The Story of the Havasupai: A Look at their Claim to the Grand Canyon National Park

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I. Introduction

The removal and relocation of thousands of Native Americans is one part of the American past that is often overlooked or misunderstood.[1] The push for westward expansion in the nineteenth century brought land, money, and glory to the United States and some of its people. However, this time also brought confusion, anger, and a misunderstanding of those individuals who had lived on the frontier for hundreds of years.[2] Outside of the academic world, most individuals are introduced to minimal history of the American West, specifically the removal and relocation of Native Americans. Most Americans are given a brief overview of past U.S. interactions with Native Americans, while scholars explore these interactions more in-depth. Nevertheless, one thing is certain – the history that they are introduced to has been passed down by those descendents of European settlers who began to populate the western frontier. More often than not, Native American stories and interpretations of westward expansion are either completely left out or are so minimal that there is no real understanding or knowledge of their culture and the impact of westward expansion.

The American West was a "land of opportunity" where many settlers believed they could start anew. Many were driven by the popular belief in Manifest Destiny.[3] Early scholars of the American West focused solely on the idea of Manifest Destiny and the mission that "white" men possessed.[4] However, many scholars began by the mid 1960s to 1970s to include the Native American side – history is no longer one sided. By incorporating the once overlooked Native American interpretation of westward expansion, there is a more profound understanding of America's past actions as well as the steps that are being taken today to remedy those actions. There are some authors that are even taking this inclusion a step further and are arguing that the injustices against Native Americans need to be repaid. This paper will not only provide the United States' government's reasons for westward expansion and the removal and relocation of Native Americans, but it will focus on the Havasupai people, their struggles to reclaim their traditional lands, and the evolving government policies towards the Havasupai and the Grand Canyon National Park.[5]

The words "I am the Grand Canyon" were spoken by Havasupai Tribal Chairman Lee Marshall following the 1971 government proposal to incorporate more Havasupai land into the Grand Canyon National Park.[6] This speech helped lay the foundation for a return of thousands of acres of traditional lands back to the Havasupai people. Nonetheless, they have undergone an epic struggle to lay claim to their traditional lands in the Grand Canyon National Park. The Havasupai, whose numbers reached an all-time low of 166 members in 1906, were displaced from their traditional lands of the Grand Canyon, in particular Havasu Canyon, beginning in 1880.[7] From that point on, they have struggled to maintain their traditional culture and way of life. In the following pages, the story of the Havasupai, their struggles, and their interactions with early settlers and the government will be outlined. This includes initial moves to put them on reservations, Indian Affairs, and the specific executive orders that affected them. A better understanding of past and current actions will provide a new interpretation of the Havasu and their effort to lay claim to their once isolated lands. The Havasupai became dependent on the park system for economic survival, but they also wanted to include their culture in the shaping of the Grand Canyon National park. Eventually, Havasupai attitudes changed and they desired a return of their traditional lands.

II. Historiography

The study of the American West and the relationship between the United States government and Native Americans has not always been a

priority in the academic world. Before the study of Native American interactions became part of mainstream scholarship, the prevalent view focused on the "winner" between Native Americans and the government. The "winner," of course, would be the United States' government and, in particular, the "American" settlers.[8] These accounts of the interactions were dominant until the mid-twentieth century and focused on the idea of Manifest Destiny. Nevertheless, with new waves of scholars focused on the American West, scholarship has drastically changed. Many authors look past the history of the "winners" and understand the past through multiple accounts. Currently, there are scholars (and others) who have taken this new approach to Native American history one step further and are arguing for U.S. apologies and reparations for the actions taken during America's westward expansion.

The early works that examine Native American interactions with the federal government and American settlers are mainly intellectual histories that focused on the "white" man's view of history and, in particular, Manifest Destiny. Intellectual history is the study of ideas and what those ideas can tell us about a given society. These authors argue that although the history of the United States may have had a few blemishes, the overarching principle is that Americans who took part in westward expansion were influenced by Manifest Destiny or the belief that expansionism was "prearranged by Heaven" and had no set boundaries.[9] To one American it could be expansion to the Pacific, to another it may mean expansion over the entire North American continent.[10]

In the 1935 work entitled, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History*, Albert K. Weinberg focuses on Manifest Destiny and the belief that it was the white race's inherent responsibility to expand.[11] Weinberg's key objective is to explain that the white race believed they "had the superior right to the land because they 'used it according to the intentions of the CREATOR.'"[12] One of the most important points that Weinberg highlights is that expansionist societies do not believe they are doing anything that is immoral. He argues that Americans believed that it was their right to expand west because God had given them the ordained right because they were the superior culture.[13] Weinberg argues that white men, in particular, Americans, believed they had the right to remove Native Americans from their land without any regard for the culture and traditions of those who they removed. As an early work on American expansion, Weinberg shows that early scholarship focused on the "white" reasons for expansion.

Like Weinberg, Edward McNall Burns also uses intellectual history to explain that the sense of mission that dominated early American westward expansion was not a new development. In fact, Burns' 1957 work, *The American Idea of Mission: Concepts of National Purpose and Destiny*, is a testimony to the belief that "because of [our American] virtues we have been chosen by God to guide and instruct the rest of the nations in lessons of justice and right."[14] Burns' work, a work that examines both Manifest Destiny and the American Mission, is a reevaluation of westward expansion. Burns argues that American settlers were a "conquering people" and did not let anything stop them or get in their way.[15] Those who did happen to get in the way of the American Mission were removed "on the grounds that the Indians were an inferior people and that the progress of civilization required them to give way to the more richly endowed Caucasians."[16]

Frederick Merk also points out in his 1966 work entitled, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History,* that there was another goal that coincided with the belief that Americans had the right to westward expansion. The goal stated that Americans had the duty to "regenerate backward peoples of the continent."[17] Those Native Americans who were forced off of their land because it was the white man's "destiny" also faced a desire by some to assimilate them into American society. Of course, as Merk points out, the thought that Native Americans had their own culture did not exist, but the dominating thought was that the "Indian was a heathen" and needed to learn the ways of the American culture.[18] Merk uses intellectual history to view the idea of Manifest Destiny. What is even more noteworthy is that Merk argues that this overriding theory was not based on expansionist or imperialist ideas, but on the idea that the American people had a Mission – a belief and "dedication to the enduring values of American civilization."[19] However, what is conveniently absent from Merk's work is the Native American perspective on westward expansion. In fact, Native Americans are only mentioned in conjunction with assimilation into American culture. The combination of a conscience effort and an inability to perceive Native American traditions as beneficial led early Americans to cover up the customs and values of

Native American civilizations in pursuit of Manifest Destiny.

More and more scholars are beginning to take a new interest in the interactions and relationships between Native Americans and the United States' government because they see the gap in history that has developed. This new, more balanced view of the American West is considered "New Western History." It is about opening up and considering "the old and familiar in new ways."[20] New Western History acknowledges the importance of understanding Native American culture on its own and not as a product of American interpretation. It is about including "failure as well as defeat; defeat as well as victory; … [and] varied ethnic groups and their differing perspectives as well as white Anglo-Saxon protestant" perspectives.[21] New Western historians, unlike previous scholars that focused only on the white American perspective of the past, place emphasis on multiple points of view and give a voice to those who have been silenced or ignored through the years.

New Western History developed in reaction to Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 thesis entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History."[22] Turner, a presentist historian, only looked at the past through the eyes of "English-speaking white men" and he saw the past as a clear-cut sequence.[23] William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin's article, "Becoming West: Toward a New Meaning for Western History," argues that Turner's view of the American frontier "explained American history only by erasing the legitimacy of Indian claims to the continent."[24] He had no regard for other ethnicities and their role in westward expansion, no regard for those things that were not "agrarian settlement and folk democracy."[25] Turner's thesis has had a lasting impact on the study of the American West. Many subsequent generations of historians have reevaluated his thesis and have made it a point to include those voices he overlooked. As Patricia Nelson Limerick points out in her 1987 work, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*, "Turner's frontier rested on a single point of view; it was required that the observer stand in the East and look to the West."[26] However, scholars of New Western History stand in the West and just look around.

To look around the American West, one must learn that the "one skill essential to the writing of Western American history is a capacity to deal with multiple points of view."[27] Patricia Nelson Limerick, in her revisionist work, *The Legacy of Conquest*, argues that to truly understand the American West one must move beyond a one-dimensional analysis of expansion and entertain multiple theories, myths, and traditions.[28] Limerick's overall opinion of westward expansion and the interactions between Native Americans and the U.S. government is not one that focuses on the idea of Manifest Destiny, but in fact, focuses on the idea that the American West is what it is today because of the constant interaction of multiple cultures and individuals. Limerick argues that "every human group has a creation myth – a tale explaining where its members came from and why they are special, chosen by providence for a special destiny."[29] Obviously, the white American creation myth focuses on Manifest Destiny. Limerick ends her work by stating that "it is a disturbing element of continuity in Western history that we have not ceased to be strangers."[30] The goal of Limerick, and New Western History in general, is to try and bridge the gap between strangers and by doing that create a more detailed and accurate description of the American West.

As Richard White points out in his 1991 work, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own:" A History of the American West*, "long before the first Europeans reached what is now the western United States, Indian peoples shaped this land," but until recently their voice has been silenced in the history of the American West.[31] White argues that the history of the American West has been created by including and excluding certain elements. White acknowledges the importance of understanding Native American history in conjunction with "white" history. He argues that the west "was a product of conquest and of the mixing of diverse groups of people."[32] To understand the current interpretation of the west is to understand the importance of those conquests, who was involved, and that the west did not instantly emerge. One important point that White touches upon is how there was a misconstrued notion that Native Americans were willing to give up land and become assimilated into the American culture.[33] In reality, White points out that Native Americans were not happy or thankful that the United States was expanding west.[34] The overarching point that Richard White is trying to make, and one that is prevalent in my own argument, is that there is a misconception about the attitudes and interactions of the American West.

The study of history is not one-dimensional. As it pertains to the American West, author George

Miles points out that ignoring multiple points of view "impoverishes our understanding of American history by erasing its Indian component."[35] Miles, the author of the 1992 work entitled, "To Hear an Old Voice: Rediscovering Native Americans in American History," argues that historians of the American West often "failed to integrate Native Americans into their accounts."[36] Historians have overlooked vital information that pertains to the American West because it comes from a source different than white Americans. In his article, Miles states that beginning in 1828, Cherokee peoples began to circulate a newspaper that was written in both English and Sequoyan – symbols based on sounds developed by Sequoyah (known as George Guess).[37] The newspaper, the Advocate, was an overwhelming force, until it was stopped by U.S. government officials.[38] The main point that Miles is trying to make is that American historians have put little, if any, effort into reviving the Advocate and he argues that this occurs because "so many of our studies of federal Indian policy focus more on the history of white ideas than on the lives of Indians."[39] Miles' goal for his article is clear-cut. Not only does he show what you can learn from looking at Native American sources, but he also argues that by examining multiple points of view one discovers that there is still much to be said and taught.[40]

New Western History is a revisionist attempt at rewriting the American past. Each scholar has his or her own way of trying to bring justice to the American West by introducing the idea of multiple points of view and even using those views as the basis for their work. One scholar in particular, Paula Mitchell Marks, has taken the revisionist ideology to a new level and in her work, *In a Barren Land: The American Indian Quest for Cultural Survival,* 1607 to the Present, each chapter is devoted to a quote from a Native American leader. Marks' objective for this 1998 work is "to emulate some of the best modern historians by looking at events with the primary focus on the population being displaced – the ones who didn't write the history – and by acknowledging Indians as active, resilient, and varied *people* pursuing strategies for survival, not as passive and somehow less-than-human pawns."[41] This work, without hesitation, fits into New Western History because she attempts to let Native Americans speak for themselves and argues that this can be done once people are willing to listen.[42] However, this objective is not easy and due to a lack of written sources, is truly difficult to obtain. Marks, like many other New Western historians, understands the value that is placed on multiple points of view and moves beyond the history of the "winners."

The study of the American West comes full circle with Richard White's 2009 work, "The American West and American Empire." In this work, White takes on Albert K. Weinberg's interpretation of Manifest Destiny and argues that the "Indian peoples who were largely invisible in Weinberg's account have become visible [and] they have become visible as more than simple victims."[43] White points out that Weinberg "saw expansionism as a product of American innocence and believed that it yielded little tragedy."[44] However, White continues on to say that this "veil of innocence" that Weinberg developed has recently been removed by historians.[45] White focuses on the railroad corporations and their tangled relationships with Native Americans and the United States' government.[46] But beyond the content of the article, White's main purpose is to use a combination of multiple sources to create a new interpretation of westward expansion. He goes beyond Weinberg's intellectual idea of Manifest Destiny as the cause of westward expansion and argues that "railroad corporations wanted to break Indian power over Indian territory" and expand westward.[47]

New Western History developed out of the desire to include Native American cultures and interpretations of westward expansion. Nevertheless, some scholars, even though they acknowledge the importance of including Native American history, do not think that this is enough. These scholars, who have allowed current changes in scholarly opinion and public opinion on human injustices to shape their work, argue in a very presentist way for more than including the Native American voice; they push for reparations and apologies for those injustices against Native Americans.

This current call for apologies and reparations is apparent in the 1999 article "Native American Reparations: Five Hundred Years and Counting" by Laurence Armand French. French, when discussing Native Americans, argues that "no other group within the United States has been subjected to such cruel, harsh, and deceptive exploits at the hands of the dominant society."[48] The position that French defends is that Native Americans have been at the receiving end of injustices throughout American history because many believed that "Manifest destiny provided the justification for

running roughshod over the American Indian."[49] For mainstream scholarship this call for reparations and apologies is a new argument. The main argument that French presents is that the United States has often ridiculed and criticized other countries' violations and human injustices, but they tend to not look at their own injustices towards Native Americans.[50] French brings to light numerous situations in which Native Americans were treated inhumanely including times in which treaties were revoked because of the discovery of gold and times in which the allotment policy was revoked and land was given to white Americans and not Native Americans.[51] The final point is that because of the past injustices there is a need for apologies and reparations because the future relationship between the United States' government and Native Americans is at stake.[52]

The call for restitution and reparations are gaining momentum, not just in the academic world, but also in the political world. In the 2000 work, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*, by Elazar Barkan, a new interpretation of history examines "the new global trend of restitution for historical injustices."[53] Barkan not only sees the need for apologies and reparations, but also understands that in some cases they have occurred. Most restitution is being asked for because Native Americans are challenging "those agreements that were reached between unequal powers and led to a submission of Indian rights."[54] Native Americans rights' often were overlooked so that the government could obtain the most beneficial terms. Barkan points out that there have been a small number of cases in which restitution was given to Native Americans. But the argument is that these reparations will not only help mend the relationship between the United States' government and Native Americans, but they "can become the major hope Indians have for building anew."

The study of the American West and the relationship between white Americans and Native Americans has undergone transformations throughout the years. Early works focused primarily on the white interpretation of westward expansion and Manifest Destiny. These works examine the relationship between the Native Americans and the United States' government mainly from the white American opinion and view. However, mainstream scholarship has begun to adopt new interpretations of the past which includes multiple points of view and more than just the white interpretation. This New Western History focuses on the accounts of Native Americans and the multiple points of view that have been overlooked in the past. Even more recently, scholars are moving beyond just incorporating the Native American voice and have argued for apologies and reparations for the human injustices that occurred during westward expansion. The study of the relationship between Native Americans and the United States' government has undergone a transformation and new voices have been heard, new interpretations have been studied, and an overall better understanding of the past has emerged.

III. Research

To have a better understanding of the American West, one must consider the Havasupai presence in the Grand Canyon and the resulting interactions with the United States' government because of their desire to incorporate traditional lands into the Grand Canyon National Park. The Grand Canyon has some of the most majestic and breathtaking scenes in nature; yet there is minimal knowledge about the Native Americans who have inhabited these lands for over seven hundred years.[56] The Havasupai were removed from their traditional lands by the federal government beginning in 1880; nevertheless, they remained on the small acreage they were allotted and began to help develop the Grand Canyon National Park into what it is today. The Havasupai helped turn their traditional lands into a national park because of their economic need and their desire to include a Havasupai element in the Grand Canyon; however, as the federal government moved to incorporate more Havasupai land, the Havasupai peoples demanded restoration of their traditional lands.

The connection between the Grand Canyon and the Havasupai stems from the first wave of settlers who arrived hundreds of years ago in North America who spoke a Hokan dialect.[57] The Havasupai of today continue to speak a language of the Hokan group which has been passed down by many of those peoples who originally settled on the rims of the Grand Canyon.[58] There were multiple waves of settlers which included peoples from the Southwest that spoke Uto-Aztecan languages and settlers who spoke tonal languages.[59] The Havasupai have had ties to the North American continent, and in particular, the Grand Canyon, for hundreds of years.[60]

Prior to the push for westward expansion and

the decisions by the United States' government, the Havasupai lived in the canyons and on the plateaus of what is now known as the Grand Canyon National Park. Before their confinement to the Havasupai Reservation, the Havasu would live in the canyons during the summer months near Havasu Creek, and on the plateaus during the winter months.[61] They could neither live in the canyon nor on the plateaus during the entire year due to weather and climate. The canyons provided fertile ground for crops, but during the winter months these same canyons received little sunlight. As a result, the Havasupai spent winter months on the plateaus hunting game and the summer months growing crops in the canyons.

Before discussing the relocation of the Havasupai, it is necessary to understand the peoples of one of the oldest Native American tribes. The term Havasupai comes from the native *Havsuw 'Baaj* which means the "Blue Creek People" and is what the tribe refers to themselves as.[62] This name comes from the particular and peculiar color of the Havasu Creek that runs through the Havasu Canyon. The Havasu are the only Native Americans "who make their homes in the park proper."[63] Havasupai legend and mythology aligns with this belief that they found their home in the Grand Canyon. As Stephen Hirst explains, "Havasupai tradition does tell of a northeasterly migration" that eventually ended in the canyons and explains that the Havasupai followed the Colorado River until the terrain was too difficult to continue.[64] Here, in the Canyon, they began to settle. For years, the peoples stayed in the Canyon until some elected to migrate farther north due to overcrowding. Those who stayed and accepted the term *Havsuw 'Baaj*, worried that they also needed to continue their migration. However, as legend states, on the day they were to begin their move, "a child began to cry. When the group stopped, the child quieted and remained calm until they began moving again. The child had spoken; their migration was over. The Havasupai were home."[65] The Havasu numbers are relatively low compared to more prominent Native American tribes. During the early twentieth century the numbers hovered close to 200 members; however, in recent years, numbers have grown to 435 members.[66] Until the 1930s, they remained mostly independent and self-sufficient because they were able to live off of their land and grow varieties of corn, melons, beans, squash and pumpkins.[67]

Before the 1860s and the end of the Civil War, the Havasupai were relatively unknown and relatively independent of European settlers. Prior to the 1860s, they had only encountered Europeans on relatively few occasions. The first occasion occurred in the early sixteenth century.[68] This first encounter led to more numerous explorations by the Spanish explorers and in 1540 the Hopi and the Havasupai discovered the Spanish in Tusayan.[69] However, the Hopi were the dominant force in this interaction. Explorers attempted to find the Havasu home, but were unable to find it within the canyons. The Havasu ultimately remained isolated except for the introduction of the horse by the Spanish.[70] The horse would eventually become a mainstay in their way of life. During these early encounters, many Native American tribes fled to the Grand Canyon and Havasupai homes because of their relative isolation. The Hopi often spent time in the canyons avoiding Spanish explorers.[71] In all reality, the Havasupai were a relatively isolated tribe who remained a mystery to explorers. In 1776, they were formally visited by the Spanish priest Francisco Garcés.[72] He did not stay long before they showed him on his way. The Havasupai did not see a need to allow Garcés to stay among them. There were several instances, including early contacts that reveal the connection between these two Native American tribes. The Havasupai were undoubtedly influenced by the Hopi culture and vice versa. Each learned new ways of the land, each shared their experiences, and each introduced new and different foods into their diets. As mentioned, the Hopi often sought protection and refuge on traditional lands of the Havasu during these early encounters with white settlers.[73] Former Grand Canyon National Park Superintendent, M.R. Tillotson, noted that the Havasupai often were the "least touched by civilization from the outside" and often continued their traditional way of life.[74] Because of this often uninviting presence and lack of exploration, many argue that the Havasupai are greatly misunderstood.[75]

There may have been a lack of exploration on the frontier, but in the eastern part of the United States, skirmishes between white settlers and Native Americans had been taking place for decades. Bill Yenne points out in his work, *Indian Wars: The Campaign for the American West*, that "throughout the eighteenth century, various tribes had been edged out, bought out, wiped out, and pushed out of various places" and overall, the impact of the 1830 Indian Removal Act was disastrous for Native Americans.[76] The Havasupai do live in the

Southwest United States; however, the 1830 Indian Removal Act passed by President Andrew Jackson was the inaugural step in the relocation of all Native Americans. On May 28, 1830 with the passage of the Indian Removal Act, Congress empowered "President Andrew Jackson to negotiate removal treaties with American Indians."[77] This act allowed President Jackson to remove Native Americans from their traditional lands in exchange for land that belonged to other Native American tribes west of the Mississippi by stating that "as [President Jackson] may judge necessary, [land of the Mississippi] will be divided into a suitable number of districts, for the reception of such tribes or nations of Indians as may choose to exchange the lands where they now reside."[78] However, many Native Americans were not given the option to choose to relocate or not to relocate west of the Mississippi. The act also allowed President Jackson to regain control of land given to Native Americans if it proved to be beneficial or if there had been value added by those occupants.[79]

The Indian Removal Act was the basis for further actions by the government and the President in regards to the removal and relocation of Native Americans. The passage of this act laid the precedent for further actions against Native Americans across the entire country. One reason that President Jackson fought for this piece of legislation is that he believed "that the Indians could only find peace and happiness across the Mississippi River" and he argued that those tribes who were already living in the Southwest could become "a member of the United States, as Alabama and Mississippi [had] 'after their children received sufficient education.'"[80] This initial attitude and belief that Native Americans were uneducated and uncivilized played a role in ongoing government policies.

Those Native American tribes who originally inhabited traditional lands west of the Mississippi often experienced little interaction with white settlers until those white settlers were given a reason to expand into the western frontier. There were two immediate events that transformed how white Americans perceived the United States and more importantly, the part of the continent where the United States had sporadic and limited access.[81] Beginning in 1848, the western frontier became the epicenter for "one of the largest voluntary mass migrations in human history" in reaction to the discovery of gold in California. This eventually turned into the California Gold Rush of 1849.[82] This mad rush to the American West was one reason that white Americans were willing to pack up and leave the eastern United States. However, despite this sudden expansion, the Havasupai and their traditional lands still remained relatively isolated. The second reason was a conglomeration of land purchases by the government starting in 1812.[83] The expansion began with the Louisiana Purchase, moved on to incorporate Texas in 1845 and Oregon in 1846, and because of the final acquisition of previously Mexican held territories and the Gadsden Purchase, "the United States spanned the continent and encompassed an area roughly equivalent in size of all of Europe."[84] However, the United States did not take into account that there were thousands of Native Americans, including the Havasupai, living on these recently acquired purchases.

The decades between the 1840s and 1890s, which included the California Gold Rush and subsequent land purchases, were also marked by conflicts in both military and government departments. Beginning in 1789, the United States began to define "Indian Affairs" and began charging the Department of War with the responsibility.[85] Indian Affairs continued to move between different departments and offices before finally settling in 1849 in the newly created Department of Interior under the title Bureau of Indian Affairs.[86] This new Bureau was responsible "for establishing formal relations with the Indian 'nations,' and for administering the evolving and shifting U.S. government Indian policy."[87] However, as Mark Felton points out in his work, *Today is a Good Day to Fight*, these formal relations and agencies "ruled like a king with a strong mandate from Washington."[88] He also argues that those government officials who worked at the Bureau of Indian Affairs were often "incompetent, disinterested or downright corrupt" and had a "purported fear of 'the Indian' and [were ignorant] of their customs."[89] These attitudes shaped how government officials dealt with Native Americans. One component of the Bureau's job entailed providing payments for those Native Americans who remained peaceful during westward expansion. The responsibility of "security and enforcement" of the decisions made by the Bureau fell to the U.S. military; however, one problem remained.[90] Part of the military's job included passing out firearms to Native Americans for the use of hunting.[91] However, this often resulted in disastrous consequences as Native Americans learned that firearms could be used for more than hunting, and

turned the weapons against the U.S. military.

This systematic change in security prompted the United States government to begin building a policy of "Indian reservations."[92] In 1868, the United States' government officially implemented the Indian reservation system. This system, as defined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs "is a specific area of land which has been reserved, set aside or acquired for the occupancy and use of an Indian tribe."[93] Following the Civil War and the mass migration due to the Gold Rush and U.S. land purchases, the United States saw it necessary to distinctly define the boundaries in which Native American tribes were required to stay. The Havasupai would continue to freely roam the canyons and plateaus for the next decade, but the reservation system was eventually implemented in the Grand Canyon. The reservations were the lands Native Americans "purchased" for themselves once they surrendered traditional lands to the United States.

The reservation system eventually led to the formation of the Indian Peace Policy.[94] Between the years of 1873 and 1877, the United States adopted a policy towards Native Americans which argued that the reservations were a way to keep Native Americans together and away from settlers and were a place in which they could be "civilized."[95] As mentioned before, becoming "civilized" included accepting the "American" way of life and customs. Under President Ulysses S. Grant, the United States' Peace Policy sought "to place the Indians upon reservations as rapidly as possible [where] humanity and kindness may take the place of barbarity and cruelty."[96] Native Americans were divided into two groups – the first included those who were "friendly" and were the responsibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs because those individuals stayed on the reservations.[97] The second group, those who were "hostile," were the responsibility of the U.S. military.[98] However, these labels were often ambiguous and were the root of numerous problems surrounding Native Americans that went off their reservations purely for hunting trips or visits to friends and families.[99]

During these rapid changes in United States policy toward Native Americans, the Havasupai were beginning to see the repercussions of westward expansion by white American settlers. As early as the 1850s and continuing into the 1860s and 1870s, government officials, surveyors, and explorers, "had begun to move through Havasupai territory searching for a transcontinental railroad" route.[100] However, due to relatively small numbers, the Havasupai were usually not the peoples that resisted the ever increasing westward expansion of white Americans. In reality, the Havasu were only able to retain control of Havasu Canyon against small bands of explorers. For example, a Mormon missionary by the name of Jacob Hamblin, entered Havasu Canyon in 1863, only to be escorted out by the Havasupai with the warning that another "visit might be repeated only under penalty of death."[101] Overall, the Havasupai (along with other smaller tribes) played a minor part in the Indian Wars of the Southwest. More prominent tribes including the Navajo, Apache, and the Yavapai, played more substantial roles in some of the most "notorious raids" aimed at white settlers.[102]

The Havasupai continued to remain a relatively isolated peoples and General Orlando B. Willcox, the commander of the Department of Arizona, observed in 1877 that they had "never been under control."[103] This, along with the ever increasing presence of white settlers in the Grand Canyon, formulated into the development of the Havasupai Indian Reservation.[104] The Havasupai continued their traditional seasonal migrations to and from the plateaus during the winter months. However, according to Havasupai member Billy Burro, they began to encounter white settlers who "would some time come, would bar the Supais from the water holes, the grazing lands, all of that...homesteaders and cattle owners put in lines, saying that [the Havasu] are not to roam that country anymore."[105] The final straw that led to the development of the reservation occurred in 1880 when Arizona Territory Governor John C. Frémont and General Willcox presented the discovery of silver bearing ore on lands occupied by the Havasupai.[106] The only suitable alternative to gain access to the ore was to place them on a reservation away from the discovery site.

On June 8, 1880, President Rutherford B. Hayes issued an executive order which established the Havasupai Reservation "twelve miles long and two-and-a-half miles on each side of [Havasu] creek."[107] The executive order stated that the land would be "withdrawn from sale and settlement, and set apart for the use and occupancy of said Suppai Indians."[108] The order was carried out by the U.S. military who marked the boundaries of the new Reservation in Havasu Canyon.[109] However, the situation for the Havasupai only worsened in the coming years. The United States government had forcefully removed

other Native American tribes from their designated reservations upon the discovery of materials beneficial to the United States. In 1882, Chief Navajo of the Havasupai, agreed to an even smaller plot of land at the bottom of Havasu Canyon.[110] Lieutenant Colonel W.R. Price had reported in 1881 that the Havasu Chief "had evidently been informed that the discovery of mines in [his] country would necessitate the abandonment of [his] lands as the whites would take them for their own use."[111] Apparently, the Havasupai leader explained to his people that opposition "would be foolish for the reason that it could cause my children to be exterminated."[112] It is relatively reasonable to infer that the Havasupai leader did not completely understand what his actions were going to cost his people. Chief Navajo signed over more land to the U.S. and accepted a smaller plot of land in the hopes that the smaller land would be outside the boundaries of the mines. By decreasing their amount of land, he decreased the chance of losing all of their land at a later time. Nonetheless, President Chester A. Arthur reversed the executive order of President Rutherford B. Hayes on March 31, 1882.[113] This new executive order placed the entire Havasu tribe on 518 acres.[114] This "new" reservation only had "land enough to protect the Tribe's water supply and [was] easily marked off" (See Figure 1).[115] As the years passed, the Havasupai were still presented with new problems by the federal government. They had lost much of their traditional grounds; however, they had still been able to relocate during the winter months to the plateaus of the Grand Canyon. This all changed in 1893. In 1893, President Benjamin Harrison issued an executive order which established the plateaus of the Grand Canyon as the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve.[116] Havasupai member, Lemuel Paya, stated that "[the Havasupai] had more land up there to use, but the government claimed it and got tight with it, and we found we had nothing left to use up there."[117] Apparently, the Havasupai "presence in this area, which included a large part of their forage base and several agricultural sites…became problematic."[118] The government now had possession of the lands that the Havasu had lived on for hundreds of years.

The Havasupai peoples may not have had the numbers to play a significant part in the Indian Wars, nor did they have the ability to turn away many of those who settled in the Grand Canyon. Nonetheless, they did not relinquish their rights to their traditional lands without a fight. Their initial reactions to the reservation system included recruiting advocates for the Havasupai cause and petitioning the government to return traditional lands. Six years after the 1882 executive order of President Chester A. Arthur, the Havasupai worked with Lieutenant Colonel G.N. Brayton to petition the government stating that "the Suppai Reservation is too small for the support of even this small band" and that it was his recommendation that the reservation boundaries expand.[119] Unfortunately, this recommendation fell on deaf ears and once the report was given to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, there was no change. Beginning with this 1888 petition, the Havasupai continued to urge the government to reexamine the boundaries of the Havasupai Reservation. In response to the 1893 executive order of President Benjamin Harrison and a proposal to remove and transport the Havasupai hundreds of miles away, the Havasu turned to an unlikely ally – the new superintendent of the national parks, Henry P. Ewing.[120] Ewing wrote numerous strongly worded reports to the federal government which stated the need for the Havasupai Reservation to be expanded because as "so sure as the sun shines they will never be peaceably removed from it…and should force be used, then every man and boy, who could carry a rifle must first be killed."[121] Again in 1897, Ewing urged that the government reevaluate the boundaries of the reservation because "they [were] the most industrious Indians [he had] ever known" and deserved a title to their traditional lands.[122] Between the years 1896 and 1902, H.P. Ewing wrote many letters in objection to the government and the prospectors who were outlining the Havasupai lands. One can speculate that the Havasupai had found such a staunch supporter in Ewing because he understood the injustices that were occurring and understood that the Havasupai would not be able to survive without these necessary changes. However, the government, in an attempt to quiet the Havasupai, removed Ewing from his position in 1902.[123]

There was a difference in opinion among the Havasu on how to deal with the federal government and the many individuals who were beginning to take over the canyons and plateaus. Within the Havasupai there were individuals who were willing to accommodate these new visitors, but there were also members who chose to stay true to their beliefs and traditions. Either way, Havasu members could not deny the ever expanding presence of government and park officials in the Grand

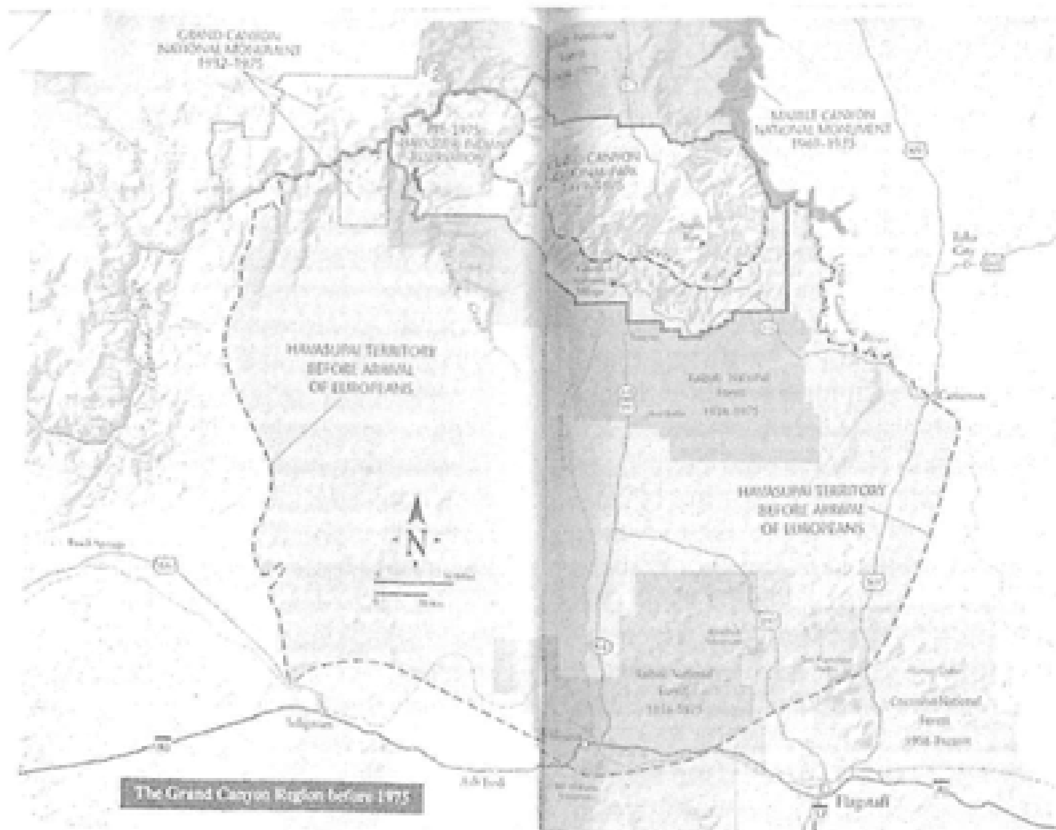

Figure 1. This map outlines the Havasupai traditional lands before the establishment of the Grand Canyon National Park and the Havasupai Reservation pre-1975.

Canyon. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the traditional land of the Havasupai became a forest preserve and national monument. President Theodore Roosevelt recognized the Grand Canyon as a national monument in 1908.[124] This decision restricted where the Havasupai could grow crops and where they could graze their animals. They were required to obtain permits from the parks department.[125] Apparently, for the parks department, the benefits of introducing this permit system outweighed the benefits of providing the Havasu with their *own* land to grow crops on and graze animals. By 1917, the government began to formulate legislation that would categorize the forest preserve and national monument as a United States' National Park. As Hirst points out, "the government had committed itself strongly to the idea of a national park in the area by this time without any knowledge of or even interest in prior claims to the areas. The Havasupai had as their home what the government saw only as a scenic marvel to be opened up to the public."[126] With the beginning stages underway, the Havasupai faced one of the most detrimental encroachments on their way of life. On February 26, 1919, the United States' Congress established the Grand Canyon National Park.[127]

The Havasupai encountered numerous advances during westward expansion and the development of the national park; however, after the 1919 legislation, they encountered even more hostile advances as they continued to try and use their traditional lands. The Havasu, who worked on the construction of numerous park projects, built temporary homes on the plateaus instead of returning to the canyon every night.[128] However, park officials tore down and burned these homes and replaced them with housing that the Havasupai had to *pay* to live in.[129] One Havasupai member, Mack Putesoy remembers that "[the park officials] just burned them, with things inside. They're no good!"[130] Based on these actions, it is obvious that the parks officials carried out this order because they knew "by moving the Havasupai families into rented cabins, the park transformed them into tenants and erased their aboriginal status."[131] The result was that once they began paying the monthly rent, "they entered into a contractual relationship that implied recognition of the park as landlord."[132] However, despite the parks department's best efforts, the

Havasu have taken over and turned those same cabins into what park officials call an "illegitimate reservation" on the plateaus of the Grand Canyon.[133]

The cabins on the plateaus were built because the Havasupai eventually had to turn to the parks department for a living. Initial reactions which included petitioning the government for a return of traditional lands continued, but Havasupai members "had discovered the wage economy as another means of making ends meet."[134] There were social and environmental factors including drought, flood, and an influenza epidemic that led Havasupai members to rely on the park for a living.[135] The lack of farm acreage led many members to turn to menial wage earning jobs because even that money was more than the "16 cents" they were earning trying to develop their own farms.[136] Havasupai men worked for "three to four dollars a day" and were performing manual labor jobs, including helping to construct the sewer line and a new water line along with the building and maintenance of trails, bridges and the railroad.[137] To park officials, the Havasupai appeared to be the logical choice to hire for work in the park due to their long history and close connection to the lands. For example, many of the trails that the Havasu had originally constructed were now being turned into recognized park trails for tourists.[138] Havasupai members also began to take jobs in "visitor services such as the lodges, the laundry, and the kitchens."[139] Many men and women went to work for nearby families and ranches and many women embarked on the tourism bandwagon and began to sell their art and basket weavings near the railroad and stores.[140] As other forms of living deteriorated the National Parks Service gave preferential hiring to Havasupai members because park officials saw that they were "honest, industrious workers."[141] However, the Havasu were also hired "to fill subordinate jobs" which many white settlers would not accept because they included manual labor.[142] As Stephen Hirst points out, the park services wanted to transport cable for the Kaibab Suspension Bridge to the bottom of the canyon and "they decided against using mules for fear of injuring them and hired forty-two Havasupai men to bear the 450-foot cables weighing 2,200 pounds each."[143] The parks department chose to use Havasu labor – human labor – instead of using mules for fear of hurting the animals; yet, there was no fear of injuring Havasu workers. The traditional way of life, seclusion, and independence that had once dominated the Havasupai way of life began to be replaced by an obvious reliance on the Grand Canyon National Park, even if that reliance meant unsafe working conditions.

Over the next decades, the relationship between the Havasu, the federal government, and the parks department remained relatively stagnant. The Havasu continued to fight for a rightful claim to their traditional lands and the parks department continued projects and expansion in the Grand Canyon. It was a time of relative consistency and the Havasupai began a new way of life on their reservation and became less and less connected with their old way of life.

However, this time of relative stagnation ended in the mid-twentieth century. Despite the efforts by the federal government and the parks department, the Havasupai continued to petition for a return of their traditional lands. Beginning in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, Grand Canyon National Park officials began to develop legislation that would begin to incorporate more Havasu land. On May 18, 1971, park services held a hearing at Grand Canyon Village where Havasupai members retaliated with their own plan – "A Master Plan for Grand Canyon Village by the Havasupai Tribal Council" – which called for a return of Havasu land.[144] As debates continued on, tribal members recruited Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater and as Stephen Hirst points out, "for the first time since the days of Henry P. Ewing…a government official was speaking as an ally."[145] The Havasu had won over Senator Goldwater during a meeting in which they presented him with their case. He made it clear he understood the Havasupai need for more land. Senator Goldwater introduced S.1296 to the United States' Senate in March of 1973. This original bill called for a return of acreage to the Havasupai and access to traditional, sacred, and religious places in the Grand Canyon.[146] However, by August of that same year, instead of returning land, the new version of S.1296 passed with the acceptance of a land use study of the Havasu to monitor the need for land.[147]

Just as these changes were taking place in the Senate, Arizona Representative Morris Udall introduced a bill to the House of Representatives that included returning land to the Havasu.[148] This bill was H.R. 5900 and it brought new life to the Havasupai cause.[149] The Arizona Sierra Club, which had staunchly disapproved of a return of Havasupai land, switched their position and began to support the return of traditional land.[150] This change boosted the Havasupai cause in the House

and with a winning vote of 180 to 147, bill H.R. 5900, which included the return of Havasu land, passed.[151] However, due to the extreme differences in the Senate and the House bills, a committee was set up to find common ground.[152] Congressional committee approval and the president's signature were necessary to pass the combined bill into law. On December 18, 1974 the committee approved a combined bill. On January 3, 1975 President Gerald Ford signed P.L. 93-620 which states that "the lands generally depicted as the 'Havasupai Reservation Addition…'and consisting of approximately one hundred and eighty-five thousand acres of land and any improvements thereon, are hereby declared to be held by the United States for the Havasupai Tribe."[153] The new law gave the Havasupai rules and regulations, but P.L. 93-620 also states that the "lands may be used for traditional purposes, including religious purposes and the gathering of, or hunting for, wild or native foods, materials for paints and medicines…and any areas historically used as burial grounds may continue to be so used" (See Figure 2).[154] The Havasupai struggle had come full circle.

The Havasupai, the once isolated Native American tribe, faced numerous challenges to their claim to land in and around the Grand Canyon. Outside of the academic world little is known about these Native Americans who have inhabited the lands for hundreds of years. However, the government's desire to incorporate more traditional lands into the Grand Canyon National Park has been hindered by the Havasu presence. Beginning in 1880, the Havasu began to experience pressure by the United States to remove themselves from their lands. In the following decades, they petitioned to keep their claim to their lands, but they were ever increasingly reliant on the Grand Canyon National Park for survival. Given their choices, the Havasu helped turn their traditional lands into a national park; however, in recent years they have continued their struggle to legitimize their claim to their once isolated traditional lands.

IV. Conclusion

The relationship between the Havasu, the federal government, and the parks department has gone through distinct stages. The Havasupai voice has often been ignored and overlooked due to their relative isolation and small numbers. However, to assume that the Havasu voluntarily gave up their traditional lands in the Grand Canyon because of these reasons is not a valid assumption. In fact, they continued to petition for their legitimate claim to the lands inside the canyon and lands on the plateaus.

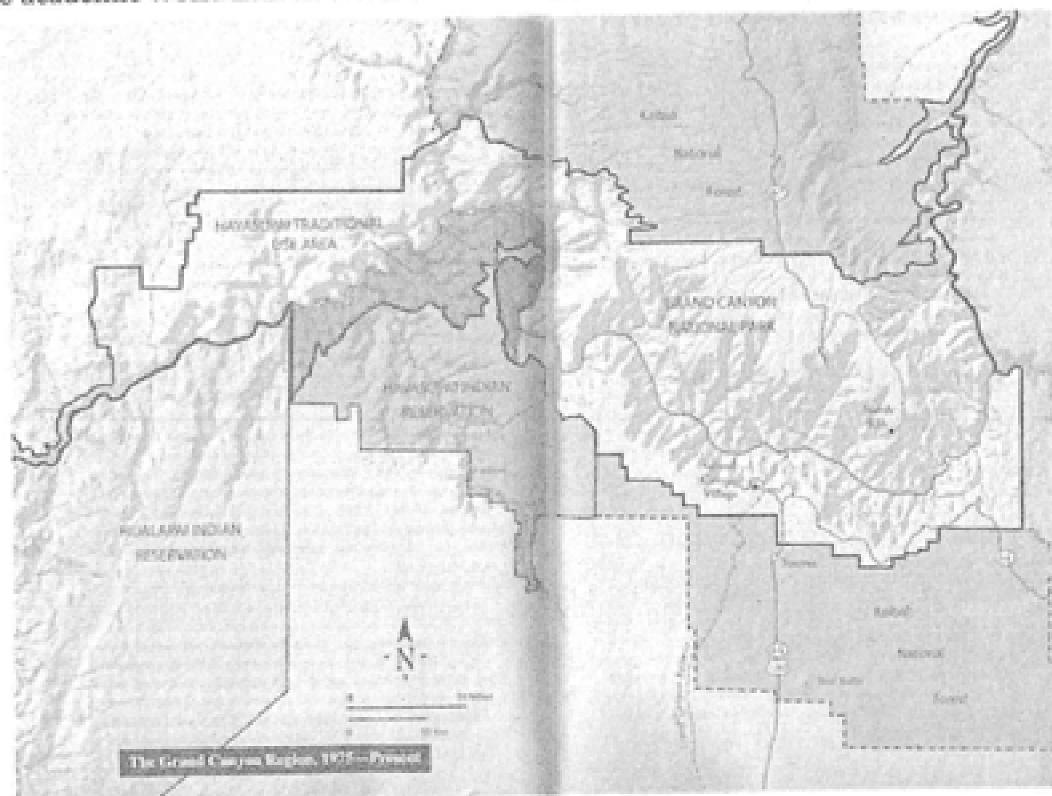

Figure 2. This map outlines the current (post-1975) Havasupai Reservation in conjunction with the Grand Canyon National Park.

Nonetheless, the once isolated tribe eventually had to turn to the Grand Canyon National Park for a way of living.

Scholarship of the early nineteenth century that focused on the white interpretations of the American West has undergone numerous changes. Scholarship now focuses on multiple accounts of westward expansion and the need for apologies and reparations for the injustices that occurred during that expansion. Early scholarship provided the history of the "winner" of the American past and most works were intellectual histories that focused on a specific idea and how the past could be explained through that idea. However, as times have changed, the focus has shifted off of the "winners" and onto the bigger and more accurate interpretation of the history of the American West. This new interpretation consists of multiple points of view and allowing the previously untold story to emerge. This study of the Havasupai tribe clearly aligns with New Western History. As stated, this is not enough for some modern scholars. Not only does the story need multiple points, but it also needs to acknowledge the injustices against Native Americans.

To put it simply, the Havasupai needed the wages that they earned from the parks department because other ways of living were deteriorating. The once isolated members lived off of the land and were free to roam the canyons and the plateaus. However, the increase in westward expansion brought more and more settlers to Havasu traditional lands and because of this, tribal members faced an uncertain future. Havasu members tried to continue their old way of life, but with the drastic change in their surroundings, they had no other option but to accept a new way of life. Nonetheless, they continued their fight against the park and continually petitioned the government for a return of their rightful land. Their connections to the land strengthened this desire to stay because they did not want to see their land lose its Havasupai element. Their determination eventually paid off in the middle of the twentieth century with the return of thousands of acres.

This story of the Havasupai is new because it moves beyond the generic and historical government reasons for expansion. It moves beyond the federal government's desire of the land in and around the Grand Canyon, the reasons for westward expansion, Manifest Destiny, and a previously one-sided interpretation of the past. The Havasupai story is one example of Native American history that has been left out of mainstream and popular interest. However, they have continually fought back and the deeply desired Havasupai element remains in the park to this day. The Havasu story may still be unknown to many, but their interactions with the U.S government are a part of the history of the American West and can never be erased. The Havasupai have had a lasting impact on the United States both politically and culturally and they have shown that the American desire for the western frontier has also had a lasting influence on the relationship between Native Americans and the United States.

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Endnotes

1. Throughout this paper the author has chosen to use the term Native Americans instead of "Indians" or "American Indians." There has been discrepancy over the politically correct terms and it is a matter of choice.
2. Frontier refers to the land west of the Mississippi that was unoccupied by settlers of European descent.
3. Manifest Destiny will be referred to repeatedly in this paper. It is the idea that European settlers had the right to expand west because they were the chosen individuals who had been given the right by God.
4. "White" in this context refers to a generalization of settlers who were of European descent who pursued westward expansion.
5. The Havasupai are also referred to as the Havasu, Supai, or Suppai. There has been an inconsistency on what the Havasupai tribe prefers to be referred to. All names including Havasupai, Supai, Suppai, and Havasu have been used in different sources referenced during this paper. Throughout this paper the Havasupai will be referenced mainly as Havasupai and Havasu unless directly quoted.
6. Stephen Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon: The Story of the Havasupai People* (Grand Canyon, Arizona: Grand Canyon Association, 2006), 207.
7. Henry F. Dobyns and Robert C. Euler, *The Havasupai People* (Phoenix, Arizona: Indian Tribal Series, 1971), 2.
8. The "winner" in this context is the United States' government because they were able to fulfill their ideals of westward expansion. "Americans" in this context refers to the general stereotype of white settlers of European descent who were both culturally and racially different from Native Americans.
9. Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), 24.
10. Ibid.
11. Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1935), 73. Weinberg is a political scientist and not a historian, but he applies intellectual theory to historical events. Weinberg uses the term "white race." However, depending on the wording of the original author, the description of settlers from European descent will differ. Within each paragraph the wording will change to accompany and fit with the original author's intention.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Edward McNall Burns, *The American Idea of Mission: Concepts of National Purpose and Destiny* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1957), vii.
15. Ibid., 189.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., 33.
18. Burns, *The American Idea of Mission*, 33.
19. Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History*, 261.
20. Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin, preface to *Trails: Toward a New Western History* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1991), xii.
21. Ibid., xi.
22. Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), 20.
23. Ibid., 21.
24. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin. "Becoming West: Toward a New Meaning for Western History," in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, ed. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), 14-15.
25. Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest*, 21.
26. Ibid., 25-26.
27. Ibid., 39.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., 322.
30. Ibid., 349.
31. Richard White, "It's Your Misfortune and None of *My Own:" A History of the American West* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 3.
32. Ibid., 4.
33. Ibid., 85.
34. Ibid.
35. George Miles, "To Hear an Old Voice: Rediscovering Native Americans in American History," in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, ed. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), 63.
36. Ibid., 54.
37. Ibid., 56-59.
38. Ibid., 60.
39. Ibid., 61.
40. Miles, "To Hear an Old Voice," 70.
41. Paula Mitchell Marks, *In a Barren Land: The American Indian Quest for Cultural Survival, 1607 to the Present* (New York: Perennial, 2002), x.
42. Ibid.
43. Richard White, "The American West and American Empire," in *Manifest Destinies and Indigenous Peoples*, ed. David Maybury-Lewis, Theodore Macdonald, and Biom Maybury-Lewis (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 2009), 204.
44. Ibid., 203.
45. Ibid., 204.
46. Ibid., 206.
47. Ibid., 213.
48. Laurence Armand French, "Native American Reparations: Five Hundred Years and Counting," in *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, ed. Roy L. Brooks (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 241.
49. Ibid., 242.
50. Ibid., 246.
51. Ibid., 244.
52. Ibid., 246.
53. Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000), x.
54. Ibid., 176.
55. Ibid.
56. Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 33.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid. There is some discrepancy over when exactly the Havasupai appeared in the Canyon. Some archaeologists and research done by linguists argue that the Havasupai could easily be descendents of the first humans on the North American continent who were here over 20,000 years ago.
61. Ibid., 7.
62. Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 7.
63. M.R. Tillotson and Frank J. Taylor, *Grand Canyon Country* (California: Stanford University Press, 1929), 30.
64. Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 37-38.
65. Ibid., 40.
66. Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., *The Havasupai: Prisoners of the Grand Canyon* (New York: Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., 1977), 1.
67. Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 7-8.
68. Ibid., 42. The first Spanish exploration to the Grand Canyon occurred in 1527.
69. Ibid., 44. Tusayan is a set of villages on Hopi traditional land.
70. Ibid., 45.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Dobyns and Euler, *The Havasupai People*, 11.
74. Tillotson and Taylor, *Grand Canyon Country*, 31.

[75] George Wharton James, *In & Around the Grand Canyon: The Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1900), 275. As of 1900, there were less than fifteen individuals who had ever visited a Havasupai village.
[76] Bill Yenne, *Indian Wars: The Campaign for the American West* (Yardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme Publishing, 2006), 24.
[77] "Indian Removal Act," May 28, 1830, in *American Political History Series: Native Americans*, ed. Donald A. Grinde Jr., (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2002), 215.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ronald N. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*, rev. ed. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 11.
[81] Yenne, *Indian Wars*, 39.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Yenne, *Indian Wars*, 46. Indian affairs deals with maintaining formal relationships with the different Native American tribes and helps decipher the ever-changing U.S. Indian Policy.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Mark Felton, *Today is a Good Day to Fight: The Indian Wars and the Conquest of the West* (Great Britain: The History Press, 2009), 194.
[89] Ibid., 194.
[90] Yenne, *Indian Wars*, 46.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid., 114.
[94] Robert M. Utley, "Wars of the Peace Policy, 1869–1886," in *American Indians in American History, 1870–2004*, ed. Sterling Evans (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 17.
[95] Yenne, *Indian Wars*, 114.
[96] Secretary of the Interior Summary (1873) quoted in Yenne, *Indian Wars*, 115.
[97] Utley, "Wars of the Peace Policy," 18.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 53.
[101] Ibid., 54.
[102] Yenne, *Indian Wars*, 73.
[103] General Orlando B. Willcox (1877) quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 58.
[104] Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 59.
[105] Havasupai member Billy Burro (1950) quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 58.
[106] Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 59.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Executive Order, June 8, 1880, in *Laws*. Vol. 1 of *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, ed. Charles J. Kappler (Washington, D.C., 1904), 809.
[109] Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 59.
[110] Ibid., 64.
[111] Lieutenant Colonel W.R. Price (July 1, 1881) quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 64.
[112] Chief Navajo (July 7, 1881) quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 64.
[113] Executive Order, March 31, 1882, in *Laws*, ed. Kappler, 809.
[114] Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., *The Havasupai: Prisoners of the Grand Canyon*, 6.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 73.
[117] Havasupai member Lemuel Paya, quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 65.
[118] Stephen Hirst, "A Havasupai Homeland Becomes a National Park," in *Reflections of Grand Canyon Historians: Ideas, Arguments, and First-Person Accounts*, ed. Todd R. Berger (Grand Canyon, Arizona: Grand Canyon Association, 2008), 47.
[119] Lieutenant Colonel G.N Brayton (January 26, 1888) quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 68.
[120] Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 74.
[121] Henry P. Ewing (November 17, 1896) quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 74.
[122] Henry P. Ewing (June 30, 1897) quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 74.
[123] Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 79.
[124] Dobyns and Euler, *The Havasupai People*, 30.
[125] Ibid., 30-33.
[126] Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 99.
[127] Ibid., 101.
[128] Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000), 284.
[129] Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 163. Emphasis added by author.
[130] Havasupai member Mack Putesoy (1934) quoted in Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 163.
[131] Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 163.
[132] Hirst, "A Havasupai Homeland Becomes a National Park," 51.
[133] Burnham, *Indian Country*, 284.
[134] Hirst, "A Havasupai Homeland Becomes a National Park," 48.
[135] Ibid., 50.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Dobyns and Euler, *The Havasupai People*, 43.
[138] Hirst, "A Havasupai Homeland Becomes a National Park," 50.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid., 48.
[141] Dobyns and Euler, *The Havasupai People*, 40. The Parks department became the National Parks Service after 1919.
[142] Ibid., 40.
[143] Hirst, "A Havasupai Homeland Becomes a National Park," 50.
[144] Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 207.
[145] Ibid., 211.
[146] Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., *The Havasupai: Prisoners of the Grand Canyon*, 14-15.
[147] Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 219.
[148] Jeff Ingram, "Enlarging Grand Canyon National Park: A Participant's View of the History and Aftermath of the 1975 Grand Canyon Enlargement Act," in *Reflections of Grand Canyon Historians: Ideas, Arguments, and First-Person Accounts*, ed. Todd R. Berger (Grand Canyon, Arizona: Grand Canyon Association, 2008), 33.
[149] Hirst, *I am the Grand Canyon*, 214.
[150] Ibid., 223.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ingram, "Enlarging Grand Canyon National Park," 33.
[153] *Grand Canyon National Park Enlargement Act*, Public Law 93-620, *United States Statutes at Large* 88, pt.2 (1974): 2092.
[154] Ibid.