La Farge, Oliver, 1937, Notes for Hopi Administrators. Copy from Whiteley's files.

~~File No. 9603~~
~~1436 Hopi 066~~
19-7-1
Hopi 1936
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
RECEIVED
AUG 23 1938
52687

NOTES FOR HOPI ADMINISTRATORS

Oliver La Farge

February 1937

154829

HP017929

NOTES FOR HOPI ADMINISTRATORS

Oliver La Farge

INTRODUCTION

During the summer of 1936 I spent three months organizing the Hopi tribe, a process involving the application of ethnology to a governmental problem in unusual degree. The knowledge gained by this experience is I believe of importance to Indian Service and other officials in dealing with this tribe.

The administrator who would be of service to this remarkable people must discard theory in favour of reality, yet much of that reality sounds theoretical and unreal. It will be seen in this account how much emphasis is placed on intangibles. A full appreciation of these is vitally important: anyone who deals with the Hopis must learn entirely new categories of thought. 154830

THE INDIAN FIELD SERVICE AND THE HOPIS

The vital need of an understanding of the matters to be discussed is shown in my experience with the inability of local Indian Service officials to assist in the organization work.

I would say that only two members of the service were of any real value. Outstandingly Mr. E. A. Marks, Principal at Hotevilla, should be mentioned. His real knowledge and understanding of these Indians, the fundamental rightness of his point of view, and his beautiful sense of how to deal with them were invaluable. Mrs. _____ Kopta of Toreva Day School had also a good contact with her Indians and gave me real assistance. Many others were willing, but ignorance incapacitated them.

A few specific cases will be illuminating. The Superintendent introduced me at a general meeting at First Mesa. He did not know,

nor did anybody else, that such a meeting called on twenty-four hours notice would inevitably fail to include many individuals of importance. The second ranking chief of the Mesa was absent, and the omission of him nearly resulted in the development of a majority opposition there. The situation was saved later by the fact that the first chief or Kikmongwi, an old acquaintance of mine, had become my firm friend and supporter.

At Moenkopi, where a peculiar situation exists, Mr. J. H. Nylander took an attitude of pure hostility towards the conservative faction, but was unable to give me any explanation of the basis of their attitude. At his suggestion I made the serious mistake of holding a general meeting in a place which was obnoxious to the conservatives. He further was not aware of such important facts as that the Kachina Chief belonged to the progressive party and that in fact this party possessed the major part of the ritual.

Counting First Mesa as one village, seven of these villages plus the conservative half of Moenkopi are organized and governed today under the traditional Hopi system, at the head of which in each village stands the Kikmongwi. Yet there is no white person living on the Hopi reservation today who can name the Kikmongwi of all seven villages, not to speak of secondary chiefs of great importance, and the head chief of the Tewas who "walks behind" the Kikmongwi of First Mesa. This is a startling fact in itself. It will be remembered that the office of the Kikmongwi is written into the structure of the constitution, and furthermore it was clearly shown to me that the Hopis would never have accepted any form of organization which failed to do so.

154831

HP017931

GENERAL BACKGROUND

There are about twenty-eight hundred Hopis living in nine recognized villages in the middle of the Navajo country. The tribe has been built up by a process of accumulation over a long period of time, and the central core may have occupied that territory several thousand years ago. Dividing all Pueblo Indians roughly by their character from the purely practical point of view of an administrator, they fall into two main groups -- the Northern Pueblos and the rest. This is a broad statement requiring qualifications which are not of importance here. I believe that factors of cultural heritage and contacts can probably be shown which explain the difference of character in part, and that it may be correlated with a difference in physical type. The major group gives the impression of having been conditioned by generations of struggle for a living under the doubtful circumstances of desert farming, which reach their most intense form in the dry farming of the Hopis. The fear of drought, the fear of the future, the desire for security through material possession are deep in their natures. Warfare is obviously undesirable, since the best that one can achieve is to inflict such damage on the enemy that in the future he will leave one alone. Wild tribes, such as the Apaches, the Navajos, and the white men find or until recently found in warfare a means of enriching themselves. Among the Hopis the cult of peace reaches an extreme, and all personal violence is looked upon with horror. With this comes an attitude of smug superiority towards all who fight, including the white man whose weapons stand between the Hopis and the dreaded Navajo.

154832

These people have also lived for generations in an extremely

HP017932

close knit society and in daily contact with one another. The unfortunate effects of this excessive intimacy are to be seen among all the Pueblos. If anyone does anything out of the way he is talked about. Everybody watches everybody else. The tongues of the tribe are the great policing medium, public opinion the one thing against which no one can stand. When asked to state what thing in the proposed constitution he found objectionable, Dan Kotchongva, the Hotevilla leader said, "If we send representatives to a council they will be criticized." This was a dreadful thing.

The fear of public opinion will exert a profound effect upon the tribal council, and in many cases will cause intense exasperation to any white man dealing with it. Another important effect of the double influences of the cult of peace and of talk is that an offense lives on indefinitely. Unwilling to settle a matter by force, they talk and remember it for years, and it is virtually impossible for a man to live down an unfortunate action once performed or to go back upon a position which he has once taken. Again and again I was told that so and so had said he felt in such and such a way, "What right has he got to change?"

In dealing with chiefs this is a factor of vital importance. If the negotiator allows a chief to state definitely that he is against the measure proposed, all further discussion is useless unless the negotiator can discover a way for the chief to get out of the position he has taken without appearing to have reversed himself.

The Hopi carries with him a tremendous load of the past: the sack of Awatobi about 1710, an interview with an Army officer about 1860, something Kit Carson said, all are living influences today.

154833

HP017933

If a promise was ever made and broken, that breach is still being mourned and actively resented. As Lorenzo Hubbell says, "If a Navajo killed a cow fifty years ago that cow still permeates the air."

The Tewa group, despite its two hundred years of intimate contact with the Hopis and intermarriage with them retains the character of the Northern Pueblos. The Tewas believe in settling a row by giving the offender a poke in the jaw. They are not afraid of fighting. Although they possess the long Pueblo memory, they become impatient with too long dwelling in the past and take much more readily than do the Hopis to realistic action for settling present problems. Their leadership at First Mesa is out of proportion to their numbers.

It may be said in general that the Hopi looks upon himself as a chosen vessel containing the true religion by means of which the welfare of the whole world is maintained. Furthermore, all the world between the two oceans is his by aboriginal right. It is the duty of the United States Government to give him his deserts -- which may be roughly described as the world with a fence around it -- and everything that has been done for him so far is to be looked upon as merely a series of utterly inadequate installments which only serve to postpone giving him that which is his by right. It is important to bear in mind that he does not expect to go out and get what he thinks is coming to him, it is mankind's function to bring it to him.

Meantime, the Hopi feels that he has been desperately abused, and is quite sincere in the desperate tales of woe which he pours out to every white visitor who will lend an ear. In actual fact, although the use of troops during the superintendancy of Leo Crane and the other dramatic things that happened under that individual were quite

154834

HP017934

unnecessary, on the whole no tribe of Indians has been better treated by the United States Government. It can be justly said that the Hopis would today be a dwindling and hungry tribe hemmed in by warlike nomads, if not even rapidly becoming extinct, were it not for the intervention of the white man. The Hopi, however, only kicks because the Navajos have not been entirely removed from the western half of the Navajo reservation.

The Tewa knows that man for man he is as good as anybody in the world or slightly better, and if you don't believe him he is willing to prove it on you. He is less smooth in meeting the public and somewhat less of a kicker than the Hopi. He believes that he has a lot coming to him, but he is willing to face realities in thinking about it and expects to make an effort to get it.

A slight but none the less illuminating story may be retold here. Mr. Marks of Hotevilla and Mr. Hubbell used to have violent arguments about Hopi versus Navajo, Mr. Marks feeling that the Navajos threatened Hopi existance. One time he and Hubbell were motoring back to Oraibi from Winslow, and their discussion had become acrimonious on the subject. At about the half way mark, ~~thirty miles from~~ anywhere, as the sun was setting, they encountered an old Hopi on his way to Winslow, driving a burro laden with two five-gallon cans full of peaches. Hubbell said, "There you are. As long as the Hopi can prod a burro sixty-five miles and return, to sell four bits' worth of peaches and make it pay, there is no need in worrying about them."

154835

Hopi social relations are entirely based on quid pro quo. For every service that one individual renders another or the community

HP017935

there is a prearranged eventual return. The idea that members of the government should do anything for them for idealistic reasons is impossible for them to receive. The Commissioner or the Superintendent or myself when I was there are being paid to perform our functions. There is no need therefore for gratitude, and no matter what is done for him, following this theory the Hopi has the right to kick. Anyone dealing with them must be prepared to meet and handle insulting attitudes arising from this belief. Thus if at a meeting I told a leader that I would not continue talking with him if he called me a liar or doubted my honesty, or if he was obviously wasting my time, I would be told that I was paid to do this and therefore I should stand for whatever they said. The answer to this -- which may prove useful to other negotiators -- was that I was paid to do useful work for the Indian Service and it would be wasting the Government's money for me to take time dealing with individuals who behaved in an impossible manner.

HOPI GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM

Roughly speaking, the governmental system is that of the Pueblos prior to the coming of the Spaniards, slightly broken down by American governmental interference. It is, of course, a pure theocracy. The controlling group is made up of the so-called chiefs, who are each the head of a particular line of ceremony. They are succeeded by an individual chosen by them from among their sisters' sons. At the head stands the Kikmongwi -- literally "Houses-Chief". All the ceremonial lines lead into him, and he has true authority in the villages, but like the cacique in the pueblos it is not proper for such

154836

HP017936

an individual to be mixed up in ordinary quarrels. Somebody might speak insultingly to him, or he might be forced to perform some violent or unworthy action. In his religious capacity, he must keep away from strife. Therefore he is sheltered, and while he exercises real authority, must be protected from unpleasant contacts. Several well meaning attempts by the Indian Service to give authority to chiefs have failed because they forced them into public activities of a profane nature inconsistent with their religious position. Thus a chief cannot act as judge. Hence the constitution gives the Kikmongwi the controlling authority to certify representatives to the council and new members for adoption, but ascribes to him almost no other specific functions.

Yet there is no question of the ultimate authority of these men in most of the villages. This authority is exercised through persuasion and the influence of the general reverence for the Kikmongwi. He must not be ignored, but he must be approached with great caution, and anyone dealing with him must remember that he is absolutely bound by the dictates of his religion. As will occur in any society, it will frequently be found that there is a controlling power behind the throne. Hale Secakuku at Siipaulavi and Peter Nivamsu at Shongopovi, each the chosen heir to the Kikmongwi, are such powers, as is Dan Kotchongva at Hotevilla, the son of the former chief. At Bakabi, First Mesa, and perhaps among the Moenkopi conservatives the chief himself rules. At Mishongovi the chieftainship passes in rotation among several men, with the result that the individual in office is unusually unwilling to issue orders. The character of the individual of course causes tremendous variation in the secular activity of

154837

HP017937

different chiefs. Kiwanemtiwa of Pakabi appears as a representative for that village on the first council. This is most unexpected. But Kiwanemtiwa does not come from a chiefly line, and lacks some of the sacred paraphernalia of a true chief. The village of Pakabi formed around him since 1910, and he is a self-made Kikmongwi.

MEETINGS AND DECISIONS

It is very significant that even after the subject of the constitution had been discussed throughout the villages for two months, general meetings were very badly attended. In no case did ten per cent of the voting population of a village attend one. The decisive general meeting is alien to the Hopi way of doing, and such meeting at which an official presents a proposition is looked upon either as merely initiating consideration, or else as an attempt to trap them into a hasty commitment.

Similarly, it is alien to them to settle matters out of hand by a majority vote. Such a vote leaves a dissatisfied minority, which makes them very uneasy. Their natural way of doing is to discuss among themselves at great length and group by group until public opinion as a whole has settled overwhelmingly in one direction. It is during this process, too, that the Kikmongwi can exert his influence without entering into disputes. In actual practice this system is democratic, but it works differently from ours.

Opposition is expressed by abstention. Those who are against something stay away from meetings at which it is to be discussed and generally refuse to vote on it. In this way they keep their hands clean, and are free later on to refuse to abide by the majority decision. One of a negotiator's main difficulties is to make contact

154838

HP017938

with individuals who have decided in advance that they don't like the thing he has come to urge.

Decisions are made after the manner of a political caucus, and if sufficient patience is exercised a relative unanimity can be secured by the Hopi method. The negative type of opposition is a method of refusing to be bound by the caucus. No amount of explaining could convince conservative Hopis that it was right that their failure to vote against the Reorganization Act had not been counted as so many negative votes. This must be borne in mind in judging from the results of a referendum the heartiness of tribal support of the measure in question.

FORMALISM

I shall show later on the extravagant claims and extremely difficult ideas by which the Hopis are guided. In many cases these conflict violently with obvious common sense. The same thing applies to the ceremonial requirement that the Kikmongwi must not budge an inch from the Hopi path. A patient and sympathetic negotiator can frequently get around the difficulties thus arising by recognizing that in many cases the requirements are merely formal. Thus a group of chiefs at Mishongnovi put forth to me one of the grotesquely wide Hopi claims to land, and then carefully explained that as chiefs it was necessary for them to adhere to this claim, but of course they knew it was not a practical matter. Further examples of this recur in other places.

154839

HOPI PROGRESSIVISM

Whether one likes or dislikes the Hopis he must admit that they

HP017939

are in some ways one of the most promising tribes in the United States. More than any other tribe known to me they are attempting to make conscious and intelligent selection from the good things of both white and Hopi culture. Roughly speaking, they tend to absorb and master our material techniques and improvements while retaining with full force their own aesthetic, religious, social, and spiritual values. This type of man, dominant in the tribe, can be truly termed a progressive.

In contrast are two elements, true conservatives and self-styled progressives who might properly be labeled Smarties. These latter are individuals, sometimes Christian and sometimes not, who are social misfits and generally unstable and unreliable. ~~individu-als~~. Most of this group speaks fluent English and knows how to yes the government officials along. Unreasonable recognition of these individuals as leaders and spokesmen for their villages has been a real factor in building distrust of the government and suspicion of any scheme of representation.

154840

SURVEY OF THE VILLAGES

First Mesa

Until the present constitution, this was regarded as three villages -- Walpi, Shichumovi and Tewa, under the vague leadership of the Walpi chief. There has always been a strong feeling of unity, however. Due to the influence of the Tewas, and a considerable inter mixture with the Navajos, this village shows the least of the unpleas ant Hopi characteristics listed above. The consolidated village has a population of over 800. Lying only thirteen miles from the agency, it is the most accustomed to contact with the government, and in

general the easiest to deal with. Administrators must remember that the Tewas preserve their identity, and the consolidation is based on various understandings between them and the Hopis. Two of the four representatives from First Mesa to the first council are Tewas, and were probably picked by them. There are five men here who have the title of Kikmongwi, but Kutka of Walpi, Bear Clan Kikmongwi, is indisputably chief. Next after him comes Tunewa, who in point of influence is almost equally important, then Honi, and then Maho who has very little standing as he is a stupid little man. Sateli is Kikmongwi of the Tewas, and should probably be ranked after the first two. The representatives from this mesa should be a valuable element in the council.

Traditionally, Walpi is subordinate to the central village of Shongopovi. This does not mean that the latter can give it orders. Walpi is placed to the east as an outpost, then on top of that the Tewas are the outposts and guardians of the whole tribe. First Mesa should take up and examine any new thing. Hence, it was ceremonially correct for me to hold my first meeting there, and have the first draft of the constitution made by a First Mesa committee.

The people of First Mesa take readily to stock raising, particularly cattle. This is in sharp contrast to their neighbors to the west. An extremely fruitful source of trouble in the tribe is the row between farmers who will not fence their land because it is their immemorial right not to and stockmen whose animals refuse to memorize the Hopi tradition. Feeling between First Mesa and Mishongnovi is acute on this subject.

154841

HP017941

Mishongnovi

This village is at once extremely conservative and badly broken up. It appears entirely to lack outstanding leaders, and the younger men who have good educations are anti-social troublemakers. Perhaps the soundest individual there is a deaf man called Luke _____. More than any other, this village is disrupted by Colonel Billingsley, to whom we shall devote a special section. Mutual suspicion reaches its highest point here, and here, too, the white man seems to be most hated. The group of chiefs with whom I dealt recognized over and over again that their interpreters were hopelessly inadequate, yet they would not use any of the young men who spoke good English -- and in this I was inclined to think they were justified -- nor could they think of any individual in any other village whom they would trust as an interpreter. All the Hopi villages are filthy, but this one is the worst of the lot.

Sipaulavi

This village was founded by men chosen from Shongopovi when they rose against the Spaniards, so that there should be some of the central line of the Hopi tribe who took no part in warfare. Its relation with Shongopovi remains very close. In all of these villages one must be prepared to find men who are chiefs and attend councils in some other village, due to the matrilocal system by which a man lives in his wife's house, but remains a citizen entirely of his native place. This is particularly pronounced between Sipaulavi and Shongopovi.

An interesting situation is developing here, in that the next Kikmongwi will be Hale Secakuku, a well educated and thoroughly

154842

HP017942

progressive young man. He is already distinctly a leader, and is much trusted by his uncles the two leading chiefs. His elder brother is the notorious Hopi Joe who runs a curio store in Flagstaff and has become nothing but a cheap circus Indian. Joe is very smart, and has a good deal of influence over Hale; this influence is a threat to Hale's success in the interesting position of an educated, up-to-date theocrat.

The Kikmongwi of this village is Frank Masakwaptiwa, and the second in command is Charlie Hómihungva, elderly men and reasonable enough, although very Hopi in their outlook. The English first names were put upon them by Indian Service employees who are reluctant to learn Indian names.

Shongopovi

This village regards itself as the true centre, a claim which is fairly generally recognized by the rest of the tribe. It is dominated by a reasonable conservatism, with a minority faction of Billingsley followers and a few younger men of the smarty type. I found its leaders good men to deal with. There seems to be an element here of greater vigor, despite a very earnest adherence to the pacifist doctrine. A superintendent named, I believe, Nelson and a large force of Navajo police were badly beaten and driven out of the village in a hand to hand fight without weapons.

The Kikmongwi is Talahevtiwa, a sincere and intelligent elderly man who has been but little touched by white culture. He is dominated to some degree by Peter Nivamsu, who will be his successor. Nivamsu represents the best type of Hopi progressivism. He speaks good English, is a competent interpreter, drives a Chevrolet truck

154843

HP017943

and lives cleanly in a clean and modern house, while wearing his hair long and adhering completely to the spiritual values of the Hopi tradition. He is a forceful man with an excellent mind and a natural gift for leadership. His eventual accession to the position of Kikmongwi should produce developments even more interesting than Secakuku will produce at Sipaulavi, provided that he is not driven into antagonism by governmental ignorance.

Another figure of importance here is Joab Kivahema (the name is pronounced keevayma, the form in which it is written is a typical example of the official spelling of Indian names). Joab is Kachina Chief and speaks fluent English. Apparently educated and on the surface a man one would take to be a progressive, he is actually blindly conservative and was finally decided against the constitution by the fact that the yes vote was indicated by an x, which is merely a cross drawn at an angle, and the cross is the sign the Spaniards brought with them when they came to the Hopi villages.

As the aboriginal village, Shongopovi has a specific claim, distinct from the general tribal claim, to an enormous area of land which includes the site of the new high school at Oraibi and a considerable portion of the San Francisco Mountains. One effect of this claim is a bitter resentment towards the encroachment of the Kyakotsmovi and Navajo stockmen on lands to the south of the village. Shongopovi is on the whole an anti-stock village. It objects very reasonably to the development of watering places within the area of its fields, saying that in the nature of the cow and sheep those animals must come where there is water, even if there is a fence which prevents them getting to it, that their feet cut trails which

154844

HP017944

then wash out, that first they eat the grass and then the roots, and that by and by the land all turns to dust and their fields are destroyed. In other words these people have grasped a sound principle of soil conservation. They themselves run some sheep, but at a long distance from the village.

Kyakotsmovi

This village, commonly mis-called Oraibi and New Oraibi, is settled by progressives who have broken away from the Oraibi chief since the original troubles there. The majority of the population follows the Hopi religion in an incomplete and irregular manner, while an important minority is actively Christian. The Christians are the more vocal and give an impression of greater dominance than they actually possess. The most beautiful butterfly dance that I have ever witnessed, and which many Indians both from other villages and from the Rio Grande said was outstanding, was a revival of an old Hopi variant put on this year by the older school children prior to their return to the non-reservation boarding schools.

These people, whose way of life has been materially improved by white contact, and who through their friendly approach to officials probably get more than their fair share of jobs, retain the same violent sense of grievance against the government as the more conservative villages. Having partially lost the basic Hopi values they retain the characteristic materialism, self-seeking, smugness and quarrelsomeness, which with their somewhat confused progressivism makes them the least attractive group to deal with.

154845

Like First Mesa, this village takes readily to punching cattle and quite naturally resents Shongopovi's attempt to keep them off range to the southward claimed by that village. At the same time

HP017945

they do tend to push their cattle too close in towards Shongopovi's fields and perhaps to occupy range which is needed by shepherds from the older village.

They are organized into a genuine local council with a president, Otto Lomavitu (replaced by Nakwayestiwa since he became Chairman of the Tribal Council), an outstanding Christian and perhaps the best educated man on the reservation. Otto has slowly evolved from an early phase of violent hostility to all things Hopi into a relatively moderate and balanced progressive. His chief disadvantage is that he has entirely lost the sense of being placed, the security of establishment in a socio-religious organization which is the fundamental moral support of the Pueblo Indian. To replace this he seeks for importance in the eyes of white men, the trappings of non-Indian achievement, and new forms of spectacular leadership among his own people. This makes it very difficult for him not to orate out of turn, and gives him a tendency to take the white man's gestures. He is a person who can be particularly easily influenced by the suggestions, good or bad, of white men whom he knows to be important. He also keeps a very sharp eye out for his own material advantages.

He has the general reputation of being an absolutely honest interpreter with a remarkable command of Hopi as well as of English. However, his early anti-Hopi violence established him as the great antagonist of the Hopi path, and under the pattern described above the bulk of the tribe insists on holding him in that position. He should not be used when dealing with conservative groups or chiefs, unless those groups spontaneously ask for him.

154846

Regardless of this village's shiny progressivism, all of it

HP017946

including the Christians is emotionally dominated by the old Hopi tradition.

Oraibi

Twenty years ago this village which now has a population of about seventy-five, contained some nine hundred souls. From it were settled Kyakotsmovi, Pakabi, Hotevilla, and Moenkopi, and wherever its settlers went they carried with them the poison of the Oraibi tradition discussed later.

When the former chief Lololomai returned from Washington he announced that the new dispensation had come, that the people would now accept the white man's schools, and that in accordance with the tradition Oraibi must break up. In line with this policy, he sent colonists to the village of Moenkopi. Yukeyouma, chief of a group formed by the Spirit, Sand, and Spider clans, who had direct control over the assignment of land, differed with Lololomai. It is said that this difference and the ensuing quarrel were pre-arranged between the two in order to fulfill the prophecy. At any rate, there was a free-for-all row at Oraibi after which Yukeyouma led his group of arch conservatives to Hotevilla. Oraibi had accepted progress, but it was not emotionally prepared for the step it had taken. Dissension in the village steadily increased. Lololomai was succeeded by the present chief, Tawakwaptiwa, a violent and bewildered man who in his old age seems not quite sane. His mission is to destroy his village, while continuing until the end such parts of the ceremonial as are possible. Kyakotsmovi was settled mainly during his administration. There is violent hostility between him and the people who have moved out, and the strain of this and of seeing his village

I54847

HP017947

dwindle to nothing and of real persecution from various superintendents had been too much for the old man. His mind is solely occupied with past wrongs -- it is hopeless to attempt reasonable negotiations with him.

His emotional state is aggravated by two factors. First, the Christians led by Johnson, the former chief of the Two-Horned Machina ceremony and a demoniac Christian, will not leave him alone. Second, the greater part of the village of Kyakotsmovi is settled upon his clan lands, which are extensive far beyond his needs. It is partly for this reason, and partly because the newer villages have no traditional clan holdings that a distinction in regard to land ownership is made in the constitution, recognizing the clan lands of villages east of Oraibi wash, and use-occupancy west of there. More of the peculiar situation here will be brought out in discussing the Hopi tradition.

In ancient times the Oraibi chief seems to have exercised some leadership over the tribe as a whole. At present the chief of Moenkopi recognizes him as his superior, but elsewhere he is regarded with impatience and it is freely said that he is crazy.

Pakabi

From here on we deal with villages which due to the manner in which they were founded have chiefs who are not Bear Clan, and are therefore not in the true royal line. Pakabi was founded by Kiwanemtiwa who originally followed Yukayouma to Hotevilla. After a short time he changed his mind and returned to Oraibi with a group of followers, but Lololomai refused to let them return, since the tradition said that those who once left Oraibi could never come back.

154848

HP017948

E. then settled at Pakabi, and around him grew up a village of about 150 people. Consciously progressive, and with a selfmade chief who believes in coöperation with the Government, they have formed an extremely pleasant little group. In contrast to the filth of other villages, this one is proud of its cleanliness, and will compare in appearance to the Rio Grande Pueblos. Of all the descendants of Oraibi, this is the only one which is not poisoned by the emotional conflicts of the Oraibi tradition. It has quite happily accepted the combination of progress with retention of Hopi values which comes so naturally to First Mesa. Its people seem to have less sens of grievance than the other villages.

The chief is now in his fifties. He speaks no English but is none the less a reasonably open-minded man to deal with. He is careful always to emphasize the fact that he is not a true Kikmongwi since he is not Bear Clan and lacks some of the sacred paraphernalia He looks to his fathers the true chiefs for guidance -- in practice mainly Kutka of Walpi. Being a little unsure of his prestige, he is a man who should be approached with flattering formality. He seems to be a real leader of his village, but this may partly be because he has a keen sense for the trend of public opinion and then knows how to get out in front.

This village has no competent interpreter, and when dealing with the chief he should be allowed to select one from another village, which will probably be First Mesa. 154849

Hotevilla

Yukeyouma brought a fair number of lesser chiefs with him, and between them they seem to have manufactured all the paraphernalia

HP017949

and created all the further chiefs necessary to have a full hierarchy. They regard it as their sacred trust to maintain a rigid attitude of hostility to the Government, which does not conflict with grabbing every benefit and free handout which comes their way, and yelling for more. The best of the older Hotevillas will insist on making some small payment, such as a basket of peaches, for things given them so that they may technically avoid receiving a gift from their enemy. The official policy seeks to be benefitted by force and over protest, thus keeping themselves ceremonially clean and retaining freedom to look every gift horse in the mouth, which they always do. The people are industrious, frugal, and prosperous. They are more conservative in material culture than any other village. As the village is a homogeneous unit with no factions and the people think clearly in questions of their own advantage they are not bad to deal with in local matters. They have a real grievance in that the Navajos have been allowed to occupy part of the grazing country in Dinnebito Valley within a very few miles of Hotevilla, which should rightly be the Hopis' horse pasturage.

154850

The present chief has the English name of James P. George, but his name is Chuhoingva. He is a man in his early thirties, mild and rather fanatic by nature, speaking very little English and completely dominated by Dan Kotchongva. This latter individual is the son of Yukeyouma, and was brought up by his father in an intensely fanatic belief of Hotevillas's peculiar version of the tradition. Suave, intelligent, stubborn, and able he is the real master of the village. He is a very pleasant man to deal with personally but his committment to hostility towards the Government is too well established to allow

HP017950

him to change. The degree of his control and the general attitude is shown by the Hotevilla vote on the constitution -- 12 in favour and 1 opposed. That means that there were only 13 people in the village willing to go to the polls at all out of a potential voting population of 250, Kotchongva having announced that he would have nothing to do with so un-Hopi a thing as a referendum.

Here also we see perfectly illustrated the Hopi method of opposition. The Hotevilla leaders did not work against the constitution, but merely announced that they would not touch it. On the day of the referendum they went to their fields to work. They said that everybody else was free to do as he desired. The result, abstention of almost the whole village from voting, should be interpreted as a heavy opposition vote.

Hotevilla's character and ideas are not peculiar, but are an emphatic form of the general Hopi pattern. 154851

Moenkopi

Moenkopi existed as a summer colony for farming from Oraibi since relatively ancient times, but was abandoned a few generations ago due to the raids of the Pah-Utes who were then the only occupants of the present Western Navajo Jurisdiction. Every wild tribe in contact with them always raided the Hopis. An alliance with the Mormons made reoccupation of Moenkopi possible in the 1850's, and it reached its present size of about 450 when Lololomai instituted his policy of breaking up Oraibi. The chief is definitely a subordinate to the Oraibi chief. The present incumbent, Frank Siemtiwa, belongs to the Tobacco Clan. There is some question as to the correctness of his accession to office. He was educated at Phoenix, but has become

irreconciliably hostile to the white man. He is to some degree dominated by a group of older men in his village, and is very much under the influence of Tawakwaptiwa.]

This village is hopelessly split into two factions, the primary cause of which is the emotional impossibility of following completely the Oraibi tradition. [This will be gone into more carefully in discussing the tradition.] The conservative faction lives in the old village under the edge of the mesa, follows its Kikmongwi and looks to Oraibi for its ultimate leadership. In theory it will have nothing to do with European innovations and is as hostile to the Government as Hotevilla. In practice, the young men of this faction hold a greater proportion of government jobs than do the progressives, and such statements as the one made to me that they do not even drink coffee because it is a white man's innovation are demonstrably ridiculous.

154852

The progressive faction lives partly in the old village, partly on top of the mesa a few hundred yards away. Their nucleus is a group which long ago accepted allotments from the Government, and at that time believed that they were ready to abandon the Hopi way of life entirely, in fulfillment of their tradition. This abandonment was emotionally impossible, and the progressive group today probably has a more complete line of ceremonial than the conservative. To this group then adhered increasing numbers of individuals, mainly young, who wished to live a more progressive life. With the split, one kiva remained in the hands of the conservatives, the other was held by the progressives. A third group of reasonable older men led by Nasinemtiwa, the Kachina Chief, attempted to stay neutral, but

HP017952

has been forced into the progressive fold by the extremeness of the conservative attitude. Nasinemtiwa built a third kiva, intending that it should serve as a neutral meeting ground and enable both sides to join in maintaining certain important ceremonies. The conservatives, following their doctrine that anyone who has any dealings with the Government must thereupon abandon the Hopi path entirely, first tried to keep the progressives out of the kiva by force and then to wreck it. It will be seen how inconsistent this is with the government jobs held by members of the conservative faction.

The progressives include a considerable number of well educated and fairly intelligent men. Their leader is Pohli, an elderly man who speaks fair English and is a good fighter.

The situation is complicated by external factors. Having been until recently under the Western Navajo Jurisdiction, and distant only a mile from the agency, various superintendents there have intervened blindly in village affairs. Much trouble was caused by the formation of a council in which only a portion of the progressives took part and which of course conflicted fundamentally with the position of the Kikmongwi. The younger progressives have received no benefit from being organized into a band which goes to play at rodeos and other such functions in towns along the railroad, or from being hired to put on dances there.

The feeling of hostility between these two groups is violent and constantly threatens to break out in the use of force. The Hopi being what they are, it is hard to say how real this threat is. Each side accuses the other of being ready for violence.

154853

HP017953

A special provision in the constitution divides the representation from Moenkopi to the tribal council, one representative from the progressives (Upper District) and one from the conservatives (Lower District). This was inserted in the belief that the progressives could muster sufficient votes formally to organize the village along modern lines, which would ordinarily give them control of the internal affairs of the village and of the delegation to the council. The provision ensures that the conservative group can have a voice so long as there is anything left of it, while this arrangement can be repealed when the conservatives have ceased to exist. Characteristically, this group along with Oraibi and Hotevilla sent no representative to the first council, but because of the likelihood of persecution of the minority group at Moenkopi, their right to a representative should be carefully preserved until the situation has fundamentally changed.

I have spoken of the time when the conservative faction will cease to exist. The younger members mainly adhere to it only out of respect for their elders, and I believe that within twenty years it will have dissolved.

154854

THE HOPI PATH

This is the road which the Hopis must follow as long as they are to remain Hopis. The doctrine is founded upon the Hopi tradition or prophecy, a sort of Koranic law based partly on past happenings, actual or mythological, and partly upon prophecies of what is to come. The doctrine which I am about to describe will sound ridiculous to the average white man, and most government employees, such as

HP017954

former Superintendent Crane, who having heard some part of it dismissed it as being too absurd for consideration. Absurd or not, it is absolutely controlling for seventy-five per cent of the Hopi tribe, for which they would be willing to lay down their lives, and for the remainder, Christians and all, it is emotionally dominant. Save by entirely destroying the integrity of a very remarkable group of people, nothing can be done with the Hopis without treating the tradition and the path with the utmost seriousness and respect. I believe that an important factor in my unexpected success with this tribe was ~~due to~~ my willingness to allow what most white men would regard as a purely political discussion to be handled half the time as a matter of theology.

In the beginning the Hopi and the White Brother ("not just our friend, our brother") came out of the same place and then separated. The White Brother went east, the Hopi settled at Shongopovi. With the Hopi came the Wickedness, and because the Wickedness had something important to do with the ceremonies, he was allowed to stay. This Wickedness relates to witchcraft, sin in general, and to Masewa, the Spirit of the Spirit Clan.

154855

Now all the world between the two oceans belonged to the Hopi. As evidence of this the White Brother gave him a sign, a circle divided by an equilateral cross. This is the "sign of the four directions" drawn in cornmeal at the end of the snake dance. Owing to the presence of the Wickedness much evil has developed and must develop among the Hopis. There must be witchcraft and dissension and loss of land. There will arise false chiefs who will claim leadership to which they have no right. In due time the white man would turn up,

HP017955

and he would push the Hopis around and tread on their feet. He would also see their precious things, their ceremonies and their prayers, and would attempt to steal them. In the end the White Brother will come back from the east, bearing the sign under his arm. He will destroy the Wickedness ("cut off the head of the two-hearted man"), -- this is universally understood to mean that some person or persons will be physically killed -- and the millenium will ensue. Here the doctrine varies. According to some, notably Hotevilla, boundaries will be erased, the Hopis and white men will intermarry, Hopis will learn the wisdom of the white men and white men will learn the Hopi religion. Fundamentally this is conceived as an absorption of the white man by the Hopi tribe. According to most, the territory rightfully belonging to the Hopis will be cleared of all intruders and turned over to them. From the White Brother the Hopis will receive a much more abundant life in all matters of material as well as spiritual welfare. According to the Oraibi interpretation, reference to abandoning Hopi ways of living is interpreted as meaning complete abandonment of the Hopi path, and the Hopi tribe and all things Hopi will come to an entire end.

154856

The claim to the world between the two oceans, which generally boils down to a more reasonable claim of about half the state of Arizona, is not understood as meaning exclusive habitation. It relates to the fact that Hopi ceremonies are held not only for the Hopis but to maintain the welfare of the whole world, and also to the location of shrines of importance and the eagle hunting territories at places far removed from the villages. It is essentially a spiritual overlordship, plus a demand for access to and protection of the shrines

HP017956

and a restoration of ancient hunting privileges. This issue is confused by growing competition for actual use of land between Navajo and Hopi stockmen and actual encroachment of the Navajos upon the Hopis in a few sections.

Before going on to show the effects of this tradition in the present day, a few more historical or legendary events must be noted.

The first intruder was the Pah-Ute. After him came the Navajo, who received permission from the Hopi to occupy some of the land and who agreed that eventually he would cut his hair in the Hopi style and become orderly and docile like a Hopi. Then came the Spaniard, whom the Hopis at first mistook for the White Brother, but the Spaniard raised merry hell and was finally driven out. He left the cross as his sign, and on account of him the Hopi moved up on top of the mesas. For this reason the Hopi will not negotiate with a Mexican or a Catholic. Then the white man came and it was thought that he might be the White Brother. A delegation of Hopis went to a white general at Fort Wingate some time around 1860 and had a conversation with him as follows:

"Whom do you want beheaded?"

154857

"We do not want our children disturbed."

"Shall I come and kill an animal?"

"We do not want our children disturbed."

The same answer was given to "Shall I come and knock down the chimney pots? Shall I come and throw a sheepskin up in the air?" Then the general told them, "All right. You people who are astride of your mesa, you'd better let one leg hang down."

This means that first the general offered to fulfill the prophecy

HP017957

of the White Brother and destroy the Wickedness. Then, also following the lines of the prophecy, he offered to bring in decreasing degrees of disturbance which should initiate the next series of events. The Hopis, being relatively reasonable men from First Mesa, preferred to be let alone. The general then told them to spread out from their mesa and occupy more farming land so as to establish their claim to it. One would like to see the General's account of this conversation.

Kit Carson gave the Hopis to understand that if they cooperated with him in his campaign they would be rid of the Navajos for ever, but later on the government put the Navajos back and for some insane reason gave them joint ownership in the Hopi reservation.

Mythological events, the Spanish invasion and the words of Kit Carson remain equally fresh and clear in the Hopi mind.

A tradition such as this, full of mystical references and passages as obscure as the conversation quoted, is open to the widest variety of interpretation. In the doctrine of fundamental Hopi superiority and the ultimate millenium there is a strong element of wish fulfillment. It is open to any individual to interpret events and passages in the tradition in such a way as to make any part of the prophecy come true. At the same time, the expectation of a millenium has about as vicious an influence upon these Indians as any doctrine one could think of.

We now come to the application of this tradition at the present time. In the villages east of Oraibi and its descendents it is commonly accepted that the Hopi religion must be continued into the far future for the sake of all mankind. It is also accepted that one may remain on the Hopi path while cooperating in a reasonable way with the government.

154858

HP017958

At First Mesa, perhaps partly due to Tewa influence, the coming of the White Brother is thought of in a fairly reasonable way. There is a close relationship between the white man and the White Brother, and the Indians do not expect a miraculous dispensation which will give them the moon so much as that eventually the white man will come to understand them and treat them justly. This point of view include the idea that the Hopis should make an effort themselves to get the good things they want.

At Second Mesa the expectation of a millenium is strong, and it is upon this that Colonel Billingsley has played. These people point out that the era of false chiefs and of being jostled by the white man has certainly arrived, and that in fact the white man has attempted many times to "steal" their ceremonies. An example of the application of the prophecy to a practical matter is seen in the idea at Shongopovi that the general distribution of improved tools to rich and poor alike which is part of the millenium is realized in the revolving loan fund, for which the tribe must apply and which must be used for such distribution of tools. The fact that in his visit the Commissioner assured the tribe that this fund need never be repaid fits perfectly with the prophecy according to Shongopovi.

We now come to the special Oraibi form of the tradition. According to it the Hopi must leave his path and cease to be a Hopi when the White Brother came, and Lololomai decided that he had come. Therefore Oraibi must be destroyed, and no one who leaves it may return. The instant any individual accepts any part of the new dispensation brought by the white man, no matter how small, he must abandon the old religion entirely. The mild practice of ceremonies at Kyakotsmo

154859

HP017959

and their thriving practice by the Moenkopi progressives are matters of acute pain to Tawakwaptiwa, and Siemtiwa, who consider them blasphemous. But, unable to bear the emotional strain of watching all their old ways die, these two strict interpretationists violate their own doctrine since Siemtiwa and his followers return constantly to Oraibi to help the chief there with ceremonies for which he no longer has enough people of his own. To the other Hopis their doctrine is ridiculous and at the same time they themselves are charged with inconsistency, which is so grave a fault among the Hopis.

The non-Christian progressives at Kyakotsmovi and Moenkopi originally intended to follow the same doctrine, but again were emotionally unable to give up their old ways. The people at Moenkopi admit frankly that they are inconsistent, but with a logic which transcends mere argument say that anyhow they intend to keep on the way they are going.

154860

Hotevilla entirely rejects the thesis that the White Brother has arrived, while accepting the whole Oraibi tradition. Hence its rigid attitude of hostility, any relaxation from which on the part of their chiefs would require them to give up their religion and would probably mean that the White Brother would never come. At Shongopovi, where in fact I believe the Hopi religion exists in a very pure form, the chiefs decided that the constitution was not the final dispensation, a great disappointment to them, but that it was at least a temporary measure to alleviate bad conditions, and might help bring the millenium nearer. At Hotevilla, with the intellectual rigidity of Oraibi's children, the fact that it was not the final dispensation was sufficient reason for having nothing to do with it. No matter what benefit

HP017960

it brought, it would be religiously fatal to make any positive gesture towards it. Well fed and well clothed, and deeply grieved by the manifold abuses which are being so constantly heaped upon them, Hotevilla will keep itself pure while it waits "with tears in our eyes" for the White Brother. Hotevilla and Oraibi each regard themselves as the sole remaining repositories of the true religion. The emotional force of these strange beliefs must not be underestimated. At the same time, with care and patience the effect of them can be minimized since in many respects the rigid attitudes which they require are formal and ceremonial rather than purely practical.

I do not know how Pakabi has freed itself from the Oraibi doctrine, but it seems to be a village mentally at ease while compromising happily with progress and retention of the old religion. Its whole attitude resembles that of First Mesa.

The Christians of Moenkopi and Kyakotsmovi are really the only ones whose behaviour is perfectly orthodox according to this version. They have abandoned the Hopi way, they have completely accepted the white man's path, and entirely rejected all vestiges of the old social organization. They themselves are keenly aware of the Hopi orthodoxy of their position, and refer to it freely in argument. Johnson, the chief of the Two-Horned Kachina ceremony, was persuaded by the missionaries to burn all the paraphrenalia of his ceremony in a big public function. When Mr. Hubbell tried to persuade him to let this priceless material at least go to a museum he answered that the prophecy said that when the White Brother came all these things must be destroyed, and Mr. Hubbell then knew that it was useless to argue with him.

154861

HP017961

CONSTITUTION AND THE HOPI PATH

Anyone dealing with the Hopis should have a clear understanding of the spirit of certain points in the Hopi constitution, which are not self-evident. It was necessary to write a constitution which would be completely in line with the Hopi path and which at the same time would not crystallize unchangeably a situation which is probably in a state of flux.

Article I -- Jurisdiction

It will be noticed that the word "boundary" is not mentioned in this article. Boundary suggests hemming in, contrary to the tradition. The matter should be handled in language which suggests the de facto establishment of actual control. In line with the formalism previously mentioned, suitable agreements can be reached under this article provided that the Hopis are not asked to accept wording which would appear to abandon the ceremonial claim. As previously stated, this matter will be greatly facilitated if ceremonial requirements are met by action to establish Hopi rights in their outlying shrines.

154862

Article II -- Membership

The requirements for membership are based on the Hopi pattern of descent through the mother. The degree-of-blood provision was worked out by the consideration of specific cases. In the provisions for adoption the present Hopi system is concealed, while yet making it possible for such villages as Kyakotsmovi to adopt a more modern procedure. The key to the matter lies in the sentence "According to the way of doing established in that village, the Kikmongwi may accept [the applicant for membership], and shall tell the tribal council." The established way of doing is the initiation ceremony, with final acceptance by the Kikmongwi, but at the same time it is left open for

HP017962

progressive villages to establish a different way.

Article III -- Organization

Sections 3 and 4 of this article are drawn up so as to allow any village which so desires to retain all or part of its present organization, and at the same time provide a means of modernizing whenever a majority of the members of that village so desire. It will also be seen from this article and throughout the constitution that a considerable degree of village autonomy has been preserved. This is in necessary recognition of the fact that these villages have hitherto functioned as independent tribes.

Article IV -- Tribal Council

It is vital that the significance of Section 4 be fully understood. "Each village shall decide for itself how it shall choose its representatives..." There is no mention here of popular election. Where a majority desires to establish such election, it may do so via modernized village organization as provided in Article III. The question of whether or not to follow our democratic concept is again left up to each individual village, as it is their fundamental right to decide this matter for themselves. At the present time most villages will choose their representatives by the slow process of discussion and reflection and the guidance of the Kikmongwi previously described.

"Representatives shall be recognized by the Council only if they are certified by the Kikmongwi of their respective villages." This is the key item establishing the Kikmongwi's position in the new organization. It gives him an ultimate control without involving him in electoral controversy. But it will be remembered that Section 4 of Article III provides that when a village organizes it may set up

154863

HP017963

an official possessing the Kikmongwi's functions. Thus the power of the traditional chief is retained in each village only so long as that village may desire it.

Article VII -- Land

As previously indicated, this Article recognizes a sharp distinction between the villages east of Oraibi Wash which still retain their clan holdings on the one hand, and on the other Oraibi itself which has lost much of its holdings and its descendant villages who never established them. The clan holdings tie in with complex matters of plots assigned to ceremonial officials in return for their services. The administration of these areas and the village holdings west of Oraibi Wash is intentionally put entirely in the hands of the villages concerned. Questions involved are too complex for the intervention of the Indian or Soil Conservation Services, save to protect the rights of use-occupancy guaranteed in Section 1.

The older villages also have wider claims extending far beyond the clan holdings. After a good deal of discussion the Hopis were finally led to agree that these claims, which in many cases conflict, should be adjudicated by the tribal council under its power to supervise the use of unoccupied land beyond the clan and village holdings. Apart from these claims the Hopis conceive of the outlying land as a sort of public domain, and reserve for an increasing population.

The provision for supervision of the use of the public domain by the tribal council, taken in conjunction with Sections 2 and 4, allows for range and conservation control of this territory by the government. However, the need of tact in handling this matter cannot

154864

HP017964

be too emphatically urged.

The section in regard to springs was worked out after long debate on the basis of several specific examples. Albert Yeva developed by his own efforts a spring on land which he had inherited. It was agreed that his first right to use it should be protected. Byron Adams fenced in a spring developed by the E.C.W. and will allow no one to use it, and the Christians at Sunrise Mission are attempting to do the same thing. This assertion of exclusive use had to be prevented. The balance in the right of the tribe generally to use a source of water on land controlled by an individual or group is held in the words "No individual or group of individuals shall be allowed to prevent the reasonable use of any spring by members of the tribe generally..." The word reasonable was the one seized upon by the drafting committee, and is the word which must be most carefully interpreted by all administrators.

154865

TWO PERSONALITIES

Various individuals of major importance have been mentioned in this discussion. It is not possible to name every leader. There are two individuals, however, who must be given space before closing.

Colonal Billingsley

I do not know what kind of a colonel this gentleman may be. He is a white man, more or less of a circus impresario and a Master Mason, who lives near Phoenix. One may charitably assume that his intentions toward the Hopis are good and that he believes what he say but the assumption requires plenty of charity. He has been completel rejected by all the Hopis save those of Second Mesa, where he has an important and devoted following.

HP017965

His influence depends upon the tradition of the White Brother and a strange distortion of the facts about the Masonic order. Playing upon the Hopis' belief in a Messiah who will solve all their problems, and a far-fetched parallel between Free Masonry and their esoteric societies and ceremonies, he has convinced large numbers of these people that the Masons are their blood brothers and will eventually through their great power cause the most extravagant of their claims to be satisfied. He takes various Indians on trips through the United States and Canada where they perform distorted portions of Hopi ceremonies and "adopt" all sorts of people into the tribe. He so successfully plays upon his white victims that they approach the unfortunate Indians in his train with the most tremendous respect and admiration, such as those individuals never receive otherwise, convincing them that indeed he and the vast sources at his command are causing the white race to give the Hopi his due.

For these adoptions Colonel Billingsley receives sizable sums of money. Gullible whites do actually believe themselves to be members of the tribe, and that the individuals who adopted them are chiefs of high rank. When those Indians are at home they are beseiged by fan mail.

The effect of this upon his followers is vicious in two ways. First, it leads them to believe that the ultimate solution of all their problems is about to be brought them on a silver platter, and vitiates their thinking on matters affecting their welfare. Second, it badly spoils them, turning them into most objectionable and self-important professional Indians. The chicanery to which they lend themselves cannot but undermine their moral fibre in the end.

154366

HP017966

To the mass of the tribe Colonel Billingsley is offending its dignity and making a fool of it by his false adoptions, and is blaspheming sacred matters by his public presertations of ceremonies.

Supt. Hutton will gladly furnish descriptions of various odd-looking transactions. I believe that the adoptions of the past have been fraudulent. However that may be, the constitution now clearly specifies who may be adopted into the tribe and how it may be done; should Colonel Billingsley continue to accept money for initiation or adoption of whites I respectfully urge that the Federal attorneys prosecute him for obtaining money under false pretenses.

An example of the smoothness with which he works is shown in the fact that Guy Kolchevtiwa, one of the most objectionable of his followers, was presented to the President by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs last year, and featured in the press at that time as Chief Kolchevtiwa. The news of this had unfortunate repercussions among the Hopis with whom I was then discussing organization, but it finally worked out all right as the mass of the tribe forgot about it while Kolchevtiwa on his return used the incident to convince the Billingsley followers that after all the Commissioner and I were under the Colonel's thumb, that I had been sent out there by him, thus swinging the important Billingsley faction for the constitution.

In my opinion Colonel Billingsley is a thoroughly vicious influence in Hopi life. In attempting to deal with him, it must not be forgotten that his hold is very strong and that he has a remarkable understanding of how to handle the Hopis.

154867

Byron Adams

This individual, who is postmaster at Polacca, is the outstanding

HP017967

Christian Indian of First Mesa, and after Lomavitu perhaps the best educated man in the tribe. He maintains a mission at Polacca and another, mainly for the Navajos, at Talahogahn, and has built a gospel hall on top of First Mesa. He has two white women working under him, one of whom I believe to be his wife.

Adams has flourished economically, and is a rich man. Innumerable rather vague charges of dishonesty are made against him by the Indians, and he is deeply distrusted by the local white people, both of the Indian Service and traders.

My impression of this man is that he is one of the smoothest articles that I have ever dealt with. He always says the right thing, and is an expert at wriggling himself into the center of any situation. Although the Indians speak of him more harshly than they do of any other individual, his education, command of English, and political gifts enable him again and again to form a following. As an outstanding Christian he has succeeded in keeping Lomavitu's friendship and support, although there is no comparison in their sincerity. It is characteristic that in the summer of 1936 he was so unpopular, and had lost so much prestige by his opposition to the Reorganization Act that he stayed away from all deliberations on the subject of the constitution, and yet could pop up in January as secretary to the council.

It is difficult to form a just estimate of a man who is such a center of controversy, particularly with the high feeling that enters due to his missionary activities. I believe that specific examples can be shown of such duplicity as speaking in terms of praise of the

154868

HP017968

Hopi religion to the Commissioner while at the same time writing defamatory statements about it to his non-Indian supporters at large. My impression is that he is a deeply dishonest, self-seeking, slick and able man. Because of the suavity with which he presents himself I feel it is worth recording an emphatic warning to anyone dealing with the Hopis to be extremely careful in regard to this man. I may be mistaken, but believe that my estimate is a just one.

February, 1937

I54869

HP017969