liaisons with Navajo headmen and local Navajos in general. Keam organized thirteen headmen, each with nine to ten followers, into a shortlived Navajo police force. This force was originally Acting Agent Frank Tracy Bennett's idea in 1869. The force soon disbanded when the agency could not pay the men or provide uniforms.[74]

In 1873, on the pretext that Keam and several other agency workers were living immorally (by Presbyterian standards) with Navajo women, the new Agent Arny colluded with the Presbyterians and fired them. Arny's hidden agenda seems to have been to discredit Keam, not only because he was a rival for Arny's position but also because he could (and did) expose Arny's corruption. Anson Damon (butcher), Jesus Arviso (interpreter), W. W. Owens (chief herder), William Clark, Charles Hardison (herder), and Perry Williams all went.[75] In Williams's case, the Navajo woman in question was evidently the woman who raised Chee Dodge.[76]

Arviso, Damon, Keam, and Hardison moved just across the reservation line: the first three just south of Fort Defiance, and Hardison to Kinlichee. Perry Williams got trading licenses at Fort Defiance and later north at Washington (Narbona) Pass. Keam promptly applied for a license to trade at Fort Defiance, with Santa Fe merchants Spiegelberg and Ilfeld securing his bond. But new agent Arny refused the license. (Maybe Keam's bad luck was Perry Williams's good fortune.) Keam therefore traded from his place at Fair View, south of Fort Defiance and the reservation, while he "plotted to get hired as the Navajos' agent."[77] From then into the early 1880s, the army tried several times to get Keam to replace the existing agent, but the Presbyterians and Interior secretary would have none of it.[78]

1874–1875

In 1875, Keam seems to have started to trade at the place later called Keams Canyon, near both Hopi and Navajo communities. At this time there was no reservation for Hopis or Navajos living west of the 1868 treaty reservation (Ganado, midway between Fort Defiance and Keams Canyon, was just outside the southwest corner of the 1868 reservation). The federal government had established a Hopi agency in 1869 at what was later called Keams Canyon. No agent lived there until 1880. If there was an agent at all, he lived at Fort Defiance. But one agent in 1874 built a few structures there.[79] Keam's trading post was to be part of a cattle ranch. Spiegelbergs again secured the bond for Keam's license.[80]

1876–1878

The Hopi Agency was discontinued in 1876 for lack of funds. It reopened in 1878, but agents again lived at Fort Defiance. Keam continued with stores both at Keams Canyon and at Fair View. Leonard worked for Keam at Fair View in the late 1870s. In 1876 Leonard may have been a teacher at Fort Defiance, where the Presbyterians had been trying to run a boarding school since 1870. Between 1877 and 1879 he clerked for Romulo Martinez at Fort Defiance.[81]

Leonard and Barney Williams also were operating outside the reservation at Ganado, forty miles west of Fort Defiance. They were the first wave of would-be rancher/traders to set up just outside reservation so they could raise cattle and avoid running the gauntlet of federal licensing. Seemingly contradictory

stories about early trading posts at Ganado tell of Barney Williams or William B. Leonard selling a store to J. Lorenzo Hubbell, future legendary trader of Ganado, in 1876 and 1878.[82] Hubbell himself had clerked at stores in Fort Wingate and Fort Defiance sometime between 1874 and 1876. Hubbell's father was a former soldier and prominent merchant trader in the Rio Grande Valley, his mother's family were wealthy Hispanic land owners south of Albuquerque, and he had gone to a Presbyterian school in Santa Fe. By 1880 he had a store in St. Johns and was courting a daughter of Cebolleta, New Mexico, people who were among the first St. Johns settlers.[83] Were these the people whose Mexican herders in the Chambers Checkerboard mentioned above eventually displaced the Navajo Cuthair?

Ganado was important because it was on the freight road from Fort Wingate through Fort Defiance to Hopi. Before the railroad, Keam evidently got merchandise piggybacked on military or contract freighters to Wingate or sometimes Fort Defiance, which is probably why he kept his store at Fair View. Since Ganado was also outside the reservation, these entrepreneurs could run livestock there.

Why raise cattle as close to the reservation as possible? What the 1870s agenda may have been shows up in 1881–1883 correspondence (see above) of Fort Defiance agents with the military about the violence outside the reservation, especially at Tanner Springs. This correspondence always raises the issue of Navajos living outside the reservation. Agent Eastman, backed by the CIA and secretary of Interior, says that Navajos can live outside the reservation and homestead certain sections. The military and Eastman's successor Riordan (1883), however, say the Navajos must stay within reservation boundary. In 1881, the military further emphasizes that if Navajos are confined to the reservation, the agent (Captain F. T. Bennett was acting agent at the time) must have authority to requisition rations for them because the reservation land base is too small to support them. Note that Spiegelbergs, backers of Thomas Keam, in 1874 were trying to collect from the CIA $9,679 for cattle supplied as rations to the Navajo Agency and $2,200 for sheep for Hopis.[85]

The schools anticipated at the agency headquarters also would have been sources of beef contracts. These schools, however, amounted to little until after 1887. In the meantime, to have access to other markets besides rations and as-yet-insignificant school supply, one would want a ranch as close as possible to the proposed transcontinental railroad, which was to follow the Overland Stage Road first marked out in 1858 and 1863. Ganado Mucho, whose range covered the area south of Keams Canyon and Ganado down to where the railroad was planned, found Keam and Hubbell cozying up to him. A few years later, Barney Williams tried bullying him. Marrying into Navajo families, as Keam, Hardison, and the Lynches did also may have been a better choice for securing land use.

1880

In January 1880 the Navajo Reservation boundary was extended again.[86] It engulfed Keam's place at Fair View, and also Ganado and Kinlichee. Keam

closed the Fair View Post and moved to the Keam's Canyon post, which his brother had been running for him. That post was outside the extension on public domain where he could run the post and raise cattle far removed from any Indian agent's control. Hubbell had a similar arrangement, what he called a "trading ranch," just inside the reservation with public domain only a stone's throw across the boundary.[87] But soon Hopi agent John H. Sullivan also went to Keams Canyon.

IN THE COLONIAL SEATS DURING THE CHAMBERS CHECKERBOARD VIOLENCE

1881

Now we are back to the beginning of the times of violence in the Chambers Checkerboard. Informal military fact-finder Captain J. G. Bourke travelling to Hopi in April 1881 stays with Fort Defiance post trader W. B. Leonard, then near Kinlichee with George M. (Barney) Williams, then on to Keam's place, where Keam is eager to accommodate him, which impresses Bourke.[88] It almost appears as though Keam built the compound to sell to the government for an agency headquarters and school.

1882

In March 1882 Barney Williams complains about Fort Defiance Agent Eastman to other federal authorities. In this year before he makes his presence all too well known at Tanner Springs, Williams is working at the trading post in Ganado owned by W. B. Leonard, licensed post trader at Fort Defiance. Leonard also operates the Martinez store at Fort Defiance and reportedly is working with Thomas Keam. Barney Williams is angry at federal officials as bearers of the bad news that the Navajo Reservation boundary was extended in 1880. Williams also has recently driven a herd of 500 cattle onto the reservation and is reportedly connected to Lambert M. Hopkins, post trader at Fort Wingate.[89]

The 1880 Navajo Reservation extension may be why Barney Williams (presumably fronting for Leonard—and possibly Leonard for Keam) sets up at Tanner Springs. The extension also might explain Hardison's move to the railroad as well as Chee Dodge's desert land claim there, if Chee Dodge is in fact tied up with non-Indian interests, including perhaps those of his stepfather.

In December 1882 an executive order creates another reservation that encompasses the Hopi Mesas and adjoins the 1880 Navajo Reservation extension to take in Keams Canyon, thereby pushing rancher/traders who want to stay outside further afield. The 1882 reservation results from a dispute between Agent Fleming and Jeremiah Sullivan, son of former Hopi agent John Sullivan. Doctor Jeremiah Sullivan and another non-Indian settler named Merritt have been urging the Hopis to oppose the agent's efforts to send their children to boarding schools. Sullivan and Merritt challenge

Fleming to evict them from Hopiland without a reservation to evict them from. So Fleming asks for the 1882 executive order. The next step is a boarding school at Keams Canyon to get rid of one reason for Hopi opposition: the distance of schools from Hopiland.[90]

Keam does nothing to stop the 1882 executive order, even though a reservation seems likely to jeopardize his cattle ranch. He enlarges his compound in the canyon and takes out a desert land entry of 160 acres on the surrounding land. This entry will either protect his holdings or qualify him for federal compensation.[91]

1882–1883

By 1882 and 1883, the same and other people connected with Ganado, Fort Wingate, and the pro-Keam faction at Fort Defiance also appear at Tanner Springs and Navajo Station: Hardison, Barney Williams, and William Leonard, who in 1882 leaves Fort Defiance for Navajo Springs and the stock business. One suspects that these intruders into the Chambers Checkerboard (Hardison, Williams, Leonard) are still pursuing their 1870s plan to raise beef to supply Indian agencies with rations, an idea that the military correspondence previously cited is still pushing. The most advantageous range is what they have already started using, between the new reservations and the railroad. Reservation boundary extensions of 1880 and 1882 have pushed them farther south into this area. By this time, Hubbell is filling large beef contracts (one for 60,000 pounds) with both Navajo and Hopi agencies.[92] Hubbell's history of business ties with Leonard hints at a ring linking both Hubbell and Keam to Leonard and his Tanner Springs ranch.

Why Tanner Springs and Navajo Station? Navajo Station is on the railroad, and both places are on an indigenous trail from Hopi to Zuni. If you want to drive cattle from Keams Canyon to the railroad, you might use this trail. If you want to drive cattle from Ganado to the railroad, you would want to drive them down the Pueblo Colorado Wash, and you can cut straight south to hit the Hopi-Zuni trail there.[93]

Cattle prices are high, so as soon as the railroad comes in to give access to eastern markets, speculators back ranchers to move onto the land. James Houck, Commodore Perry Owen, and many people whose names will disappear from historical record after the 1882 GLO surveys may have some such backing, although evidence is lacking, as is proof of backers for homesteaders like the Hathorns and Lynches, Hinch and Hill. GLO land surveyor Benson, who placed scrip on the springs, is clearly speculating on the cattle boom, as is the Hashknife Outfit (Aztec Land and Cattle Company), a railroad subsidiary west of the Chambers Checkerboard.[94] Spanish sheepherders (possibly including employees of J. L. Hubbell's inlaws) probably gravitate toward the railroad from St. Johns, itself a foothold in what was once Indian Country before the Fort Sumner incarceration and Apache wars.

1884–1887 and Beyond

Merchant/ranchers get a sympathetic agent in 1884: John Bowman.[95] In 1886 Bowman quits and applies for a homestead at Navajo Station. He also at some point gets land at Tanner Springs, which he sells in the 1887 panic to the mysterious Defiance Cattle Company. The agent's deference to Leonard is evident in Bowman's 1885 letters (see above), suggesting ties to Leonard by that year.

The Navajo and Hopi agencies are also nudging school enrollments upward. The Fort Defiance school, with a new building ready by 1884, has only a couple dozen students in that year, but Agent Bowman thinks it can soon draw a couple hundred. At the same time, Bowman advocates a school for the Hopis and estimates that the Hopis can "furnish" 250 students. Bowman wants the government to use Keam's property, which is well suited to an industrial school of the type that Keam has pushed for a decade or more.[96]

Keam can profit from the Hopi school. Two of his business schemes, the cattle ranch and the sale of his Keams Canyon holdings to the federal government, depend on a school.[97] The government finally agrees to rent the buildings from Keam in 1887, and the school opens with forty students that fall. This year of financial panic is also the year that schooling for Indian children becomes compulsory.[98] Could it be a coincidence? Keam will deed his property to the US government in 1889 for a price of $10,000, down from Bowman's original offer of $25,000 in 1884. Keam's desert land entry is never approved because the township has not been surveyed, and therefore is not open to desert land entries). In the end, the compensation is for improvements only, not the land itself.[99]

> As the only rancher in the immediate vicinity, [Keam becomes] the primary contractor to supply the school with beef and mutton. In 1889 he [will contract] to supply the agency with 20,000 pounds of beef for $10.00 per hundred weight. During the next eleven years, Keam [will supply] over 280,000 pounds of beef to the agency.[100]

Keam also will sell oats, hay, and corn to the agency. Starting in 1889 he will sell beef to the Hopi Agency as well. When beef prices fall nationally in the mid-1880s, federal contracts for Indian agencies are paying above market value.[101] Keam can "minimize his costs and maximize his profits, because he [does] not have to trail his cattle very far from his ranch near Dilkon to the Hopi school, nor [does] he have to pay taxes on the land, because he graze[s] cattle either on free range or on reservation land."[102] It is no surprise, therefore, that Keam will help the Hopi Agency and US Army take Hopi children from their home villages for school, even at gunpoint.[103]

As the schools will rescue Keam from the falling cattle market, trader/ranchers Chee Dodge and Arthur Chester at Tanner Springs (and Crystal) will adapt in a different way. Chee Dodge is uniquely positioned because, unlike most of his fellow Navajos on his mother's side, he has access to investment capital, and unlike his fellow non-Navajos on his father's side he can run livestock on reservation land without a license. This he reportedly

starts in 1886 at Crystal, presumably on range of his wife's family, perhaps in connection with his 1884 trading-post partnership farther north at Round Rock.[104] Chester is from Mancos Creek, Colorado, and married into a Crystal family in the 1880s. He may have connected with Chee Dodge through the Round Rock Trading Post, which probably included Mancos Creek in its trade area.[105] Chester will settle at Tanner Springs in 1890 or 1891, evidently in partnership with Dodge.[106]

THE MORAL

This paper tells two stories. One recounts how non-Indian settlers tried to drive out the Navajos they found in the Chambers Checkerboard as they introduced the first raw developments of frontier industrial capitalism. The other story consists of events in more distant seats of colonial power. Together, the two tales show how agents of colonial power could simultaneously act on humanitarian motives and exploit the kin, military, and business ties of local individuals, both non-Indian settlers and Navajo leaders. Through often pitifully modest "improvements," the non-Indian settlers and Navajo headmen tried to control strategic lands and waters for themselves and their families, but their efforts actually imposed the hegemony of the nation whose agents they needed to back their claims.

These agents of colonial power in turn, far from forming a united conspiracy of exploiters and oppressors, accused each other of forming rings for their own gain. These divisions arose because the segments of the national and territorial power structures that each represented—military, civilian government, and merchant—vied with each other for control of Indians, land, and resources. These conflicts amid national and territorial political/economic institutions constrained actions of individuals, Indian and non-Indian.

The distant, attenuated conflicts among national and territorial political/economic institutions and among their agents in Navajoland fuelled violence in the Chambers Checkerboard that followed when Navajos refused to confine themselves to their undersized reservation where the military and certain merchants wanted them so that off-reservation areas would be free for non-Indian beef producers. Agents of civilian government tended to support the Navajos' off-reservation land rights partly to undermine what they saw as military-mercantile "rings" (not to mention that Navajo presence could lead to enlarging the reservation and consolidating their administrative authority). Yet the division was not complete because military, merchants, and civilian government agents were all for boarding schools. And when the national cattle market collapsed in the mid-1880s and Indian boarding schools thereby became more important as a possible market for beef, violence abated. Trader/ranchers needed to get along with civilian government agents, whose attempts to enlarge their reservation jurisdictions could maximize compulsory school enrollment.

The individuals who gained most—the non-Indian trader/ranchers Thomas Keam and Lorenzo Hubbell, and the Navajo rancher and military/civilian government employee Chee Dodge—were at least temporarily also agents of national power, manipulating that power to enrich themselves locally.

NOTES

1. This research was done under contract with the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department, Permit No. C98240E, Contract C98257. The primary-document source for this article is the Archive Document file of the Correll Collection, Navajo Nation Museum and Library, Window Rock, Arizona, hereafter Correll-AD. Other abbreviations used in citations are: BLM-GLO surveys (General Land Office survey plats and tract books, microfiche, US Bureau of Land Management, Phoenix Arizona); BLM-HI (Historical Index and Homestead Entry Microfiche, US Bureau of Land Management, Phoenix, Arizona); Correll-NOH (Navajo Oral History Statements, Correll Collection, Navajo Nation Museum and Library); Franciscans (St. Michaels Franciscan Mission Collection, Special Collection AZ500, University of Arizona Library, Tucson); Hubbell (Oral History Interviews, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Ganado, Arizona); NA homestead files (Record Group 49, National Archives, Suitland, Maryland); AG (US Army, Adjutant General); AAG (US Army, Assistant Adjutant General); CIA (US Commissioner of Indian Affairs); and GLO (US General Land Office). We also rely on interviews with seventy-five local Navajo and non-Navajo residents that we and Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department staff members conducted between 1994 and 1998.

2. Navajo Nation, *Proposed Findings of Fact on Behalf of the Navajo Tribe of Indians in Area of the Overall Navajo Claim, Docket 229 before the Indian Claims Commission* (Window Rock: Navajo Nation, 1963), 146–153; Correll-AD, 1863–1868 files.

3. US Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1868 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1869), 161–164; Treaty of June 1, 1868, in J. Lee Correll and Alfred Dehiya, *Anatomy of the Navajo Indian Reservation: How It Grew* (Window Rock: Navajo Times Publishing Company, 1978), 3–7; William S. Greever, *Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railway and Its Western Land Grant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954), 20.

4. Correll-NOH. According to statements of twenty-three elderly residents of the Chambers Checkerboard taken in 1960 and 1961 for the Navajo Land Claim before the Indian Claims Commission, forebears of most interviewees used the area before the Fort Sumner incident and returned there afterward. A few forebears were born in the Chambers Checkerboard before Fort Sumner, but more were born elsewhere, mainly in the Black Creek Valley (valley of Fort Defiance) and surrounding region. After Fort Sumner, more family members and the interviewees themselves were born in the Chambers Checkerboard. Crowding around Fort Defiance for rations is a possible reason for this pattern, although not explicit in any statements.

5. Richard F. Van Valkenburgh, *Navajo Country Dine Bikeyah: A Geographic Dictionary of Navajo Lands in the 1930s* (Mancos, Colorado: Time Traveler Maps, 1999 reprint of 1941 original), 90; Klara Kelley, *Archeological Investigations in West-Central New Mexico*, vol. 2: Historic Cultural Resources, Cultural Resources Series 4 (Santa Fe: Bureau of Land Management, 1988), 3, 1–3, 7; Byrd H. Granger, *Will C. Barnes' Arizona Place Names* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1960), 9, 21.

6. The route that became the Overland Stage Road is described in A. W. Whipple, *Report of the Explorations for a Railway Route near the Thirty-Fifth Parallel of Latitude, from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., House Doc. 129 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1854); Edwin F. Beale, *Surveys for*

a Wagon Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. 124 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office 1858); and Laurance C. Kelly, *Navajo Roundup: Selected Correspondence of Kit Carson's Expedition against the Navajo, 1863–1865* (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company), endmap. Information about Houck is from Hubbell Interview 51.

7. Correll-AD, Bennett to CIA, January 7, 1880 [*sic* (1881)].

8. Franciscans, boxes 26, 27, and 29.

9. Correll-AD, Hatch to AAG, May 27, 1881; Parker to AAG, May 17, 1881.

10. Correll-AD, Smith to Eastman, March 10, 1882; Eastman to CIA, March 18, 1882; Eastman to Bennett and Hardison, April 7, 1882.

11. BLM-GLO surveys for Arizona T18-22N, R25-31E. Original Beale road of 1858 followed the low Hopi-Zuni route from Zuni west to Navajo Springs; the segment west of Navajo Springs continued in use as the Overland Stage Road. Franciscan Father Berard Haile, *Tales of an Endishodi*, ed. Murray Bodo (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 14, mentions the "road to St. Johns, outside of Navajo, Arizona" (in the early railroad years), evidently this segment of the Beale road.

12. NA homestead file pat. 287. Navajo descendants of Lewis Lynch's brother Hugh still live in the surrounding region.

13. G. W. Sampson supposedly had a store at Sanders in 1883. According to Frank McNitt (*The Indian Traders* [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962], 251), Sampson also operated at Rock Springs north of Gallup, New Mexico, around the same time. Similarly, Charles Chambers, according to Granger (Granger, *Arizona Place Names*, 7), built a store at present Chambers "several years before the railroad" and sold it around 1888, though the 1882 GLO surveys show no store there. These stores most likely postdate 1887, since neither name is mentioned in any correspondence between 1882 and 1887 (Correll-AD). And telegraph messages were not directed to these stations, only to Houck's Tank, Navajo Station, and Manuelito.

14. Trader James Bennett's own letterhead for the Houck store (at least by 1905) reads "established 1882" (Franciscans, box 27, Bennett to Weber, October 21, 1905).

15. McNitt, *The Indian Traders*, 80n, 279.

16. NA, homestead certificate 86, which also covers a spring about forty miles northeast in the Lava Buttes country. According to Friar Anselm Weber, letter to James McLoughlin, July 20, 1913 (Franciscans, Box 27),

> In 1882 and 1883, Mr. John A. Benson made the official survey of that tract [Lava Buttes country northwest of the Chambers Checkerboard], secured title to six springs by placing soldiers' scrip on them. Convicted of land frauds in California, Mr. Benson went into bankruptcy and these springs were bought, under forced sale, by Chas. L. Day and Daniel Mitchell, partners in business, in 1907 or 1908.

Weber lists six springs in the Lava Buttes country, including the spring covered by homestead certificate 86. Other correspondence in these files shows that Day had the spring near the Gabaldon house (Goodluck Spring), and a list unattached to explanatory documentation lists the six Lava Buttes springs plus Goodluck Spring and Cottonwood Seeps in the western Chambers Checkerboard, suggesting that Goodluck and Cottonwood were part of the holdings that Day got from Benson. The Cottonwood Seeps patent also covered Jacob's Well (NA, homestead file pat. 79).

17. Correll-NOH, statement 296.

18. The homestead patent covering Jacob's Well (NA, homestead file patent 79, Sept. 1, 1884) also covers Cottonwood Seeps several miles west, both of which were probably "scripped" by GLO surveyor Benson (see note 16).

19. Cormac Antram, *Laborers of the Harvest* (St. Michaels, Arizona: Franciscan Fathers, 1998), 55. Jim Bob Tinsley, *The Hash Knife Brand* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 63–64, 121.

20. Tinsley, *The Hash Knife Brand*, 64; US Senate, Indian Affairs Committee, *Survey of Conditions of Indians in the United States*, Part 34 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1937), 17967.

21. McNitt, *The Indian Traders*, 246, 247n.; David M. Brugge, *Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site* (Tucson: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, 1993), 15; NA homestead files P-223 and P-723, pat. 311135 and 989477.

22. Franciscans, box 27, Weber to Rencher, May 19, 1909; Haile, *Tales of an Endishodi*, 11; Antram, *Laborers of the Harvest*, 50–55.

23. NA cash entry patent CE-211. Hathorn paid $400 for the land in 1884, at which time he had a house, corral, and twelve acres broken and fenced.

24. According to Leonard Arrington, "The John Tanner Family" (*The Ensign*, March 1979), Seth Tanner married Anna Maria Jensen in 1876 and raised seven children on a farm between the Mormon settlements on the Little Colorado and Tuba City. The Navajos called him Hastiin Shash (Mr. Bear) after they saw him grab an overhanging tree branch from muleback and, gripping the mule with his legs, raise the mule's forelegs off the ground.

25. Correll-AD, Sutherland to Eastman, March 20, 1882.

26. Correll-NOH statements 296 and 416. Descendants still live in the Chambers Checkerboard.

27. Francis Borgman, "Henry Chee Dodge, The Last Chief of the Navaho Indians," *New Mexico Historical Review* 23, number 2 (1948); Hubbell Interview 51.

28. McNitt, *The Indian Traders*, 202. In 1915, Many Horses, age ninety, was still living near Navajo Springs, according to Peter Paquette, Census of the Navajo Reservation, Year 1915 (NA, Interior Branch, Record Group 75, file no. 64386-14-034, household 8042). Descendants still live near the Chambers Checkerboard (Correll-NOH statement 414).

29. Franciscans, box 26, Jones to Weber, August 9, 1917.

30. Correll-NOH statement 170.

31. BLM-GLO tract book 408.

32. Besides nine Navajos named in correspondence and cited in this chronicle, other documents and our own interviews suggest the following heads of extended families in the Chambers Checkerboard in 1882–1883: Hastiin Tstah (Amid Rocks) north of Jacob's Well (Correll NOH statement 354); Cowherder, born at Squaw Springs before Fort Sumner and resident there afterward (Correll NOH statements 352, 413); and Big Redhouse Clansman, a headman before and after Fort Sumner who ranges throughout the Chambers Checkerboard (Correll NOH statement 232; Franciscans, box 29, 1915 correspondence).

33. Klara Kelley and Peter Whiteley, *Navajoland: Family Settlement and Land Use* (Tsaile: Navajo Community College Press, 1989), 230.

34. Only three known dependable springs in the Chambers Checkerboard had no houses next to them: Crater (NA Desert Land Entry P-252, 1884, lapsed 1895), where the entry person was a speculator in railroad land; Salt Seeps (NA homestead

entry TC-Prescott-71, 1885, lapsed 1902); and Kiits'iil Spring (NA homestead file pat. 357896 and 930752), where Kurt Cronemeyer had a trading post by 1885. Salt Seeps and Crater were covered by Indian Trust Patents to individual Navajos after the homestead entries lapsed; Navajo use in the 1880s possibly prevented houses at these two springs.

35. US Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1885, 155; 1888, 191 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office); see also Kelley and Whiteley, *Navajoland*, 99.

36. Correll-AD, Williams to Riordan, June 9, 1883.

37. Correll-AD, Riordan to CIA, June 11, 1883, pointedly repeats an earlier request for useful guidance on how to handle such disputes; see also Riordan to CIA, June 20, 1883 (two letters).

38. Correll-AD, Williams to Riordan, August 9, 1883; French to Riordan, August 14, 1883; Riordan to CIA, August 24 and 31, 1883.

39. Correll-AD, Houck to Riordan, September 15, 1883; Marshall to Riordan, September 17, 1883; Albuquerque *Globe Democrat*, September 15, 1883.

40. D. W. Meinig, *Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change, 1600–1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 45; Tinsley (*The Hash Knife Brand*, 40) says that not until 1885 was the brand registered in Apache County to the Aztec Land and Cattle Company (a railroad subsidiary formed in 1884).

41. Correll-AD, Riordan to CIA, September 21, 1883.

42. Correll-AD, Riordan to CIA, September 27, 1883.

43. Correll-AD, Riordan to CIA, December 22, 1883.

44. Correll-AD, Riordan to Williams, June 5, 1884.

45. Correll-AD, Bowman letter and notes of July 5–6, 1884; Klara Kelley and Harris Francis, August 10, 1998, interview (field notes on file, Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department, Window Rock).

46. Correll-AD, Fort Defiance Agency letterbook notation of July 6, 1884 by Agent Bowman.

47. Correll-AD, Bowman to Bennett, July 16, 1884 addressed to "ranch near Manuelito." As late as 1925, Bennett leased Arizona state school land that encompassed Emigrant Spring (Apache County Clerk's Office, plat book circa 1918–1930). Apache County Clerk of District Court to Weber, May 5, 1908 (Franciscans, box 27) says that School Section 36, T21N, R28E (Emigrant Springs), is leased to J. W. Bennett (lease expires December 29, 1908). Simington letter to Weber January 7, 1914 (Franciscans, box 29), refers to Emigrant Springs township as the township where Bennett's ranch is.

48. Correll-AD, Bowman to Leonard, August 25, 1884, is addressed to Navajo Station; Bowman to Leonard, September 28, 1884, is addressed to Navajo Springs; see also Bowman to Leonard November 7, 8, and December 14, 1884.

49. Correll-AD, August 31, 1884; Bowman to Mason, August 31, 1884. See also US Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1884 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), 393. Bowman also reports this incident to CIA September 13, 1884 (Correll-AD). Thomas Newton Hinch reported in his homestead application that he settled on the land in 1883 or 1884, where he had a log house and corral (NA homestead files, Cash Entry 280).

50. Correll-AD, Fort Defiance Agency letterbook entry October 17, 1884.

51. Correll-AD, Bowman to Leonard, May 11, 1885.

52. Correll-AD, Bowman to Bennett, May 27, 1885 letter, which also refers to Bennett's "ranch eight miles from Hauck's Tank" (undoubtedly Emigrant Springs).

53. Will C. Barnes, *Arizona Place Names* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1935), 213; Granger, *Will C. Barnes' Arizona Place Names*, 13; Hubbell interview 51. Houck left in 1885 and later ran sheep around Winslow (Louis Wiese, personal communication, August 7, 1980, Cuba, New Mexico) or the Mogollon Mountains (Gladwell Richardson, *Indian Trader* [Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986], 3–20). Houck committed suicide at Cave Creek, Arizona, on March 21, 1921 (Franciscans, Box 19, Houck Mission file).

54. Hill's homestead application states that on the land he has a dwelling house and a well valued at $200 (NA homestead entry 365, NA TC-Prescott-71). Hill (address, Houck's Tank) also filed a Timber Culture homestead entry (NA TC-Prescott-71) several miles southwest at The Crater in 1885, cancelled in 1902. Hill's reminder from the State Land Office to prove up was returned by Houck trader J. W. Bennett with a note that Hill had left the area in 1893.

55. Correll-AD, Day to Hill, July 23, 1885. In 1909, Hastiin Ndaaz was seventy-seven years old and applied for an allotment just northeast of Hill's former homestead right next to the 1882 field location (Franciscans, box 55, May 1914 allotment map and notebook listing allottees, allotment 54).

56. Correll-AD, Bowman to CIA, November 3 and 10, 1885; Bowman to District Attorney, Prescott, November 9, 1885; Fort Defiance Agency letterbook entry, November 10, 1885.

57. Correll-AD, Bowman to District Attorney, Prescott, November 9, 1885.

58. Correll-AD, Bowman to CIA, February 7, 1886.

59. NA homestead file CE-429. Between 1886 and 1891, Bowman was absent for about fifteen months (fall 1887 to spring 1889) on account of his wife's health. Bowman received a patent on this tract in 1892.

60. Franciscans, box 31, Apache County Clerk to Weber, February 25, 1915.

61. Correll-AD, Grierson to AAG, February 18, 1887, with Kerr to Woodward report attached; Howard to AG February 14 and 18, 1887; Patterson to CIA, February 15, 1887.

62. Possibly not his name; Navajos who told the events to the military may have observed the custom of not speaking the name of the dead.

63. One local resident (LS, personal communication, November 12, 1998) told the following version of this incident after hearing a summary of the incident based on the documents. Trader Bennett was called Ntł'ahii (Lefty, Handicapped). He had horses in a pen. A Navajo family, composed of a man, his wife, a young child, living up on the ridge south of the trading post toward the present state line came down in a two-wheeled wagon. They brought a rug to trade at the store. As they went home, a colt from the pen followed them, then turned around. The white people at the trading post missed the colt. So two or three non-Indians chased after the Navajo family the next day. The man was in the hogan, sewing moccasins. Another guy was there, too. The white men came into the hogan shooting. They killed a Navajo in the hogan, the man making the moccasins. The whites asked where the colt was and shot the moccasin-maker. The other Navajo guy shot a white man going out the door, then shot the other when he was trying to get on the horse. The third white man got away. The hogan was about eight to ten miles south of Houck. After that, the Navajo family fled

to Navajo Mountain and never came back. The teller does not know the name of this family.

64. Correll-AD, Ford to Patterson, March 21, 1887; Patterson's annual report to CIA (1887:175)

65. Correll-AD, Ford to Owen, March 31, 1887.

66. Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 225.

67. McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 80n., 279.

68. Franciscans, box 31, Apache County Clerk to Weber, February 25, 1915.

69. McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 142–165; Laura Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam, Indian Trader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 69–91.

70. McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 107–115.

71. Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam,* 89–90.

72. Ibid., 118.

73. Could James Carry French be any relation to John C. French who in 1883 complained to Agent Riordan about Tanner Springs? Is John C. French the same French who with Seth Tanner developed the Tanner-French Trail (Granger, *Arizona Place Names,* 88) down the south rim of the Grand Canyon?

74. Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam,* 42; McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 124–137.

75. Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam,* 67–71; McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 144–145.

76. Borgman, "Henry Chee Dodge," 85. One wonders whether Perry Williams and Barney Williams were related.

77. Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam,* 68, 70–71, 109, 258; McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 114, 201n.

78. McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 166–175; Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam,* 80–86, 89.

79. Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam,* 173–174; McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 187.

80. McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 161, 181; Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam,* 80 (see also p. 259).

81. Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam,* 109; McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 80n.10, 138.

82. McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 169, 201n. The following hypothesis might resolve the contradictions. The Leonard and Williams store was originally near Ganado Lake. Hubbell bought it or an interest in it in 1876. The store then burned (perhaps this was the store near Ganado Lake where Navajos led by Ganado Mucho killed a witch in 1878, so the store had to be burned). Its replacement was built at the present Hubbell Trading Post compound (though not at the spot of the present store building).

83. Brugge, *Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site,* 21–25; McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 142–143; Martha Blue, *Indian Trader: The Life and Times of J. L. Hubbell* (Walnut, CA: Kiva), 8–54, 67–69.

84. McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 188.

85. Ibid., *The Indian Traders,* 115.

86. Executive Order of January 6, 1880, reproduced in Correll and Dehiya, *Anatomy of the Navajo Reservation,* 10–11.

87. Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam,* 110; Blue, *Indian Trader,* 70–71.

88. John G. Bourke, *Snake Dance of the Moqui* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984), 71–80, 236; McNitt, *The Indian Traders,* 169–171.

89. Correll-AD, Sutherland to Eastman, March 20, 1882, with attached affidavit by Navajo John, Fort Defiance Agency interpreter.

90. Correll-AD, Fleming to CIA, September 9, December 4, and December 26, 1882; Sullivan to CIA, September 15, 1882; Executive Order of December 16, 1882, reproduced in Correll and Dehiya, *Anatomy of the Navajo Reservation*, 12–14; *Report to the Hopi Kikmongwis and Other Traditional Hopi Leaders on Docket 196 and the Continuing Threat to Hopi Land and Sovereignty* (Washington DC: Indian Law Resource Center, 1979), 12; Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam*, 175.

91. Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam*, 176.

92. McNitt, *The Indian Traders*, 80n.10; Blue, *Indian Trader*, 70–71.

94. Meinig, *Southwest*, 45.

95. In 1884 Bowman clerked in the new Crystal trading post of Michael Donovan (Van Valkenburgh, *Navajo Country*, 47). This would have to be before Bowman became agent. But Donovan did not have a license to trade at Crystal until 1886, by which year he also was licensed to trade at Fort Defiance and Chinle. Licensees at Crystal were Benjamin Hyatt, 1882–1884, and Walter Fales, 1885. Hyatt also traded at Fort Defiance, and Fales worked for Thomas Keam. Donovan in 1886 was competing at Fort Defiance with Hyatt's front man (McNitt, *The Indian Traders*, 58–67, 214n, 253). Possibly Donovan was a manager for Hyatt in 1884.

96. Correll–AD, Bowman to CIA, December 27, 1884; Graves, Thomas Varker Keam, 121–125, 180-181, 269n.19.

97. Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam*, 187.

98. Robert W. Young, *The Navajo Yearbook* (Window Rock: Navajo Agency, 1961), 8–10.

99. Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam*, 180–187.

100. Ibid., 189.

101. Ibid., 189–190, 291–292n.70.

102. Ibid., 190.

103. Ibid., 196–200.

104. Borgman, "Henry Chee Dodge"; McNitt, *The Indian Traders*, 279. According to a note in the file for Correll-NOH statement No. 465 (by a Dodge family member), Chee Dodge had Jemez and Spanish ancestry. His mother, her sisters, and their mother came to the Navajos from Jemez before before Fort Sumner. His father was a "Spanish Officer" at Fort Defiance who spoke both Navajo and Spanish. Other versions of Chee Dodge's ancestry also exist.

105. Franciscans, box 28, genealogical card says that "Dodge's aunt" raised Chester.

106. Franciscans, box 28, Chesters to Navajo Tribal Council, 1951, and Correll-NOH statement 348 suggest that Chester's wife and children lived at Crystal until about 1901, then moved to Tanner Springs. His wife was also born at Crystal. His wife's mother was born near future St. Johns around 1850; later her family moved up to Crystal because of raids by Zunis, Mexicans, and Western Apaches. Then they went to Fort Sumner, where she married a man from the other side of the mountains east of Crystal. Chester himself was born at Mancos Wash north of Shiprock, south of Ute Mountain, after Fort Sumner. Chester's father's father was a "Mexican" who died at Mancos Wash.