

# Hopi Culture and a Matter of Representation

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## *Abstract*

The Hopi Indians of Northeastern Arizona have become one of the most studied tribes in North America. The rise of both academic and popular representations of Hopis was a direct result of ethnology and anthropology employed since the late nineteenth century. The synergy of scientific and popular texts, both imaginatively constructed, perpetuated an already existing “cultural archive” and implanted embryonic Hopi representations onto the minds of aspiring scientists, armchair travelers, and the public at large. The work of Jesse Walter Fewkes, John G. Bourke, and Earl Forrest, along with others, are examined to illustrate how this “cultural archive,” as explained by Edward Said, has been maintained and continues to perpetuate a form of intellectual colonialism over Hopis.

Early social scientists in Hopiland and the Peabody Expedition virtually constructed the American Southwest in the intellectual minds of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This construction, which can be termed a “cultural archive,” has resulted in the perpetuation of an anglophone representation of Hopis and their culture. A significant aim for the perpetuation of a cultural archive was to impose an imperialistic comprehension on third world-like regions, not only in the United States, but also in foreign countries. As a result, this archive became the banner for metropolitan expansion and

nineteenth century political, economic, and intellectual ideology and authority in the American Southwest.

Although the intellectual minds of the twentieth century were still fed by the cultural archive of the nineteenth century, the American “popular” mind of the twentieth century had yet to be exposed to the Hopis of Northeastern Arizona. Newspaper articles about Hopis, especially the Hopi Snake Dance, were first published in metropolitan regions of the U.S. where academic institutions were located. Often, these newspaper articles were accompanied by notices of lectures about Hopis by those who had seen Hopi culture. Academic representations had influenced the popular American mind as an ancillary component and became apparent within the popular novel, which was laced with bits and pieces of Hopi exotica.

For example, writings of Jesse Walter Fewkes, John G. Bourke, and Earl Forrest about Hopi culture may be critically examined within the context of the time during which they were produced. Since these writings lack any Hopi input or perspective, they may be viewed as cultural fictions about Hopis, and this is how they should be examined. The work of Mitchell Dean and his three approaches for critiquing texts are the methods that will be utilized to examine Hopi texts. Although I consider the anglophone texts written about Hopis to be cultural fictions, a wider range of published works will be examined for this article.

The stage was set for the further development and perpetuation of a cultural archive on Hopis during the late nineteenth century. The continuation of that archive to the present day is the focus of this article. Several different genres, including travel writing, novels, and academic texts, both historical and contemporary, will be examined. Assessing different types of texts is significant for illustrating how pervasive the lack of any real Hopi perspective has been over time. Additionally, and more importantly, the presented analysis contributes to and supports the contention that because there is a lack of Hopi intellectual authority in any of these texts, there is no real Hopi history, only a contrived rendition of anglophone recursive ideations about each of the authors’ own intellectual and academic authority.

This article is not an exhaustive critique of texts published up to the late twentieth century. The particular texts were selected as examples to reflect and support the presented argument because they represent the manner in which social scientific inquiry and speculation about Hopis have become apparent in contemporary Hopi studies. Even in recent works, the cultural archive continues to deny a Hopi perspective and creates and supports the intellectual annihilation of Hopi agency and authority. Moreover, these texts replace accurate perceptions of Hopis with ones that maintain Hopis as being culturally, socially, and intellectually inferior. What inevitably resulted from both popular and academic writings was a world in which stereotypes have assumed documented authenticity in the consciousness of the general public. This situation became a

form of imperialism through which aesthetic freedom became the guise for the justification of intellectual genocide, a very important historical requirement for an imperial process.

To understand how this process unfolded, it is important to analyze the relationship between popular and academic writings in the early part of the twentieth century. Both genres intellectually attracted readership and scholarship that exists to this day. In the period before the Peabody Expedition of 1935, the scientific development of archaeology had allowed further research on Hopis that utilized the technology of the day. Popular writings, on the other hand, relied on ethnographical, archaeological, and anthropological representations to fuel the popular imagination. The synergy of science and popular texts, both imaginatively constructed, perpetuated the already existing cultural archive and implanted embryonic Hopi representations onto the minds of young and aspiring scientists, armchair travelers, and the public at large. What was ultimately achieved through this work was intellectual colonialism.

This article proposes that intellectual colonialism is the process by which meaning and authority is constructed and maintained within the colonizer's epistemological and teleological activities, including research, publishing, intellectual discursive practices and formations, and in controlling the acceptability of cultural referents for popular intellectual consumption. By controlling the intellectual constructions of Hopis from the earliest representations to the present, the archive maintains its authority and power over Hopis, implying that it was natural to have Hopis as objects of study and then as subjects. Generally, the economic and political contexts of the times in which the following texts were written figure heavily in their purposes for publication and dissemination to the general public. Additionally, it must be noted that intellectual colonialism was imperative for the colonizers and their social and private institutions.

There are several important historical contingencies that intersected with intellectual colonialism at Hopi. First, archaeology had created an intellectual imagination about Hopis that had burgeoned into its everlasting presence at Hopiland. Secondly, the dissemination of written texts and photographs gave Hopis to the rest of the world. Thirdly, the Santa Fe Railroad's link to the American Southwest provided the technological possibility for people to access one of the last American frontiers.

The mysterious landscape of the American Southwest played a role in the imaginations of many North Americans; the Grand Canyon, Meteor Crater, and the Petrified Forest contributed to the mystery, and Hopis who lived nearby were marketed by the railroad as a tourist attraction. In accordance with Edward Said's notion that regions are constructed according to their perceived purpose, it is apparent that this region provided an attraction for academic and popular adventurers. The geography had found its way into the minds of people via

many avenues. In fact, descriptions of Hopis and their mysteriousness date back to at least 1884.

John G. Bourke's work is one of the first written accounts of Hopis published by a non-academic. Using the imperialistic archetype of the popular novel Robinson Crusoe, Bourke's work became a sort of template for representing Hopis to the popular American audience. The title of the book, including the subtitle, is impressive: *The Snake Dance of the Moquis: Being a Narrative of a Journey from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Villages of the Moqui Indians, with a Description and Customs of this Peculiar People, and especially of the revolting Religious Rite, the Snake Dance to which is added brief description upon serpent worship in general with an Account of the Tablet Dance of the Pueblo of Santo Domingo*.<sup>1</sup> The book entertains the notion of the "other" as peculiar and revolting, both terms offering a curious and disgusting attraction to readers:

...the author had endeavored to present the truthful description of religious rites, the very existence of which is known but to a few of our people... Their religion, system of government, apparel, manufactures, no less the romantic positions of their villages, appeal to the curiosity or sympathy of almost every class of travelers, archaeologists, divines, men of letters, or ordinary sight seers... If the author has succeeded in demonstrating that our South Western Territories contain much that is fully worthy of the attention and study of people of intelligence, he will feel amply repaid for the time and labour to this volume.<sup>2</sup>

This book brought the perplexing attraction of Hopis to the forefront of the United States while this passage encapsulates what most subsequent texts would include about Hopis. This book, therefore, can be viewed as the antecedent of most of the work done on Hopis, the cultural archive.

Written in the first person, the book reads like an epic adventure. Always perched on the edge of seeming disaster, in part probably to engage the reader, Bourke writes:

Our notebooks were gripped tightly in one hand, and our sharpened pencils in the other, the theory of our advance being that, with boldness and celebrity, we might gain an entrance and jot down a few memoranda of value before the preoccupied savages could discover us and expel us.<sup>3</sup>

As an example of how exotica is created, this episode is filled with danger, suspense, and contains the verve and attraction that was associated with an urge for discovery and adventure. Bourke's book reflects an adventurous attitude that centers on the Hopi Snake Dance. An interesting trope that Bourke knowingly or unknowingly utilized in this work is that the story begins and ends in civilization. The fact that the reader could start in a "civilized" world where life

was understandable and return to “civilization” made it seem possible that one could actually make an adventure to Hopiland and not become a savage. This book represents a virtual reality that was not yet intended to be an advertisement campaign, but in reality, would become one.

The development of a cultural archive in Said’s terms involves some calculated intent on behalf of the colonizers. It seems, however, that Bourke could have unintentionally provided impetus for further archival development. The cultural archive had become so entrenched in the American mind that it was almost natural for a man like Bourke to represent the “other” in the manner in which he did. It seems reasonable to assume that Bourke represented Hopis as “exotic” because in his world, the discursive formations and practices of the time had achieved their goal of both creating and naturalizing an intellectual superiority over the “other.”

Another version of the Hopi Snake Dance, written by Walter Hough in 1899, reflects aspects similar to the ones found in Bourke’s book. *The Moki Snake Dance: A Popular Account of that Unparalleled Dramatic Pagan Ceremony of the Pueblo Indians of Tusayan, Arizona, with Incidental Mention of Their Life and Customs*<sup>4</sup> presents a moment-by-moment narrative leading up to the climactic day of the public observance of the Snake Dance:

The grand entry of the Snake priests is dramatic to the last degree. On come the demoniacal groups, to music now deep and resonant to a frenzied pitch...Stay! There is another scene in this drama, which may seem a fitting termination. Who ever wishes may go to look, but not everyone goes...Even scientific equanimity cannot observe without qualms that this is a purification ceremony, carried out by priests with the ruthlessness of devotion.<sup>5</sup>

This passage reflects an important step in the metamorphosis of how anglophones perceive Hopis. As the social sciences, particularly archaeology and anthropology, were gaining momentum, popular representations like those of Bourke and Hough graphically fueled the national consciousness about the American Southwest and Hopis.

Just how popular and scientific representations intersected is an important juncture that needs further analysis. There is not a distinct difference in how the cultural archive is perpetuated, but there are differences in which types of discourse helped to create and maintain the cultural archive. The interest spurred by the texts that came out of the late nineteenth century was a starting point for much of the interest. Edward Said’s notions about “orientalism” and why it became instrumental in the representational construction of the “other” are applicable to this analysis.

Edward Said’s *Orientalism* offers critical insight into how orientalism contributed to American authoritarianism and how popular writing and scientific research led to enterprises like the Peabody Expedition, which in its own right

was an instrument of orientalism and a major contribution to the cultural archive.<sup>6</sup> The intersection of a constructed representation of Hopis, developed through popular writing and science, had become the cornerstone necessary for orientalism to manifest itself through American institutions, which manage to perpetuate authority and control, in this case, over Hopis.

According to Said, the creation of the Orient by westerners was “almost an European invention and had been since antiquity. It was a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, and remarkable experiences.”<sup>7</sup> In this sense, Hopis in Hopiland were the invention of anglophones. The texts thus far analyzed support this idea. The images of Hopis in these texts reflect them as an inferior, backward culture that would eventually become “scientific cannon fodder” for an anglophone platform to implement control of Hopi representations.

One manner in which anglophones utilized Hopis is illustrated in Earl Forrest’s book, *The Snake Dance of the Hopi Indians*.<sup>8</sup> Forrest cites two particular influences in how he became aware of Hopis; through Walter Hough’s *The Moki Snake Dance*, and according to Forrest, through the most influential, *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*.<sup>9</sup> According to a survey of the literature, the Hopi Snake Dance represents the pinnacle of how anglophones perceived Hopis. Judging by the sheer number of articles, photographs, and scholarly work centered on the “snakes,” it is no wonder that Hopis became the centerpiece for several imperialistic ventures.<sup>10</sup>

Forrest mentions, “after reading this I became so enthused that I made up my mind I would someday witness this strange Indian dance.”<sup>11</sup> In Forrest’s time, the popularity of the American Southwest and Hopiland was becoming the cynosure for anglophone experiences. This was partly exhibited by the proliferation of “Indian corners” in the homes of well traveled easterners symbolizing exotic worldliness. Generally, these “Indian corners” would contain curios from Indian country that reflected the proprietor’s connection with the “other.”

Forrest served as a guide for Professor Henry Evans, proprietor of El Rancho Bonito, an outdoor winter school. Forrest guided groups of young men to Hopiland. This winter school was geared toward offering an adventurous, outdoor, exotic experience for men who were seeking entrance into universities, ostensibly on the East Coast. The experiences influenced the minds and possibly the decisions that these men chose to study in their university careers.

An interesting passage from Forrest’s book reflects the mentality regarding Hopis that is apparent in these texts. The Snake Dance

was more like a scene one would expect in the jungles of darkest Africa, or some far corner of India. It was one of those wild, weird pageants once common in the Old West that has vanished. But I was not in Africa or India. I was in Arizona when it was the last frontier.<sup>12</sup>

What could have been more appealing to the adventurous mind? But there are important questions that need to be addressed in order to link whatever interest anglophones had in Hopis with the larger national consciousness regarding the "other." The United States' interests in settling, commercializing, and promoting its national "treasures" was an integral part of exercising its control over its citizens or rather, in this particular case, its colonized inhabitants.

Part of the national settlement process was to create regions accessible to its citizens. Initially, trails, road systems, waterways, and then railroads enabled people to reach once distant lands in relatively short time and in relative comfort. Hopiland was not out of reach for personal investigation of these "strange" people. It was not long before entrepreneurs recognized the possibility for exploiting Hopis. The United States could foster a "national treasure" as well as enable the railroads to capitalize on this opportunity.

Walter Hough's *The Moki Snake Dance* (1899) was published by the Passenger Department of the Santa Fe Route in 1899. It included sixty-four half tone illustrations from "special photographs." In it, Hough described Hopi life and scenes from the Hopi Snake Dance. The photographs portray Hopis as civilized people through scenes of children, men at work, houses, weavers, mail carriers, potters, and families. These orchestrated scenes depict a strange yet familial work-oriented people. The purpose of this pamphlet was to invite travelers to Hopiland.

The last sections of the pamphlet are the "Moki Ceremonies" and "Routes to the Moki Pueblos." The former section lists dates of the Snake and Flute Ceremonies. But what is most significant is the information on how to get to Hopiland:

Far from being difficult to access, the Province of Tusayan is easily reached by saddle horse or wheel conveyance from several towns on the Santa Fe Pacific Railroad, a division of the transcontinental line of the Santa Fe Railroad...trip may be included as a side excursion *en route*, but the experience will amply repay a special journey across the continent.<sup>13</sup>

In advertising this journey, the pamphlet mentions health benefits, costs for different routes to Hopiland, and accommodations that were available in Holbrook, Winslow, Canyon Diablo, and Flagstaff, Arizona. It also included a detailed map of the region and all stops and routes mentioned. What was accomplished through the railroad advertisements was to make Hopis and the imaginary representations of them accessible to the world-complete and ready to be consumed, studied, romanticized, commercialized, packaged, and delivered to a self-perpetuating machine that controlled every step of the enterprise.

Popular and scientific writing heavily influenced Forrest. In all these texts there is a separation or otherness that is both inviting and repulsive. All exhibit notions of curiosity, otherness, commerce, tourism, and regional creationism

where areas were invented for their anglophone-perceived purpose. Hopiland becomes an exotic, yet somewhat hospitable place where the natives are not restless, and where the frontier exists. It offers people, mostly men, the opportunity to experience American colonial, imperial, and national ideology *in situ*. Danger, discovery, independence, the taming of the wilderness, a superior temporal cognizance of the region and its people, and most importantly, a capitalistic venture sums up the trope of the American experience. And the American Southwest had to be the place especially where people like Hopis still lived in a “primitive” world.

Another very interesting text, *Lolomai* by Bendla von Langenn, exemplifies a romanticized representation of the American Southwest and Hopis.<sup>14</sup> The book is about an aristocratic German woman who loses her Italian lover. She decides to leave Europe and take an extended trip to the United States. This is a love story between a young Hopi man, “Lomahonau (Beautiful Bear),” and Bendla. The romantic orientation of this novel is apparent:

Early dawn comes. Beautiful! Lomahonau, long awake sits wrapped in his blanket, watching the sleeping woman. His lips murmur: ‘Thank you, Great Spirit, that you have heard my prayer. Now it will be lolomai!’ He hears Gerta’s voice; “What is lolomai?’ He hesitates, then answers, ‘in the language of my people there is word. My lady, this small word brings together all that is holy, good and all powerful. It is called ‘lolomai.’ Then he added, ‘Nothing can mean more to a Hopi Indian, and you are lolomai, my lady. For me, poor brown wanderer, there is nothing that compares to you.’ Deeply moved, she answers, ‘yes, Lomahonau, that fate brought me here is lolomai to me. That word will be our left motif as long as we are together, and beyond.’<sup>15</sup>

The book develops along the lines of “lolomai” and of course, the story ends in tragedy. The European romanticism expressed here, especially German romanticism, was influenced by Enlightenment ideas about how man and nature should live in harmony. Earthly attraction, spiritualism, and adventure within the romance novel attract the romantic at heart. Either looking for young, spiritually minded men with beautiful names or looking for nature’s harmony, many other texts have been written to satisfy this mystical search. The belief that one may experience romantic transcendentalism in the Southwest has not gone away. Said’s notions regarding the application of imperial consciousness are paramount in this text where an imaginative, temporal escapism created an illusionary playground for anglophones.

To further illuminate this analysis, it is useful to consider another aspect of intellectual colonialism. In *Imperial Eyes*, Mary Louise Pratt discusses the “space of colonial encounters.”<sup>16</sup> Pratt refers to this idea as “contact zones.” These zones occur when colonized and colonizer, who have initially been geographically and historically separated, come into contact “and establish ongoing relations,

usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict."<sup>17</sup> These contact zones emphasize how people are constituted and created in the relationships that are formed. These can be viewed in terms of "copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power."<sup>18</sup>

Pratt's "contact zone" interpretation of cross colonial encounters is useful in analyzing the literature on Hopis. In the texts analyzed previously, Hopis were silent and alienated from their own agency. The popular writings were created in a similar fashion. The results were essentially the same: Hopis were entangled in a relationship of coercive representational creativity. But to further employ the usefulness of Pratt's idea of "contact zones" and its components, it is useful to analyze the following texts in this light.

As illustrated, historically, popular and academic writing had essentially been a one-sided affair. Fewkes, the Peabody Expedition, and others relied on their own intuitive approaches for representing Hopis to the larger population. However, a more conscientious approach was brewing in regard to the interactions with living Hopis. The legacy of anglophone objectivity and questions regarding the past began to be questioned by the natural sciences.

By the 1940s, the anglophone legacy of empiricism had contributed to problematizing the interpretation of history and culture. Historical relativists offered a series of criticisms about the traditional posture of objectivity. The work of Morton White and Henry May, concentrating on the years of 1910-1912 began to reexamine social thought and how new canons of representation in literature and art, new conceptions of mathematics, logic, empirical science, and new currents in academic disciplines combined to render problematic certainties in almost every realm of thought and culture.<sup>19</sup> This was the onset of the modernist movement, and although American historians were not yet influenced, the natural sciences were.<sup>20</sup>

Because social scientists heavily relied on the scientific method as the way to perpetuate objectivity, they became alarmed when the scientific community questioned previous scientific method and thought. Albert Einstein's theory of relativity questioned and validated another view of the universe. Therefore, truth and falsity could not be the sole criteria for their employment, since the terms are context dependent. Consequently, these perspectives and perceptions quickly found their way into the social sciences. Even though the colonizer mentality had gone home, hegemony remained. Canonical hegemony has been maintained throughout a wide variety of disciplines. The following texts represent the interaction between Hopis and anglophones, but not in what may be termed as cultural relativity. The intentions of anglophone research, however, were guided by modernist approaches.

By the 1940s, living Hopis were included into anglophone research as subjects. The initial studies conducted at Hopiland did not rely on any historiographical approaches in the interpretation of Hopi history. More often than not, the studies attempted to strengthen discursive formations and practices.

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Analysis of this period, from about the 1940s to the present, suggests that, initially, researchers worked in conjunction with the United States government to gain better insight into the “mind” of Hopis through psychology, sociology, and ethics, as well as to incorporate anthropology and archaeology from the initial cultural archive into these studies.<sup>21</sup>

This turning point in Hopi studies became a part of the metamorphosis of studies that continue today. Generally, initial research utilized Hopis as objects of study; then, over time, Hopis changed from object to subjects, and lastly, the combination of the two came. Finally, there is the Hopi articulated voice of their own historiographical method, approach, and praxis.

*The Hopi Child* by Wayne Dennis is an ethnographical study of Hopi children from the villages of Oraibi and Hotevilla.<sup>22</sup> His study compares child rearing practices with those of urban anglophones. Dennis spent nearly two years living in Oraibi and writes of daily children’s activities. He contextualizes the children’s activities with descriptions of Hopi cultural practices. What he discovers is that Hopi children are not so different from their counterparts of Americana. This is not so surprising in contemporary times. The significance of this text lies in the fact that Dennis provides a Hopi context for this study. Moreover, he incorporates the lives of Hopis without making any moral or ethical judgments about their lives and culture.

Another significant aspect of Dennis’ work is that he wanted to separate cross-cultural influences from non Hopi influences. His findings are significant in illustrating that there was a lack of comparison of Hopis and anglophone children:

For the present, however, there exists in most respects only one standard of comparison, namely an account of the child as he has been studied by American and European psychologists...Usually the researchers have failed to describe the cultural backgrounds of their subjects and have used methods which cannot be applied outside of kindergarten, school and clinic...a successful attempt to find the peculiar outcomes of Hopi child rearing by comparing Hopi child behavior with “American” child behavior is next to impossible.<sup>23</sup>

According to Dennis, his most unique finding is that Hopi children’s behavior strongly resembles that of anglophone children. “This we suppose, is a statement of the same meaning as the anthropologists’ belief in ‘the psychic unity of mankind.’”<sup>24</sup> This one point puts Hopis and anglophones on at least some level playing field when it comes to children. Social scientists began to include Hopis in the writing of Hopi culture by the early twentieth century. This text utilizes many of the same names associated with early Hopi research (Fewkes, Stephen, Hough) that support the archive. In terms of historiographical approaches, however, this text represents the multi/cross-disciplinary approaches that Hopi

studies had started to assume. Dennis' work was a prototype for future researchers at Hopi. The methodology of Dennis' study of Hopis was a culturally based, descriptive, narrative approach:

A girl may be inducted into the societies in any order but the first one which a girl may join is determined for her by her parents' selection of her godmother. She must first join her godmother's society. The usual age for joining the first society is from twelve to fourteen years. However she may even become a member as a baby, for if her mother carries her into a society meeting, she automatically becomes a member.<sup>25</sup>

This passage encapsulates the approach that Dennis took in this text. The data is grounded within Hopi culture and, at best, stimulates perhaps more questions than it illuminates because of this thick description. This particular approach had been utilized by many other researchers, especially among the work of Alexander Stephen, J. W. Fewkes, and especially Edward S. Curtis.<sup>26</sup>

John Collier wrote the foreword for Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph's book, *The Hopi Way*.<sup>27</sup> As the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, it behooved him to sanction research on Indians, where the findings could have relevance to the control and implementation of programs to manage Indians from a social, economic, and governmental perspective. This study was conducted in collaboration with the Indian Service, the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago, and other various entities. The text attempts to describe a traditional Hopi way of life and analyzes factors that contribute to Hopi child personality development. What is significant about this text, however, is Collier's call to support such academic endeavors:

...Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell were establishing *natural ecology* as a branch of science, which both depended upon and utilized. The multiplying effects which are countless within the organism, extend and still multiply beyond the organism...The "web of life" is so much a reality that no such separate life can be lived except as part of its web.<sup>28</sup>

In seeking to know this *wholeness* of the organism, the give and take within the web of life and within the life field and earth field, each one of the many hundreds of special hypotheses and instruments has to be employed with severe, technical fealty to its limited, special task or problem treated in isolation from the web of life and earth field. The specialized process, too, is required to take into account, to yield their own product into, to make of themselves vehicles of, the greater whole, including the synergy of the interrelated organisms, the synergy's web of life and earth field. The specialized enterprises are rewarded and justified only by their being joined in the symphony of understanding and of control, of which they are but musical notes or special instruments.<sup>29</sup>

Collier's poetic tone reflects a modernistic influence from the sciences. The idea that all life is intertwined in a "web" reveals a more modern understanding that life is interconnected. Hopi culture is only one of many webs that exist. But to put this "weblike" existence into more politically oriented terms, Collier does refer to the fact that there exists a "greater whole." The "whole" refers to the United States of America. Although Collier acknowledges that social institutions exist in every society, as an administrator, he does not forget to illustrate the "place" of Hopi culture, as only a musical note or instrument, as only a small part of the symphony, the United States of America.

Joseph and Thompson further express this point in their studies of Hopi culture. Their aim for this book was to discover how such a small population of Indians survive, culturally intact, in spite of modern day pressures of the mid-nineteen thirties. They comment that Hopis' environmental conditions also raise questions about their survivability. They wish to present their findings in a way that serves as a background for further research on the problem of how the Hopi, "a cultural island in the mainstream of American life, may be assisted in continuing to develop their potentialities [as] a unique and valuable contribution to the nation and the world."<sup>30</sup>

The findings, at least from a Hopi perspective, are not exceptionally novel. In terms of the cultural archive, however, they are significant:

we conclude that for the Hopi the price paid is well worth the security it gives the individual and that, as far as the group is concerned, is a crucial factor not only in successful survival in spite of an exceedingly vulnerable position ... so rich and rewarding, so exciting and absorbing that the outside world offers no adequate substitute.<sup>31</sup>

These overall findings represent the trend from the late nineteenth century researchers whose aim was to find Hopis' evolutionary point on the evolutionary scale, intending to predict the end of Hopi culture in an effort to understand how Hopis have managed to sustain and perpetuate their lives despite outside cultural intrusions. Though Collier exemplified a new attitude toward recognizing a more relative nature of cultural experiences, it was not until Laura Thompson's *Culture in Crisis: A Study of the Hopi Indians* that the actual research had any concrete applicability to the governance of Hopis.<sup>32</sup>

Collier also wrote the forward to this book. In it, he specifically states the purpose and implications for this study:

When in 1941, Harold Ickes, then Secretary of the Interior, and I, then Indian Commissioner, and Willard W. Bealty, then as now Director of Indian Education, solicited the research of which this book is one of the products, we were viewing the government's Indian Service as just one among the many enterprises of colonial administration, trusteeship,

service to dependencies and minorities...we strongly suspected that the structures of Indian Service were quite imperfect...We have prepared, as we announced at the time, to have disconcerting discoveries flow from the research....And we realized that our experience in this matter had a significance world wide. Social research of the integrative type can be swiftly and profoundly creative within the institutions of government—within human affairs will communities, states, nations, United Nations give social research its chance to illumine them.<sup>33</sup>

Collier's call for recognition in uniting the efforts of colonizers toward a more humane administration for all colonized is interesting. First, this call implies that the United States had recognized the shortcomings of colonization by initiating this research. Secondly, this discourse can be read as similar to that of the Peabody's intention for becoming the preeminent scholarly institution of America. Obviously, the global situation during the late 1930s and early 1940s was quite in turmoil. The United States was in the process of becoming the leading power on earth. It seems that Collier was starting to set standards for its colonized populations:

The world profoundly needs to have its *sense of society* deepened; to become aware of the universal potency of societies as the determiners and creators of life; even to acquire a reverence for these intangible yet so definite entities from out of obscurity are the dominators of man and the makers of his spirit.<sup>34</sup>

Laura Thompson also concurs with Collier's message. She believes that this study reflects a worldwide trend toward responsible local autonomy and improved welfare:

No matter how dark the picture is in any one region, if we view the world as a whole a liberating change appears to be taking place. The complete or partial emancipation of subject peoples in India, Indonesia, Burma, the Philippines, the Near East, Africa, and the Pacific Islands reflects a trend, which is focused in the concept of international accountability for developing self-government and native welfare, and in the concept of the development of "underdeveloped" peoples...<sup>35</sup>

Therefore, the aim of this book is to help ascertain the reasons for uniting governmental process with cultural process. This book is a case study under the auspices of the Indian Personality and Administration Research sponsored by the United States Office of Indian Affairs and the University of Chicago's Committee on Human Development, later succeeded by the Society for Applied Anthropology. To accomplish the task, Thompson set out to study both

individual personalities and tribal societies of Hopis in order to discover how effectively the government served them.

Her basic findings resulted in a field theory of culture and cross disciplinary methodology for the multi dimensional study of the acculturation process. Thompson, in the process of delineating acculturative processes in conjunction with personality analysis, discovered that in order to mesh science with subjective data such as personality and cultural practices, there would have to be room for human variables that could not be logically ordered within this study.

However, Thompson's analysis concludes that:

(1) Hopi traditional culture is fitted like a glove to the indigenous environment; (2) Hopi traditional culture is a complex, closely integrated whole built around a core of beliefs and practices that give it remarkable qualities of stability and endurance; (3) individuals who grow up in Hopi traditional culture tend to develop a balanced, creative type of personality capable of abstract organizational thinking.<sup>36</sup>

Although most Hopis knew that these findings were true a scientist could only have articulated these results. On the other hand, however, Thompson notes that even though Hopis should remain this way, they probably will not:

They are in the grip of a severe crisis. Change is inevitable in a changing world, and change is the essential characteristic of a living culture. When a culture "crystallizes" it breaks down. The same principle applies to personalities. Indeed, the Hopi, if they are to survive as a culture group, and even if they are to retain their balance as individuals, can save themselves neither by locking their cultural heritage in a strong box, nor by casting it away.<sup>37</sup>

In realistic terms, Thompson's findings are geared toward the colonial question already stated earlier: How will effective Hopi leaders be chosen to complement the aims of Indian Federal policy and administration? Of course, she has recommendations. The best Hopis are those who are poised, quiet and gentle. Confidence and forcefulness are keen as well. "The most highly developed personalities seem to radiate a sort of inner awareness. They have that quality of intensity within tranquility which is rare in Western Man."<sup>38</sup> She feels that these are admirable qualities in Hopi people. More importantly, Thompson feels that the "Indians naturally are attracted to and influenced by white persons who approach their own ideal."<sup>39</sup>

It seems clear the study has become propaganda at this point. The work of scientists has been a discursive practice, and in this particular case, it has become a discursive formation between the federal government, the University of Chicago, and in the selection of future Hopi administrators, created by the Federal government. The colonizing mind has not gone away. The

historiographical significance of this study in relation to this article is that these two texts attempted to include Hopis into the research. The use of cultural studies synthesized with science still supports the contention that within the field of Hopi studies, history has been overlooked. This text, however, reveals how the cultural archive achieves its prominence.

The role of personality was the focus of the last two texts analyzed.<sup>40</sup> Each illustrates how the initial cultural archive became synthesized with the sciences. Although living Hopis became “participants” in these studies, they have been relegated to the role of “subjects,” and thus have remained since. Even though Hopis have been part of these studies, they were and still are being used as experimental fodder for the implementation of a practicing discursive community.

The proliferation of texts regarding Hopi cultural persistence, acculturation, and personality became the focus for implementing anglophone findings for praxis in Hopiland. However, as mentioned before, the discursive formations that were created within the field of Hopi studies had started to become a self-perpetuating entity on some sort of theoretical path. But headed where? Obviously, that led in many directions. Theories of acculturation, personality, social stasis and change, and persistence found their self described applicability within Hopi studies. Although there were many paths, all still were guided by western, social scientific theoretical orientations and approach.

The fascination with the sociological aspects of Hopi life was still a focus of Hopi studies in the 1990s. Rushforth’s and Upham’s book, *A Hopi Social History*, incorporated many sociological perspectives about Hopi change and stasis.<sup>41</sup> The aim of this text was to incorporate a multitude of theoretical approaches about Hopi sociological life over a period of time ranging from prehistoric times until contemporary times. The authors “construct” their discussions of sociological persistence and change “on the foundation of a historically ordered series of case studies taken from a single sociological system.”<sup>42</sup> This ambitious work examines the sociological within the theoretical frameworks of anthropology, archaeology, sociology, psychology, and others before them (part of the cultural archive) to provide a multi vocal scientific interpretation of events in Hopi history.

The authors, both trained in anthropology and archaeology, believe that the anthropological explanations of sociocultural persistence must be evaluated empirically. “From the empirical foundation established by case studies, it is possible to move to a more theoretical level of analysis and discourse.”<sup>43</sup> Through their choice of one specific social group, the authors feel that it offers a more complete understanding of the “multiplicity of processes” that affect any sociocultural system through time. Their incorporation of ethnographical data from the late nineteenth century provided them with the humanistic perspective for their sociological orientation.

Because there had never been a complete history of the Hopi tribe, written or recorded, the authors chose a select few incidents with enough data for analysis. The data available to them had to be sufficient to incorporate the conventions of sociology with ethnology, anthropology, and archaeology. Again,

this text perpetuates and maintains the cultural archive. But what is unique is that it recognizes the multitude of perspectives surrounding any interpretation of sociocultural stasis and change.

However, the role of ethnography as a source for interpretation came under a different rubric of reliability:

The different data we employ vary in their precision. In case studies about the prehistoric Western Pueblo, we rely on imprecise archaeological, early historical and ethnohistorical data...Thus the ethnohistories written from these data are also precise...Accordingly, caution must be used when identifying, describing, and explaining the associated processes of sociocultural persistence and change.<sup>44</sup>

Nonetheless, for their interpretation of historic events such as the split of Oraibi, they comment that these events are precise, since there were living people who observed and recorded the events prior to and after the split. "More modern records of the Hopis permit a relatively exact and accurate historical construction."<sup>45</sup> But there seems to be an agenda for all this rumination about the validity or reliability of schools of thought and their interpretations. The authors' purpose in raising skepticism about the reliability of interpretations is to "academically" exhaust critiques other than their own:

Our necessary preoccupation with evidence and the correct interpretation of events in Hopi social history should not mislead the reader. We are not merely anxious to provide an accurate *description* of Hopi sociocultural persistence and change. We are also interested in *explanations* of how and why some features have persisted and why other features have changed.<sup>46</sup>

Their purpose in addressing these factors in regard to the plethora of data available to this study reflects their findings. Although this article has not specifically discussed the intricacies of this text, the scientific approach taken by these authors illustrates the dependence on their own orientations within science and has nothing to do with Hopi agency from a Hopi perspective. The scientific method for reconstructing history seems to compromise the certainty associated with science. History, especially in the 1990s, has at its disposal a more relevant source for Hopi history—Hopis. Nevertheless, the authors have attempted to place science within the field of history and make it a credible vehicle for interpreting social history.

The scientific texts analyzed all contain this process of exhaustive reiteration of the "cultural archive," science, and how each text refuses to utilize living Hopis as "experts." This type of study has become scientific trope within the field of Hopi studies. Obviously, the field of Hopi studies turned toward science as a means of understanding Hopi culture, but only by theoretically eliminating

living Hopis. But far from eliminating Hopis from the scientific community, there is no recognition of Hopi authority by scientists. This is the crux of the problem. Because there was no scientific Hopi Indian authority within the academic community, science just exerted its posture. But the “usefulness” of Hopis within studies such as these has not waned.<sup>47</sup>

Where does this leave the field of Hopi studies? Over the last century and a half, Hopis have become the icon for stereotypes, adventure, exotica, science, and testing. The cultural context in Hopiland was that we were undergoing significant cultural changes. The Hopi tribe had come into the twenty-first century. Contrary to popular belief, Hopis have neither died out nor have remained in the past. The last phase, or most current academic representations of Hopis, has found its way into the work of Peter Whiteley. A text in need of critical examination is *Rethinking Hopi Ethnography*.<sup>48</sup>

Whiteley makes the obvious point that the “very idea...of a formal fieldwork project, hatched as theoretical ‘problem’ in a university setting, underwritten by an exogenous granting agency, and without internal consultation, is no longer conceivable.”<sup>49</sup> The detached view of Hopis to “inoculate metropolitan ethnography” has become a misrepresentation within, but not limited to, academic circles. Research about Hopis has become commodified for academic consumption. Not only have representations of Hopis been created in academia for academics, new-agers have found Hopis’ philosophy of life a spiritual Mecca for peace, love, and “harmony.” This construction of “Hopi” life, culture, and philosophy by non-Hopis and their availability to non-Hopis elicited a strong reaction and skepticism about anthropology from Hopis, but Whiteley’s reaction against science was not new. Even in the late nineteenth century, Hopis had contempt for researchers entering kivas and observing ceremonies that were normally for the initiated. Photography of ceremonies was virtually banned in the 1930s. But it had to be an anthropologist such as Whiteley to voice this concern to the academic community.

This text contains six previously published papers produced over the span of ten years. Each offers a “glimpse” of Hopi culture juxtaposed within contemporary issues. Whiteley’s focus is to conjoin Hopi sentimentalities with a more intercultural mode of explanation. “My argument is that for a variety of reasons, theoretical and pragmatic, analytical and political, anthropology needs to use local knowledge as local *theory*.”<sup>50</sup> Although Whiteley espouses an ethnocentric view for Hopi studies, he supports the idea that local theory should be synthesized with the academic canon to create a polyvocal polity. Whiteley terms this approach “Hopi hermeneutics.” But to define this movement as Hopi anthropology is a contradiction.

Whiteley’s chapters attempt to problematize Hopi culture by offering thick descriptions for each essay. The first essay, “Unpacking Hopi Clans: Another Vintage Model Out of Africa?” addresses many of the same questions regarding Hopi clanship that have been asked since the late nineteenth century. He debates schools of thought regarding familial clanship. This essay reflects his orientation

as an anthropologist in that although he aims for a more transcultural agenda, he perpetuates the archive. In his analysis, he still relies on the scientific approach of utilizing models that work in conjunction with Hopi sensibilities.

Whiteley introduces the idea that Hopis should anthropologize themselves. However, he still clings to a close affiliation with anthropology. Obviously, his audience is non Hopi academics. But in his essay "Paavahu and Paanaqsota: The Wellsprings of Life and the Slurry of Death," he worked with a past Hopi Chairman, Vernon Masayesva. The topic deals with Hopi conceptions of the environment and how these concepts run in diametric opposition to the mining and slurring being carried out by the Peabody Coal Company, which leases Navajo and Hopi lands for mining exploitation. The strength of this collaboration lies in Masayesva's sensibilities about Hopi concepts of land. Whiteley presents an historical background for which Masayesva offers Hopi interpretations. This type of work is closer to the Hopi centric approach that Whiteley has called for.

Whiteley has accomplished several things in this text. He has brought to the attention of academics that researching Hopi involves *working with* living Hopis, and the tribal government. The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office monitors research and studies, dubious or otherwise, can no longer be conducted without the support of the tribe, village, and in some cases, the clan. Intellectual property rights of Hopis have become a major issue in preventing the commodification of things Hopi.

I agree with Whiteley in that Hopis, for the present, should work with scientists on our terms. Until the time comes when Hopis can articulate our own life and be accepted as authorities, we will have to work contiguously with scientists. I am optimistic that Hopis can articulate our lives through our own means, to ourselves, and possibly others who will accept our own interpretations as authoritative.

This article has dealt with the construction of the cultural archive and how it maintained a colonializing mentality from the mid nineteenth century up to the present. Attempts have been made to incorporate Hopi interpretations in the work of Whiteley, but there is more work to be done, by Hopis, for Hopis. One thing is clear, it is important to recognize the potential of the archive and the benefits of knowing how it can construct and reconstruct representations. This exercise in critiquing the canon brings to light the lack of Hopi involvement. More importantly, this critique has supported the contention that the archive initially relied on ethnography, archaeology, and anthropology and that it maintained these disciplines within Hopi studies. These disciplines spawned generations of scientists.

The popular writings analyzed in this article brought Hopis to a wider audience. But more importantly, not only did popular writings appeal to the adventuresome; they legitimized the sciences to a wider population. This connection allowed for virtually anyone with interest in Hopis to imaginatively

construct representations of Hopis without having to actually see one. In one respect, the archive still perpetuates this idea.

The discursive formations and practices associated with colonialism achieved power over Hopis. Even today, the stance that Whiteley takes is not a popular one. What would scientists think if the rug would be pulled out from under them after years of happy status quo? They would be gripping on like grim death. Perhaps it is time for the rug to be pulled, or at least shaken.

### Notes

1. John G. Bourke, *The Snake Dance of the Moquis* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884).
2. *Ibid.*, vii.
3. *Ibid.*, 22.
4. Walter Hough, *The Moqui Snake Dance* (Passenger Department, Santa Fe Route, Chicago: Henry O. Shepard Co., 1899).
5. *Ibid.*, 7.
6. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
7. *Ibid.*, 1.
8. Earl Forrest, *The Snake Dance of the Hopis* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1961).
9. The Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900).
10. Given the sheer number of photographs, articles, and newspaper clipping entirely centered on the Hopi Snake Dance, it is no wonder that the Snake Dance became the most popular representation for Hopis. Hundreds of pieces of data regarding the Hopi Snake Dance can be found in several large prestigious libraries and research centers, most notably the Smithsonian Institution.
11. Forrest, 44.
12. *Ibid.*, 63.
13. Hough, 53.
14. Bendla von Langenn, *Lolomai: Roman einer Frau unter Indianern* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag, 1938).
15. *Ibid.*, 46.
16. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 6.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. See Morton White, *Social Thought in America: The Revolt Against Formalism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957) and Henry May, *The End of American Innocence* (New York: Knopf, 1959).
20. For an in depth look at historical relativists and the question of objectivity see Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1988).
21. The number of archaeological and anthropological writings were still sustained by numerous anthropologists and archaeologists. This type of research had been an ongoing endeavor—trying to construct enough Hopi prehistory to write a Hopi history.
22. Wayne Dennis, *The Hopi Child* (New York: D. Appleton Century, 1940).
23. *Ibid.*, 186.
24. *Ibid.*, 187.
25. *Ibid.*, 77.

26. See Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian* (Norwood, MA: The Plimpton Press, 1922), vol. 12.

27. Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph, *The Hopi Way* (Lawrence: Haskell Institute for the U.S. Indian Service, 1944).

28. The notion that life can be represented as an organic entity with complementary parts, in an interconnected web, reflects the relative nature of life as experienced by different cultures. Cultural relativity began to find its way into research concerning Hopis. *Ibid.*, 5.

29. *Ibid.*, 6.

30. *Ibid.*, 11.

31. *Ibid.*, 133.

32. Laura Thompson, *Culture in Crisis: A Study of the Hopi Indians* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950).

33. *Ibid.*, xiii.

34. *Ibid.*, xi-xii.

35. *Ibid.*, xv.

36. *Ibid.*, 185.

37. *Ibid.*, 187.

38. *Ibid.*, 191.

39. *Ibid.*

40. For further information on the relationship between personality, morals, and ethics see Richard B. Brandt, *Hopi Ethics: A Theoretical Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

41. Scott Rushforth and Steadman Upham, *A Hopi Social History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992).

42. *Ibid.*, 9.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*, 17.

45. *Ibid.*, 18.

46. *Ibid.*, 24.

47. The split of Oraibi has become the archetype for cultural change. Aspects of politics, economics, religion, sociology, prophecy, acculturation, and others had become the testing ground for numerous studies. Even up to 1995, Richard O. Clemmer had chosen to propose his ideas in his book, *Roads in the Sky: The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995). Clemmer examines this event with the same fervor as those preceding him. This text should be consulted for further reading about cultural crisis in Hopiland.

48. Peter M. Whiteley, *Rethinking Hopi Ethnography* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998). This article addresses Hopi studies specifically from a theoretical stance and attempts to limit the works involved to First Mesa. Whiteley's other book, *Deliberate Acts*, addresses issues associated with the split of Oraibi, thus focusing on what other authors have accomplished.

49. *Ibid.*, 1.

50. *Ibid.*, 13.