Whiteley, Peter M., 2004, Bartering Pahos with the President. *Ethnohistory* 51:2:359 -414.

Bartering Pahos with the President

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Abstract. In 1852, before they had received any visits from U.S. officials, the Hopi sent a diplomatic gift, composed of prayer-sticks, to President Millard Fillmore in Washington, DC. This article addresses both the cultural content and the social intent of this "gift," focusing on historical circumstances and ethnographic import. In seeking to transact with the president, the Hopi intent discloses a formal nexus among diplomacy, barter, and religious offerings. Anthropology's tendency to separate social action into discrete fields—economics, politics, and religion—obscures a congruence that this transaction illuminates. The "spirit of the barter" suggests a new resonance for Marcel Mauss's important observations on gift-exchange.

> *The green* baho[1] *brings the water*
> *For the earth and its vegetation are combined in it.*
> *From the four corners come the clouds—*
> *Come together, gather over us . . .*
>
> *Good now! Here am I father (Sun) with my* baho,
> *We are asking thee for drink.*
> *The glisten of running water is beautiful;*
> *Let the quickening rain, the heavy rain, come . . .*
>
> *The Father (Sun) is watching us;*
> *With his rays comes the water;*
> *The green* baho *has brought it.*
> *The corn is beautiful. We are glad.*
> Kachina song excerpt (Stephen 1940: 105–6)

In 1852, a scant four years after the United States had formally annexed New Mexico,[2] the Hopi, from their remote position at that territory's west-

Ethnohistory 51:2 (spring 2004)
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ern limits, arranged for a diplomatic packet (comprising several ritual elements) to reach President Millard Fillmore in Washington via a delegation from Tesuque Pueblo. This transaction raises numerous ethnographic and historical questions and has import, I believe, for social theory more broadly, especially regarding a formal nexus among diplomacy, barter, and religious offerings. My analysis moves through different aspects, as follows.

To begin, I address some current ideas in barter and gift theory to indicate the broader anthropological frame. Next, the specific items in the presidential packet are described, together with interpretations provided by the Tesuque party, following a contemporary account by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft; some of Schoolcraft's own interpolations are clarified here, but the principal ethnographic explication is reserved until later. The discussion then moves to a historical section, examining first the chaotic political topography of New Mexico in 1852, followed by relations among its indigenous peoples, especially Pueblo and Navajo, and their respective relations with the fledgling Anglo-American regime in Santa Fe, particularly with James S. Calhoun (first Superintendent of Indian Affairs and then Territorial Governor). The ambiguous and inequitable political status of the Pueblos under the United States—as "Indians" or "citizens"—is presented to show the reasons for the Tesuque delegation to Washington. Having established this historical context, within it the position of the Hopi (the most remote of the Pueblo Indians) is presented. Proactive Hopi efforts to establish relations with U.S. representatives in Santa Fe are foregrounded, belying conventional assumptions of the state as the agential subject in the colonial encounter with indigenous peoples as passive objects. Incipient Hopi-American relations were negotiated via imagery of benevolent paternity, but the matrilineal Hopi construed this differently from the patriarchal paternalism of Indian Affairs discourse (a theme expanded in the ethnographic section). Completing the historical section, the discussion then tracks the diplomatic packet from Santa Fe to Washington and finally to the Tesuque meeting with President Fillmore.

The principal ethnographic section follows, with interpretations of the packet's contents and their transactional ontology in Hopi thought. The symbolism of the elements (notably prayer-sticks, tobacco, and honey) is emphasized, as is Hopi prophetic discourse, as well as Hopi principles of exchange and barter. Pahos (the anglicized plural form of the Hopi word *paaho*, prayer-stick) are shown to be ambassadorial agents metonymically carrying the inscribed desires and identity of their maker to barter with a powerful alter, showing a congruence in Hopi thought of religious offering, diplomatic proposal, and economic transaction. That congruence leads back to a consideration of the implications for social theory, suggesting a

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dissolution of artificial boundaries among economy, religion, and politics in the anthropological study of social life.

Gift, Barter, Offering, and Diplomacy

Eight decades after the appearance of *The Gift* in 1925, Marcel Mauss's seminal ideas continue to reverberate throughout anthropological thought—unusual for a discipline where theories become obsolete ever more quickly. Mauss addresses a primordial problem in anthropology: what binds the elements of a social form together to produce the fact and the sense of society? Maurice Godelier (1999) has drawn attention to some key similarities between gifts and sacrificial offerings, including another theme from Mauss's oeuvre (Hubert and Mauss 1899). Offerings, Godelier maintains, transpose the social order of gift-exchange into a projected "imaginary" of the supernatural world (arguing against the reductively symbolic approaches of structuralism and symbolic anthropology). Offerings involve an outward projection of primary human questions—of existence, subjectivity, connection, and continuation—toward an other world (of spirits, ancestors, deities, etc.), which Godelier argues is most heuristically treated as imagined.[3] The imagined communion of the living with the dead, especially via commemorative aspects of ritual, suggests that sacrificial offerings are a variation on the theme of gifts as the currency of sociality among the living.

In the scale of hopes for a return, diplomatic proffers, it seems to me, are located somewhere between economic transactions (of either gift or commodity form: a distinction that still marshals the discursive comparison of economies; see, e.g., Humphrey and Hugh-Jones 1995b) and religious offerings. Here the proffer ventured carries the hope for a return, and its spirit (in Mauss's sense of "the spirit of the gift"; see below) seeks to persuade but cannot compel, because the imagined alter is, ipso facto, unpredictable: not of the other world, but outside the operational social sphere, beyond community. The style of diplomatic proffers is thus more akin to barter, where the terms proposed are subject to appraisal, by the recipient, to determine whether or not they carry compensable exchange-value. If religious offerings seek to embrace an imagined other world within a shared space of mutual recognition and benefit, political proffers, particularly between societies only recently at peace or hitherto strangers, are more delicate communications wherein the question of the Other—its desires, needs, interests, even its existential status (humanity? deity? well-disposed?)—is fraught with uncertainty and peril. Giant pandas or jeweled swords may seek peace and free trade, but owing to the social distance of the parties involved, are ventured with frail guarantees of endur-

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ing return. "Silent trade"—the trinkets left in no-man's-land as a persuasion to first contact—or King George's curios for the Chinese emperor (Sahlins 1994) are diplomatic messages in a bottle, putative appeals to engagement with a more or less hazily imagined, distant other. Such gifts may be ignored or rejected, but even if "accepted," the recipients' cultural construction of their import likely will differ from that imagined by the donors: the "regimes of value" (Appadurai 1986: 15) may be inconvertible. And in diplomacy, the military and economic capacities of the respective parties to any transaction add a critical element to the equation: the Chinese emperor had no "need" for British commodities yet simultaneously had the capacity to resist imperial Britain. The determination of intersocietal exchange-value (its presence or absence) often rests on the power calculations of realpolitik.

Caroline Humphrey and Stephen Hugh-Jones (1995a) have convincingly argued that, in contradistinction to both gift and commodity exchange, barter is a neglected category of anthropological analysis, with significant implications for the understanding of social relations. While they resist a universal definition of barter, and though they attend to culturalist constructions of value, Humphrey and Hugh-Jones continue to privilege the *economy* as the appropriate frame for explaining barter in the social field. The great analytical virtue of Mauss's approach to gift-exchange was to draw attention to the "totality" of effects within a social system. In contrast to barter, gift-exchange has been seen as producing social ties of greater density and reproducibility. But the two, gift and barter, may more aptly be treated as reflecting a sliding scale of sociality configured by variable exchange mechanisms. Understanding barter and the social relations it reflects and/or produces may then profit from the explicit inclusion of "exchange" processes that lie more apparently within the political and religious aspects of the social field.

In the case under discussion, a "unique diplomatic pacquet" operates simultaneously as formal political proposal, religious offering, magical gift, and bartering invitation. The objects presented embody the intention to reach beyond the boundary of a largely closed social system and embrace a particular kind of powerful alterity, seemingly imagined as intermediate between (Hopi) humanity and deity, although that axis is not particularly hierarchical. The proffer was an attempt to extend sociality to a largely unknown party, a party known to be militarily and materially powerful, imagined as quasi-deific, and potentially but not predictably beneficent: in short, an attempt to politically engage a new power of which little was known but much was hoped for. The diplomatic approach conforms to the opening gambit of a barter, both objectively and within a culturalist con-

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struction of intentions (or etically and emically, as we used to say). The response, from the imperial center of the expanding society, was not reciprocal: the hopes for a return apparently fell on deaf ears, and the barter was scarcely engaged on the desired terms, but thereby hangs our tale.

The Hopi Proffer

As Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1853a: 306), that proto-anthropological ancestor, reported it:

> In the month of August, 1852, a message reached the President of the United States, by a delegation of the Pueblos of Tesuque in New Mexico, offering him friendship and intercommunication; and opening, symbolically, a road from the Moqui [Hopi] country to Washington.

The message, which Schoolcraft (ibid.) referred to as "this unique diplomatic pacquet," contained "several articles of symbolic import," including a cornstalk cigarette filled with tobacco, beside which the interpreter had written "the pipe" to be smoked by the President." Schoolcraft interpreted this as "the official and ceremonial offer of the peace-pipe," which though hardly false on its face, reflects his Plains-Woodlands influences and does not correspond to any known Hopi practice. He (ibid.) continues:

> This is symbolized by a joint of maize, five and a half inches long, and half an inch in diameter. The hollow of the tube is filled by leaves of a plant which represents tobacco. It is stopped, to secure the weed from falling out, by the downy yellow under plumage of some small bird. Externally, around the centre of the stalk, is a tie of white cotton twisted of four strands, (not twisted by the distaff,) holding, at its end, a small tuft of the before mentioned downy yellow feathers, and a small wiry feather of the same species.

The plumage of *sikyatsi* (a warbler) and the tie indicate that this was not a pipe but a *tsongootkya paaho* or cigarette prayer-stick (Stephen 1936: 75–76, 1210). Schoolcraft's symbolic emphasis occludes the apparent instrumentalism of the Hopi intention: in all likelihood, the weed was *piiva* or tobacco (*Nicotiana* spp.—collected wild and also partly cultivated [cf. Whiting 1939: 90]), and the cigarette prayer-stick was intended for smoking and, indeed, had to be smoked to produce the desired mystical participation by the president in the Hopi's intentions. As tobacco smoke is associated with clouds, yellow warbler feathers likewise are especially associated with rain.[4]

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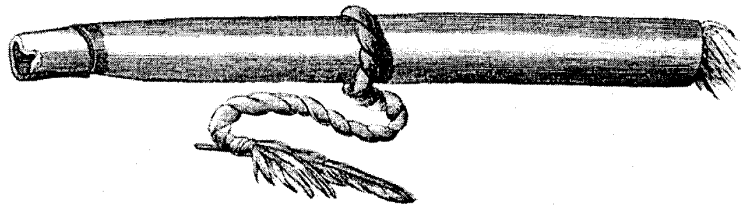

Figure 1. *Tsongootkya paaho* (cigarette prayer-stick). From Schoolcraft 1853a: 306.

Also included in the packet were (Figure 2) two double pahos (*sakwa-vaho*, from *sakwa* [blue-green] and *paaho*), each consisting of a pair of green-painted and carved short, round wooden sticks, their points painted black, and with one top of each pair notched and painted yellow; small prayer-feathers bound the sticks together, along with a piece of folded cornhusk enclosing a tiny feather and some cornmeal, plus a small seeded sprig of a wild grass (probably *kuungya*, mountain sagebrush [*Artemisia frigida*]). The yellow painted notch suggests that these prayer-sticks were of a type usually prepared for offering to the sun (though not in a markedly important way—see below). Schoolcraft describes the two as identical, and although that appears to be largely true, the lithograph showing both indicates that the second has a larger feather tied in back; in all probability this was a turkey feather, a sign that this particular prayer-stick (which symbolically denotes the president—see following) was more strongly associated with the sun than the first (cf. Stephen 1936: 529).

In addition, the packet contained (Figure 3) a bunch of six varicolored feathers—"pure white, blue, brown, mottled, yellow, and dark . . . and white, tipped with brown" (Schoolcraft 1853a: 307). Schoolcraft (ibid.) records that this "symbolizes the geographical position of the Navajoes, with respect to Washington." And, finally, the packet contained (Figure 4) a small package made out of folded cornhusk, tied up with a cotton cord and enclosing some honey-soaked cornmeal. The two prayer-sticks were linked by a long cotton cord (Figure 5), colored for part of its length. The cord also held the bunch of six feathers, at a point closer to one end, and to one prayer-stick, than to the other. Each item of the assemblage was presented to the president with an interpretation[5] attached:

> These two figures [the prayer-sticks] represent the Moqui [Hopi] people and the President [respectively]; the cord is the road which separates them; the [bunch of feathers] tied to the cord is the meeting point;

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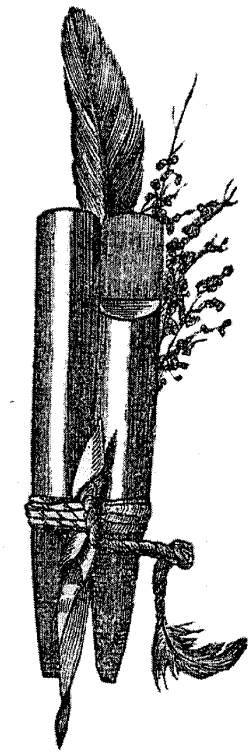

Figure 2. *Sakwavaho* (double green prayer-stick representing the Hopi people). From Schoolcraft 1853a: 307.

> that part of the cord which is white is intended to signify the distance between the President and the [proposed] place of meeting;[6] and that part which is stained is the distance between the Moqui and the same point. Your Excellency will perceive that the distance between the Moqui and the place of meeting is short, while the other is very long. (Ibid.: 308)

Schoolcraft thought the honey-meal package (*mösi'at* in Hopi) "the most curious, and the most strongly indicative of the wild, superstitious notions of the Moqui mind." Its formal interpretation reads: "A charm to call down rain from heaven. To produce the effect desired, the President must

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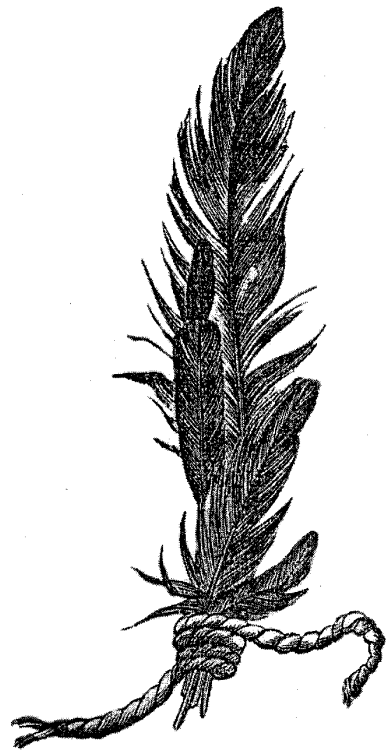

Figure 3. The feather bunch. From Schoolcraft 1853a: 307.

take a piece of the shuck which contains wild honey, chew it, and spit it upon the ground which needs rain; and the Moquis assure him that it will come" (ibid.).

The total packet, part gift and part offering, symbolically encoded the proposal, containing instructions for the president's contemplation and for his action: he should ponder the significance of the prayer-sticks and their assignment of coordinate symbolic value to himself and to the Hopi people, and the road of communication now mimetically established between them, together with the proposed meeting point along it; he should also smoke the cigarette, and chew and spit the honey-meal, to produce clouds and rain. Beyond the portmanteau interpretations and School-

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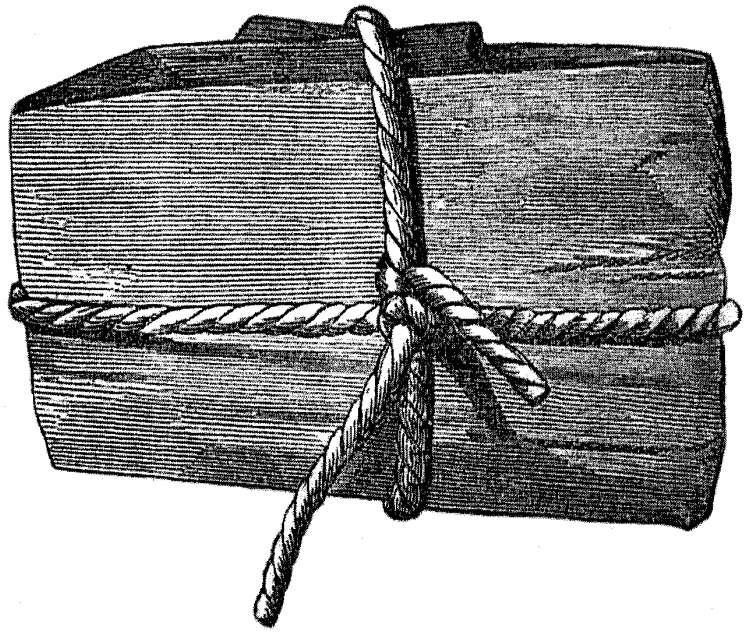

Figure 4. *Mösi'at* (the honey-meal package). From Schoolcraft 1853a: 308.

craft's glosses, however, what was the meaning of all this, what is its political and cultural import? The salient historical and ethnographic context discloses some clues, although these are often elusive, and the overall context is quite complex. First, on the historical side, the packet's route from Hopi to President Fillmore was perilous indeed, its chances for success a far more tenuous prospect than is easily imagined.

New Mexico in 1852

> It cannot be denied, that the first aspect of things, in this Territory, is discouraging. We are very distant from the States, difficult of access, and surrounded by barbarians, of doubtful faith. . . . The population, which does not much exceed 60,000 souls, is widely scattered, through distant vallies [*sic*[7]], over an area so immense, that 20 companies of U.S. troops, are insufficient for its protection, against Indians;

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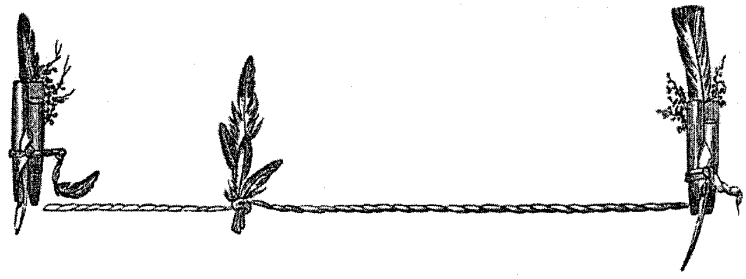

Figure 5. Assemblage of the two *sakwavahos* linked by a cotton cord, with the feather bunch tied intermediately between them. From Schoolcraft 1853a: 308.

> and your own people are so badly armed, that they cannot protect their own property from depredation. . . . The country is over-run, with Red and White thieves and robbers. (Governor William Carr Lane, first address to the New Mexico Territorial Legislature, December 1852 [Lane 1852])

At this stage, the fledgling American Territory of New Mexico was in danger of being abandoned by the new settlers (letter from Territorial Governor James S. Calhoun to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 16 February 1851 [Abel 1915: 292–4]). The Navajo, Apache, and Ute were unintimidated by the U.S. Army, and raiding parties frequently swept down on sedentary communities—Hispano, Pueblo Indian, and Anglo—to steal livestock, crops, and people (for slaves[8]) (see Abel 1915: passim). Between 1846, when the U.S. Army first arrived, and 1850, there was an exponential increase in the number of raids on the sedentary settlements (see, e.g., Bartlett 1854, 2:386; letter from Calhoun, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to Col. William Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1 October 1849 [Abel 1915: 26–37]; and see Abel 1915). In April 1852, a report went out that the Comanche—the most formidable military force on the southwestern Plains, who had for the most part been allied with the Pueblos and Hispanos since the late eighteenth century (e.g., Kenner 1969)—had conferred with officials in Mexico City and were preparing to join with the Mexican army to retake New Mexico (diary entry by Indian Agent John Greiner, 4 April 1852 [Abel 1916]; letter from Greiner to Lea, 30 April 1852 [Abel 1915: 529–31). This was treated very seriously: the adjutant general of the U.S. Army was informed by the military commander of New Mexico, Col. Edwin V. Sumner (Abel 1915: 523–6), and New Mexico Gov-

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ernor James S. Calhoun made plans to evacuate Santa Fe of all American women and children (Green 1955: 310). Earlier, Calhoun (then Superintendent of Indian Affairs) had reported that fear of the nomadic Indians was causing immigrants to leave at a greater rate than they were arriving (letter from Calhoun to Orlando Brown, Commissioner of Indian affairs, 12 October 1850 [Abel 1915: 262–5]; letter from Calhoun to Lee, 16 February 1851).

Ever since General Stephen Watts Kearney had led his Army of the West into Santa Fe in August 1846, the region had been in political chaos. Kearney faced no immediate military resistance, but a series of revolts occurred or were planned over the next several years. At Taos, an insurrection in January 1847 led to the assassination of Charles Bent, newly appointed as governor by Kearney, by a combined force of Pueblo and Hispano insurgents; the army's ensuing attack on Taos Pueblo resulted in the deaths of more than one hundred and fifty Taos men (e.g., Sunseri 1973: 137). In the spring of 1849, U.S. troops were again sent to Taos and Las Vegas to put down threats of rebellion (ibid.: 141–2). The Taos insurrection gave way to four years of military rule by "commanders so preoccupied with Indian troubles or by nature so autocratic that they showed scant regard for civil rights or the chaotic luxury of elections" (Lamar 1966: 70). Open conflict between the military and the fledgling civil government greatly undermined the capacity of the Superintendency of Indian Affairs—detached in 1849 from the U.S. War Department and placed under the Department of the Interior—to negotiate plausibly with the indigenous communities (e.g., Abel 1915: passim; Twitchell 1909; Keleher 1952; Sunseri 1973).

In general, however, the Pueblos seem to have been interested in cultivating allegiance with the American authorities for two reasons: first, protection against exploitative settlers and local Hispano officials, and, second, alliance in their ongoing conflicts with nomadic Indians. When Kearney arrived in Santa Fe, Pueblo leaders quickly came to call on him:

> the chiefs and head men of the Pueblo Indians came to give in their adhesion and express their great satisfaction at our arrival. . . . Their interview was long and interesting. They narrated, what is a tradition with them, that the white man would come from the far east and release them from the bonds and shackles which the Spaniards had imposed, not in the name, but in a worse form than slavery.[9]
>
> They . . . are our fast friends now and forever. Three hundred years of oppression and injustice have failed to extinguish in this race the recollection that they were once the peaceable and inoffensive masters of the country. (Emory 1848: 33)

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In early October 1849, Calhoun, newly appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for New Mexico, met at Jemez Pueblo for three days with the governors, war captains, and other *principales* of twelve Pueblos[10] to discuss their grievances and their relations with the United States (letter ~~from~~ Calhoun to Medill, 13 October 1849 [Abel 1915: 44–47]). As well as encroachment by the settlers, the Pueblos complained of Navajo attacks on their towns, livestock, and produce. Shortly after this council, Zuni proposed a pan-Pueblo war against the Navajo and Apache:

> The Governor, the Grand Captain, and the Captain of War, from Zuñi, an Indian Pueblo . . . has been with me today.
>
> These are intelligent, and athletic Indians, and stated their grievances with great energy, and were especially vehement and vindictive in their denunciations of the faithlessness of all Navajoes—they represented they had been greatly harassed since we left their village on the 16th of September last—that wheresoever they went, they were under the necessity of going guarded and armed, and that they had to watch their horses, mules, and sheep, during every hour of the twenty four.
>
> These people asked for arms and ammunition, and permission to make a war, of extermination, against the Navajoes. (Letter from Calhoun to Medill, 15 October 1849 [Abel 1915: 48–58, quoted passage at 50])

Calhoun's correspondence records many similar complaints by the other Pueblos (see Abel 1915: passim).

Calhoun[11] had been in Santa Fe since the end of July 1849. Practically his first official act was to accompany the military governor, Col. John M. Washington, on a treaty-seeking campaign to the Navajo center at Canyon de Chelly (ibid.: 20). In the first years following the U.S. takeover, the Pueblos continued to provide a substantial military auxiliary to the U.S. Army, as they had to the Spanish and Mexican regimes since the turn of the seventeenth century (Jones 1966). Some fifty-nine Pueblo auxiliaries and captains, from Jemez and the Eastern Keresan Pueblos, accompanied Washington's campaign (McNitt 1964: lxxvii–lxxix) and indeed made the first approach to the Navajo in the Chuska Valley (ibid: 63). The next day, a dispute broke out over a Pueblo soldier's horse that had been stolen by one of the Navajos present (letter from Calhoun to Medill, 1 October 1849 [Abel 1915: 26–37, discussion of horse at 27]). Failing to secure the horse's release, Washington ordered the guard to shoot: Narbona, a principal Navajo leader, was killed and scalped, along with several others (ibid.; McNitt 1964: 67–68). The treaty was formally consummated at Canyon de Chelly several days later, but under the circumstances it had no effect in securing Navajo allegiance or curtailing raids (e.g., McNitt 1972: 154).

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This treaty campaign initiated Calhoun's political relationships with Pueblos and Apacheans alike. He seems to have had little ethnological interest, though his letters demonstrate an unusual devotion to forming workable relations with the Pueblos especially: "In New Mexico a better population than these Pueblo Indians can not be found, and they must be treated with great delicacy" (letter from Calhoun to Medill, 1 October 1849 [Abel 1915: 26–37, quote at 36]). As it turned out, a chronic lack of funds, personnel, and material support from Washington, together with bitter jurisdictional disputes with the army, undermined his recommendations for Pueblo rights, but not for want of his persistent efforts. And to strengthen an alliance with the Pueblos, Calhoun proposed on several occasions taking "some of these Indians to Washington City, to which place, they are extremely anxious to send delegations" (letter from Calhoun to Brown, 3 February 1850 [Abel 1915: 139–42, quote at 140]).

Pueblo Status under the American Regime: Indians or Citizens?

> The Pueblo Indians occupy a truly anomalous position in the country. They are regarded as *quasi* corporations liable to sue & be sued in all our courts. From these circumstances, it will be evident to you that this race should be regarded by us either as Indians, or like ourselves as citizens of the United States—& entitled to all the privileges springing from that relation. But as the latter position would be obnoxious to their own wishes—the Government should view them as Indians in all future legislation. As they are often involved in serious difficulties arising from constant trespasses on their domain, by citizens of the United States—it is but due to them that an appropriation should be made by our Government to compensate in some measure, for the frequent depredations and injuries which they have sustained. (Letter from Indian Agent Edward H. Wingfield to Lea, 6 February 1852 [Abel 1915: 470–1])

In 1821, even before formal independence from Spain, the Plan of Iguala made all inhabitants of New Spain (Mexico) citizens, without regard to race or origin. Although the Pueblos technically became citizens (including, notionally, the Hopi, though see below), the central Mexican authorities continued to treat them under the same wardship status operant under the Spanish monarchy (cf. Weber 1982), thus setting up a double standard. In his first official report (10 November 1846), Governor Charles Bent noted that 'the Pueblas,' or civilized Indians, . . . are by law *citizens* of this territory, and of the United States" (in Schoolcraft 1851: 245). Yet

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in the same communication, Bent explicitly recognized that the Trade and Intercourse laws (of 1834) were "amply sufficient as applied to the Indians referred to in this communication" (including the Pueblos), reflecting an administrative contradiction that was to bedevil U.S.-Pueblo relations for another sixty-eight years (Brayer 1939: 17).[12] If the Pueblos were citizens, then they could sell their lands, the Trade and Intercourse laws were inapplicable, and Pueblo matters lay outside the purview of the Superintendency of Indian Affairs. Conversely, if the Trade and Intercourse laws were to be the standard, then the Pueblos were not citizens. Article 9 of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, which formally ended the U.S.-Mexican War, suggested Pueblo citizenship by indicating that all those who held citizenship under Mexico would enjoy a successor right under the United States. However, as Calhoun noted on his arrival in Santa Fe, the "citizenship" of the Pueblos was a dubious official privilege that, "has had no practical operation" (letter from Calhoun to Medill, 29 July 1849 [Abel 1915: 17–20, quote at 18]).[13] Many settlers, both Hispano and Anglo, supported the idea of Pueblo citizenship as a means of expropriating the rich agricultural lands of the Rio Grande Pueblo land grants:

> a laxity in the enforcement of existing regulations with regard to the Pueblo Indians led to a great many cases of illegal alienation of lands. This was not due to any change in the organic law [established by General Kearney in 1846], but was the result of careless and corrupt petty officials who administered the law. The local alcaldes [sheriffs] were the chief offenders in this regard. Owning land themselves and desirous of obtaining more, it was not uncommon for these minor officials to act in collusion with neighboring settlers to obtain land from the Indians without consent of the higher authorities. (Brayer 1939: 19)

To make matters worse, and despite their welcome participation in U.S. military campaigns against other Indians, the Pueblos were officially forbidden by the U.S. military from making independent reprisal attacks against Apaches, Navajos, and others, jeopardizing their capacity to protect their own communities:

> There is evidently, a spirit of discontent manifested by the Pueblo Indians. While under the yoke of the Mexican Government, they were permitted to make reprisals, Not so now. They have applied for permission to do so, and it has not been deemed advisable to accede to their request.
>
> Thus it is, they lose their women and children, and stock, and are remidiless . . . (Letter from Calhoun to Brown, 7 November 1849)

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The Pueblos' quasi-citizenship thus produced two intolerable conditions: they were disempowered from defending their land-grant property rights inherited from the King of Spain and were deprived of the tools for self-defense from hostile Indians who persistently raided their towns. Although the Hopi, on the western fringe of the Pueblo world, were not practically subject to either imposition, they suffered equally from raiding, especially by Navajos. To address the Pueblo predicament, Calhoun, having secured the endorsement of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, drew up a treaty. The treaty—"Between the United States of America and certain Indian Pueblos, or Towns"—was enacted on 7 July 1850, providing, inter alia, for the protection of the Pueblos under the Trade and Intercourse laws, for autonomous government within their towns, and for the protection of land grants and possible expansion of their landholdings (letter from Calhoun to Brown, 16 July 1850 [Abel 1915: 237–46]). Citizenship was thus directly controverted. Governors and war captains from eleven Pueblos signed the treaty over several days in July, and it was clearly Calhoun's intention to have the remainder of the Pueblos sign it too (Zuni officials came to Santa Fe to sign it on 7 August [letter from Calhoun to Brown, 12 August 1850 {Abel 1915: 249–52; event cited at 249–50}]). It is also clear that the Hopi were included in Calhoun's thinking about the Pueblos.[14]

The Pueblo Treaty was never ratified by Congress, but on the ground, it determined Pueblo expectations of the United States and was a principal reason for the trip by Tesuque leaders to Washington in 1852. The treaty failed to protect Pueblo rights, and despite his promotion to governor in March 1851, Calhoun saw his management of Indian affairs evaporating amid jurisdictional disputes among the military, the Territorial legislature, and federal Indian affairs policy mandates.[15] In a 30 June 1851 letter (Abel 1915: 362–4, quote at 362), Calhoun informed U.S. Secretary of State Daniel Webster of the seriousness of ensuing Pueblo discontent:

> Every element of discord has been called, into requisition to disaffect the Pueblo Indians. . . . During the present month, delegations from the Pueblos, of Taos, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Hilafonso [= Ildefonso], Tesuque Nambé, Cochito, Santa Domingo, Cia, Santa Anna San Felipe, and Sandia, have visited me in highly excited State of mind, and . . . confirmed the fact, that . . . a faction defeated at a recent Territorial election, had continued to put in circulation among them reports to the effect, they were to be driven from their Pueblos, and their lands and property taken from them.

Also on 30 June 1851, Calhoun wrote to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and reported that:

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> The Pueblo Indians have besieged, almost, the Superintendency during the present month. They held a council here, which lasted the greater part of three days. This council was composed of the [same twelve Pueblos listed above]. . . . Not one of the Pueblos at this time desire to abandon their old customs and usages; and you may rely upon it, these people must be treated with the utmost delicacy, or bloody scenes will be witnessed in this Territory.

Calhoun persuaded the army to send troops to Taos and other points to prevent a repetition of the Taos revolt of 1847 (Abel 1915: 368–70, 370–5). The problems persisted, and Calhoun feared that "internal war must ensue" (letter from Calhoun to Col. Edwin V. Sumner, military commander, Ninth Military Department, Fort Union, NM, 4 August 1851 [Abel 1915: 396–7, quote at 396]) unless something was done to protect the Pueblos. It may well have been these events that galvanized his interest in taking a delegation to Washington:

> Calm prevailed, but in the aftermath of the [June] incident, Calhoun determined to take the steps designed to ensure that violence would not take place among the Pueblos. Among these measures was the decision to have five Pueblos accompany him to Washington when he departed in 1852 to visit the capital and his home. (Sunseri 1973: 57)

Heightened tensions between Pueblos and settlers were not helped by official resistance throughout 1851 to treating formally again with the Navajo. Calhoun and Sumner abruptly switched course in December, however, and met with Navajo leaders at Jemez Pueblo on Christmas Day:

> A determining factor, at least in Sumner's case, came with shocking surprise when he learned that Major Backus, without consulting anyone, entered into a preliminary peace agreement with [Navajo leader] Zarcillos Largos and headmen from Zuni and Hopi pueblos, at Fort Defiance on October 26 . . . : "1st The Navajo Indians, shall be at peace with, and shall cease to molest or steal from, the people of the United States—the Mexican people, and our friends the Zunia and Moca [Hopi] Indians." (McNitt 1972: 206)

The timing of this agreement at Fort Defiance and the council at Jemez may help date the transfer of the Hopi diplomatic packet to Tesuque/Santa Fe (see below). The Pueblos were evidently very pleased about the treaty with the Navajo made at Jemez:

> The Pueblo Indians of Santo Domingo, San Felipe Santa Anna, Nambe, Cochiti, & Silla [Zia], numbering over 500 wishing to express

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> their approbation of the course adopted by your Excellency [Calhoun] toward the Navajoes, assembled together at this place [Santa Fe] on New Years day and gave an exhibition of a Grand Peace Dance. . . .
>
> Representations of Indian fights—Corn Dances—Deer Dances & *Moqui dances* were given with much pleasure to themselves—and the delight of crowds of Spectators, who witnessed their performances. Nothing occurred to mar the festivities of the day and the Indians left for their homes the next day—grateful for the kindness by which they had been received, and flattered at the success of their exhibitions. (Letter from Greiner to Calhoun, 5 January 1852 [Abel 1915: 463; emphasis added])

Unfortunately, nowhere in Calhoun's correspondence is there any record of the Christmas Day council at Jemez.[16] However, particularly given the agreement at Fort Defiance of 26 October, it is probable that the road from the Hopi Mesas to Santa Fe had become considerably less dangerous.[17] Although John Greiner's remark about the performance of "Moqui dances"[18] cannot be taken as indicative per se, it is at least possible that there were some Hopis in the New Year's Day celebration in Santa Fe among the Rio Grande Pueblos.

The Hopi and New Mexico, 1850–2

The "Provincia de Moqui" (Hopi) had been remote from the Spanish empire and the Mexican Republic since the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The Spanish had been unable to reestablish a presence, and contacts with Hopi were few and far between. The only Hopi diplomatic visit to Santa Fe in the documentary record since 1700 occurred in 1819 when five Hopis journeyed there to request assistance against Navajo raids (Bancroft 1889: 287). The first contact of U.S. officials with a Hopi man was probably at the Canyon de Chelly Navajo Treaty of 1849. On 9 September: "There was a Moqui Indian present at the council this morning as a spectator, and a more intelligent, frank-hearted looking fellow I have seldom beheld" (Simpson 1852: 81)[19] (Figure 6). Lt. James Simpson (ibid.) also remarked that "his people have the reputation of being quite intelligent and orderly; it being one of the articles of their political as well as religious creed that they are at liberty under no circumstances to take human life."[20] Simpson recorded some Hopi words from this man for a comparative vocabulary of Pueblo and other Southwestern languages (McNitt 1964: 246–49), the first such ethnographic venture including Hopi. Canyon de Chelly, sixty miles northeast of First Mesa, was as far as the party reached. But Superintendent Calhoun's interest was piqued:

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Figure 6. Portrait of a Hopi man, at Canyon de Chelly in 1849, by Edward M. Kern. Ewell Sale Stewart Library, the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

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> The Indians informed me at Jemez, there were seven Pueblos of Moquies, six having a language of their own, and differing from all others, and one the language of the six, (first) before mentioned [i.e., Tewa]. The best information I could obtain, in relation to these people, induces me to locate them about one hundred miles west of Zuni, in an excellent country. . . . They are supposed to be decidedly pacific in their character, opposed to all wars, quite honest, and very industrious. . . . I deeply regret that I have not been able to visit these, and all other Pueblos in this country—that I might be able to lay before you information, of a character, more precise and accurate. (Letter from Calhoun to Medill, 13 October 1849 [Abel 1915: 44–47, quote at 45])

Calhoun was "extremely anxious" to visit Hopi, with a view to sending an Indian Agent there, "but it would be unsafe to do so, without a sufficient escort, as the Apaches are upon the left, and the Navajos on the right in travelling from Zuñi to the Moquies" (letter from Calhoun Brown, 29 March 1850 [Abel 1915: 172–75, quotes at 172]). The Hopi pueblos remained a remote spot in the eyes of Anglo-Americans for quite some time. As Thomas Donaldson (1893: 24), who examined the historical record and visited Hopi himself in 1890, noted: "They were surrounded by deserts and the fierce Navajos, and these were sufficient to stop visitors or adventurers; only armies could reach them."[21]

Hopis did have some experience with Anglo-American trappers and travelers by 1850. In 1828, trapper George C. Yount (1942) spent some time at First Mesa, and between fifteen to twenty Hopis were shot in 1834 after catching a large party of trappers raiding their gardens (Victor 1870: 153).[22] Thus, the apparent Hopi imagining of President Fillmore as quasi-deific (below) does not reflect a complete lack of experience with Americans; the latter event in particular must have demystified these newcomers in general. In late March 1852, probably after the Hopi diplomatic packet had already been delivered to Santa Fe or Tesuque, an exploring party from Fort Defiance was sent to try to find a wagon route to Hopi and to determine whether the Hopi pueblos were willing to sell the army forage or supplies (Schroeder 1852). Accompanying this party was Peter G. S. Ten Broeck, assistant U.S. Army surgeon, who provides the first real ethnographic descriptions of Hopi from the party's three-day visit to First Mesa. Schoolcraft (1856: 81), in another volume of his magnum opus, first published extracts from Ten Broeck's journal:

> March 31st, 1852. Between eleven and twelve today we arrived at the first towns of Magui [= Moqui]. All the inhabitants turned out, crowding the streets and house-tops to have a view of the white men.

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> All the old men pressed forward to shake hands with us, and we were most hospitably received and conducted to the governor's house, where we were at once feasted upon guavas,[23] and a leg of mutton broiled upon the coals. After the feast we smoked with them, and they then said that we should move our camp in, and that they would give us a room and plenty of wood for the men, and sell us corn for the animals.

While licenses were issued in Santa Fe for traders to Zuni and Hopi in the early 1850s (e.g., McLaws 1850; List of Persons 1852), and although some military and exploratory visits occurred in the mid- and late 1850s, no substantial visits by Indian Agents seem to have occurred until Pueblo Agent John Ward spent some time in the Hopi villages in 1861.[24] Still in 1865, New Mexico Superintendent of Indian Affairs Michael Steck (1865), who had been in the Territory since 1852 (when he accompanied the Tesuque party on their return journey from Washington), could report: "There has heretofore been but little known of these Indians. A few travellers have visited them in passing hurriedly through the country. Their description and the fabulous accounts of the Spanish conquerors savor more of fiction than reality."

Hopi Delegations to Santa Fe, 1850 and 1851

Despite their remote position and the dangers of the journey, in October 1850, four Hopi representatives appeared in Santa Fe to meet with Superintendent Calhoun:

> The seven Moqui Pueblos sent to me a deputation who presented themselves on the 6th day of this month [October]. Their object, as announced, was to ascertain the purposes and views of the Government of the United States towards them. They complained, bitterly, of the depredations of the Navajos—The deputation consisted of the Cacique of *all* the Pueblos, and a *chief* of the largest Pueblo, accompanied by two who were not officials. From what I could learn from the Cacique, I came to the conclusion, that each of the seven Pueblos, was an independent Republic, having confederated for mutual protection. (Letter from Calhoun to Brown, 12 October 1850 [Abel 1915: 262–5, quote at 264])

The "Cacique of all the Pueblos," though a misnomer, probably refers to the *kikmongwi* (village chief) of Walpi;[25] he told Calhoun that he resided in Hano, suggesting he was married into that village (ibid.). "A chief of the largest Pueblo" indicates Orayvi (which Calhoun described in the same let-

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ter as the largest). Of the two "who were not officials," it is likely that at least one was Hopi-Tewa from Hano, as the First Mesa leadership, especially, conventionally relied on spokesmen (serving as multilingual translators) from that village to mediate their relations with the outside world.[26]

After this visit to Santa Fe, Calhoun attempted to visit Hopi but was denied the necessary military escort (letter from Calhoun to Lea, 31 August 1851 [Abel 1915: 415]). A year later, another party of thirteen Hopis visited him in Santa Fe, again apparently to establish diplomatic relations:

> THE SEVEN MOQUI PUEBLOS. Thirteen Indians, from these Pueblos, visited me on the 28th inst [August]. Their object was to ascertain, whether their Great Father, and they supposed me to be him, would do anything for them. They complained that the Navajos had continued to rob them, until they had left them exceedingly poor, and wretched, indeed, did they look. They had heard of a *priest*, but never had see [*sic*] one; and requested me to see one for them, and to deliver to him some *feathers*, and a powder, they called, as it was interpreted by a Santa Domingo Indian, their "Big Medicine," and to beg the priest to pray to the Great Spirit to send them rain, and to make their corn grow, that they might not perish. . . . The Navajos having exhausted, or nearly so, the supplies of the Moquies, are now at peace with them, and will remain so, until the Moquies increase their stores to an extent that shall awaken their cupidity. (Ibid.: 414–5, quote at 415])[27]

This 1851 meeting is the clearest guide to Hopi intentions in sending the diplomatic packet to President Fillmore the following spring. The "feathers" and "powder" might even be identical with the presidential packet, but if so, Calhoun's description is rather badly wanting ethnographically. It is more likely these represent a different offering, suggesting that there was an additional, unrecorded visit by Hopi representatives to Tesuque or Santa Fe at some point between September 1851 and May 1852.

The historic relationship between Hopi and the Tewa Pueblo of Tesuque is little known but undoubtedly was mediated by Hopi-Tewa representatives from Hano (founded by Tewa-speaking refugees from the Galisteo Basin Pueblos after the Pueblo Revolt). The Hopi-Tewa maintain ties with the Rio Grande Tewa, a connection that may well have provided a conduit of intelligence to the Hopi throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The selection of Tesuque for the Pueblo delegation seems to have owed to its proximity to Santa Fe and the close relations between its leaders and Governor Calhoun.[28] Whether the packet was first delivered to Tesuque or to Calhoun is not clear, however, and it is uncertain when Hopis first became aware of a plan for the Tesuque party to go to

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Washington. Nonetheless, the *lavay'aya* (spokesperson) role the Tesuque delegation assumed for the Hopi formally extends the same role served by Hopi-Tewa interpreters for Hopi leaders (e.g., Dozier 1954: 296). If, as is eminently probable, Hopi-Tewa spokesmen accompanied the Hopis delivering the packet to Tesuque or Calhoun, it is most likely they who conveyed the interpretations of its import: if to the Tesuque, directly in Tewa; or, if to David Whiting (Calhoun's interpreter), in Spanish, again possibly via Tesuque intermediaries (who undoubtedly were more fluent in Spanish than the Hopi-Tewa).

The most likely time for the Hopi packet's delivery to Tesuque or Santa Fe would have been following *Soyalangw*, the winter solstice ceremony, of 1851 and particularly after the peace negotiated by Fort Defiance commander Major Electus Backus on 26 October (above) and the Navajo treaty at Jemez on 25 December. Certainly, a Hopi appearance at this time would have been both ceremonially and pragmatically optimal. Prayer-sticks are made on a number of occasions throughout the year, but the winter solstice ceremony is the most significant such occasion, when the following year is ritually prepared and when there is an emphasis on calling back the sun from its southern arc. In the logic of the Hopi ritual calendar, a Hopi appearance in Santa Fe or Tesuque several days after the winter solstice ceremony to present an important ritualized proposal (which, as described below, seems especially associated with solar symbolism) is thus plausible, although I have found no documentary record to support this.

At the August 1851 meeting between Calhoun and the Hopi delegation in Santa Fe, the "Great Father" appears to be imagined as a beneficent outside figure who may be susceptible to Hopi offerings. The presentation of feathers and powder (probably *hooma*, sacred cornmeal) for a "*priest*" also anticipates the message sent to the president. Without a Spanish text, it is impossible to know what is translated as "priest" (possibly *sacerdote*, *cura*, *obispo*, *prelado*). Were it "padre," there could be another intersection with father imagery (see below), although this seems unlikely. The strong, repeated Hopi rejection of the Catholic church throughout the eighteenth century raises a further question about the intention here. It seems very unlikely that they would have approached a New Mexican Catholic priest with Hopi offerings. A decline of the Catholic church and progressive secularization of the missions occurred throughout the latter eighteenth and the early nineteenth century (e.g., Weber 1982):

> At the beginning of 1822, 20 missionaries were serving New Mexico, the majority of them resident in Pueblo missions. Ten years later only five remained among the Indians. In the interval the Franciscan Order had failed to fill vacancies created by retirements or deaths, and mis-

> sion establishments had been closed. . . . Bishop José Antonio de Zubiría of Durango [Chihuahua], whose jurisdiction included New Mexico, inspected the condition of the Church during an official visitation in 1833 and found the state of the missionary program, from his view, deplorable. Mission structures everywhere were shabby and in despair, vessels and vestments were worn out, and the friars were unable or unwilling to enforce ecclesiastical discipline so that many Pueblos had relapsed into idolatry. (Simmons 1979: 206)

The "priest" the Hopi party referred to most probably signifies Bishop John Baptist Lamy, the first U.S. Catholic bishop (of French extraction) appointed to New Mexico, who represented a significant breach with the entrenched Hispanic clergy (Twitchell 1912: 328). In the summer of 1851, Lamy was sent from Cincinnati to New Mexico with orders to "take charge and reorganize religious affairs in the territory" (ibid.: 329).[29] Via a circuitous route, Lamy entered New Mexico from the south. Passing up the Rio Grande from El Paso toward Santa Fe, Lamy, his companions, and his military escort attracted great interest in every settlement encountered (Howlett 1908: 164). They arrived in Santa Fe on 9 August (Horgan 1975: 108):

> the entry of Bishop Lamy into the capital was truly a triumphal one. The Governor of the Territory with all the civil and military authorities, and thousands of people, met him six miles out from the city with the finest carriages and coaches of the city, and vehicles of all sorts for thirty miles around. Some eight or nine thousand Catholic Indians came also, dressed in the fashions of their numerous tribes, and their gaudy and grotesque, yet picturesque, costumes were a site to behold.
>
> The meeting of the Bishop and the advancing cavalcade was most impressive, and the welcome he received was warm and earnest. The spectacular features of it were increased by the Indians on horseback and on foot as they went through every motion and evolution of war and victory. (Howlett 1908: 165–6)

"Eight or nine thousand Catholic Indians" (by which must be intended the Pueblos; cf. Simmons 1979: 213)) is surely exaggerated: it would have been more than the total population of the Rio Grande Pueblos combined with Acoma and Laguna (ca. seven thousand); and if we add Zuni, the total is still only ten thousand (Schoolcraft 1851: 519). But Father Machebeuf, Lamy's companion who reported this figure, was clearly not exaggerating the pomp and the extraordinary outpouring of sentiment, which would suggest that Lamy was the subject of great interest among the Pueblos. Neither can that interest have been deterred by the fact that following a day of religious and secular feasting, the rain came:

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> As at El Paso, and all the length of New Mexico, the drought over Santa Fe had been ruinous. Fields and ranges were scorched, cattle and sheep were dying of starvation, the hardest times faced the people. Like everyone in New Mexico, the guests at the ceremonial dinner were all concerned at the disaster which threatened. And then, on the very day of the bishop's arrival, clouds appeared from across the mountains, and rain fell in torrents until the earthen streets ran like brown rivers. The downpour was general. Crops would revive, the grass ranges be saved. The year would be one of plenty after all. In the common thought, could it be anything but an omen? (Horgan 1975: 110)

Certainly the rain would have enhanced Hopi interest in this new priestly arrival from the east. It thus appears likely that the Hopi delegation to Santa Fe on 28 August 1851 was partly in response to Lamy's arrival nearly three weeks earlier.

The supposition in the reported statement by the Hopi delegation that Calhoun might be their "Great Father" would suggest that Hopis were negotiating their conjuncture with the American presence, with an as yet only emergent idea of its powers and authorities. "Great Father" imagery was consonant with the paternalism the United States sought to project onto Indians at this period (e.g., Prucha 1984) and was standard discourse in Calhoun's dealings with Indians (Abel 1915: passim).[30] As Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Calhoun evidently was referred to as the "father" of New Mexico Indians (e.g., by Commissioner Lea to the Tesuque party, referring to "their late father, Governor Calhoun," when they were in Washington [*The Republic* 1852c]). And the abstract discourse of benevolent governmental paternity was clearly de rigueur; Commissioner Lea assured the Tesuque delegation of the "fatherly care of the government for them" (*Weekly National Intelligencer* 1852a). But autochthonous Hopi images of beneficial paternity are also associated with deity: Taawa, the sun, is addressed as *itana* ("our father"), and this appears to have been a coincident factor.[31] Surgeon Ten Broeck, in his visit of March–April 1852, noted:

> They believe in a great Father, who lives where the sun rises, and a great Mother, who lives where the sun sets. The first is the author of all the evils that befall them—as war, pestilence, famine, &c.; and the great Mother is the very reverse of this, and from her are derived the blessings they enjoy—fertilizing showers, &c. In the course of the "talk," the principal governor made a speech, in which he said,—"Now we all know that it is good the Americans have come among us; for our great Father who lives where the sun rises is pacified, and our

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> great mother, who lives where the sun sets, is smiling; and in token of her approbation, sends fertilizing showers (it was snowing at the time), which will enrich our fields, and enable us to raise the harvest whereby we subsist." (Schoolcraft 1856: 85–86)

Ten Broeck's rendering is doubtless not transparent (the sun's association with the source of evils does not coincide with other ethnography, though the sun as fiercely powerful, particularly during times of drought, does need propitiating), but is suggestive that the "Great Father" was identified with the sun (by the "great Mother," where the sun sets, is likely intended *Huru'ing.wúuti*, Hard Objects/Shell Woman). The sun is offered prayer-sticks especially at the solstices.

Inferentially, Calhoun may have informed the Hopis that he was not their *Great* Father, who resided, rather, in Washington (this would explain why the iconic depiction of spatial distance with the long cotton cord is a key part of the diplomatic packet sent to the president). The association of the Great Father with rain again suggests that Hopis were drawing a strong distinction between the new Euro-American presence and the Spanish and Mexican regimes. The capacity to bring rain is frequently extended to Anglo-Americans. For example, Jesse Walter Fewkes was urged to send rain from the East Coast, and I have been asked to bring rain from England. Though partly jocular these days, such requests contain a persistent, religious imperative, and the possible appearance of *pasvahaana*, the true elder white brother, a messiah from the east, associated again with the location of the Sun father, remains alive in Hopi apocalyptic discourses (see Geertz 1994, and below).

Hopi apprehension of the Anglo regime in 1852 was thus couched in a partly otherworldly, nonsecular discourse, which was in all likelihood a major departure from the discourse of engagement with prior imperial powers (at least since the violent beginnings of colonization in the late sixteenth century). When the Hopi party visited Calhoun in 1850, this signaled a substantial diplomatic outreach to the new regime, which was evidently imagined as offering the possibility of epochal change. High Anglo-American officials, in particular, appear to have been imagined as potentially possessed of supernatural powers. The idea of "Great Father" lies at an intersection of Anglo-American imperial discourse with Hopi ideas about a deified Sun; the described location of the president, in the distant east where the sun rises, is not irrelevant in this regard. At the same time, however, there is a pragmatic political motive at work, and these Hopi initiatives of 1850, 1851, and 1852 suggest a political intelligence and curiosity about the new regime that was largely one-sided. The conventional image of European discoverers going out to find the isolated and largely

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immobile Other in situ is certainly controverted by this case. Aside from Calhoun's stated interest, there was evidently precious little impetus from the United States to open formal relations with the Hopi.

From Santa Fe to Washington

Calhoun had been in failing health since shortly after assuming the governor's mantle in the spring of 1851. That June he wrote to the commissioner requesting leave in order to return to the States, as he was "sick in body and mind, and worn out with his many duties" (Green 1955: 347), but was refused. By January 1852 he was incapacitated by "catarrh and jaundice" (letter from Calhoun to Lea, 31 January 1852 [Abel 1915: 473–5, quote at 473]), and by the end of March he reported having come down with "a severe attack of scurvy" (letter from Calhoun to Lea, 31 March 1852). Also in January, he learned of the death of one of his daughters in Georgia, and this event, compounded by his other afflictions, seems to have been the last straw (Green 1955: 309). Advised by his physicians to return to the States, Calhoun had his coffin built and set out. The party, which included Calhoun's son-in-law, William E. Love, and his private secretary, David V. Whiting, left Santa Fe on 5 May 1852. Agent John Greiner recorded that a large number of Pueblos from Tesuque, Santa Clara, and Nambé came to see him off (diary entry by Greiner, 5 May 1852 [Abel 1916: 205]). At Fort Union, Calhoun rested in Col. Sumner's house, where, the following week, he was joined by the party of five men from Tesuque.[32] From subsequent correspondence (Lea 1852a, 1852b), it is evident that Calhoun had not obtained prior permission from the commissioner's office for the Tesuque delegation.[33] Calhoun died just before the party reached Independence, Missouri, on 2 July (Green 1955: 310). Whiting wrote to Commissioner Lea from Independence on 5 July 1852, seeking permission to bring the party to Washington:

> We brought in five Pueblo Indians with us, to visit the President of the United States, they are now at Kansas [City], awaiting the arrival of a boat to conduct them to Washington. It was Governor Calhoun's wish, that, in case he should die, they should be carried on, and if you approve of this course, I shall proceed on my journey with them with all possible despatch. . . .
>
> Governor Calhoun deemed it of the utmost importance that a delegation of Pueblo Indians should visit the States at this time, not only for the purpose of carrying out the policy of the Government towards them, but also to secure more firmly their confidence and esteem towards our people. (Abel 1915: 540–1, quote at 540])

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Lea did not immediately respond to Whiting's letter from Independence, and Whiting sent urgent telegrams from St. Louis on July 15 and 17 asking for direction (Abel 1915: 541). Lea (1852a) sent a telegram to (Central Agency) Superintendent D. D. Mitchell in St. Louis on 19 July, suggesting that he evaluate Whiting's proposal and, if he agreed with it, that the party should proceed. The party must have left shortly thereafter, as they arrived in Washington on 31 July (United States Invoice Payment 1852a), probably via steamship up the Ohio River and by train from Pittsburgh.

Formally questioned by Commissioner Lea (who did not himself meet with the delegation for more than a month) when he reached Washington, Whiting (1852a) specified the purpose of the visit:

> Governor Calhoun's object in bringing the Pueblo Indians from New Mexico to this place, was for the purpose of obtaining, on the part of the government of the United States, the fulfillment of a treaty [the Pueblo Treaty] made with them in 1850. He has repeatedly informed the Department of the difficulties arising daily with said Indians, on account of the nonfulfillment of said treaty, and the evident dissatisfaction which was spreading among them. . . . As Governor Calhoun had received no answer to the various remonstrances and petitions made by him to the Government, he determined to bring, as many as he conveniently could, to this city.

The delegation spent six weeks in and around Washington and was taken to some of the standard destinations (for which, see Viola 1981: 134–51). In counterpoint to the magic in the Hopi packet, the Great Father's show of state magic included demonstrations of large and small cannon at the Navy Yard and Arsenal (*Daily American Telegraph* 1852) and electricity at the Smithsonian Institution (where the delegates, holding hands, received a jolt through their bodies; *Daily National Intelligencer* 1852b; *The Republic* 1852a). The party was photographed in both group portrait and individually by the daguerreotype studio of Jesse Whitehurst (United States Invoice Payment 1852b)—five years before the first known photograph of an Indian delegation to Washington (Viola 1981: 6)—though no trace of these daguerreotypes has yet emerged. The delegation met with President Fillmore and Secretary of the Interior Alexander Stuart on 5 August (with David Whiting interpreting):

> Jose Maria [Vigil, the chief spokesman], after a few minutes of modest delay, said he solicited permission to speak to the President on two or three subjects. He had, he said, travelled very far to see the country and people of the United States, and what he saw greatly astonished him. He had heard a great many strange things of the habits and cus-

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> toms of the people of this country, but now he saw for himself. . . . He lived, he said, when at home, in a poor country: he and his people suffered a great deal of trouble; but he looked upon the President as his Great Father, and the father of his people as well as of his white brethren, and as such he should look to him for help and succor. His people wished to live according to their own habits and customs. . . . Owing to mismanagement, or something unfavorable, there were a great many thieves in the country; this would sometimes lead to bad results; but for his part and his people's, they wished to live in peace and quietness . . . he also said that he wished the stipulations of the treaty entered into three [*sic*] years ago with the United States should be fulfilled. (*Daily National Intelligencer* 1852a)

President Fillmore gave polite but apparently perfunctory responses. He assured them he would look into the "treaty of three years ago"—meaning the Pueblo treaty of 1850—"and if it should be found that any stipulation in it lacked fulfillment, he would see it should be fulfilled" (ibid.), though, as noted above, Congress never did ratify it. No newspaper record so far found indicates when, or even that, the party presented the Hopi packet. The president did, however, express hope that "the Great Spirit would bless them on their return and give them health and happiness" (ibid.)—perhaps the extent of his acknowledgment of indigenous beliefs. In general, Millard Fillmore is known as an assimilationist reformer in Indian policy. His peace medals, for example—five of which were given to the Tesuque party by Commissioner Lea (*The Republic* 1852c)—marked a departure from prior themes:

> With the Fillmore medals, a new series of reverses was begun. From this time, reverse designs emphasized not peace and friendship, but promotion of the Indian's acculturation to white customs. The scene contrasts an Indian in native garb, conversing with a white farmer in front of an American flag, with symbols of the two ways of life in the background. (Prucha 2001 [1985]: 31)

> The iconography was clearly intended to point to the transition of the Indians from aboriginal customs to civilized white ways. (Ibid.: 29)

It appears unlikely then that Fillmore would have received the Hopi packet with anything more than polite indulgence. Clearly the Hopi represented no military threat, and in general the Pueblo party received less attention than a party of Sac and Fox military leaders in Washington during the same period (e.g., *The Republic* 1852b; *Weekly National Intelligencer* 1852b). The packet's transfer to Schoolcraft presumably occurred not long

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after it was presented to the president. The fact of the transfer, and Schoolcraft's (1853a: 306) own somewhat pejorative characterization that it was sent to him only after being "gazed at as a curiosity in saloons, where ambassadors from higher courts are received" suggests that, while it may have aroused some diplomatic curiosity, it was not treated as an important political gesture that merited formal reciprocation. When they reached Schoolcraft, the unsmoked cigarette prayer-stick and the unchewed and unspat honey-meal indicated that the president had not abided by the instructions. Fillmore's curiosity too may have been aroused by the presentation, but it appears unlikely he gave serious countenance to the Hopi proffer. It is not known whether the Tesuque party communicated the results of their trip to the Hopi following their return to Santa Fe on 8 December 1852 (Whiting 1852b), though it seems likely that they did.

The Spirit of the Barter

Although its constituent parts have multiple meanings (some considered below), the diplomatic packet includes two basic components: (1) the iconic map, or template, of the proposed meeting; and (2) the accompanying instruments (the cigarette paho and honey-meal package—a ritual pair) to sacralize and to help actuate presidential contemplation leading to the desired meeting. The first component—the template—communicates information in quasi-textual form; the second invites mystical coparticipation and promises magical benefit (the capacity to produce the vital blessing of rain). The total packet is indeed, as Schoolcraft states, a "message" (especially, of course, the first component), but it is also simultaneously an offering and (especially the second component) a "gift." This combination immediately points up Maussian questions: all gifts, particularly with their spirits attached, so to speak, and all offerings are message-bearing social forms: transactional signs broached as a venture into putative engagement.

The Hopi intended that a beneficial return would ensue from their proposal—alliance with American power, defense against the Navajo, and spiritual aid (rain) in their sustenance. What of the further symbolism, though? We can be fairly sure that the Hopi, who by this time had three hundred years of intermittent experience with Europeans, had not approached Spanish or Mexican officials with such symbolic objects, at least since the seventeenth century. The offer of prayer-sticks thus signals Hopi recognition of a new epoch in which powerful forces, whose defensive aid they sought, were propitiated in quasi-magical form: not, or not only, a secular politics, but a partly mystical one also. Implicitly, then, the Hopi[34] imagined Americans to represent a different order of being, and potentially approachable within an indigenous economy of mystically governed

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exchanges. This extension of mystical capacities, and likeness (relationship) within difference, was certainly made in the later nineteenth and in the twentieth century through the myth of "Pahaana," not a "great father" but, rather, *qötsavava*, an "elder white brother." Pahaana had split with his younger brother, the (archetypal) Hopi, shortly after emergence into the present, fourth world, and left on his migrations toward the sunrise. In the 1930s, Edmund Nequatewa (of Songòopavi on Second Mesa) (1936: 51) reported:

> Well finally they heard that the Bahana was at Tsehotso (Navajo for Fort Defiance). . . . He was calling for the Hopi chiefs to come to that place to meet him. . . . The Hopi wanted to go and see what this Bahana looked like. The chiefs from all the villages went there and they told him if he was the true Bahana they would shake hands and lay down their weapons, for they had a "theory" that when the Bahana came there would be peace forever.[35]

The more radical versions of this millenarian discourse held that Pahaana would return to judge who had abided by the precepts of the Hopi way and who had not. For example, Orayvi Hostile leader Yukiwma told the following to H. R. Voth (1905: 21, 25), circa 1903–4:

> [Following emergence from the world below] the chief had an elder brother, and he selected some of the best foods that tasted well. . . . They were now ready to start, and the chief and his elder brother talked with each other and agreed that the elder brother should go with a party ahead towards the sunrise, and when he would arrive there he should touch the sun, at least with his forehead, and then remain and live there where the sun rises. But they should not forget their brethren, they should be looking this way, towards the place where they would settle down. . . . Each party also took a stone upon which there were some marks and figures, and that fitted together. They agreed that if the Hopi should get into trouble again . . . the elder brother should come back to them and discover the Powakas [witches] who caused the trouble, and cut off their heads.
>
> The elder brother and his party started first, and they became the White Men as they traveled eastward. . . .
>
> But the Hopi are still looking towards their elder brother, the one that arrived at the sunrise first, and he is looking from there this way to the Hopi, watching and listening how they are getting along.

On several occasions since the late nineteenth century, Hopis have presented the tablet with the missing corner to various Anglo-American offi-

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cials and others to test whether each was the true Pahaana (Geertz 1994: 166–205).[36] The association in Yukiwma's account of the elder brother Pahaana with the Sun father—as having traveled to meet with him, as living close to where he dwells—is clear. However, and in contrast to the paternalism projected by U.S. officials with father and Great Father imagery, in this matrilineal society, neither the paternal nor fraternal relationship carries superordinate authority. In the matrilocal household, a father is a "mere inseminator" (Nagata 1970: 273) who lacks authority to discipline or direct his children; that corrective role belongs rather to the maternal uncle. The father's relation to his children is one of lenience and general benevolence; reciprocally, children treat their fathers with respect and affection, but not obeisance (e.g., Eggan 1950: 31–33). The acquisition of additional "fathers"—referred to in Hopi English as "godfathers"—at initiation into religious societies shows a relationship of guidance, tutelage, and sponsorship, but not authority. Father–child relations are structurally more distant than those between male siblings, who are principal cohorts in cooperative clan and lineage groups, where authority stems from maternal uncles, great-uncles, and clan mothers. Fraternal relations configure some status differences, but these are typically ambiguous:

> Brothers are in principle on equal footing, but older brothers can have a highly significant role in terms of privileges, duties and rights. Older brothers are significant power factors in the lives of younger brothers. . . . Older brothers are usually protective, however, and are thus admired and emulated, a factor Hopis also include in the brother motif. Almost every mention of the White Brother in Hopi myth not only expresses his protective nature, but also expresses admiration of the technical skills and wealth of the White man. (Geertz 1994: 76)

In short, Pahaana, as elder brother to the Hopi, is both proximate and distant: an errant son who departed his sibling, the Hopi, to seek their father the Sun at his house in the east. All three are bound by a familial structure, with diffuse and weak aspects of hierarchy, but without institutionalized authority.[37] The Hopi is depicted as "junior," so to speak, in relation to the other two, but not by much, and not with either "senior" having much executive control (except perhaps when the elder brother will sort the witches from the true Hopis—but even this is in the service of his pure-hearted younger brother). Together with the "bartering" approach to the Sun father with pahos (see below), this familial pattern helps to situate the Hopi proposal to the president as not so much an act of homage and supplication, but one of suasion to a structurally equal (sibling) or authority-less (sibling or father), but respected and admired, kin relation.

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As noted, the tobacco and honey-meal form a ritual pair, intended for conjoint use: inhaling and exhaling the smoke, and chewing and spitting the honey. These paired actions are a necessary instrumental aid to effectuate the proposed plan (on *pasiwni*, ritual planning, see Whiteley 1988: 266–8). For the participant, smoking concentrates and purifies the mind and heart, and both actions have a magically automatic effect on the world when used with pure intentions: the smoke-clouds homeopathically inducing rain-clouds, and the honey-spitting their rain. Tobacco and honey are both used as basic Hopi communications with deity. Claude Lévi-Strauss (1973) has demonstrated that both widely occur in South America as paired ritual devices suitable because they fall outside ordinary food categories, and the same is true at Hopi also.[38] Smoking tobacco, as in many Native North American societies, always accompanies serious male contemplation and discussion. In ritual, pipes are smoked sacramentally, and smoking is a meditative communion with other persons as well as with deity: an explicit association occurs between the smoke and the cloud-spirits (which are simultaneously ancestral spirits). All-night smoking in the kivas by men passing a pipe in a continuous circuit is held to effect spiritual and mental harmony. If the president had smoked the cigarette (paho), he would have thus joined his mind and heart (see below on *tunatya* and *unangwvàasi*) with those of the Hopi. Honey, when expectorated, not only serves as a contagious magical metaphor of rain production, it also is frequently a blessing device and used as an offering "that the Sun may eat" (Stephen 1936: 584). Honey is also taken on the tongue while tobacco is smoked, although I have only heard therapeutic rather than symbolic explanations for this; that is, that it eases the burning harshness of the smoke. Echoing Lévi-Strauss's "dialogue between honey and tobacco" (1973: 51–68), the co-presence of both in Hopi ritual certainly affirms their double capacity as agents of conjunction—between earth and sky, humanity and deity, life and death, substance and spirit. Further, the prayer-sticks sent to the president undoubtedly were blessed first in order to properly endue them with spiritual qualities—coinciding rather nicely with Mauss's notion of the spirit of the gift. Such blessing typically includes blowing tobacco smoke and spitting honey over the items (Bradfield 1995: 120). In short, the instructions for the President's use dialectically mirror blessings undertaken by the Hopi men who had made the prayer-sticks in the first place.

Prayer-sticks are a primary Pueblo offering (with clear evidence of pre-Columbian antiquity) and take numerous specific forms; R. M. Bradfield (1995: 58) characterizes prayer-stick making as the archetypal Hopi religious expression. Symbolically, prayer-sticks embody human, floral, and faunal life and the means for its productive continuation:

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> [The prayer-stick] is rich in meaning and function. On the one hand it represents the Hopi territory, humanity (the [two] sticks have faces and are "male" and "female" respectively), and maize plants. . . . The maizeleaf packet is considered to be food for the gods on the one hand, but is also a symbol of fertility on the other. The feather serves as bearer of the worshipper's prayer, but it also used by the gods to adorn themselves. . . . One might sum it all up by saying that prayer-offerings serve as objects of barter between man and god, as vehicles of mimesis within the cultural context, and as apotropaic powers in themselves (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 29–30).

Sakwavahos, the blue-green prayer-sticks, are composed of multiple elements drawn from far and wide in the Hopi landscape; each element, including the colors and feather types, carries symbolic import (see Solberg 1906). Initiated Hopi men still make prayer-sticks, especially at the winter and summer solstices. Prayer-sticks are made for numerous purposes—to protect springs, as offerings to deities, as prayers for beneficial conditions, and always as material embodiments of the aspirations of the offerer (e.g., Solberg 1906; Stephen 1936: passim). Prayer-sticks planted in Hopi country were ubiquitous in the early twentieth century (Solberg 1906: 49) and were deployed for myriad desires, from mundane to sacred. Nowadays, prominent leaders—like the Chairman of the Tribal Council, the President of a local university, state and federal politicians, and the President of the United States—are presented with *mongko* (chiefly) prayer-sticks, to bless them and help them proceed ethically and beneficially and, of course, to remind them of Hopi interests in their actions.

The ordinariness of the prayer-sticks sent to Fillmore is noteworthy. Of the numerous kinds Hopis make, those for the President are the type made by ordinary initiated men—probably not by chief-priests (see Solberg 1906: 53): they are just the standard prayer-sticks manufactured on many occasions and carry no exceptional ritual significance. The general interest they express is in rain for plant-growth. The yellow notched face does suggest a reference to the sun, but not in a particularly significant way: these are not the special sun prayer-sticks made on different occasions (Stephen 1936: passim). Their further semiological value lies not only in their capacity to carry a message (since they are "inscribed" with the thoughts of the maker), but also to both propitiate and to simultaneously transact. In Pueblo thought:

> Feathers are signs that can be used in various ways to create a supplementary language, one which in turn involves the mechanics of presentation. When the spirits are addressed, prayer-sticks mounted

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> with feathers are "planted" in fields or elsewhere to carry these messages. . . .
>
> Bird feathers are signs to men, as well as messages to gods and abstract spirit forces. (Tyler 1979: 3).

The general notion that a prayer-stick encodes a decipherable textual message is central to the Hopi conception. For example, Hopis repeatedly remarked to Alexander Stephen (in the 1880s–1890s) on the similarity of prayer-stick making to writing: "The prayer-feather carries the maker's desire, it is the same as my written paper; the prayer-stick calls the attention of the deity. When Cloud or Sun or other deity sees the prayer stick, he reads (*tutuvenlawu*[39]) what is in the Hopi maker's heart" (Stephen 1936: 164).

In this particular case, the thoughts inscribed into the pahos as messages directly represent the imagined community of their makers: they iconically encapsulate the Hopi as a people with a particular sense of themselves, their history, and their place in the world. The desire to have their image planted at their Sun-father's eastern house accords with the standard religious appeal in paho-offering, but here the pahos also operate as a remote pathfinder to the leader of the American nation (a dialectical projection of the imagined Hopi community), presumed as potentially beneficent in part because he dwells at the Sun-father's house.

The "spirit" of the prayer-stick is explicitly cognized in Hopi thought: *pay unangwvàasi pu' tunatyaniikyangw paaho'iwta* [it is heartfelt petition and hopes that are the essence of a prayer-stick] (Hopi Dictionary 1998[40]). *Unangwvàasi* refers to a "heartfelt wish, hope, or prayer"; *tunatya* (see also Whorf 1956: 61–62) means "aspiration, religious intention, formal plan," and so forth. This immaterial essence, a projection of the maker's thoughts and personhood into the material vehicle of the prayer-stick, is thus integral to the Hopi conceptualization. Pahos are directed toward deities and ancestral spirits. Stephen offers the best summary of how they achieve their intended results:

> The theory of the prayer-stick and prayer-feather: A man makes a prayer-stick because he wants something good, some benefit. O'mauwû (Cloud), Na'nanivo Moñmowitü (Cardinal chiefs), Patü'shüñüla (Ice chief), Mü'iyiñwû (Planting one?)—from these and other chiefs all benefits proceed. (Stephen 1936: 1271)[41]

Stephen (like Armin Geertz above) emphasizes the "bartering" nature of prayer-stick offerings:

> The Hopi barters (hu'hiyaiya, tüi'yañwû [= *hùuyaya, tu'yyangwu*, in current orthography]) his prayer-sticks and prayer-feathers with those

> chiefs [the deities] for the benefits he desires to receive from them. He exchanges prayer-sticks and prayer-feathers for material benefits. . . .
>
> As Sun journeys across he sees the prayer-sticks and prayer-feathers and comes to them and inhales (hüh'tü), their essence and takes them (kwü'shü). He does not take up the material sticks and string and feathers, but their breath body (hi'ksi adta ah'paa), their picha'ñ adta, likeness, i.e. eidolon. He places them in his girdle and carries them with him as he goes in at the west to the Below (at'kya) and gives them (all that he has collected through the day's journey) to Mü'iyiñwûüh. Mü'iyiñwûüh knows all prayer-sticks and prayer-feathers and as he takes them up one by one and looks at each, he says to the other chiefs (moñwitü): "This is for you, or you," according as the prayer-sticks are designed. . . . The chiefs thank Mü'iyiñwûüh and the makers of the emblems and decorate their foreheads with the feathers, and send the benefits that the prayer-maker desires.[42] (ibid.: 1271–2)

As for the bunch of six feathers demarcating the proposed point of meeting (Figure 3), their respective colors correspond to the four Hopi cardinal directions plus the zenith and the nadir (often depicted as a radial arrangement of colored corn ears). This appears to be a miniature representation of a central node in the landscape where the six directions all meet, not unlike an earth-navel for the Rio Grande Tewa (Ortiz 1969). As with the prayer-sticks themselves, such cosmic encapsulation and miniature reduction appear in a variety of Hopi ritual contexts. So as encoded idea, the place proposed for a meeting is the place where all things come together, so to speak.

The symbolic representation of a meeting with the president is both an iconic model of a political desire and an indexical model for the consummation of that desire. Its projected efficacity functions also by contagious magic—especially if we foreground Tambiah's (1973) sense that this involves a "conventional-persuasive" analogical form. In short, as in barter, the President is being persuaded to participate in this process personally and thus enact his commitment to its aims. The cotton string, *pösöptoni*, represents a *pöötavi*, a consecrated road laid out. Such roads are also marked out with cornmeal lines, and there is no doubt that the Hopis who set out for Santa Fe or Tesuque to deliver the packet had a cornmeal road mimetically begun for them, probably even signifying the total trail to Washington. Like the honey and the tobacco smoke, then, the cotton cord embodies an emphasis on ritual conjunction and mediation between separated parties.[43] The symbolic package interestingly represents the Hopi and the president by equivalent prayer-sticks that are virtually identical.[44]

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Each prayer-stick thus recognizes in archetype the collective personhood of the respective polities depicted: Hopi and the United States. As Marilyn Strathern (e.g., 1995) has argued, in gift-exchange the social person (singular or collective) metonymically detaches parts of itself: similarly, these transactional Hopi objects embody aspects of the collective personhood of giver and receiver. The "objects" proffered, then, are more than objects but, reflecting the Hopi conception of them as having live force, are also agential subjects: metonyms of imagined community that serve as active ambassadors in the desire to conjoin Hopi sociality with the president (the exemplar of American society).

Barter, Gift, and Offering

Alexander Stephen's characterization of paho offerings as barter (above) evidently adheres closely to the words of a Hopi informant (cf. Bradfield 1995: 197, n. 21). Both *hùuyaya* and *tu'yyangwu* are plural forms indicating continuative or habitual action. *Hùuyaya* means to "be trading, selling, bartering, or exchanging" (Hopi Dictionary 1998, entry under *hùuya*); *tu'yyangwu* means "habitually purchasing, or buying" (ibid., entry under *tu'i*). Purchase, barter, and trade (as distinct from gift) all appear to be entrenched Hopi concepts, predating the introduction of money in the late nineteenth century (Whiteley 1988: 37). From protohistoric times on, the Hopi pueblos were a central node in a wide-ranging trade network for manufactures, raw materials, and gems that ran from the Plains to the Pacific Coast and from the Great Basin to the Valley of Mexico (Riley 1987: 195–7). Hopis produced particularly large quantities of cotton cloth and ceramics that were traded throughout the greater Southwest, even suggesting commodity status (ibid.: 184–7).

In Hopi, *hùuya*, "barter," contrasts with *makiwa*, "gift, something given" (from *maqa*, to give). In ordinary social life, gift-exchange occurs as part of kinship obligations, not only matrilineal, but in formalized ways with other relatives, especially patrilateral. Gifts of food, artifacts, and knowledge overtly conform to principles of generalized reciprocity, although there is frequently a calculus of cyclic returns, especially among less proximate relatives:

> What may appear to be the expression of personal spontaneity is more the result of an economic pattern which dictates the appropriate behavior for all occasions when the transfer of gifts is required. In other words, the concept of the free gift is one that is alien to the dominant economic patterns of Hopi society. No gift is ever made nor services

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> rendered but that the culture provides definite customary rules for fixing the value of the return gift or payment and the occasion when it should be made (Beaglehole 1937: 80).

Gifts, especially of food or utensils, are also transmitted during ceremonies, both those of the calendrical cycle (like Kachina performances and "Basket Dances" [the Women's Society ceremonies]) and those focused on the person (birth and marriage in particular). Ernest Beaglehole (ibid.: 81) discusses the distinction Hopis make between gifts and barter: in the latter, "the first valuation only is set by custom whereas the final contract is usually the result of individual bargaining, and much depends on personal initiative and opportunity." In the past, such exchange occurred at village markets, with women as the exchange protagonists:

> For ordinary purposes inter- and intra-village trade is combined in open air markets called *namihùuyaya*[45] which are now rarely held. Women bring goods to the dance court, peaches, beans, salt, woven goods, pottery, meat and the like, place them on the ground and wait for other women to come and drive a bargain. (Ibid)

Namihùuyaya is from *naami*, "together," and *hùuyaya*, "be trading." *Hùuyaya*, again, is the very term Stephen identifies as that for bargaining prayersticks with deities.

By the time I began fieldwork, in 1980, such markets were a thing of the past. But interhousehold trade and barter, both within and between villages, especially for items of traditional manufacture (cloth, pottery, basketry, moccasins, rattles, bows, etc., especially for ceremonial use), is still vigorous. Likewise, intertribal trade still occurs, especially during ceremonial occasions; while cash has partly intruded on this trade, it has by no means replaced item-for-item barter. Value equivalences, though subject to negotiation, were well-established when Beaglehole was writing in the 1930s. From the Rio Grande Pueblos (ibid.: 84):

> [the Hopi] obtained shell necklaces at the rate of one long string for two [cotton] mantas; buckskin at the rate of one skin for one manta; and indigo at the rate of one Santo Domingo measuring bell full of indigo (probably about three pounds weight) for one manta. Other articles obtained were blue carbonate, red woolen blankets, buffalo skins, hoes, and turquoise—all exchanged for Hopi woven goods. The woolen blankets were unravelled and re-woven into blankets and belts. Buffalo skins as well as other articles were often re-traded to Navaho, Havasupai . . . , or Paiute at the rate of one buffalo skin for one good horse.

Of the vast range of Hopi artifacts subject to one form of exchange or another, it is significant that those sent to President Fillmore conform to the archetypal Hopi offering, or *hom'oyi* (a term that includes the planting of prayer-sticks.) However, the diplomatic packet embodies all three modes of exchange at once: offering, gift, and barter. Had their intentions been different, the Hopi might have sent, say, a *tìiponi* (religious palladium), a stone tablet, decorated cotton blankets, turquoise or shell jewelry, a ceremonial bow, a buckskin, a stone pipe, and so forth. All of these are less or more alienable,[46] and significantly more permanent, objects of importance in prestige, religious, or secular spheres of Hopi exchange. In short, Hopi schemes of value and exchange practices were well-established and well-articulated in discourse by the mid-nineteenth century. Prayer-sticks, a cigarette (paho), and a honey-meal package represent use- and exchange-values from a religious sphere, but one firmly attached to economic principles. As items that function in a ritual context, and unlike many others from that context, all are impermanent and "consumable," so to speak: the cigarette is for smoking, the honey-meal for chewing and spitting, and the thought-essence and inscription of the prayer-sticks are for inhaling and mentally absorbing. They are "perishable," for one-time use only: after consumption, they cannot be reused. If the president wants more (say, of the rain magic), he must transact: receive the items bartered and the political proffer they encode, and negotiate a return.

Diplomacy, Barter, the Symbolic, and the Imaginary

Anthropologists interested in exchange theory, though taken with Mauss's idea of gift economies, have largely missed the connection Godelier (1999) has developed between gifts and offerings, owing to the materialist underpinnings of Western economic theory, and thereby neglect an important culturalist perspective on the gift. Lévi-Strauss's (1950) pungent criticism that Mauss took too much at face value an indigenous explanation of the "spirit of the gift" (and, in fact, did so based on a faulty ethnographic reading of a Maori text: see Sahlins 1970) has similarly discouraged inquiry into how the meaning of social gifts might be elucidated by comparing them with supernatural gifts (i.e., offerings) within the same culture. Annette Weiner (1992) has persuasively argued that in exchange processes some possessions are inalienable. Offerings like prayer-sticks and honey-meal are "inalienable" in another way: not because they adhere permanently to the personhood of the possessor(s), but because their material form is unclaimable by the proposed recipient(s), that is, deities or spirits. Only the "spirit," to go back to Mauss's sense, of the sacrificial gift can be

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offered to the intended party. And frequently, as is the case here,[47] the local theory suggests that the deities/spirits inhale the essence of the items presented, recognize the communicative intent of the embodied message, or both. But the material vehicle necessarily remains unclaimed. Although the packet was materially delivered to the president, he too, were he to have participated, could only have "claimed" (used) its spirit and its meaning, not its substance. In offering, the offerer seeks to make a spiritual communiqué with an imagined other world through the medium of an earthbound material form. Offerers hope, wish, or pray (more or less imperatively depending on the cultural style) for a return, but the spirit of the offering itself is its only transactional realization. The material form—whether a Nuer ox or cucumber, an Episcopalian's candles or incense, or a Sun Dancer's blood—is, as E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1956) long ago showed, purely ancillary to the interests imbued into it by the offerers. In short, religious offerings express the cultural ideal of exchange, where the spirit of the gift seeks a beneficent return from beings of the other world imagined as having the power to aid the living. Religious offerings may thus model the ideal social principles of reciprocity, even in a bartering mode, providing a moral reference point for the expectations and obligations of economic transactions and political diplomacy. In their explicitly nonmaterial channels of actual exchange (a prayer for a cure, say), offerings express more overtly the spirit of exchange that gifts and barter among the living may only imply.

In that light, the Hopi communiqué to President Fillmore may be instructive for the question of how humans create and define their sociality via the communication of signs, persons, and things, and the "essences" or "spirits" of all these. The separation of domains in social inquiry—"economy," "religion," and "politics"—obscures the structural similarities between barter, offering, and diplomacy. If we reduce this Hopi packet to its apparently only "religious" sphere, we neglect its explicit political intent and its evident relevance to the social relations configured by economic transactions. Mauss's idea of the gift's total social effects is helpful in this regard. However ethnographically flawed Mauss's notion of Maori *hau* may be, the "spirit of the gift" retains enduring value for anthropological explanation:

> Does not the apparent "imprecision" of the term *hau* perfectly reflect a society in which "economic", "social", "political", and "religious" are indiscriminately organized by the same relations and intermixed in the same activities? And if so, are we not obliged once more to reverse ourselves on Mauss's interpretation? Concerning the spiritual specifics of the *hau*, he was very likely mistaken. But in another sense, more

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> profound, he was right. "Everything happens as if" *hau* were a total concept. (Sahlins 1970: 1011)

The *hikwsi* (spirit, breath) of the Hopi diplomatic proffer to the President can only barter and not compel, but in the event, it reveals the interpenetration of exchange spheres in Hopi social life and thought. This suggests analytically important implications for social theory—especially concerning gift, barter, offering, and diplomacy—more broadly.

Conclusion

At this incipient moment of Hopi-U.S. relations, before the Hopi had received a visit from any U.S. official, nearly four decades before the first Hopi delegation to Washington, and after two prior diplomatic trips to Santa Fe, the Hopi proposal to President Fillmore is a remarkable instance of diplomatic initiative by a small-scale society toward the state. The fact that the packet even reached Fillmore under the chaotic conditions of New Mexico in 1852, and given the physical and administrative difficulties of the trip, is extraordinary. Though weakened by drought and Navajo raids, and while respectful of the power and potential beneficence of the Great Father, the Hopi still sought to negotiate alliance on their own terms. Those terms evoke a political economy shot through with a magico-religious sensibility, in which the circuits of exchange incorporate the imagined community of the living and the dead, the human, floral, and faunal with ancestral spirits and deities. Those circuits include barter, even in the apparently religious sphere. The diplomatic proffer was not with prestige-sphere items or trade goods, the items were neither commoditizable nor great jewels designed to impress and were not consumable in the society they entered; in short, they had no interpretable use-values according to bourgeois economics and were evidently determined as bearing no exchange-value according to U.S. calculations of political interest. But they were clearly important within a Hopi sphere of use- and exchange-values and took the basic form in which Hopis persuade their deities into beneficial returns. Imagining the president as a "great father," associated in some regard (but by no means purely mystical) with the Sun father in his house in the east, extends Hopi cosmological principles to incorporate the imperial polity and to metaphorically model the president's status after that of a chief deity. The Hopi approach is thus couched in the ritual discourse of communion between this world and the other world, departing from the purely domestic and prestige spheres of Hopi production and exchange into a supernatural sphere. Notwithstanding, the approach is highly pragmatic, and as well as invoking the

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"imaginary" (in Godelier's sense), the gift simultaneously operates as a set of coherent symbols from a conventional code in which Hopi thoughts may be "inscribed" and, if given instruction (by the Tesuque and David Whiting in this instance) in the semiological grammar, effectively "read."

Having been "read," however, the message was in effect rejected, and no diplomatic barter was consummated. Evidently dismissed both as politics and as magic, the packet was shipped off to Schoolcraft for incorporation into a purely symbolic category, that of ethnography: "The message . . . having fulfilled its object . . . , was referred to me, as falling more specifically within the cognizance of my inquiries" (Schoolcraft 1853a: 306). While preserving their record for posterity, Schoolcraft (ibid.: 307) evidently physically unpacked the objects for analysis. The instrumentalism of the Hopi diplomatic intent, perhaps willfully unrecognizable as such and effectively ignored by its recipients, was deferred and displaced in the clash of dissonant regimes of value and incommensurable political interests. The political was redirected into and absorbed by the Western category of the "cultural," reduced to primitive curios in Schoolcraft's savagist compendium. The Hopi diplomatic attempt to open a road of symbolic and actual exchange and alliance unfortunately fell before a presidential interlocutor without the political will to reciprocate or the cultural will to engage in the imagined communion of sociality. Although he lacked Schoolcraft's ostensible ethnographic interest, James S. Calhoun had a strongly developed sense of political pluralism in New Mexico and of Pueblo interests; we might speculate that had he managed to reach Washington alive and/or been given the necessary resources to develop his enlightened policy proposals for the Pueblos, the spirit of the Hopi proffer might have engaged a more favorable return.

Notes

An earlier version of this article was presented as a paper at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association held in San Francisco in 2000. I am grateful to Daniel Strouthes, who organized the session The Political Gift, and to Philip K. Bock for his comments as discussant. Jerome Rozen Jr. of the Division of Invertebrate Zoology at the American Museum of Natural History helped me understand the question of honeybees in the Southwest, and Charles Spencer, my colleague in the Anthropology Division of the American Museum of Natural History, kindly provided the sources on Meso-American uses of honey. I also thank two anonymous reviewers for *Ethnohistory*, whose most helpful comments have been included in the final revision.

1 Derived from Hopi *paaho*, paho now appears in American English dictionaries as a term for prayer-stick or prayer-feather. Stephen's "baho" is a tran-

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scription variant. The contemporary standard for Hopi orthography is the *Hopi Dictionary* (1998) of the Third Mesa Dialect. Renderings of Hopi in this article follow this orthography, and I have retranscribed some Hopi words from quoted sources to reflect this standard. Where there is any question of ethnographic interpretation, I have also included the transcribed form from the quoted passage.

2 New Mexico comprised all of the modern states of Arizona and New Mexico. Arizona was broken off as a separate territory in 1863.

3 See Castoriadis 1987 and Appadurai 1996 for fuller explorations of this sense of the "imaginary."

4 As Walpi Village Chief Si'mo pointed out to Alexander Stephen in 1892:

> The yellow bird is used because this yellow bird constantly scatters the fructifying pollen, its colour shows that, and where there is no rain, there are no yellow birds; when there is plenty of rain there is plenty of grass seeds and multitudes of yellow birds are seen eating the seeds and scattering the life-giving pollen over the land. (Stephen 1936: 782, cf. Bradfield 1995: 194)

Bradfield also discusses the association of yellow warblers with summer (1995: 95).

5 It is not clear who provided the interpretations to Schoolcraft, but it was probably David V. Whiting (see below), Governor Calhoun's secretary, who also gave Schoolcraft a Tesuque vocabulary list from the delegation to Washington (Schoolcraft 1853b: 446–59).

6 Schoolcraft appears to have confused the colored and white sections of the cord here; on the previous page he characterizes the white section of cord as the small length ("six inches"), while the colored section is three feet six inches. The colored section is evidently intended to mark the distance between the President and the place of meeting (see Schoolcraft 1853a: 307–8).

7 In the letters quoted, here and throughout, I follow the original spellings and punctuation, some of which are unorthodox by current standards, but without placing "[*sic*]" after each questionable usage.

8 The Southwestern slave trade involved both Natives and Hispanos (Bailey 1966).

9 The prophecy of deliverance, in some instances by "Montezuma," was widespread among the Pueblos (e.g., Parmentier 1979), including the Hopi (where the hoped-for liberator was referred to as *Pahaana*, the elder white brother to the Hopi—see below). For example, according to a tradition reported by Santo Domingo Indians to a party led by Lt. A. W. Whipple in 1853:

> Pecos was one of the principal towns; and, while here, Montezuma took a tall tree, and planted it in an inverted position, saying that when he should disappear a foreign race would rule over his people, and there would be no rain. But he commanded them to watch the sacred fire till that tree should fall, at which time white men would pour into the land from the east, to overthrow their oppressors, and he himself would return to build up his kingdom. The earth would again be fertilized by rain, and the mountains yield treasures of silver and gold. . . . "Since then," said the narrator, becoming quite excited by his story, "the prediction has been verified, and the tree at Pecos fell as the American army was entering Santa Fé." For

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> some time previous the Indians of that pueblo had been dwindling away; and soon after, an old priest, the last of his tribe, died at his post, and the sacred fire was extinguished. They are now anxiously expecting the arrival of Montezuma; and it is related that in San Domingo, every morning at sunrise, a sentinel climbs to his house-top, and looks eastward, to watch for his coming. (Whipple et al. 1855: 36)

Most of the survivors from Pecos pueblo moved to Jemez circa 1838 (Schroeder 1979: 430), but given that the prophecy is associated with Pecos, the timing of U.S. arrival in Santa Fe is rather interesting. Evidently a millenarian discourse went throughout the Pueblos during this period.

10 The twelve Pueblos represented were Jemez, Laguna, Acoma, Santo Domingo, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambé, Pojoaque, Zia, Santa Ana, and Sandia.

11 Calhoun, a Georgia politician and businessman, had been director of the Cherokee Land Lottery and U.S. consul in Havana. He was a veteran of the Mexican War, where he had become friends with General Zachary Taylor. While undertaking his responsibilities as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico with evident devotion, Calhoun is also widely regarded as having been President Taylor's secret agent in New Mexico to foster a movement for statehood (e.g., Green 1955: 336; Lamar 1966: 74).

12 Oddly, the version of this letter included in Annie Heloise Abel's *Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun* (1915: 8) does not include the clause referring to the Trade and Intercourse laws. But that clause is included in the copy found on page 194 of U.S. House Executive Document No. 17, 31st Congress, 1st session, 1849–50. Calhoun's 17 November 1849 letter to Commissioner Brown discusses his explicit recommendations for amendment to the 1834 Trade and Intercourse laws, section by section. In Section 25, he notes "After the last word in this sentence, or section, I would add, *of the same pueblo or tribe*" (emphasis in original), making it plain he intended the Trade and Intercourse laws to apply to the Pueblos.

13 In fact, not until 1913 was this question finally resolved by the U.S. Supreme Court (in *U.S. v. Sandoval*, 231 U.S. 28 [1913]). The Pueblos formally became citizens in 1924, though they were disenfranchised until 1948, when an Isleta man, Miguel Trujillo, sued the recorder of Valencia County for his right to vote (Sando 1998: 59–62).

14 Calhoun evidently did not seek to have a Hopi party sign the treaty when they came to Santa Fe in October 1850, inferentially, from his remarks, because he wanted to acquire more complete information about the Hopi situation (letter from Calhoun to Brown, 12 October 1850).

15 John Greiner, appointed Indian Agent under Calhoun, colorfully summarized these conflicts in a private letter dated 1 October 1851:

> Everybody and everything in this . . . country appears at cross purposes. In the first place the civil and military authorities are at war. Colonel Sumner refuses to acknowledge the right of the Governor to send Indian Agents with him to the Indian country—and will not afford the proper facilities for them to go—and the Governor refuses to send them. The Governor and Secretary of the Territory cannot hitch horses. The American residents are at war with the Governor, while the Mexican population sides with him.

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> Even the missionaries are at loggerheads. . . . The American troops are at war with the Indians, and if they could only catch them (the Navajoes), would give them fits, but Colonel Sumner is on his way back from their country without even seeing one of them. Since his expedition started, the Indians have come into this country within twenty miles of Santa Fe, and have robbed the citizens and run off their stock (in Galloway 1909: 546).

16 Frank McNitt (1972: 206) points out this absence. But the council is referred to in a 29 January 1852 letter from Greiner to Calhoun (Abel 1915: 466) and in a 1 January 1852 letter from Col. Sumner to Adjutant General Jones (Abel 1915: 434). Sumner (ibid.), who had sought to maintain a harder negotiating line, complained to Jones that Calhoun had given two to three thousand dollars' worth of presents to the Navajo. One reason for the absence of this council from Calhoun's correspondence may be his deteriorating physical condition. Throughout January 1852, Agent Greiner took over the duties of daily correspondence on Indian affairs (letter from Calhoun to Lea, 31 January 1852 [Abel 1915: 473–5]).

17 Calhoun noted in a 29 February 1852 letter to Lea that "the Navajos seem to be perfectly tranquil and contented, they have not committed a depredation, that I know of since the 18th of October last. Traders are now travelling alone, or in parties of two and three in every direction of their Territory, and report that the Indians are kind, generous and hospitable, and manifest every feeling of friendship" (Abel 1915: 485–89, quote at 488).

18 The Pueblos often perform dances that derive from or celebrate other Pueblos and other tribes. At Hopi, there are frequently Laguna dances, Navajo dances, Comanche dances, and so forth. So this reference to "Moqui dances" may simply mean that this was a Rio Grande Pueblo representation of a style of dance associated with Hopi (cf. Sweet 1985: 89). But the reason for choosing to perform such a dance at this moment may not be insignificant, and it may conceivably reflect the presence of some Hopis in the gathering.

19 Although I cannot infer his Hopi name with certainty, the first morpheme in the visitor's name is undoubtedly *sikya*, yellow (combinatory form), the second is possibly *way*, from *wayma*, walking along, and the last is clearly *tiwa*, a male name ending (on Hopi names, see Whiteley 1992). The *sikya* more probably refers to a red/yellow fox (*sikyàatayo*) than to a wolf (*kwewu*), and the second morpheme of such name forms denotes an action rather than a subject (which is lexically suppressed). If the name is Sikyawaytiwa, it would mean literally "yellow walking," with the implicit reference to a yellow fox: but unfortunately this is no index of his clan, only of the phratry that named him. Richard Kern, Edward's brother, remarked that he "was a fine-looking fellow, larger and much better built than any we had met—his countenance was finer and more expressive in its manner also" (McNitt 1964: 102, n. 109). The drawing is quite remarkable in its depiction of him wearing a medal, of either Spanish or American derivation, and a fancy Euro-American riding hat decorated with eagle feathers; Simpson further describes him as having "all the air and manner of a well-bred, vivacious American gentleman; and the only thing Indian in his appearance was his complexion" (Simpson 1852: 81). When the Tesuque party reached Washington, one of them was noticed wearing a George III medal, which, though pressed, he refused to give up, saying it was the gift of a friend

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(*The Republic* 1852c). Such medals were found among several tribes throughout the Plains in the early nineteenth century, and always U.S. representatives sought to replace them with presidential medals (Prucha 1971). The Hopi man's medal may also have been a Hudson's Bay Company medal distributed via the fur trade (ibid.). Sikyawaytiwa (if that is his name) indicated that he had known Bill Williams (see note 22), the famous trapper (McNitt 1964: 102, n. 109).

20 Simpson also footnoted, however, that according to Donaciano Vigil, the Territorial Secretary accompanying the party (who indicated he had visited Hopi twice), "though they are a docile people, they once were in a defensive war with the Navajos, against whom they used the bow and arrow" (Simpson 1852: 82). Simpson infers that "though inclined to a state of peace, they are not so disinclined to war as not, under coercive circumstances, to stand up, even at the risk of their bloodshed, to defend their lives and property" (ibid.), an interpretation that accords with later ethnography and ethnohistory.

21 Neither was this a question merely of the danger of travel for non-Indians. Hopi travel through Navajo country was often dangerous: for a Hopi account of this, see Nequatewa 1936: 51. Characterizing the Mexican period, Katherine Bartlett (1936: 33) notes:

> The Navajos . . . very effectively cut the Hopis off from any contacts with the New Mexican settlements. . . . [The Hopi] . . . were compelled . . . to be constantly on the watch for Navajos who plundered their fields, stole their stock, and carried their women and children into slavery.

The presence of a Hopi man at the Canyon de Chelly treaty of 1849, however, indicates that Hopi travel into Navajo areas occurred and suggests that relations between the two tribes were more complex than consistent enmity.

22 Frederick Dockstader (1954: 156–7) lists several brief visits to Hopi between 1826 and 1850, but several cannot be confirmed by the historic record. An oft-repeated idea that James O. Pattie was the first Anglo-American to visit Hopi in 1826 is not supported by his journal (a somewhat questionable record in itself: Hill 1923). He describes a meeting between other members of his trapping party (but not him personally) and some Hopis, evidently in the vicinity of the San Francisco Mountains:

> They had also met a tribe of Indians, who called themselves *Mokee*. They found them no ways disposed to hostility. From their deportment it would seem as if they had never seen white people before. (Flint 1930: 140)

Despite his use of the term "tribe," Pattie's discussion suggests the meeting was with a small party of Hopis and that it did not occur near the Hopi Mesas. Two trappers, Thomas L. Smith and Maurice Le Duc, appear to have spent some time at Hopi in 1826 (Wilson 1965: 50); Bill Williams is reported to have spent time there in 1827 (Yount 1942: 195), and in the same year Richard Campbell evidently passed through the Hopi villages with a party of thirty-five men en route from Santa Fe to San Diego (McNitt 1964: 160–61).

23 "Guayaves" (not guavas) was a term used in New Mexico at the time for Pueblo wafer-bread; this is the Hopi staple *piiki*.

24 Navajo agent Spruce M. Baird (1852), based at Jemez Pueblo, announced a plan in June 1852 to "make another expedition into the Navajo country as far as Moqui before the close of the next quarter," though I have found no subse-

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quent record indicating he made such a trip. Navajo agent Henry Dodge did visit Hopi at least once in 1856 (McNitt 1964: 204).

25 Identifying him farther than this with certainty is difficult, however. The most likely candidate is Maasali of the Snake clan. Fred Eggan (1975 [1967]) has attempted to restore historical chronology to Hopi versions of an event of the mid-nineteenth century in which Maasali was killed, along with three others, returning with a Hopi party of "twelve or fifteen" (Nequatewa 1936: 54) from Fort Defiance. Maasali was the first and only Snake clan *kikmongwi* (village chief) after the last Walpi Bear clan kikmongwi died. Maasali was succeeded by a member of the Horn-Flute phratry, Si'mo (Eggan 1975 [1967]: 302–3). (Si'mo, incidentally, was in the first Hopi delegation to Washington in 1890.) Eggan believed the attack occurred sometime between 1853 and 1856, based on Alexander Stephen's notation that Maasali was chief while Henry Dodge had been agent to the Navajos (Stephen 1936: 943). Although he only became agent in 1853 (McNitt 1972: 224), Henry Dodge had been present on expeditions into Navajo territory since the late 1840s (ibid.: passim); it is thus conceivable that a (late-nineteenth-century Hopi) reference to "Dodge's time" might begin earlier than 1853. The Hopi-Tewa man who recited his experience of the attack to Stephen in 1892 appears to locate this event during the Navajo round-up (1863–4), although Stephen himself infers it occurred before the Civil War (Stephen 1936: 1002, 1018–19). Problematically, Ten Broeck's account of his visit to Walpi in March–April 1852 identifies the "chief governor" as of the "deer race" (Schoolcraft 1856: 86), which would definitely indicate the Horn-Flute phratry; that is, suggesting that the transition from Maasali to Si'mo had already occurred by spring 1852. It is thus at least possible that the attack occurred following a visit to Fort Defiance shortly after its establishment in September 1851—tantalizingly close to (and thus perhaps identical with) the return journey of the party of thirteen that visited Calhoun in late August 1851, carrying a diplomatic gift (see below). It is also noteworthy in this regard that Major Backus's peace treaty at Fort Defiance among Navajo, Hopi, and Zuni leaders occurred in late October 1851, again conceivably in response to a recent outbreak of hostilities (see below in the text).

26 Tewa multilingualism persists into the present. Hopi inability to speak Tewa is well-known and culturally rationalized in terms of the mediatory role the Tewa have played with outsiders.

27 Again (see note 25), it is possible that it was this same party that was attacked west of the Pueblo Colorado Wash Valley on their way home from Fort Defiance, with several Hopis being killed. A number of recorded oral histories describe this event (e.g., Stephen 1936: 1002, 10018–9; Nequatewa 1936: 52–59, 129–30), and I have heard several versions of it from Hopis in the present.

28 I have prepared a companion piece on the Tesuque delegation itself (Whiteley 2003), which gives further details of the party, and of Tesuque's openness at this juncture of the mid-nineteenth century, contrasting significantly with that Pueblo's reputation for isolationism throughout the twentieth century.

29 Lamy's subsequently legendary status in New Mexico was immortalized by Willa Cather (1927).

30 Interestingly, it appears that even after the treaty at Jemez, Navajos—who despite their animosities with Hopis, were certainly in contact and probably had some dialogue about such matters—referred to Calhoun himself as the "Great

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Father": "[Navajo leader Armijo speaking to Agent Greiner:] When we get home we will recollect our Great Father—We will come & see him & smoke with him—We will come not only on business—but to inquire after his health" (letter from Greiner to Calhoun, 29 January 1852 [Abel 1915: 468]).

31 Under the entry for *taawa*, sun, the Hopi Dictionary (1998: 566) includes this sentence example: "*Taawa hapi yep sokyawatuy sinmuy ná'amu*" [the sun is the father of all mankind].

32 The men's names were José Maria Vigil, Carlos Vigil, Juan Antonio Vigil, José Domingo Herrera, and José Abeyta (*The Republic* 1852c).

33 On 4 August 1852, after their arrival in Washington and the day before the party met with President Fillmore, Commissioner Lea wrote to Whiting requesting "that you will, as promptly as possible, state to me in writing the circumstances under which the five Pueblo Indians in your charge have been brought to Washington." (Lea 1852b).

34 There are slight variations in prayer-stick manufacture among the different villages of the three Hopi Mesas (Solberg 1906), but from the lithographs in Figures 2 and 5, I am unable to determine where the packet was assembled. My hunch is that it was assembled at Walpi, though if so, it may very well have involved the participation of men from Second and Third Mesas also.

35 It may be impossible to locate this last event in exact time, but it certainly coincides neatly with the council convened by Major Backus at Fort Defiance on 26 October 1851, shortly after the Fort's establishment (see above).

36 If the Hopi identified Calhoun in some regard as the Pahaana, his mission to return to Washington in 1852 takes on added significance. As noted, I cannot determine whether the Hopi packet was first given to Tesuque representatives or directly to Calhoun: if Calhoun, then his journey toward the Sun father's eastern home carrying an inscribed message takes on a mythologically paradigmatic (in Lévi-Strauss's sense) status, reproducing the journey of the Pahaana who separated from his younger brother the Hopi after emergence. When exactly this mythology crystallized around Anglo-Americans is unclear, but parallel incorporations elsewhere in the world (e.g., Burridge 1969: 64–74)—where the origin of Whites is a first ancestor's brother who became lost—occur shortly after contact and may precede millenarian movements. There is definitely an element of millenarianism in the Pahaana prophecy, and factional divisions at both Second and Third Mesa in the late nineteenth century were partly articulated in terms of opposing interpretations of the prophecy (Whiteley 1988; cf. Geertz 1994: passim). Presentation of the tablet to the potentially returning Pahaana in the late nineteenth century, to see if he carried its missing corner, is—structurally if not historically—a binary counterpoint to the (unanswered) message sent to the President at the Sun father's house via Calhoun and the Tesuque delegation.

37 Patricia Galloway (1989) has demonstrated a parallel incommensurability of paternal discourses in (matrilineal) Choctaw diplomatic encounters with the French in the eighteenth century. My thanks to an anonymous reviewer for *Ethnohistory* for pointing out this reference.

38 The apparent absence of honeybees in North America before European introduction raises interesting questions in this regard. Lévi-Strauss (1978: 70) notes a parallel absence of the "dialogue between honey and tobacco" (1973) in Native North American mythology accordingly. However, he (1978: 69) suggests that

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honeybees may have had a wider presence throughout North America in earlier times, before the introduction of European honeybees (*Apis mellifica*), particularly suggesting that *Trigona* (stingless) species (present in Sonora) may have been in southern Arizona. This thesis may receive confirmation by the significance of honey in Hopi ritual contexts, certainly as early as the mid-nineteenth century, and implicitly much earlier. It is not clear when European honeybees arrived in Hopi country. Franciscan missionaries introduced fruit trees (apples, pears, apricots, and peaches) and grapevines in the seventeenth century, which may signal their first appearance. European honeybees were only successfully introduced to California (which also had Spanish missions), however, from New York state in 1852, via the Panamanian isthmus, following several failed attempts (e.g., *Scientific American* 1852). However, the centrality of honey in Hopi ritual use (e.g., Stephen 1936: *passim*) contrasts strikingly with the absence or marginality of other European-introduced items (sheep, cattle, apples, pears, watermelons, peaches, etc.) in ritual contexts. Circumstantial evidence indicates that honey may have been traded from Mexico before the introduction of European honeybees. Honey-producing bees (*Melipona* sp., *Trigona* sp.) were used extensively by the Maya: in the Yucatan, "honey was one of the principal products of the country . . . and was traded far and wide in Mesoamerica" (Coe 1994: 125). Kitty Emery (2001: 265) too notes that several species of domesticated honeybees "were exploited to produce different varieties of the wax and honey so important in tribute and trade, medicine, and religious ceremonies." For the Aztec specifically, the Florentine Codex, eleventh paragraph of Book 11 (Earthly Things), "telleth of the bees which produce honey" (Sahagún 1963: 93): of three species, *mimiauatl*, a stinging honeybee, appears phonologically similar (Nahuatl and Hopi are closely related Uto-Aztekan languages) to the Hopi term for bee, *momo*. The Hopi word for honey, *momospala*—from *momo*, bee, *sihu*, flower, and *paala*, moisture—suggests a wholly indigenous concept, again unlike European floral and faunal introductions (like *kaneelo*, sheep, *mansaana*, apple—both obvious Spanish loanwords). In short, it appears likely that either honeybees were present in the Southwest at some point before European arrival or that there was trade in honey from the south before the introduction of European honeybees. This would explain the centrality of honey in Hopi ritual practices and hence effectively extend Lévi-Strauss's (1973: 51–68) "dialogue between honey and tobacco" into the North American Southwest.

39 *Tutuveni* is the Hopi term currently used for "writing," *tutuvenlawu* for "be writing" (rather than Stephen's suggestion of "reading")—but the two (reading and writing) are as clearly a pair in Hopi thought as in English.

40 Sentence example under *paaho'iwta*: "be made into a prayer-stick."

41 I cannot definitively match every one of Stephen's list to chief-spirits or deities known from later ethnography, though most are recognizable. In current orthography (Hopi Dictionary 1998), his listing should read: *Oomaw*, referring to a Chief Cloud deity; *Naanan'i'vo Momngwit*, referring to chief deities of all the directions; *Patusungwla*, an Ice Spirit, thought of at Third Mesa as a Kachina; and *Muy'ingwa*, the Spirit of Germination.

42 Current modifications (from the Hopi Dictionary 1998) of Stephen's orthography are:

hüh'tü: *hùutu*, inhale rapidly;
kwü'shü: *kwusu*, receive, accept, take;

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hi'ksi adta ah'paa: *hikwsi'at àapa*, from *hikwsi*, breath + possessive, and *àapa*, bedding, support;
picha'ñ adta: *pitsangwa'at*, countenance, appearance;
at'kya: *atkya*, below;
Mü'iyiñwûüh: *Muy'ingwa* (see note 41);
moñwitü: *momngwit*, chiefs.

43 Bradfield (1995: 325, n. 56) too argues for the mediatory function, in Lévi-Straussian terms, of cotton.
44 I note above in the text that although absolutely identical in Schoolcraft's description, his illustration suggests a difference in the main feather attachment—a not insignificant difference but one that does not alter the fundamental identity of the two prayer-sticks.
45 I have adjusted Beaglehole's orthographic rendering to current standards.
46 *Tiiponis* and stone tablets are mostly inalienable possessions, but in some historic or mythological instances, there are implications of exchange under special circumstances.
47 Indeed the somatic root of *spirit* is, of course, breath; likewise, Hopi *hikwsi*, literally "breath," also refers to a metaphysical essence, as we have seen.

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