THE HOPI WAY

BY

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AND

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I. THE HOPI WEB OF LIFE

1. THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL IN HOPILAND

From the flat roof of the Bear clan house at Walpi we look out on a breathtaking panorama. This is the traditional post of the pueblo Sun Watcher, whose observations of the position of the rising sun against the jagged eastern horizon have for centuries set the Walpi-Sichomovi seasonal calendar of rites and work.[1] This skyline calendar is formed mainly by the Hopi Buttes and Antelope Mesa, in a deep crevice of which lies Keams Canyon, seat of the Hopi Agency 12 miles away.

We are perched atop the tip of the First Mesa which is only a few yards wide. It is a narrow tongue of rock, a sheer precipice on the flat summit of which rise the terraced stone houses of three adjacent pueblos, as though grown to the mesa. Walpi, which is really one long, honeycombed apartment house, rising two or three stories toward the sky, is separated by 100 yards from Sichomovi to the northeast, by a dizzying, razor-backed saddle. The houses of Sichomovi follow the mesa top and merge with those of Hano. Thus the three pueblos are geographically a single unit.

Directly below us, a sheer drop of about 800 feet, we can distinguish some modern and adobe houses, the Day School compound, the Baptist church and the store. This is the recent settlement of Polacca, clustered near the ancient Polacca Spring, which supplies water to it as well as to the mesa pueblos. Although piped to Polacca, the water from the spring must be hauled by truck or burro, or even carried by women, to the top of the mesa, for the people have not allowed the Government to have it pumped up. Before the recent increase in draft animals, all the water used in the Hopi pueblos was carried in earthenware jars up the steep mesa trails from springs in the cliffs below.

Twelve miles to the west looms the Second Mesa with its three villages, Mishongnovi, Shipaulovi and Shungopovi. And ten miles beyond is the Third Mesa with Oraibi and its offshoots—New Oraibi, Hotevilla and Bakabi.[2]

These three Hopi mesas are really the southern spurs of a single, tablelike formation called Black Mesa, which extends north and northwestward from our Walpi lookout for a distance of 60 miles. On it grow scattered juniper and pinyon, interspersed with sagebrush. This land mass makes possible the existence of the pueblos and distinguishes Hopiland from the surrounding Navaho desert. It acts as a sort of subterranean reservoir, in which a small but relatively permanent water supply is stored. Moisture, seeping through its permeable sandstone surface to the underlying bed rock, finally emerges in the cliffs of its southern escarpments, in the form of springs. Near these springs the Hopi have for centuries built their pueblos.

The mesa is also characterized by the presence of sand dunes which have a relatively high moisture holding capacity and hence tend to prevent a rapid run-off after rains and to provide good land for dry farming.

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New Oraibi, village below Third Mesa, seen from the northeast

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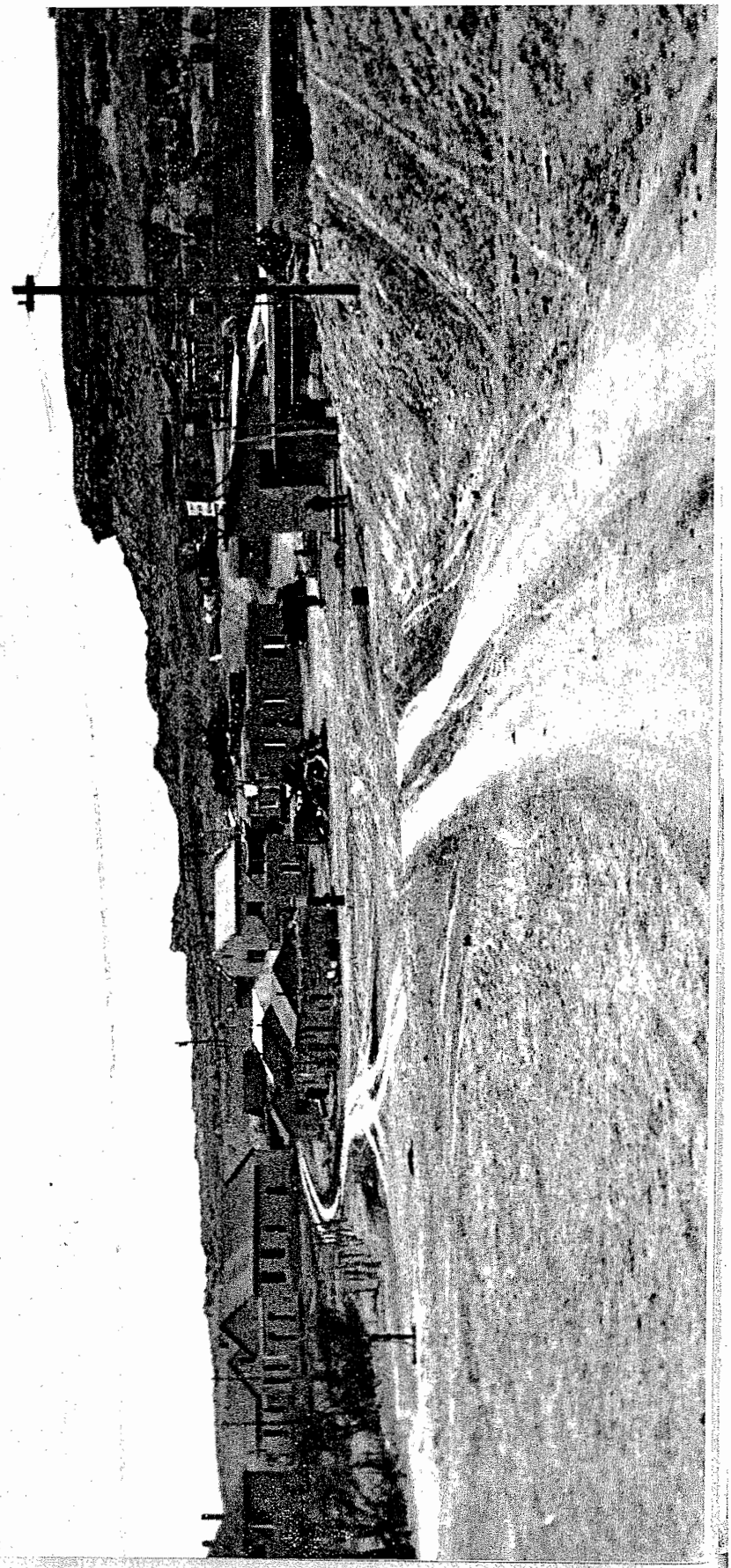

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Hopi gardens

ephemeral streams of the Tusayan Washes. Eroding deep valleys in their southwestward flow toward the Little Colorado, they have carved out the Hopi mesas and cut arroyos in the desert floor below. On account of a natural erosion epicycle, which has occurred over the whole Southwest since 1880 and has been increased critically through overgrazing, these arroyos are deepening rapidly, the Oraibi Wash having cut to a depth of about 80 feet in the last 50 years.[3]

The great plain, stretching out before us, slopes gently southwestward toward the Painted Desert basin of the Little Colorado. It is really a vast plateau, 6000 feet above sea level, and on it grow grasses and desert shrubs. As we look over this beautiful but barren landscape we marvel that the ingenuity of man has made it support a sedentary population. But below us are orchards, here and there in the silt soil of the washes are green sweeps of corn, and almost invisible against the sand and rock are slow-moving flocks of sheep.

The nearest railroad town, Winslow, lies about 70 miles to the south. And far to the southwest the snowy peaks of the San Francisco Mountains, traditional home of the rain-bringing cloud gods, dominate the scene as the problem of rainmaking looms large in Hopi thought.

For the annual precipitation in Hopiland is only 10 to 13 inches, and this falls mainly in the form of torrential summer downpours, which suddenly flood the washes and frequently sweep away the crops. Every third or fourth year the corn crop fails fully to mature from lack of water. In some years there is no rain at all and occasionally a long drought occurs and the springs dry up. At such times even the providence of the Hopi, who store up food one to three years ahead, does not avail, and these self-sufficient people are forced to seek outside help or perish. Such droughts are rare, but are not forgotten, and present a constant threat to Hopi existence. Under these circumstances it is easy to understand why much of the Hopi ceremonial is directed toward bringing rain.

Not only is the water supply in Hopiland extremely limited and unreliable, but the growing season is short[4] at best and likely to be cut at either end by killing frosts. The main planting season is from May to June and the main harvest, in September. Planting dates are so important that they are part of the sacred lore and are determined traditionally by the Sun Watcher on the basis of solar observations.[5] There is a marked seasonal as well as daily variation in temperature, the annual mean being about 51 degrees. To add to his difficulties, the Hopi farmer has to contend with strong winds, which blow almost constantly and often with such force as to stir up sand storms and to injure or kill the crops. Farming under these conditions is extremely precarious and possible only by great skill and diligence and by special methods which the Hopi have developed through the centuries.

Corn, the main crop, is cultivated chiefly by flood water farming. Successful maturation by this method requires considerable foresight and precision, for the fields are located on the flood plains and at the mouths of arroyos, where the crop is in danger of destruction through either floods or silt coverage. The Hopi select the fields, as well as the seed to be planted each year, with great care. A man chooses for planting several plots (about an acre apiece) of various types of soil, rather than a single field, so that even if the crop in one locality is destroyed, that in another may mature, and thus he protects himself as far as possible against the loss of his entire harvest. This selection of fields is possible because usually not more than half of the available fields are cultivated at any one time.[6] The success of Hopi agriculture, in fact, depends on

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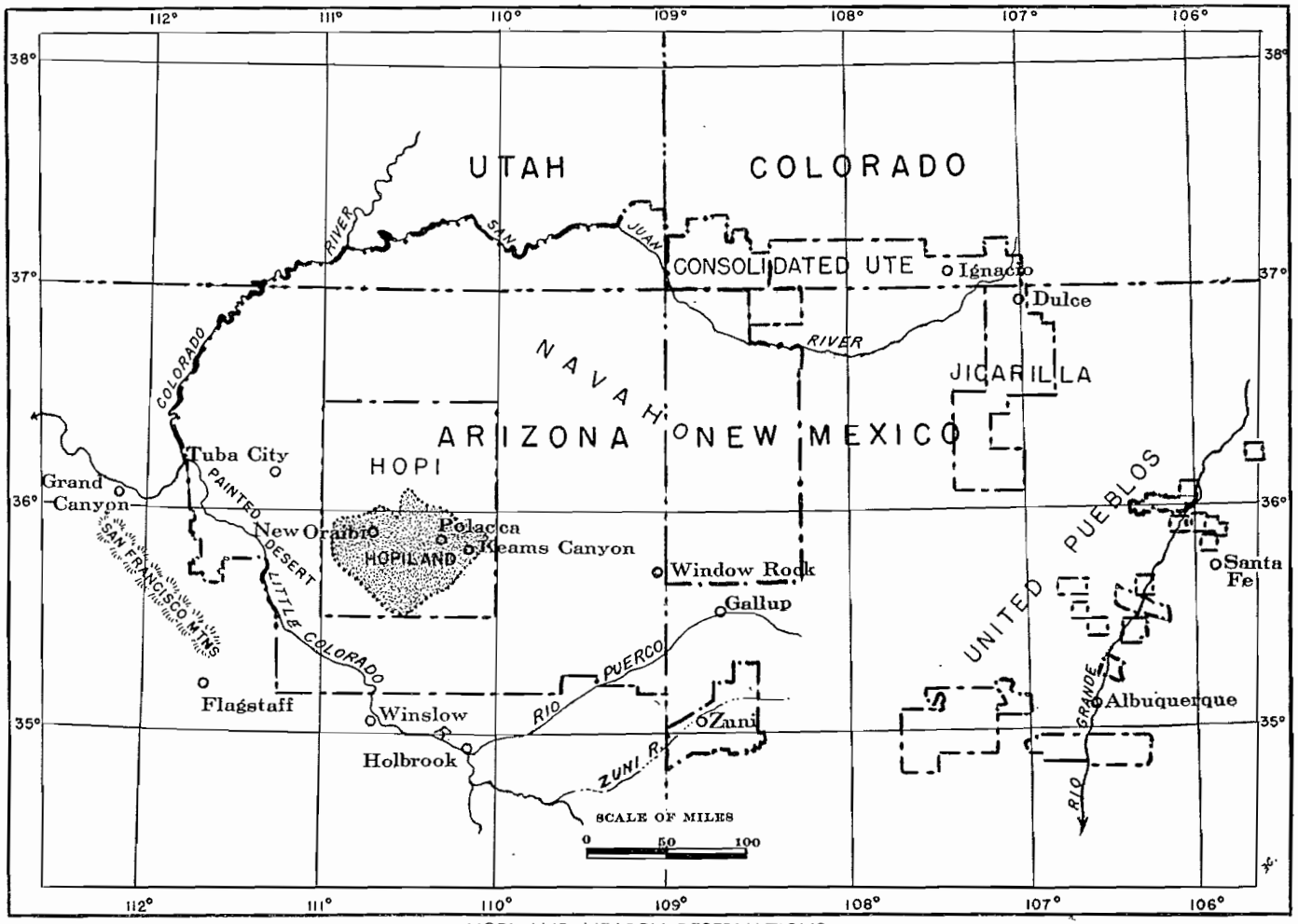

HOPI AND NEARBY RESERVATIONS
Rectangular area designated Hopi represents the reservation set up (os Moqui) by Executive Order in 1882. Shaded area represents the present Hopi Jurisdiction.

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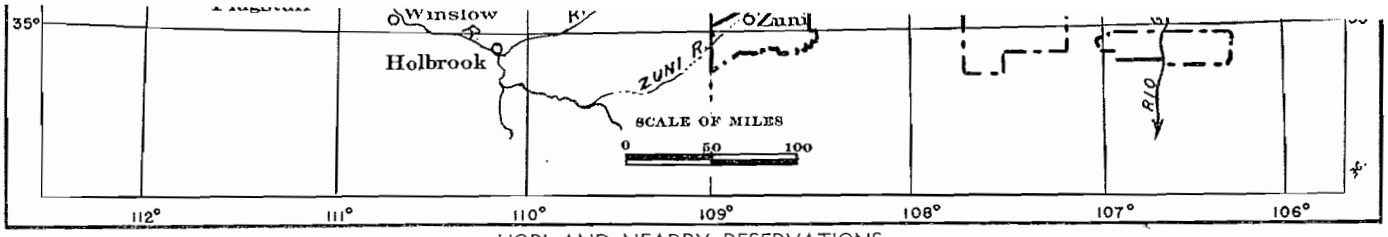

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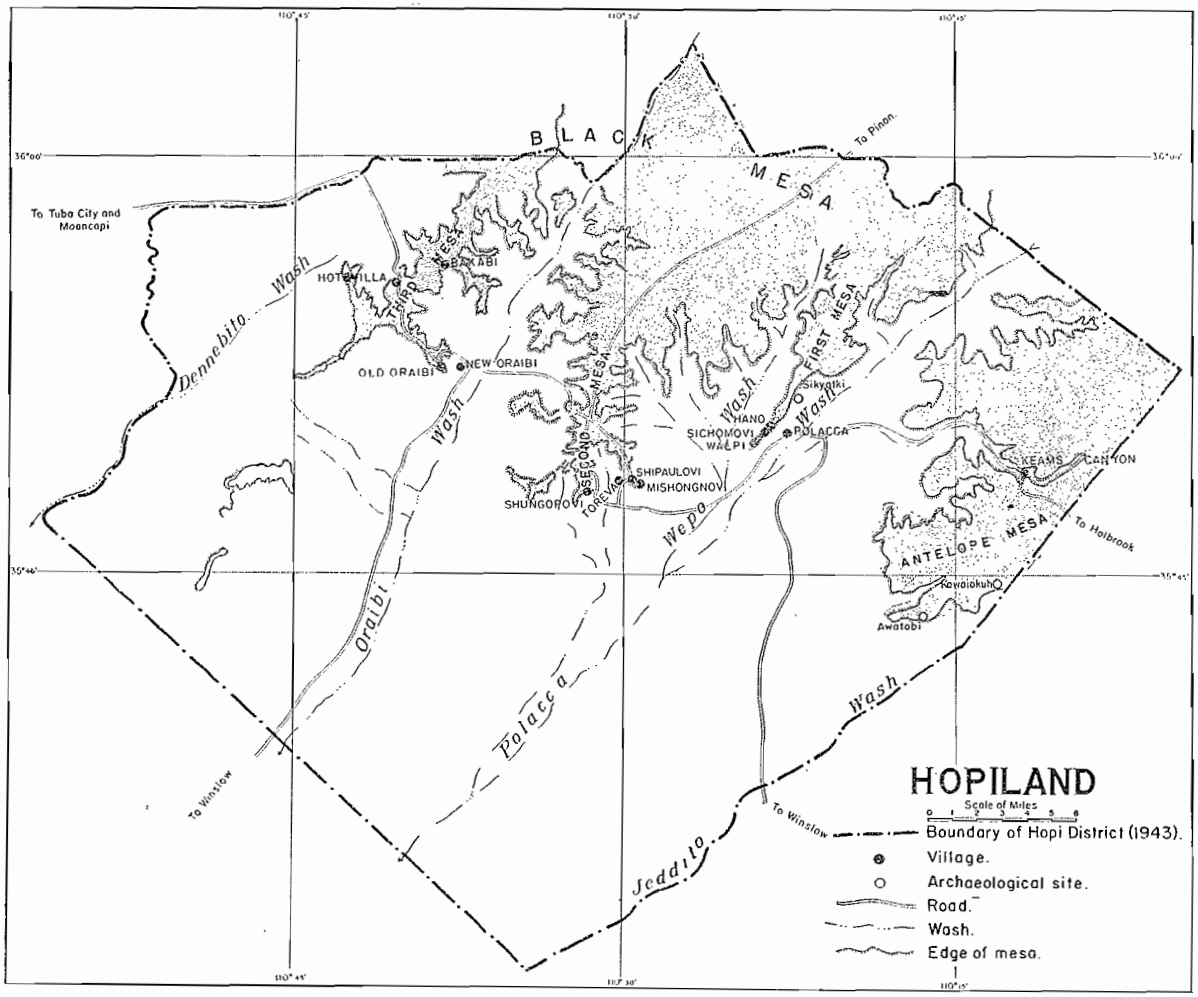

HOPI JURISDICTION, 1943

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this flexibility of individual boundaries and the use of several plots by each household, and hence any system of fixed allotments for each individual would be disastrous to traditional Hopi economy.[7]

Seeds for planting are considered the sacred property of the matrilineal household and are inherited through the female line.[8] Those seeds to be used for the next season's crops are selected by the women of each household after discussion with the men, except for those planted by a man in the first year of marriage. In this case, he uses seeds from his mother's household, a gift important in the reciprocal exchange which forms part of the wedding rites. In planting, holes 10 to 15 inches deep are dug in the ground and 10 to 20 seeds are dropped in each hole. As the corn matures some plants are destroyed by wind, field mice and cut worms, so that only about half the seeds bear fruit.

Corn and beans are also cultivated on sand dunes where the high moisture content of the soil enables them to grow without surface flooding or irrigation. About 20% of the land under cultivation by Hopi is of this type.[9] On the sand dune fields, however, each individual clump must be protected, during the early stages of growth at least, by some sort of windbreak, usually of brush held down by stones. Abandoned lines of stones indicating ancient windbreaks in use in the 13th century, according to the archaeological investigations, may still be seen in the Jeddito valley.[10] The modern Hopi also protect the young plants with tin cans and other available debris.

Seepage areas at the mesa bases are also cultivated, mainly as orchards, for since the introduction of fruit trees by the Spaniards, peaches and other fruit crops such as apricots, pears and apples, have become Hopi staples, and orchards cover about 813 acres[11] of Hopiland. Finally, the land around some of the springs is terraced, irrigated and planted with vegetables such as beans, squash, chili, melons, pumpkins and onions. There are, however, only about 11 acres[12] of such vegetable gardens and, whereas the field crops are cultivated by the men, these gardens are women's work.[13]

By trial and error through the years, the Hopi is constantly improving his farming methods. He experiments with new techniques and new varieties of plants, accepting those that are useful, rejecting the impractical or obsolete. Most of the ancient varieties of corn and other food plants have been discarded in favor of new varieties that are easier to grow or prepare, have a greater yield, or are more palatable.[14] Modern agricultural implements are gradually replacing the ancient dibble, weed cutter and rake. This is most marked at New Oraibi, where it is estimated that three-quarters of the household groups have plows and scrapers and many of these also have teams and wagons.[15] The Government, through its agricultural extension work, is attempting to increase Hopi farming output by constructing flood irrigation projects, teaching the people irrigation farming, and improving the orchards by the introduction of new seedlings and trees suitable to the climate. Always, however, the desert environment plays a dominant role in Hopi acceptance of new traits and on this account, although constantly improving in detail, the basic agricultural technology of these people has changed but little since prehistoric times[16] and dry farming is still, as it was in the past, the main Hopi industry.[17]

The Hopi supplement their use of cultivated plants with a wide range of wild and semi-cultivated species.[18] A few of these, such as Indian millet, alkali sacaton, dropseed, wild potato and pinyon, are important as staple foods, while others are valued for seasoning, medicinal purposes and craftwork. The Hopi's knowledge and use of the floral environment is remarkable. About 200

A Hopi farmer at work

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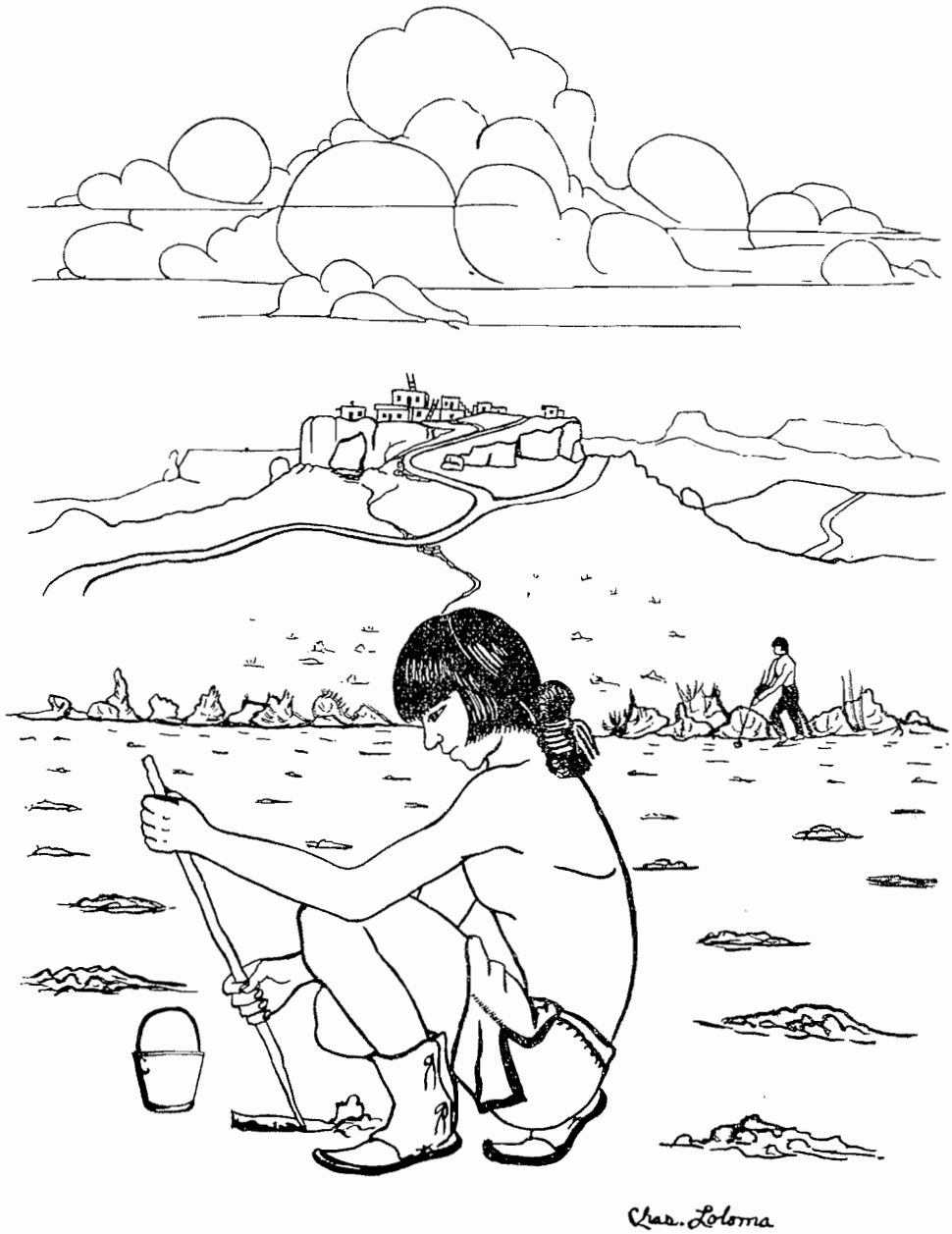

A Hopi farmer at work

dovetails with other work, pottery being made chiefly from March to August, baskets from December to September, and woven goods from January to August.[27]

Although the home consumption of craft goods is very important in Hopi culture, actually the tribe retains only about one-fifth of the annual output. Of the remainder about three-fifths is sold to Whites and one-fifth traded or sold through a rather complicated system of inter-tribal exchange to other Indians, chiefly the pueblos of New Mexico or the Navaho.[28] In this system the Hopi act as sedentary middlemen as well as producers, receiving blankets, wood and mutton from the Navaho in exchange for silver and turquoise (which they have received from the Rio Grande), woven belts and garters, peaches, melons and corn. In exchange for jewelry, they give to the Rio Grande pueblos woven products, especially those of a ceremonial nature. Commercial traders also take an active part in this system. (See page 23).[29]

The policy of the Government is to encourage the production of Hopi arts and crafts and to increase and facilitate their marketing. For this purpose a survey of present conditions has been made.[30]

Hunting is another ancient Hopi activity which still persists, although it was formerly much more important in Hopi life than it is at present. Actually Hopi hunting today is confined chiefly to rabbits and other small game, but it still retains a good deal of the excitement, sporting flavor and ritual of the traditional chase when, within the memory of the living, antelope, deer and mountain sheep, as well as an occasional mountain lion, grizzly bear or gray wolf, were the quarry.[31] The Hopi is an exceedingly skillful hunter and trapper with what we might call a sportsmanlike attitude toward game. He prefers to outrun or stalk his prey on foot rather than to pursue it with horses or dogs, and to club or smother it rather than to use a gun or (formerly) a bow. And he daringly scales or descends the cliffs to rob a nest of its eaglets under fierce attack of the mother bird, or lures and captures the mature birds with his bare hands. These methods, as well as the ritual accompanying them, reveal his interest in the conservation of game which he believes must be protected, propitiated and entreated not to become angry when killed, so that it will increase and prosper.

Concomitant with the decrease and disappearance of the wild fauna on the Hopi ranges, there has been a gradual increase in sheep and cattle, which were introduced by the Spaniards. But although the work of tending the flocks and herds affords a break in the rather exacting and confining agricultural routine, it can hardly provide an adequate substitute for the thrill of the chase. Moreover, herding on the northern Arizona plateau imposes a certain degree of mobility on the herders, which is somewhat out of keeping with the traditional sedentary Hopi life, and apparently the Hopi have not yet mastered this new industry with their age old technical skill, nor have they vested in it such strong sanctions of myth and ritual as they have farming. In spite of this, livestock has in recent years become increasingly important to the Hopi, and in 1942 was the source of 34% of the annual income of about $279,800.[32] (See opposite page).

In contrast to the Navaho practice, Hopi herds are tended and usually also owned by men. Not all Hopi men are stockmen, however.[33] Among many herders, grazing is subsidiary to farming, the usual practice being for several owners to pool their small flocks, each man herding them in turn. With some families, especially on First Mesa, however, grazing is the main occupation, the men of the household spending much of their time in sheep camps at some distance from home.[34]

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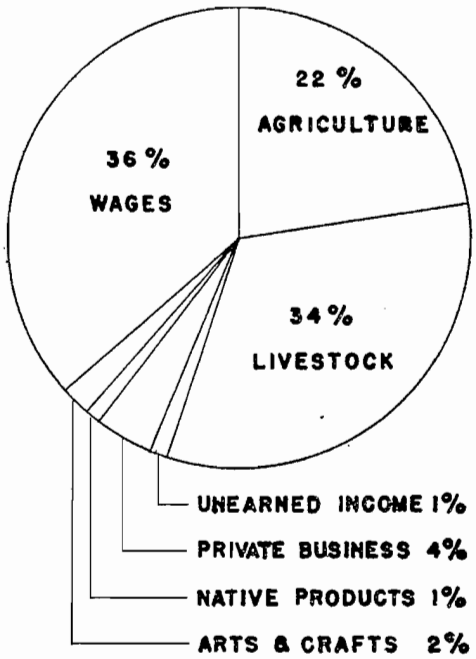

Total estimated income $279,796 in 1942

sion activities, has attempted to raise the standard of animal industry among the Hopi by introducing sound stock management policies. Springs have been improved and small streams have been dammed to supply stock with water, for at least part of the year and active encouragement has been given to the branding of stock, sheep dipping, the improvement of breeds by the introduction of purebred Rambouillet rams and registered Herefords, the segregation of rams in special pastures, the raising of fodder, the construction of corrals, the organization of stock cooperatives,[35] and the reduction of range stock. In spite of these efforts the 1942 lamb crop was only 54.6% of the total number of mature ewes.[36]

Unfortunately the increase in herds in Hopiland correlates with the present natural erosion epicycle and these factors have contributed to deteriorate the range to such an extent as to precipitate a crisis. Although a livestock reduction program was introduced to the Hopi by the Government some time ago, it was not pushed until the summer of 1943 when, due to a severe drought, the range crisis became acute. At this time the Hopi ranges were heavily overstocked. Hopi pasturage, especially that of the Third Mesa, was so depleted that unless the stock was reduced quickly many of the sheep and cattle would die on the range. The program called for an average reduction of about 44% of the herd of each individual owner on Third Mesa, about 20% of the stock of each owner on First Mesa, and about 22% on Second.[37]

Naturally the program was extremely painful to Hopi stockmen, but while the First and Second Mesa groups accepted it, appointed committees to judge each individual case on the basis of household needs and successfully reduced their stock to carrying capacity, the stockmen of Third Mesa, incited by off-Reservation cattle interests which furnished legal advice, attempted to stir up the owners on the other mesas against it and created a considerable amount of disturbance. The Superintendent and his associates induced some leading citizens of Holbrook to take action in reducing off-Reservation pressure. By promising to aid the herders in process of reduction with loans, transportation and marketing, and to try to get them more land and thus help to reduce the pressure of the expanding population on the limited Reservation resources, they persuaded the Third Mesa group to accept the reduction program, which is reported to have been carried to completion.

We have tried very briefly to describe Hopiland and the use the Hopi have made of this land through the centuries. We have noted how the presence of relatively permanent springs and a relatively low run-off after rains have differentiated this region from the surrounding desert, attracted set-

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tlers and made possible the growth of a sedentary population. We have seen that these desert dwellers through the years developed a technology which, although severely limited by the environment, at the same time took full advantage of it; that they, in fact, showed a remarkable inventiveness and ingenuity in working out methods of exploitation and conservation of the natural resources available to them without the use of metal tools. Moreover, we have observed that this environment is constantly changing, not only in its geological base, but also in its fauna and flora; that through both natural and cultural factors, it is becoming progressively eroded and denuded of plant cover. Furthermore, some of the ways by which the Hopi have adjusted themselves to these changes through modification of old uses and incorporation of new ones (made available through their increasing contact with the outside world), have been pointed out and also an area (the livestock industry) in which recently they have had trouble in adjusting.

As we continue our study of the Hopi it may be well to bear in mind that, in this particular interrelationship of human beings to the non-human environment, the desert with its scant and erratic water supply plays the role of the main limiting and permitting agent in the acceptance of new material traits, and chiefly on this account the basic technology of the Hopi, although constantly improving in detail, really has not changed a great deal through the centuries.

As the analysis progresses, however, we shall see that every change in culture adopted by the Hopi must eventually pass two rigorous tests. Not only must it have survival value in the desert environment; but it must also be reconciled or rationalized, partially at least, in regard to the Hopi value system and world view.

Continuing our study of Hopi patterns of interaction with the external environment, we shall now discuss briefly some significant facts concerning Hopi history and population movements.

2. LOOKING BACK ACROSS A MILLENNIUM

At least a thousand years before Columbus discovered America, and probably much earlier, Hopiland was already inhabited by an agricultural people who dug themselves pit houses in the ground, made basketry and crude pottery, and cultivated corn, beans and cotton.[1] The culture of these people, called Basketmaker III, extended over much of the Southwest, and it is interesting to note that on and below First Mesa alone, at least six sites have been discovered near the two main springs—Polacca and Sikyatki, some distance to the northeast of it. A few of these sites also show, by their improved type of pottery, evidence of continued occupation into what archaeologists call the Proto-Pueblo (Pueblo 1) period. These people also settled below the mesa northwest of the present site of Walpi at Kuchaptuvela, which we shall call Walpi No. 1. A little later, the pit houses developed into the small masonry dwellings of the Early Pueblo (Pueblo II) culture, found not only at First Mesa but also elsewhere, including sites near Oraibi on and below the Third Mesa.

Cultural development among the Pueblos reached a peak during the late Middle Ages (European calendar)

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with the growth of large pueblos and cliff dwellings of the Classic Pueblo Period (Pueblo III), centering in the basins of the San Juan and Little Colorado. In Hopiland pueblos grew up at Walpi No. 1 and Sikyatki, at Shungopovi below the present Second Mesa site, at Oraibi (which apparently has been occupied continuously ever since), as well as elsewhere.

In 1291-99 (a date fixed by studying tree rings of beams excavated from the pueblos) there occurred a great drought, which apparently was an important factor in bringing about a movement of various peoples and an end of the Classic Period. A sudden influx of people into Hopiland increased the size of the towns and changed the style of the pottery. The towns grew into cities covering a dozen or more acres. About this time the great pueblos of Sikyatki on the ancient Basketmaker site, and Awatobi and Kawaiokuh on Antelope Mesa, were founded.[2] Thus by the time America was discovered practically all the important Hopi groups, as we know them today, had been established, Oraibi being the only one to occupy its present site.

When the Spaniards of Coronado's expedition, traveling from Zuni, arrived in 1540 there were seven Hopi pueblos: Awatobi, the easternmost which remained for almost two centuries the gateway to the "Moqui" (as the Hopi were called), Sikyatki, Kawaiokuh, Walpi No. 1, Mishongnovi, Shungopovi, and Oraibi (the westernmost and most isolated).[3] But at once the number began to be reduced, for Coronado's men attacked and destroyed Kawaiokuh. Sikyatki was the next pueblo to be abandoned—destroyed, according to tradition, by the Walpians on account of a dispute of long standing over the use of First Mesa lands and water. As we shall see, Awatobi came third. For a time it looked as though Oraibi might be the fourth of the great Hopi pueblos to be abandoned, but since its population is now increasing the ancient pueblo may survive for some time to come.

After the first encounter, early contacts with the Spaniards (mainly explorers and seekers after gold) were sporadic and, except for the formal submission of the Hopi to Spain (1598), were relatively unimportant. In 1628, however, two Spanish Franciscan priests, accompanied by soldiers, arrived in Hopiland and soon three missions were established: San Bernardino at Awatobi, San Bartolome at Shungopovi with a chapel at Mishongnovi, and San Francisco at Oraibi with a chapel at Kisakovi (Walpi No. 2), just southwest of Walpi No. 1.

Not much is known about the Catholic mission period, which lasted for 52 years, because most of the Spanish records were destroyed in the Great Pueblo Revolt in 1680. At this time almost all the pueblos, including the Hopi, united and drove the missionaries and other Spaniards from their land. We know, however, that the Hopi acquired from the Spaniards many new traits which had a marked effect especially on their technology—including cultivated plants such as peaches and grapes, chili and watermelon; domestic animals such as sheep, cattle, mules and burros; herding and breeding practices; the tanning of leather; and farm tools such as the plowshare.[4] Certain changes, not altogether clear, occurred in their religious practices and beliefs, such as perhaps the introduction of aspects of Spanish witchcraft which supplemented old Indian lore. Moreover, new diseases began to appear, such as smallpox, trachoma, tuberculosis, measles, whooping cough, typhoid and probably syphilis.

The Revolt was followed by a movement of pueblos and Pueblo peoples. The Hopi pueblos of Walpi No. 2, Shungopovi and Mishongnovi moved for protection to their present sites on the mesa tops; part of the Shungopovi people settling Shipaulovi[5] and part of the Walpians moving later (before

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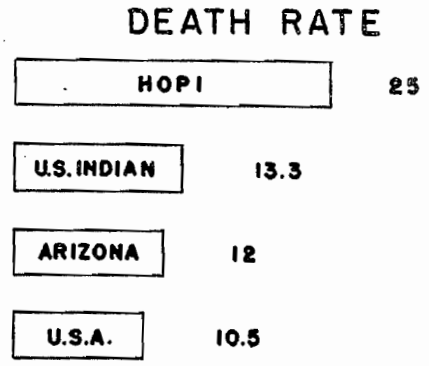
A crisis was precipitated when a group of conservatives from Shungopovi moved to Oraibi at the invitation of the "Hostiles" leader (1904). A severe drought followed and Tewaquaptewa, Village Chief and leader of the "Friendlies," insisted on the return of the Shungopovis in order, as he said, to ease the water situation. Since neither side would yield and open conflict was prohibited traditionally and also by the Government, in the summer of 1906 both sides agreed to settle the issue by means of a contest. The two parties faced each other on either side of a goal line just outside Oraibi, the "Friendlies" with their backs toward the pueblo, and each side pushed forward until the "Friendlies" finally triumphed by pushing over the line. The "Hostiles," thus forced out of the pueblo, founded the village of Hotevilla on the mesa eight miles northeast of Oraibi, and thereby reduced the population of the ancient pueblo to about 600. At this point the Government Agent stepped in and arrested the leaders of both sides, as well as most of the "Hostile" men. These "Hostiles" were sentenced to from three months to three years of hard labor, while Tewaquaptewa and his nephew were sent for four years to school in California.[30] Thus depleted, the Hotevilla band suffered considerably during the following winter and this strengthened their resistance to the Government. Subsequently the less conservative members of the group returned to Oraibi but were driven out again and founded the village of Bakabi (1907), on the mesa half a mile east of Hotevilla.

The population of Oraibi was still further reduced by migrations to Moencopi, Oraibi's summer colony 40 miles to the west, which now became a permanent Hopi village. Also people began to move to New Oraibi at the foot of the mesa, especially after the return of Tewaquaptewa (1910) who, having changed his attitude toward Whites considerably during his years at school, now insisted that all converts to Christianity must leave the pueblo.

Oraibi's population continued to dwindle for some years but, judging by the number of children in the pueblo today, it is apparently picking up again. However, the once great pueblo now has the appearance of a ruin amidst which live less than 200 souls.

Regarding the population of the tribe as a whole, the census figures are unreliable until the last decade or two. However, using them as indicative of trends, we find that the population apparently lost ground or remained practically stationary from the final decade in the 19th century until about the second decade of the 20th. It then began to increase, gaining about 12% from 1920 to 1932, and 25% from 1933 to 1943.[31] This is an average increase per annum of 2.5% across the last ten years, which is three and a half times the 1940 rate of increase for the United States population as a whole. In 1943 the population density per square mile in the Hopi Jurisdiction (see page 32) was 3.04, as against 1.81 in the original "Moqui" Reservation, 1.42 in the surrounding Navaho Reservation, and 1.00 in adjacent rural areas. The approximate death rate was 25 per 1000, as against 13.3 for the United States Indian population as a whole, 12 for the State of Arizona, and 10.5 for the United States as a whole.



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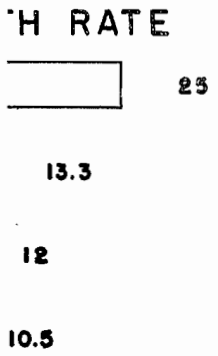
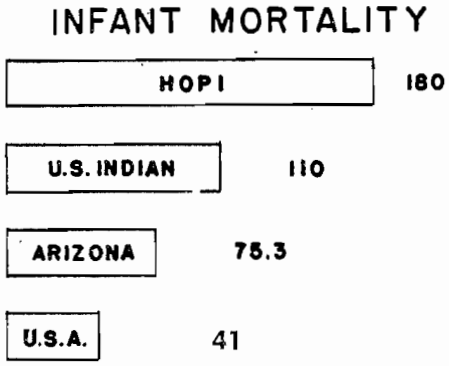
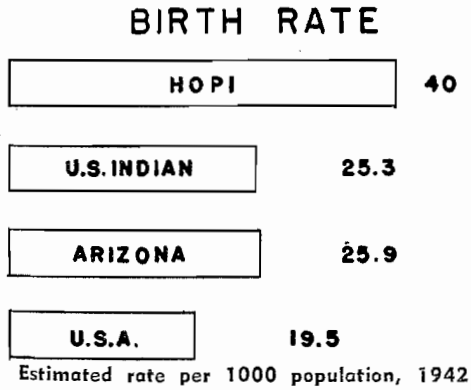




The approximate birth rate was 40 per 1000, as against 25.3 for the Indian population as a whole, 25.9 for Arizona, and 19.5 for the United States. (See figure below). And infant mortality was estimated as 180 per 1000 live births for the Hopi, as contrasted to 110 for the Indians as a whole, 75.3 for Arizona, and 41 for the United States. The estimated population of the tribe on January 1, 1943 was 3558, (1831 males and 1727 females)[32] of whom 96% were living on the Reservation. There were in addition some 80 other Indians and 100 Whites.

The native population increase in the last ten years coincides with the most recent period of change among the Hopi, particularly regarding their relationship to the Government. Before this time the Federal Government had assumed an arbitrary role, the avowed purpose of which was to break up the traditional life of the Hopi and destroy the power of their "priests" and "chiefs," at the same time encouraging the Indians to develop White industries and skills. This attitude was reflected in most Government policies and contacts; as for instance, the persistent attempts on the part of the Federal Government to allot the Hopi lands in severalty (the first of which extended from 1892 to 1894 and the second from 1907 to 1910);[33] the rule of compulsory attendance at schools, enforced by troops who compelled the people to give up their children during their formative years; and the encouragement of both Hopi and Navaho to increase their livestock as much as possible, regardless of range capacity. Moreover, when as a result of the growth of their herds the Navaho encroached on Hopi-occupied lands, the Government did nothing to protect the Hopi. These factors helped to create in the minds of the Hopi a lack of confidence and general negative attitude toward the Government and to increase their sense of insecurity.



Soon after 1933, however, the tribe began to feel the effects of the Indian New Deal. Under the Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler-Howard), accepted by the Hopi in 1935, the Government helped the tribe to draw up a Constitution by which an attempt was made to give it the opportunity to develop self government through the formation of a Tribal Council, composed of representatives from each village.[34] This was an attempt to provide the tribe with a mechanism by which it could grow into a self governing unit, with legally established rights and responsibilities, under the protection of the Federal Government. The first Council met in 1937 and since then the Council has been struggling to establish itself in the face of the traditional lack of political unity between the villages, a point which will become clearer in subsequent chapters.

In conjunction with the new Government policy of allowing the Indians free

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cultural expression, the Hopi day schools were developed along progressive lines and carried through the secondary school level (at New Oraibi), attendance was made non-obligatory,[35] the ceremonial life was officially sanctioned, and native arts and crafts were encouraged. To improve the health of the tribe, the hospital at Keams (established in 1913 for both Hopi and Navaho) was modernized,[36] its staff was increased, a field physician was stationed at Oraibi and a field nurse at Polacca and one at Second Mesa, water facilities were developed and made sanitary for a number of the villages, and a course in hygiene was added to the school curriculum. Finally, in accordance with the new policy of helping Indians to develop and conserve their natural resources, an extensive program of land and resource improvement by means of soil and moisture conservation practices, and improved farming and range methods, was inaugurated. This was described in Chapter 1. And for the first time the Hopi were given a Superintendent charged with devoting himself exclusively to their interests.

On the other hand, whereas the land base of many Indian tribes has been increased under the new administration, that of the Hopi has not been increased, but actually has been decreased. The Navaho, some of whom were already living within the boundaries of the original "Moqui" Reservation when it was set up in 1882, gradually encircled the Hopi and took over more and more of the range, until by 1910 they were using practically all of the Reservation land except a small area in the vicinity of the Hopi mesas. Unfortunately this movement coincided with the period of erosion, which has progressively reduced the Hopi land base to a fraction of its former value and made imperative the drastic stock reduction program. Moreover, the Hopi considered that the original "Moqui" Reservation was set up for their exclusive use (although actually it was "for the use and occupancy of the Moqui and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon") and that even this arrangement was an outrage to their vast traditional land claims. Consequently disputes arose between the Hopi and the Navaho, which were finally settled legally by the Government's setting up a grazing unit[37] of 624,064 acres of grazing land and 7,130 acres of farm land for the exclusive use of the Hopi (1943). (See pp 18-19). The result has been to confine the Hopi within an area about one-fourth of the size of the original Reservation, a circumstance which, added to past events, has increased the sense of grievance which many Hopi feel toward both the Navaho tribe and the Government.

This is augmented by the fact that although the Hopi were theoretically granted United States citizenship under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) and were made full citizens by Congressional Act in 1924, the State of Arizona has refused all reservation Indians including the Hopi the right of franchise. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Hopi pay federal income tax, state sales tax, automobile tax, and are subject to selective service. They do not pay taxes on their tribal land or improvements.

Looking at the Hopi today, we realize that a good many changes have taken place on the Reservation in the last 50 years. The material culture has been altered with the introduction of new traits such as improved farm implements, household utensils, machine-made cloth and commercial foods, and the number of traders has increased to 16.[38] Roads have been built, water resources improved, the number of domestic animals and wagons increased and a few automobiles introduced. With the improvement of schools the knowledge of English has become widespread and the number of wage workers has grown. Moreover, a few Hopi[39]

Man weaving a vegetable dye rug in his home

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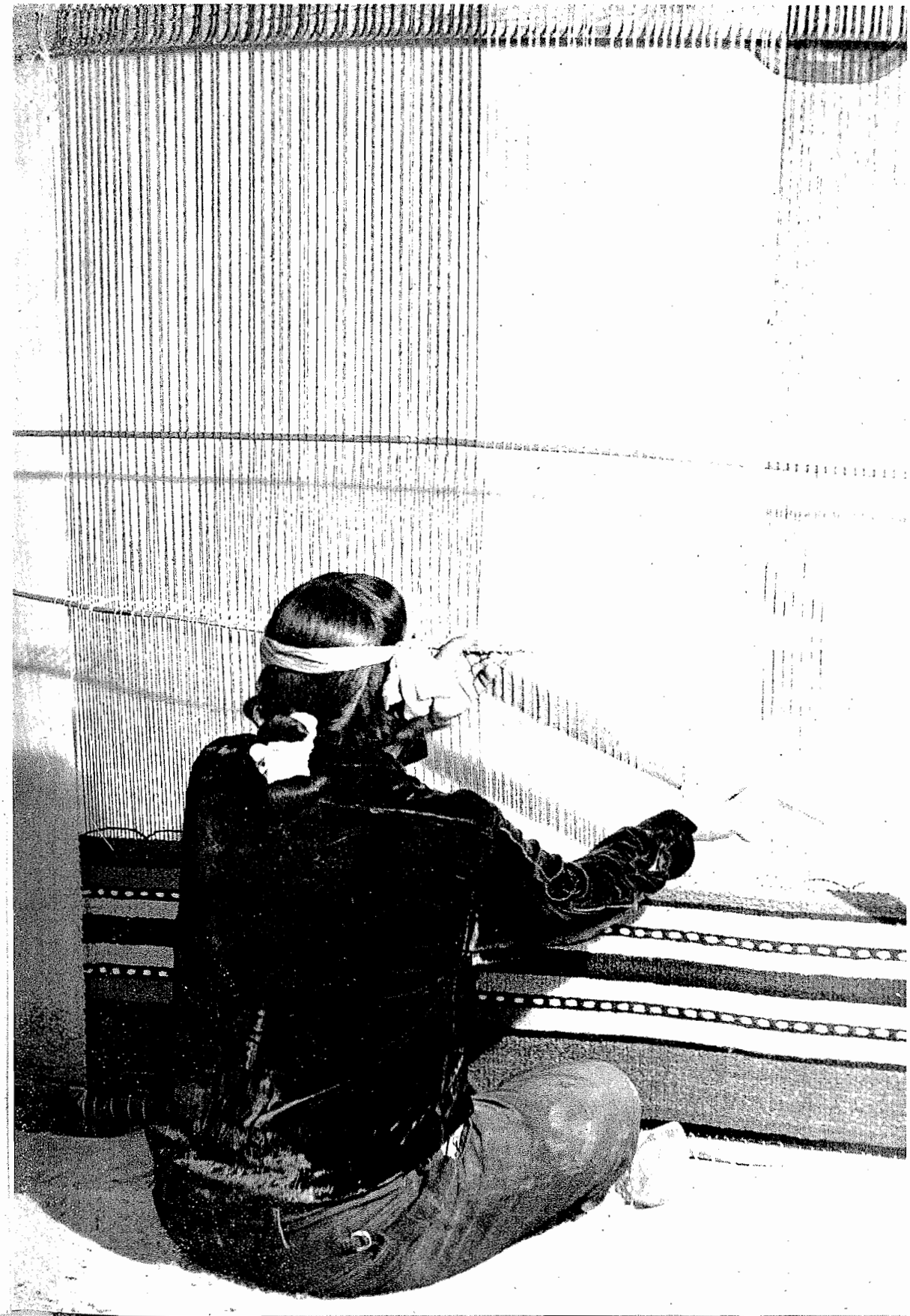

aving a vegetable dye rug in his home

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have been converted to Christianity. These changes are most noticeable in the villages below the mesas (Polacca and New Oraibi)[40] where live the most acculturated Hopi—the converts, the cattle owners and the wage workers—as well as the White population composed of Indian Service personnel, Protestant missionaries and traders. Yet in spite of these changes, the Hopi today stand out among the 360,000 Indians of the United States proper[41] as the tribe which probably has been least affected in its basic culture by modern civilization. This point will become clearer as the study progresses.

In this brief glimpse of the history of Hopiland and its people—covering a span of over a millennium—we have attempted to select and highlight processes and events which we believe may contribute to our understanding of the modern Hopi and their culture. We have seen that out of a nucleus of Pueblo peoples who settled in the vicinity of the Hopi mesas, the Hopi tribe grew and was augmented by accretions from many sources. These apparently sedentary people living in apparently closely knit local groups, when viewed through the perspective of centuries, turn out, on account of the interrelationship between factors of the external environment (especially drought, disease and out-group aggression) and factors of internal organization, to have long manifested not only a certain physical mobility but also an absence of rigid internal cohesion, expressed in occasional town segmentation and in lack of tribal unity.

We have also seen that the problem of survival in the desert environment, which faces the tribe today, is an age old problem slightly disguised; and that early in Hopi history a solution to it was worked out by the ancestors of the tribe and a general pattern of culture established, the main features of which have come down to the present, not only on account of their survival value in a particular environment, but also and mainly on account of the complex interplay of that environment with historical factors which delayed contact with the outside world (i. e., the defeat and rebuff of the Spaniards, the success of the Navaho raiders, and the subsequent peaceful encirclement of the Hopi by the Navaho). As the study progresses we shall see that other factors, namely, the internal organization of the group and its interrelationship with Hopi personality played an important part in this complex process.

Having looked at the Hopi from the outside as it were—that is, at their interrelationships with the external environment at long range—we shall now turn inward and study briefly their social structure and ceremonial life in relationship to their exceedingly interesting and original outlook on the world.

3. THE CLAN MOTHER AND HER BROTHER

So far we have discussed only aspects of the Hopi culture and its setting which, even when presented in a brief and summary form, are easy to grasp because they tie in with our own experience. In the next three chapters we shall explore that part of Hopi collective life which, for the reason that its basic configuration developed quite independently of our own, is somewhat strange to all of us who have been conditioned by modern western civilization. To stand aside from one's own culture and view another with perspective and with empathy[2] is about the most difficult intellectual

Mother and daughter making coiled baskets

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and emotional task that faces modern man, but this is what we must try to do if we are to make progress toward scientific social planning for world peace.

Whereas often in modern industrial civilization, life appears to be segmented into diverse parts which may be worked into a meaningful whole only through individual effort, life to the Hopi is a single unit, the various aspects of which are obviously interrelated. The familiar categories of the economic, the social and the religious for him do not exist. Sacred and secular are one, for his universe, although complex in detail, is a unified system, all aspects of which are interrelated under a single set of rules.

The formal relationships in this universe are patterned mainly in accordance with the Hopi kinship system, which differs markedly from our own in that it is based on the principle of unilateral descent through the female line, rather than on that of bilateral descent through both parents with emphasis on the male line. Whereas, under our system, kin through both blood and marriage are grouped by families, the individual acknowledging close connection with immediate relatives in the ascending and descending generations on both the father's and the mother's sides, under the Hopi system the emphasis is on kin related by blood through the mother's line only and grouped by clans.

A Hopi clan consists of one or more matrilineal lineages which descend theoretically at least, from a common ancestress.[3] The living core of the lineage is a closely knit group of females, consisting of a senior member, usually the oldest woman (who is its female or "real" head) and her sisters, together with all their female descendants. The brothers of the "real" head (one of whom is its male or "ceremonial" head) and all the male descendants of the females in the lineage are also members of the lineage. It should be noted that relatives of the above mentioned individuals by marriage do not belong to the lineage.

The females of the lineage, together with their husbands and their unmarried male descendants, occupy one or more households[4] which are frequently adjacent to one another, especially in the older Hopi villages. And the married men of the lineage, although living in the households of their wives, look upon the households of their mothers or sisters as their real homes, to which they return frequently to participate in the ceremonial life of their clans and secret societies. Moreover, they go back there to live in case they lose their wives through death or divorce.

Each household is practically an independent economic unit, the members of which work together for the welfare of all. The women and girls of the group cooperate in caring for the children and the house; storing, preparing and cooking the food for the group; hauling water from the spring; cultivating the vegetable gardens, and making pottery or baskets. On the other hand the men of the household, with the help of their sons, do all the farming, herding, hunting, collecting of fuel and timber for the group. Many of them also spin, weave and work with leather. Also, they frequently contribute materially to their mothers' or sisters' households. Moreover, as we shall presently see, much of their time and energy is spent in ceremonial activities connected with the clans and ceremonial associations to which they belong.

Since in Hopi theory, ownership is usually correlated with use, the house and its appurtenances, the food stored in it, its seeds,[5] its springs and its gardens[6] are considered to belong collectively to the women who live in it, in charge of the female head. Also the

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children are thought of as belonging to this group.[7] The men, on the other hand, own individually most of the livestock and the fruit trees, besides their personal effects, tools and ceremonial regalia.[8]

One household in each clan is regarded as its traditional "ancestral house," and the two heads of this household are the leaders of the clan, the woman being the Clan Mother or "real" clan head and her brother being the "ceremonial" clan head. Here the interest of the clan members is focused. Clan meetings and certain clan ceremonies are held in this household and here are kept its fetishes and other sacred paraphernalia, looked after and "fed"[9] by the Clan Mother.

Each clan feels itself very closely related to a non-human partner, called *wuya*, consisting of a species of animal or plant (for example, Bear or Reed), or a class of natural or supernatural phenomena (Bow, Cloud, or Sun's Forehead), which gives the clan its name, its quality or "medicine," and its protection in return for certain correlative services. The members of the clan refer to their non-human partners by a kinship term such as father, mother, or mother's brother. The fetish, also called *wuya*, representing this primary partner, is kept in the clan ancestral house. The clan feels related to a number of other non-human partners, which may be thought of as its secondary *wuya*, each of these belonging primarily, however, to another clan. A group of clans which share the same *wuya*, either through primary or secondary ownership, are considered to be related and members are not allowed to intermarry. They share not only one another's *wuya* but also their clan names, and take a continued interest and responsibility in one another's ceremonies. Such groups of related clans form exogamous units, called phratries,[10] which function chiefly to regulate marriage. These phratries are the largest groups in Hopi society based directly on kinship.

Having outlined the organization and functions of the household and its relationship to the lineage, clan and phratry, we are better able to understand why the Hopi classifies his relatives and patterns his behavior toward them according to a system which differs considerably from our own (also incidentally why it is difficult for him to translate his kinship terms accurately into English or our terms into Hopi). The Hopi, for example, calls not only his own mother but all her sisters and their female cousins related through his maternal grandmother—in fact, any elderly woman of his own clan—by the term *ngu'u*[11] (mother). His mother's brothers, his mother's mother's brothers and any elderly clansman of his mother's generation, he calls *ta'ha* (mother's brother). He classes his sisters and female parallel-cousins[12] together as "sisters," and his brothers with his male parallel-cousins as "brothers," but distinguishes in these categories between those who are older and those who are younger than himself. All these relatives are in the same clan as himself.

His father, who belongs to a different clan, on the other hand, he classes not only with his father's brothers but also with his own male cross-cousins and, in fact, with his father's clansmen generally—all under the blanket term *naa* (father). And his father's sisters he groups with all the women of his father's clan, except his paternal grandmother and her sisters, under the term *kyaa* (father's sister). The paternal grandmother is classed with her sisters, her mother and mother's sisters (and also with the maternal grandmother, her sisters, her mother and mother's sisters) under the term *soo* (grandmother). A similar grouping of both paternal and maternal grandfathers is called *kwa'a* (grandfather).

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It is not necessary for our purposes to burden the reader with a complete description of the kinship system.[13] This brief treatment will suffice to show the central position of the women in the Hopi household in contrast to the peripheral position of the men, and to clarify especially the close basic relationship between mother and daughter, which is the cornerstone of Hopi society. Since every kinship term implies a set of obligations and privileges, expressed in prescribed attitudes and behavior, it will illuminate the patterns of reciprocal interaction between relatives.

The kinship system is important because it is applied to (and regulates Hopi attitudes and correlative behavior toward) not only all Hopi related by blood or marriage, but also (through a series of extension mechanisms such as ceremonial adoption and initiation) to practically all interpersonal relations in the tribe, and many relationships with neighboring tribes, such as the Navaho and Zuni. Hence, an individual is related, either through actual kinship or through an extension of it, to practically everyone else in the pueblo and also in other Hopi pueblos, and his behavior in practically all face-to-face relationships with other individuals with whom he comes in contact, except Whites of course, is prescribed and regulated accordingly. Frequently a person is related in several ways to another and in this case he usually acknowledges and acts upon the closest or clan bond. Moreover certain natural and supernatural phenomena are addressed in kinship terms. For instance, the sun is called father; the earth, mother; the spider, grandmother; and clan partners are called father, mother or mother's brother. Thus the kinship system also affects the patterning of Hopi relationships toward the non-human world and functions as one of the most important integrating mechanisms in Hopi life.

As we have noted, the Hopi household, lineage, clan and phratry center in the women of the tribe, and it is the significance given by the Hopi to the function of women in kinship groups attached to specific houses, the most important of which are repositories for clan and secret society fetishes, that gives the clue to their relatively high position in Hopi society.[14] This mother-house-fetish complex also provides the connecting link between the kinship and the ceremonial systems. For, as has been noted, the brother of the Clan Mother is the ceremonial head of the clan and as such he controls the ceremonies (if any) which are attached to the clan, as well as their associated fetishes. This relationship will become clearer as we study the ceremonial and political organization of the village. (See Chapter 5). In order to understand the pueblo theocracy, however, we shall first consider some aspects of the Hopi world view and ritual.

4. A STONE AGE THEORY OF THE UNIVERSE[1]

Implicit in the Hopi configuration of culture is an original and basically integrated theory of the universe by which the Hopi attempt to organize their world in order to cope with their life problems and obtain some degree of security in a highly hazardous environment. They conceive of the world —including man, the animals, the plants, the land base and the super-

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natural—as an absolute, ordered system functioning under a definite set of rules, which are known to them (and to them alone). In accordance with these rules they believe they can, through regulating their behavior, emotions and thoughts in a prescribed manner, exercise a measure of control over their environment.

Theoretically all phenomena, natural and supernatural, living and dead—including man, animals, plants, the earth, sun, moon and clouds, the ancestors and the spirits—are interrelated and mutually dependent through the underlying dynamic principle of the universe—which we shall call the law of universal reciprocity. This law implies the concept of immanent or cosmic justice. The emphasis is not, however, on the idea of rewards and punishments or on punishments alone (retribution), but on the mutual exchange of essentially equivalent but not identical values according to fixed traditional patterns, in the interests of the common weal. Man, the elements, animals, plants and the supernatural cooperate in an orderly fashion, by means of a complex set of correlative interrelationships, for the good of all.

This concept of the universe is not "mechanistic" in the usual sense of the term, on account of the special role played by man in the scheme of things. Whereas, according to Hopi theory, the non-human universe is controlled *automatically* by the reciprocity principle, man is an active agent who may or may not acquiesce in it. While the world of nature is *compelled* to respond in certain prescribed ways to certain stimuli, man not only responds but also *elicits* response. Hence, man, in the measure that he obeys the rules, may exercise a certain limited control over the universe.

Hopi philosophy, therefore, ascribes to man an element of choice—which, it seems, is dependent on his *will*.[2] And this element of choice, this concept of a free-will-within-the-law, we may expect to be reflected in Hopi social sanctions and in Hopi personality. In fact it is crucial to an understanding of the dynamics of Hopi society.

To show how the law of universal reciprocity operates, we shall first touch on another basic tenet of Hopi thought. All phenomena, living and dead, which are important, either positively or negatively, to the Hopi in their struggle for existence, are grouped into mutually interrelated orders or classes and these orders are combined into overall, interdependent categories. This web of categorized orders of phenomena gives basic form to the cosmos.

We have already seen that human beings are grouped into orders—namely clans—through the kinship system, and these clans or human orders are linked with orders of non-human phenomena through an extension of the kinship system to include their non-human partners, forming a category of human, natural and supernatural phenomena. This process illustrates the Hopi tendency to classify in order to control, a tendency similar to that operating in other societies which attempt to understand and control their environments. It may be compared specifically to the tendency in our own society to classify and control through the methods of science. Hopi categories, however, are so different from those with which we are familiar that they baffle investigators and remain as yet but little understood. It is only by laboriously piecing together bits of internal evidence until they crystallize into a pattern and then checking the results with other aspects of the culture and the language that we are able to gain some insight into their nature and meaning. Our main clues are found in the grouping of clans with non-human partners mentioned above, in the extremely complex, highly organized ceremonial, and in the symbol system.[3]

Examining the clan *wuya* groupings,[4] we note that some apparently represent significant activities in Hopi life, as for

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have a language and consequently a world view better equipped to deal with it than our latest scientific terminology. For as we know, the language of a group, in its capacity as a classifying and arranging instrument, actively conditions its world view.

Turning to the concept of plurality and numeration, we find another significant difference between the language and world view of the Hopi and our own, in regard to the concept of time. The Hopi use plurals and cardinals only for entities that actually form an objective group and can be counted. That is, the Hopi would use the expression "ten men," but not "ten days." Whereas with us a "length of time," such as a day, is thought of as a row of similar units, like a row of bottles (in other words, it is objectified and counted quantitatively), with the Hopi our "length of time" is not thought of as a *length* at all, but as a *relation* between two events in lateness. "They stayed ten days" becomes in Hopi "they stayed until the tenth day." Thus "instead of our linguistically promoted objectification of that datum of consciousness we call 'time', the Hopi language has not laid down a pattern that would cloak the subjective 'becoming later' that is the essence of time."

In like manner all phase terms like "summer, morning," etc. are not objectified as nouns but are used as a kind of adverb meaning "while the summer phase is occurring" or "when it is morning." Hopi do not say "this summer," but "summer now" or "summer recently." There is nothing suggested except a phase in a cycle similar to earlier phases in an "ever-later-becoming duration."

Hopi time, in fact, may be thought of as a *duration*, a "becoming later and later," in which existing orders of phenomena develop or change from one phase to another, each according to its own mode or law. Some develop "by growing, like plants, some by diffusing and vanishing, some by a procession of metamorphoses, some by enduring in one shape till affected by violent forces."[18] The Hopi believe that in the nature of each order "is the power of its own mode of duration: its growth, decline, stability, cyclicity, or creativeness. Everything is thus already 'prepared' for the way it now manifests by earlier phases; and what it will be later, partly has been, and partly is in the act of being so 'prepared.' "[19]

This association of time, in the sense of duration, with development or fulfillment, according to the innate nature of each order of phenomena, and this emphasis on preparation, throws light on much that we have noted in our study of the Hopi so far, and will explain a good deal that might otherwise seem obscure in the ceremonial system, and other aspects of Hopi life and personality to be noted.

Having described briefly some aspects of the Hopi theory of the universe, we shall now turn to its expressions in their code of behavior for the individual. In the Hopi system of mutual dependency, which gives basic form to the universe, each individual, human or non-human, has its proper place in relation to all other phenomena, with a definite role in the cosmic scheme. But, whereas the non-human orders fulfill their obligations more or less automatically under the law, man has definite responsibilities which have to be learned and carried out according to a fixed set of rules. These rules form an ethical code known as the Hopi Way. As we shall see presently, a large part of the training of the child is devoted to learning this code.

The Hopi Way expresses, at the emotional and behavioral level, the Hopi world view. It is an integrated code containing rules for acting, feeling and thinking in every role which a human being, male or female, is required to assume in his life cycle from birth to death. The individual's success in life and also the welfare of the tribe de-

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pend on whole-heartedly, and with an effort of the will, cultivating the Hopi Way. Responsibilities increase with age and reach their peak in ceremonial participation, especially in the role of chief priests. And the heaviest responsibility is carried by the ranking priest in his role of Village Chief, as noted in the next chapter.

The rules for ceremonial observance have two aspects, the physical and the psychical. If either aspect is neglected or any regulation broken, failure will result. That is, to carry out a rite successfully, the participants must not only follow the prescribed ritual behavior, perform all the proper acts and observe the tabus, but they must also exercise control over their emotions and thoughts. They must keep a "good heart." A "good heart" means that one must not feel fear, anger, sadness or worry. In other words, one must be inwardly tranquil and of good will.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Hopi use the same word *(na'wakna)* for "to will" and "to pray."[20] Praying is willing. The Hopi believe not only that man can control nature to a limited extent by observing these rules, but that if he does not do so, the universe may cease to function. That is, the movements of the sun, the coming of rain, the growth of crops, the reproduction of animals and human beings depend (to a certain extent at least) on man's correct, complete and active carrying out of the rules.

This limited but all important control of nature is possible through definite mechanisms, mainly of a magical nature,[21] which are integrated into a unified ceremonial system. If these mechanisms fail, if rain does not come, if the crops fail to yield a rich harvest, then the Hopi believe that one or more individuals have failed to follow the Hopi Way—and since their failure brings misfortune on the whole community, gossip pins the blame on specific individuals and severely censors them.

When failure assumes the proportions of a crisis, such as drought, pestilence, disease or death, however, then the Hopi believe that one or more individuals have not only failed to work for the common good but that they have worked actively against it. Such individuals are considered to be witches who possess specific death-dealing powers through association with a species of animal partners, such as little black ants, coyotes, owls, crows, bull snakes, cats, or dogs.[22] Witches are "two-hearted," having both an animal and a human heart. They are thought to be organized into a secret society which obtains membership not only by voluntary recruits, but also by the initiation of little children secretly while their parents sleep. The major activity of witches is supposed to be that of causing illness and death among their relatives. Hence they are greatly feared, and fear of witchcraft is a strong sanction in Hopi society.

The constriction experienced by the individual in the rather rigid Hopi social system is expressed not only in the above-mentioned scapegoat-witchcraft motif, but also in the concept of the Spider Woman, a major deity, who may be thought of at the center of the cosmic web. The Spider Woman, who is called grandmother, is considered to be responsible on the one hand for giving the Hopi their major properties and skills, and on the other, for the origin of witchcraft and death. (In fact, according to some accounts, she herself is a witch, from whom all witches have descended).[23] In other words, she not only gives out that which sustains life but also, like the spider, draws in and destroys life. This concept reveals in a rather dramatic way the basic ambivalence of the individual toward the whole matrilineal system, especially the Clan Mother. A similar ambivalence, but in this case with emphasis on the male sex, is shown in the concept of Masau'u, a male deity, the god of the Underworld, fire, war and death (who

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is thought of as appearing in the guise of a handsome man and also as a skeleton). Masau'u not only represents death, but also fire, a symbol of the creative male principle. (Note the role of Masau'u in the Wuwuchim ceremony, page 43.)

The Hopi Way is expressed formally at high intensity in the Hopi ceremonial cycle. Examining this ceremonial, we find that though highly organized and exceedingly complex in detail, it follows a basic pattern that is quite simple. Each ceremony "belongs to" a secret society, the members of which (under the leadership of the chief priest of the society, who must belong to the proprietary clan) carry out the rites. For example, the Winter Solstice ceremony, held in December, is conducted by the Soyal Society under the leadership of a Patki clan priest at Walpi-Sichomovi and of the Bear clan chief at Oraibi. The organization of these secret societies, which forms a pueblo theocracy, will be discussed in the next chapter.

The major forms of the main ceremonies are performed annually,[24] according to a traditional calendar,[25] the dates of which are determined chiefly by the position of the sun and moon. According to this calendar, the year is divided into two parts by the solstices, the period between the winter and summer solstices (when farm work is relatively light) being devoted to the main ceremonies. During this period the ancestors or *kachinas*,[26] in the form of masked impersonators, are believed to return from their home in the San Francisco Mountains to visit the Hopi. The *kachinas* are believed to intercede for the Hopi with the major deities and to bring rain. In fact, they also appear in the form of rain-bearing clouds. In the second half of the year (when the men are busy with the crops and the harvest) the less important and less time-consuming rites are performed.

As has been noted, the Hopi believe that there is a close reciprocal relationship between the living and the dead and this is expressed in their ceremonial. For instance, the bisection of the ritual year is duplicated in the Underworld, only there the order is reversed, the main ceremonies being performed in the second half of the year, and the lesser in the first, the Underworld rites reciprocating those of the Upperworld throughout the annual cycle.[27]

Main ceremonies last either nine or seventeen days,[28] part of the rites taking place in the *kiva* or subterranean ceremonial chamber[29] to which the ceremony is traditionally attached. During the rites a hole in the floor of the *kiva*, representing the Place of Emergence of the Hopi tribe, is opened to provide a means of communication with the Underworld.

Moreover, each main ceremony,[30] although emphasizing a certain phase in the annual agricultural cycle coincident with the seasonal calendar, deals with the whole of life as the Hopi see it and may be interpreted at various levels. The sequence starts in December with the pivotal Winter Solstice ceremony which, while emphasizing the annual cycle of the Sun, a major deity, and its crucial significance in the cosmic system, also expresses symbolically the whole Hopi world view with its emphasis on interdependence and reciprocity, the history or the migration of the tribe from the Emergence, fertility and long life. As part of this complex, rites are performed to turn the Sun back northward, and prayer sticks are made for nearly every order in the universe: human beings (living and dead), clan partners, animals of the chase, useful plants, houses, fields, crops, livestock, and the places where clan ancestors stopped enroute to Hopiland. In February comes the Powamu ceremony or "Bean Dance" (conducted by the Powamu Society), which stresses preparatory cleansing, germination and the early stages of growth of the crops,

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also the purification and early development of children—the first initiation of boys and girls occurring during the performance of this ceremony at four year intervals—and the reciprocal relation of the living to the ancestors *(kachinas)*. This rite complex involves the forced growth of beans and corn in the *kivas*, and the arrival of large numbers of *kachinas*, and it opens the racing season designed to bring rain and speed growth. The Niman ceremony or "Home Dance" (conducted by the Kachina Society) in July marks the return of the *kachinas* to the San Francisco Mountains and emphasizes the maturation or ripening process. At parting the *kachinas* give the children gifts, including sweet corn from the first planting, which symbolizes and anticipates the main harvest in September. The Snake-Antelope or the Flute ceremonies in August continue the process of rain bringing and crop ripening and are emphasized by the running of races. And finally, the cycle is brought to a close in November through a complicated series of rites called the Wuwuchim (Grown Man) ceremony. At this time, after all trails to the pueblo have been closed, all fires extinguished, and the women and children hidden in the houses, the chief priest impersonating Masau'u kindles a "New Fire," which is distributed later to all the *kivas* and households. This ceremony, which includes periodically the initiation of the young men to full adult status, emphasizes spectacularly the Hopi concept of the active function of the male principle in the creation of life, the Hopi concept of death and rebirth of the individual in the Underworld where he continues to live in a manner similar to that in the Upperworld, and the Emergence of the tribe. The Wuwuchim is complemented by ceremonies[31] conducted by the women's societies in the fall of the year, which stress thanksgiving for the harvest, the central role of women in the clan and household, and the Hopi concept of the function of the female principle in the life process.

Furthermore, each main ceremony involves a complicated series of rites (many of which are of a preparatory nature), including the formal announcement by the Crier Chief; acts of purification (as head washing with yucca root, smoking, fasting and continence); the gathering of materials for those parts of the paraphernalia which must be renewed each year (prayer feathers and sticks, sand paintings, costume details, etc.); preparing and setting up the sacred objects in the *kiva* (such as the altars, sand paintings and "medicine water," masks and properties to be used in the ceremony); the practice of dances and songs; and finally the performance of secret rites in the *kiva*, as well as public dances on the plaza, and frequently also races and games. Most ceremonies are accompanied by reciprocal exchanges of food prepared by the women, between the various social groups.

For every *kachina* dance about a dozen new songs are composed and all the masks used are repainted, except those representing the highest deities. Occasionally new dances are introduced, as well as new *kachinas*. Moreover, although participation is most intense among the actual celebrants or dancers who carry the responsibility for the success of the rites, all the villagers and visitors from other pueblos as well, who turn out to watch the public performances at the climax of the ceremony, are supposed to participate passively in the ritual by keeping a "good heart."

Comic relief during these performances is afforded by the clowns, who burlesque slight deviations from the conventional Hopi Way by such pranks as satirizing the ceremonial, caricaturing individuals including White visitors, drenching spectators with urine, and feigning copulation with women. The clowns provoke an immediate response and their antics are greeted with

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shrieks of laughter.

Although the major ceremonies follow a fixed annual cycle and are performed regularly by individuals in prescribed roles, a certain elasticity is given to the year's program by the fact that any individual may suggest performing certain activities of a minor ritualistic nature, such as a dance of the Butterfly or Buffalo type, a hunt or a working party (usually on behalf of the Town Chief).[32] Under these circumstances the initiator takes the responsibility of leadership in the activity and in certain cases even relieves the Town Chief of his duties for the duration of the rites.[33]

The Hopi ceremonial cycle provides an annual series of elaborate and colorful mystery plays which combine rhythmic movement, singing, impersonation, painting and other creative media in a typically Hopi way, and regularly express and reaffirm the Hopi world view in a symbolic, variegated and highly spectacular manner. It thereby provides a means of expression and release to the whole community, spectators as well as dancers, and intensely recreating interludes in the daily routine. As such it is one of the most important integrating forces in Hopi life and acts as a strong and deeply entrenched bulwark against the encroachment of White civilization, which offers the Hopi no adequate substitute. The breakdown of the ceremonial system in Oraibi and New Oraibi is bound to have a disintegrating effect on the native culture.

This glimpse of some aspects of the Hopi world view and its expression in prescribed patterns of behavior including the ceremonial, the full comprehension of which requires study and multidimensional thinking on our part, reveals that the Hopi way of looking at the universe is quite different from our own and accounts for much in Hopi culture and personality which may seem strange to us. It shows that the conception of change in linear, cause-and-effect terms, common among us, is absent in the thinking of these people, who see life in terms of interrelated, multi-manifested wholes in the process of metamorphosis, each according to its own mode, rhythm and tempo. Moreover, the Hopi concept of the balanced, correlative interdependence of the manifold aspects of reality excludes an arbitrary over-all dual division, such as that which structures our own thinking and forms the basis for our traditional ethical concept of the competing forces of good and evil. Duality in the Hopi world view exists only insofar as it represents two correlates in a reciprocally balanced universal scheme, and each correlate is conceived as an indispensable part of the whole, neither one being essentially subordinate to the other.

5. THE THEOCRATIC PUEBLO STATE

Having considered some aspects of the Hopi world view and its expression in the Hopi Way and the Hopi ceremonial, we now have a background for understanding the pueblo organization.

Traditional Hopi pueblo organization is based on and grows out of the ceremonial organization mentioned in the last chapter. As has been noted, each major ceremony in the annual calendar is conducted by a secret society under the leadership of a chief priest (or priestess), who belongs traditionally to a certain clan and is usually the male (or female) head of the clan. As a symbol of office, the chief is given the society fetish which

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consists of an ear of corn, feathers and other wrappings, and is called the "mother" or "heart" of the ceremony. The fetish is kept in the clan ancestral house of the chief priest, in the custody of the Clan Mother.[1]

There are about a dozen of these secret societies functioning in Hopiland today, but not all of them are found in every village. We know of several instances of a society's ceasing to function in a pueblo and its ceremonies lapsing, due to the conversion of its chief priest (or priestess) to Christianity.[2] The status of each society depends on the importance of the ceremony or ceremonies it conducts in the annual cycle, and hence on the degree of responsibility for tribal welfare with which it is charged—the Soyal Society, which conducts the Winter Solstice ceremony, and especially its chief priest, having the greatest responsibility in each pueblo where the Winter Solstice rites are performed. Regarding the concept of status in Hopiland, it is important to realize that the emphasis is always on *responsibility* for tribal welfare attached to a role, rather than on the prestige or power of the individual who assumes it.

Of these societies about nine, including all those controlling major ceremonies, are open to men and youths only, while three societies conducting minor ceremonies are open to women and girls.[3] Moreover, whereas the ceremonies belonging to the men's societies are carried out entirely by men and youths except for a few minor roles performed by women, those belonging to the women's societies are conducted by women, assisted by men in several major roles. Thus the major responsibility for the pueblo ceremonial falls on the men.

A secret society draws its membership, with the exception of its chief priest, from the whole pueblo and frequently also from other pueblos, irrespective of clan affiliations. Initiation into any one of the societies is open to any individual who fulfills the society's requirements regarding sex and age, and membership is voluntary in all except the tribe-wide Kachina group (open to both boys and girls) and the Wuwuchim (open to men only). A boy, however, usually joins the societies to which his godfather belongs and a girl those of her ceremonial aunt. This pair of ceremonial sponsors is acquired when the child is launched on his ceremonial career through initiation into the *kachina* cult, to be discussed presently.

To prepare for and conduct their annual rites, the members of a secret society meet in the particular *kiva* to which their ceremony is attached, and during the secret observances the *kiva* is closed to all other persons. At other times, however, the *kiva* is used as a sort of club and work room by a group of men, consisting mainly of those who live in the neighborhood or who are associated through their clan affiliations, ceremonial fathers or Kachina initiations.[4] Here men (and boys who have gone through the first initiation) meet to smoke, talk and plan foot races, to spin, weave and engage in other craft pursuits, and on occasion also to sleep. A *kiva* belongs to the particular clan whose members took the initiative in building or repairing it, and is in charge of the clan's head man, who has certain responsibilities and duties regarding it.

The *kiva* chiefs and the chief priests of the societies, as well as the head men of the clans, choose and train successors from among their sisters' sons to take over their offices when they retire or die. In choosing a successor an attempt is made to select, from among those eligible by birth, the individual best fitted for the office. If a society chief dies or is converted to Christianity without having trained a successor the society's

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ceremony as well as the society itself is likely to be discontinued.

Almost every secret society is believed to control a particular form of sickness, called its "whip." For example, at Walpi the Wuwuchim controls a kind of paralysis; the Kachina, rheumatism; the Snake, body swellings; and the Lalakon, venereal disease.[5] An extinct group was associated with "witch-sent" disease.[6] The society's "whip" afflicts not only those who trespass on its rites, but also its own members unless they discharm themselves after conducting their ceremony.[7] Moreover, in keeping with the belief that what causes a disease may also cure it, each member of the society, and especially its chief priest, has the potential power of curing the society's disease and hence may function in the role of a specialized medicine man. This concept seems to be more highly developed on First Mesa than at Oraibi.[8]

The ceremonial of each pueblo[9] is reaffirmed by a "Chiefs' Talk" or council[10] composed of the chief priests of the leading pueblo societies, which meets, according to tradition, at the end of the Winter Solstice ceremony. Membership and status in the "Chiefs' Talk" is determined by the part each group plays in the Winter Solstice rites, chief priest of the Winter Solstice being the chief of the "Talk," with the title of Village or House Chief.

The Village Chief in all villages except Walpi-Sichomovi, Hotevilla and Bakabi is the head of the Bear clan, which owns traditionally all the pueblo and farm lands. As has been noted, the Bear clan is reputed to have arrived first in Hopiland. The group is supposed to have founded Shungopovi and from there spread to other sites, the mythical chief taking possession of all the land and alloting pieces to the heads of the various clans as they arrived, in exchange for ceremonies. On the basis of these traditional claims, the Village Chief is considered theoretically to own all the pueblo lands, and one of his main functions is the settling of land disputes. As interpreter of tradition and spiritual guide of the village, however, he should be protected from ordinary secular matters and from petty worries in order that he may devote his attention to concentrating and praying for the welfare of his people and to guiding them in the Hopi Way. In return, his people look upon him with reverence as their "Father" and cultivate the land attached to his office for him, by means of voluntary, informal, communal work groups.[11] As insignia of office, the Village Chief keeps in his possession the Village Chief's Stick and has the privilege of wearing the Village Chief's Markings, symbols painted on the face and body on certain ceremonial occasions.[12] Moreover, the Oraibi Chief has in his possession a sacred stone, on which is incised a sort of map apparently representing among other things the Bear clan's migration and traditional land claims.[13] Just as with the ceremonies, it appears that the markings on this stone may be interpreted at various levels from the individual to the cosmic.

Under the leadership of the Village Chief, the "Chiefs' Talk" reaffirms the Hopi Way and traditional land claims, certifies successors to aged members, and makes decisions regarding ceremonial participation and plans for the coming year. As in all pueblo meetings, matters requiring decision are usually discussed until a unanimous opinion is reached, and the concept of majority rule is absent. The "Chiefs' Talk" is not a law-making body, Hopi common law being implicit in the mythology and the Hopi Way which, besides being an ethical code for the individual, functions as a sort of unwritten traditional constitution for the group. The "Chiefs' Talk" acts occasionally in a judiciary

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capacity, however, and enforces the customary procedure when necessary through its members who belong to societies formerly associated with war, especially the War Chief. This dignitary is aided if need be by several *kachina* impersonators of a disciplinary character (such as the Giant Kachina) who function, for example, as supervisors of village work groups and have been known to enforce their role on occasion with whatever weapons they bear.[14] Force is seldom requred in Hopiland, however, for public opinion operates as an effective sanction.

Under this system, a good deal of responsibility is thrown upon the individual, who is expected to conform and cooperate *voluntarily*, that is without the use of *physical coercion*. He is, however, under considerable pressure from the whole group, since any lapse on his part will be detrimental to the general welfare—according to Hopi ideology—and this pressure takes the form of ridicule, gossip, and accusations of witchcraft.

As a result there is a good deal of gossip and petty wrangling in the pueblo—apparently more than in most small communities, according to literature.[15] But these intra-pueblo quarrels almost never break into physical violence, and murders are rare in Hopiland, a situation to which the almost total absence of liquor on the Reservation must also be an important contributing factor. A major crime committed on the Reservation would be handled by the Federal Court, but all civil cases and misdemeanors are taken care of by a Tribal Court, which operates without interference from the Indian Service, unless advice is requested, under a code established by the Secretary of the Interior. The officers of the Tribal Court comprise a Hopi Judge (who usually is an older man belonging to an important clan), a Hopi Associate Judge, and two Hopi Police.

A Hopi quarrel occasionally develops into a feud which involves the entire pueblo, and when this occurs the feud may grow into a split, as has been noted in the history of Oraibi. In such a case the predominantly noncoercive mechanisms which give cohesion to the group may not be strong enough to hold the pueblo together and the factions may separate into two or more pueblos (even without loss of life, as at Oraibi). It should be noted, however, that after such a split the segments may reconstitute themselves and build up a complete pueblo organization again, including a full ceremonial system as was done at Hotevilla.

A pueblo may segment, however, for reasons other than strife: notably, for economic advancement (witness Moencopi, an offshoot of Oraibi, with a permanent water supply on the Moencopi Wash); for additional living space (as, for example, with the founding of Sichomovi apparently on account of overcrowding at Walpi); and also perhaps for ceremonial survival (e. g., Shipaulovi, according to tradition, was founded by people from Shungopovi to preserve the Shungopovi traditions when the latter village was threatened by Spanish reprisals). But these are not complete splits, for in each instance the daughter pueblo has maintained ceremonial connections with the mother and become a sort of colony.

The habit of pueblo segmenting is old in Hopiland, as evidenced by the archaeology[16] and history, but it is important to realize in this connection that, although complete splits do occasionally occur, they are uncommon, and the pueblo organization is sufficiently cohesive internally to permit under certain circumstances the survival of a single pueblo on the same site for many centuries—apparently over 700 years in the case of Oraibi. As our study progresses we shall see

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that this predominantly non-coercive internal cohesion has its roots deep in the control system of the individual.

Turning from the relations within a single pueblo to those between the several Hopi pueblos, however, we find a somewhat different picture. The historic cases of Sikyatki (destroyed on account of land and water disputes, according to tradition, by the inhabitants of Walpi) and of Awatobi (annihilated by some of the other Hopi pueblos ostensibly because of its reception of Spanish priests) show that quarrels between the pueblos have not always been settled peacefully in the past, but have on occasion broken into open and devastating warfare.[17]

The traditional pueblo organization, which has been described, is politically autonomous, each unit of mother and daughter groups being independent from the rest. Although meetings of the chiefs from several villages do occasionally take place, especially in times of crisis such as drought[18] and other external dangers which threaten the whole tribe, there is no formal traditional mechanism by which the leaders of one pueblo may confer regularly with those of another, and no traditional precedent for regular inter-pueblo cooperation. The only instance of concerted tribal action recorded in history was the Pueblo Revolt in 1680, when the Hopi towns united with the other pueblos (including those of the Rio Grande) to expel the Spaniards from their land.

As has been noted, Government officials, in accordance with the new Indian Bureau policy, have attempted recently to help the Hopi develop political unity as a tribe through a system of representative government. The new Constitution, framed with the help of Hopi and adopted by the tribe, authorizes the establishment of a Tribal Council, and groups the villages for purposes of council representation into nine political units or voting districts, based as far as possible on the traditional ceremonial organization.[19] Of these nine divisions, all but two (New Oraibi and Upper Moencopi, both of which have village constitutions) are organized according to the traditional pueblo pattern under the Village Chief, who is looked upon by the inhabitants as the highest pueblo authority.[20]

As might be expected from what has gone before, although the Tribal Council has met sporadically since 1937, it has not established itself as a regular functioning body, representative of the tribe. Moreover when the Council does meet, it rarely takes any positive action. Since there is no formal traditional mechanism for inter-pueblo cooperation, a period of experimentation and education, under expert, patient guidance from the administrative staff, will probably be necessary before a mechanism for political unity and self government, which is truly Hopi in design and leadership and adequate to the present needs of the tribe, may be devised and implemented among the traditionally autonomous and theocratic Hopi pueblos.

Summarizing our study of Hopi pueblo organization, we find that each village is composed of groups of individuals, related through an intricate social structure based mainly on kinship, ceremonial and traditional bonds, sharing a common value-system which demands conformity to a rather rigid, anti-aggressive ethical code requiring a high degree of self-control on the part of the individual (not only at the overt behavioral but also at the covert psychological level)—a code sanctioned by a complex and integrated world view expressed in ritual and myth, enforced to a considerable extent, but *by no means exclusively*, by public opinion, and oriented to the problem of group survival under the particular environmental conditions that have faced the Hopi throughout the centuries.

Moreover, the Hopi tribe is not traditionally a formal political unit. It is

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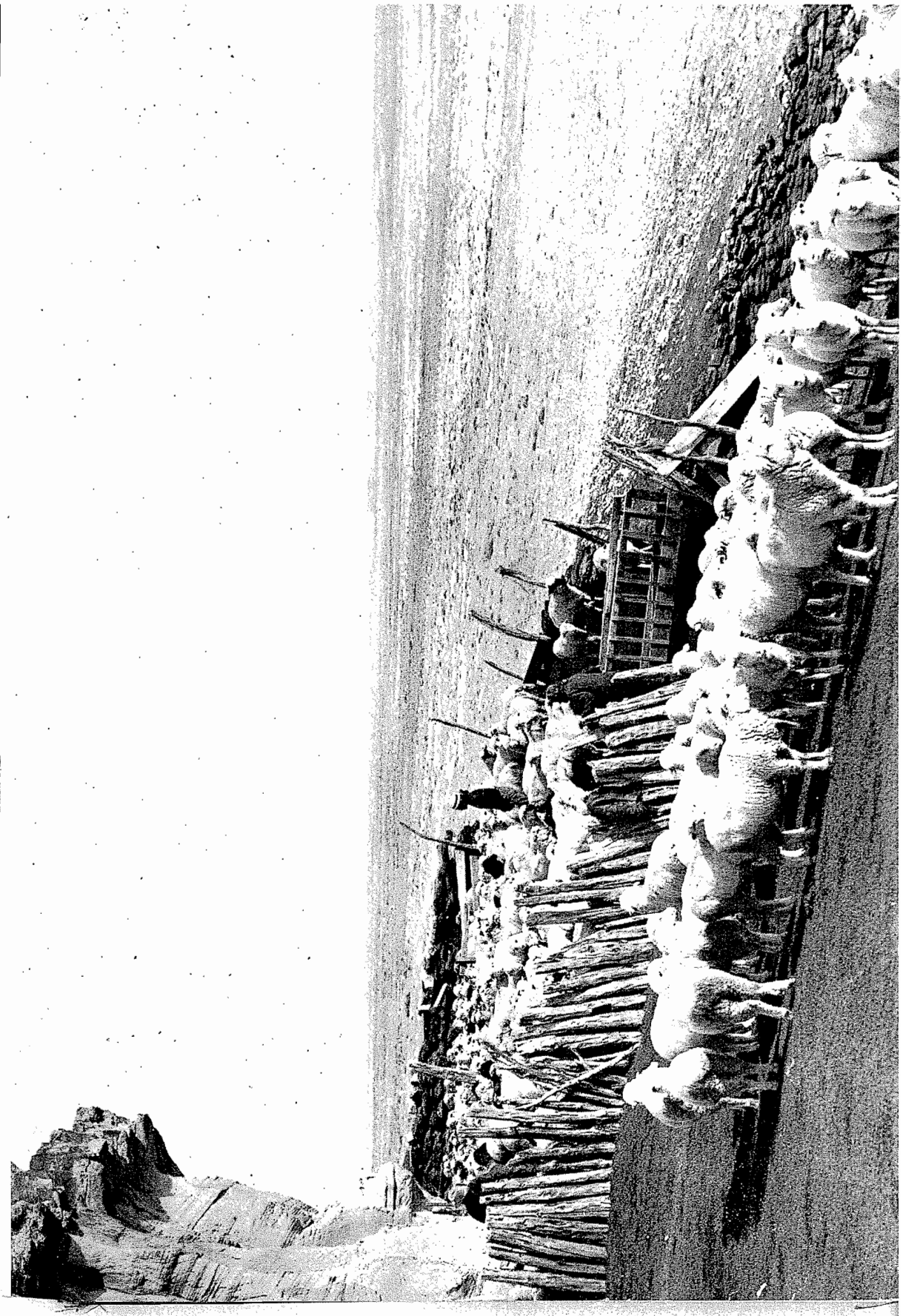

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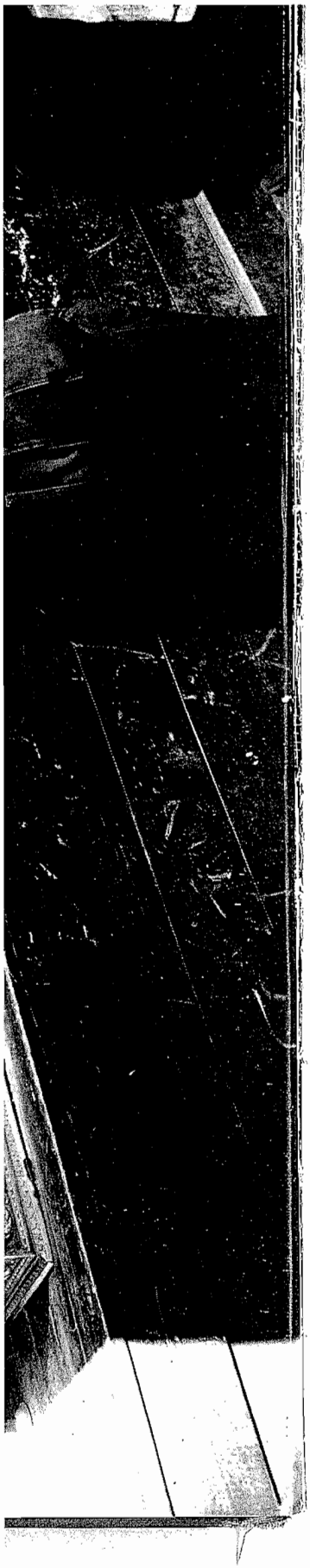
rather a group of historically autonomous pueblo states of common breed, culture and language, united by a network of reciprocal kinship, ceremonial and economic ties and by a long memory of common and similar experiences through the centuries. In Hopiland apparently many different groups and individuals, each carrying his own culture and physical heritage, have through time and the accidents of history been molded by the multi-factoral process of cultural and biological change, interacting with a common and particular external environment, into a basically similar cultural configuration and a common physical type.

This pueblo set-up provides the background for an understanding of Hopi personality development, including the abstention from physical aggression for which the Hopi have long been known, and also of the tensions that develop in pueblo interpersonal relations and lead to petty quarrels and witchcraft accusations. It also illuminates the problem of Hopi inter-pueblo relations and provides the basis for a study of how these villages may be helped to develop political unity for their mutual benefit in meeting the problems which they as a minority group, however small, face in the nation and the modern world.

Having discussed Hopi society in regard to both its external and its internal interrelationship patterns, viewed historically, we shall turn now to the development of the individual within the society. We shall approach the problem of Hopi personality development from two points of view. First we shall describe briefly what may be considered the expected course of development of Hopi male and female individuals through the life cycle, and then we shall describe and analyze the actual behavior of boys and girls at the various age levels, as revealed by tests and interviews on our sample of selected children from two Hopi communities.



Trading post
Hopi owner behind counter

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