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his stay with the tribe. *Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths* (1896) is an extremely important study which formulates the "seven-fold" principle of classification which Cushing considered the basis of all Zuni cultural and social perceptions. *Zuni Breadstuff* (1884-1885) is a classic of ethnological writing — an ostensible discussion of Zuni agriculture which is actually a virtually complete examination of all phases of Zuni life.

Cushing's Zuni experience offers a valuable lesson which few understood in his lifetime, but which is still worth attention. That experience, after all, derived from a willingness to accept on its own terms an Indian culture, no matter how strange to "civilized" society, no matter how unrelated to Christian preconceptions. In short, Cushing, at a time when the assumptions of many otherwise humane people were flawed by racial stereotyping and cultural chauvinism, was able to accept and even embrace Zuni paganism and to insist to American readers that that paganism was a valid and valuable world-view. In fact, quite late in life (1897), in a speech to the Indian Commissioners, he insisted that only catastrophe could result from any attempt to wrench Indian people away from their traditional religious and cultural allegiances. This wisdom, which, unfortunately, was shared by too few Americans, even by too few friends of Indians, was the product of his happy time at Zuni, which he described in one of his letters to Baird:

I can sum up in one sentence what my life here has been — Physically, so far as the appetites are concerned, paralysis; Socially, exile; Ethically, theoretically, a feast, a peace of mind unapproached in all my previous experience.

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Hopi Bibliography. By David Laird. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977. 735 pp. pap. \$7.95.

The Hopi are one of the most isolated and traditional nations of American Indians north of Mexico. Ironically, they are also probably the most studied and the best reported. To track

down all of the authoritative and reliable sources on the Hopi, used to be a monumental and laborious task. At times, it has kept this writer chained to musty library stacks and card catalogues for days.

This task has been made infinitely easier, and more pleasurable, by the publication of Laird's *Hopi Bibliography*. W. David Laird, Head Librarian at the University of Arizona, Tucson, has compiled this work largely from his personal knowledge of the sources. Arranged alphabetically by author, *Hopi Bibliography* has 2,935 entries, from David Friend Aberle to Myrtle Zuck, as well as separate title and subject indices. The subject index is thorough and Laird's annotations under the main entries are lively, reliable, useful, and honest. If Laird was not certain of something, he said so. Laird must be acknowledged as not only a first-rate librarian, but also as a thorough scholar and an accomplished expert on Hopi history and ethnography.

First place for number of entries goes to Jesse Walter Fewkes, a diligent and prolific scholar who pattered around Hopiland for more than 30 years and published 89 articles. But Laird went well beyond the works of well-known social scientists who made the Hopi their main research focus. Laird was able to ferret out many sources that mention the Hopi for comparative purposes or in passing, and would not ordinarily be evident to the searching scholar. There are also many ephemeral and illusive sources represented. Many of these are popular articles on the Snake Dance, certainly the most frequently reported ceremony in North America. Although these articles contain some misinformation and much repetition, they provide a rich data source for assessing the image of the Hopi in the popular press and the history of tourism and its impact.

Laird also tracked down many publications by and about the Hopi Traditional Movement, in which Thomas Banyacya, David Monongye, Andrew Hermequaftewa, and Dan Katchongva have figured most prominently, and also includes many of the articles documenting the Hopi opposition to Peabody Coal Company's strip-mine on Black Mesa. Many of these articles appeared in non-defunct "ecology" magazines.

There are a few things on Black Mesa that Laird missed, perhaps due to my own negligence in failing to respond to his occasional requests for bibliographic material as diligently as possible (See Laird's Preface). A number of small publications on the Black Mesa situation emerged from the Santa Fe offices

of the Central Clearing House, an environmental information center that melted into oblivion in 1978. Among these were four "Black Mesa Fact Sheets," edited by Stan Steiner, of which one made mention of the Hopi; "Black Mesa Problem" (mimeographed); and an 8-page pamphlet on yellow paper, written by Michael Wallis with some dramatic photos by Terrence Moore, entitled "Black Sky at Morning." The August, 1970 issue of *The New Mexico Review And Legislative Journal* carried an article by William Brown, "The Rape of Black Mesa," which appeared in the Sierra Club Bulletin at the same time, and the premier issue of *Not Man Apart* (Vol. 1, No. 1, Dec. 1970) carried a 4-page illustrated article by Hugh Nash, "Black Mesa, the Suicide of the Southwest."

The Committee of Concern for Traditional Indians (San Francisco) and the Traditional Indian Land and Life Committee (Los Angeles) also published fact sheets, pamphlets, and presse releases about Black Mesa, featuring the Hopi point of view, and the largely Navajo Committee to Save Black Mesa (Chinle) assumed much of the publicity work in 1972 when other matters came to occupy the time and energies of Traditionalist Hopis and their non-Indian supporters. Laird does list one of these pamphlets, "Crisis at Black Mesa," published by the Los Angeles Committee, which, for a while, rearranged its appellation to a more euphonic, "Committee for Traditional Indian Land and Life." Laird obtained the citation from Suzanne Gordon's valiant, but error-ridden *Black Mesa, Angel of Death* (entry #989), and was unsure of its exact source and even its very existence. It does exist, as Laird surmised, as a "processed" item.

Another listing which Laird gleaned from Gordon's book was of Tom Tarbet's edition of Dan Katchongva's Message, "From the Beginning of Life to the Day of Purification" (entry #1497). The pamphlet, titled incorrectly in Gordon's bibliography, was nicely printed, not processed, and was issued in two editions: 1972 and, with slight revisions, in 1977. Aside from the "Introduction," the text is identical to the *Akwesanse Notes* (1973) edition (entry #1496), minus Kahonkes' illustrations. It is still available at no cost from Traditional Indian Land and Life Committee, 1116 Bates Street, Los Angeles 90029.

Several items that were available from the enigmatic Craig Carpenter (See Matthiessen 1979) until about 1970, also

escaped Laird's attention. Most of these publications were leaflets or small pamphlets, and they are hard to find now. But for nearly 15 years, you could get them by writing to "Craig," in Los Angeles, if someone gave you his address. Until the 1970s, Craig's "Study Kit on the Hopi Indians" and two pamphlets on the "Hopi Meeting of Religious Peoples" at Hotevilla in 1956, were virtually the only reliable, grass-roots documentation of the Hopi Traditional Movement aside from Yamada's (1957) "The Great Resistance" (Laird's entry #2915), which was also circulated on a grass-roots level.

Another writer who published outside the journalistic and scholarly mainstreams, was Ammon Hennacy. A socialist-turned-Christian pacifist, Hennacy was attracted to the Hopi by their non-aggressive ethic and their maintenance of highly-organized, adaptive communities based on individuals' assumption of responsibility for social and religious obligations. He wrote several articles for the *New York Catholic Worker* in 1956, and later wrote his autobiography, *The Book Of Ammon*, in 1965 and *The One Man Revolution In America* in 1970. Hennacy had contact with Hopis from the 1940s until the 1970s, and his personal account of Hopi philosophy, several Hopi draft registers and their families, and Hopi-White relations in the 1940s and '50s forms an insightful documentation of Hopi life on a grass-roots level. Hennacy's Hopi experiences appear throughout the book and are easily located from the index.

Hennacy's *One Man Revolution* contains a life history of Yukeoma, one of the founders of Hotevilla village. Apparently Hennacy confused Don Talayesva (author of *Sun Chief* — entry #2572) with Dan Katchongva (Yukeoma's son) and the prologue to the chapter reflects this unfortunate confusion. The account of Yukeoma is based primarily on Katharine Turner's *Red Man Calling On The Great White Father* (Laird's entry #2661). Hennacy, who died in 1976, published the books himself, and they are now obtainable only from his life-long companion, Joan Thomas, at P.O. Box 25, Phoenix, Arizona.

There are other works that Laird missed, and below, I have appended a list of those which I know to be available in research libraries, or which appeared in periodicals that are still being published. Of course Laird did not include newspaper articles. To have listed such sources, would have increased the girth of Laird's tome to unwieldy proportions. Articles on the Hopi have appeared regularly in four Arizona

newspapers: the *Sun*, the *Republic*, the *Phoenix Gazette*, and the *Winslow Mail*; and also in the Gallup (New Mexico) *Independent*; *Navajo Times*; *New York Times*; *Los Angeles Times*; and *Washington Post*. Between 1966 and 1973, a small weekly newspaper from Navajoland that eventually settled on the name *Dine Baa Hani* carried articles on the Hopi, and since 1973, Hopis in Oraibi and Hotevilla, respectively, have started two publications: *Qua Toq̄ti* and *Techqua Ikachi*. *Qua Toq̄ti* is published weekly; *Techqua Ikachi* appears about six times a year and is distributed by Traditional Indian Land & Life Committee, Los Angeles. From 1966 through 1978, the Hopi Action Program published *Hopi Action News*, first as a mimeographed, stapled pamphlet and later as part of *The Winslow Mail*. It was published once a month and was supplanted by *Hopi Tribal News*, published by the Hopi Tribal Council, now in its third volume. Two Indian newspapers, *Akwesasne Notes* (Roosevelt town, New York) and *Wassaja* (American Indian Historical Society, San Francisco), have also run occasional articles on contemporary Hopi events.

Following the list of "Additions" to Laird's *Hopi Bibliography*, I offer an "Update" of major works that have appeared since Laird's compilation. The "Update" is by no means complete. It includes only works that are of primary significance or are likely to have an impact on the interpretation of Hopi art, ethnography, history, or literature. I must, in closing, say that I have crossed paths with several scholars who assured me that they were compiling a "Hopi Bibliography." It is gratifying that W. David Laird persevered and produced one; and, indeed, the finest one that could be hoped for.

ADDITIONS

1. Brown, William. 1970. "The Rape of Black Mesa." *The New Mexico Review And Legislative Journal*, Vol. 2, Nos. 8&9; *The Sierra Club Bulletin*, August.
2. Commerce, U.S. Department of. 1964. *A Survey Of Tourist Potential And Adequacy Of Water Supply For Tourism: On The Hopi Indian Reservation*. ARA Casebook No. 10. October.
3. Federal And State Indian Reservations And Indian Trust Areas. n.d. U.S. Department of Commerce. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Includes very short sketches of culture, land, government, history, economy, population, etc. of recognized communities. The Hopi are included. I bought my copy in 1974.

4. Hamblin, Jacob. 1944. "Diary." In Preston Nibley (ed.), *Three Mormon Classics*. Salt Lake City: Stevens and Wallis, Inc.

Hamblin was the first missionary to the Hopi, in 1858.

5. Hennacy, Ammon.

1970. *The Book Of Ammon*. Revised edition. Ammon Hennacy.

1970. *The One-Man Revolution In America*. First edition. Salt Lake City: Ammon Hennacy Publications.

6. *Indian Health Care*. 1974. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Investigations, Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate, 93rd Congress II, Sept. 16.

Mention of diphtheria at Hopi by Sen. Henry Jackson. Data on health care for the Phoenix Area, the Fort Defiance Service Unit, and the Keams Canyon and Winslow hospitals, which resulted in the decision to eventually close the Winslow hospital.

7. Lee, Dorothy D. 1938. "Conceptual Implications of an Indian Language." *Philosophy Of Science*, Vol. 5, pp. 89-102.

Not seen by this author; citation obtained from my card-file bibliography on the Hopi.

8. Lomayaktewa, Starlie v. Rogers C.B. Morton and Peabody Coal Company. 1971. *Plaintiffs' Brief*. District of Columbia: U.S. District Court. May 20.

The lawsuit was moved to the Phoenix District Court and eventually dismissed. The *Plaintiffs' Brief*, by Native American Rights Fund lawyers, contains an excellent summary of the major anchors of Hopi religion.

9. McGavock, E.H. and Gary W. Levins. 1973. "Ground Water in the Navajo Sandstone in the Black Mesa Area, Arizona." In H.L. James (ed.), *Guidebook Of Monumental Valley And Vicinity: Arizona And Utah*. Albuquerque: New Mexico Geographical Society.

10. Monsen, Frederick I. 1904. "Where Woman Rules: Odd Customs of the Hopis." *Sunday Magazine*. April 17.

Not seen by this author. Laird lists several articles by Monsen of 1907 vintage. They seem to be of varying quality. Apparently, Monsen lived among the Hopi, off and on, for a period of 18 years.

11. Nash, Hugh. 1970. "Black Mesa: Suicide of the Southwest." *Not Man Apart*. Vol. 1, No. 1: 12-15. Illustrations. Map.

12. Pattie, James O. 1833. *Personal Narrative Of An Expedition From St. Louis, Through The Vast Region Between That Place And The Pacific Ocean, And Thence Back Through The City Of Mexico To Vera Cruz During Six Years*. Edited by Timothy Flint, re-edited with notes, introduction, etc. by R.C. Thwaites. Cleveland: The Arthur Clark Company.

Not seen. Gleaned from a selected bibliography in the subject card-file at the University of Illinois library, Urbana.

13. Taylor, Theodore W. 1972. *The States And Their Indian Citizens*. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Mentions the Hopi only once, on page 147. Says that Traditionalists were opposed to electricity and piped water, but inaccurately qualifies the opposition as "until recently." To my knowledge, this opposition continues.

14. Titiev, Mischa. 1958. Review of Yamada's *The Great Resistance* (Laird's entry #2915). *American Anthropologist* Vol. 60: 620-621.

A somewhat misleading review, which casts Yamada's document as a "heart-rending" expression of the "bewildered" and "helpless Hopi. My experience with the Hopi suggests that the Hopi and their leaders are less bewildered than Americans and their leaders.

15. U.S. Indian Claims Commission. 1951. Docket 210: *Land Claim Of Shungopavi Village*.

This docket was dismissed, since it requested return of land, not monetary settlement. It was supplanted by Docket 196 (Laird's entry #2688). Docket 210 contains statements by clan, sodality, and village leaders, and reflects the feelings of Hopis about their land much better than the petition filed by the Hopi Tribal attorney, John Boyden, which settled for compensation.

16. U.S. House of Representatives. 1952. *Report With Respect To The House Resolution Authorizing The Committee On Interior And Insular Affairs To Conduct An Investigation Of The Bureau Of Indian Affairs*. House Report Number 2503.

Contains reports and data supplied by the BIA. There are some data on the Hopi.

17. U.S. Senate. 1971. *Problems Of Electric Power Production In The Southwest*. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session.

Part 7 of the Appendix contains testimony about Black Mesa by Thomas Banyacya, John Lanza, Mina Lanza, David Monongye and Ralph Selina.

18. Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Systems Operation. 1969. *Four Corners Regional Development Study Program*. Report to the Four Corners Regional Commission.

Mimeographed. The Report mainly concerned the feasibility of locating a "new town" on an Indian reservation. The only mention of Hopi is in a "Tabulation of Low-Cost Housing Projects in the 4 Corners Region," page A-11.

19. Wolff, Anthony. 1972. "Showdown at Four Corners." *Saturday Review Of The Society*. June 3. 6 pp.

Mentions Hopi and has 2 tiny b/w photos of Hopis.

UPDATE

1. Broder, Patricia Janis. (ed.) 1978. *Hopi Painting: The World Of The Hopis*. New York: E.P. Dutton.

2. Clemmer, Richard O. 1977. "Hopi Political Economy: Industrialization and Alienation." *Southwest Economy And Society*, Vol. II, No. 2: 4-33.

3. _____. 1978a. "Black Mesa and the Hopi." In *Native Americans And Energy Development*. Cambridge: Anthropology Resource Center.

4. _____. 1978b. *Continuities Of Hopi Culture Chance*. Ramona: Acoma Books.

5. _____. 1980. "Advocacy, Activism, and Anthropologists: A Further Response to Wilcomb Washburn." *Journal Of Ethnic Studies*. Forthcoming.

This essay responds to Washburn's erroneous assertions about

the Hopi Traditional Movement and the relationships between anthropologists and Indians. See Jorgensen and Clemmer, below.

6. Dutton, Bertha. 1976. *The Pueblos*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall. One chapter is devoted to the Hopi: The "Calendar of Annual Indian Events" lists some Hopi ceremonies with dates.

7. Eggan, Fred. 1979. "Introduction" to Barton Wright (ed.), *Hopi Material Culture*.

The Introduction focuses on the life and work of H.R. Voth.

8. Eggan, Fred, with Richard O. Clemmer. 1980. "Comments" to Documents Pertaining to the Persecution of Hopi and Pueblo Religious Ceremonies, 1915-1921. *Radical History Review*. Forthcoming.

9. Frisbie, Charlotte J. 1977. *Music And Dance Research Of Southwestern United States Indians*. Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography #36. Detroit: Information Coordinates, Inc.

A selected, but comprehensive bibliography. Many Hopi sources are listed.

10. *Hopi Perspective, 1979, The: A Message To The 96th Congress Concerning The Hopi-Navajo Land Dispute Issue*. Oraibi: Office of Hopi Partitioned Lands, Hopi Tribal Council.

11. Jorgensen, Joseph G., and Richard O. Clemmer. 1978. "America in the Indian's Past." *Journal Of Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2.

This review essay challenges, among other things, Wilcomb Washburn's discussion of the Hopi vote on the Indian Reorganization Act in 1935. (See below.)

This essay also appeared in *The Indian Historian*, Vol. 11, No. 4.

12. _____. 1980. "On Washburn's 'On The Trail of The Activist Anthropologist': A Rejoinder To A Reply." *Journal Of Ethnic Studies*. Forthcoming.

Disputes Washburn's methodology in arriving at an interpretation of the Hopi vote on the Indian Reorganization Act.

13. Kalectaca, Milo. 1978. *Lessons In Hopi*. Edited by Ronald W. Langacker. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

14. Laboratory of Native Development Systems. Office of Land Studies. 1977. *Natural Resources Map Of Hopi Indian Reservation And Joint Use Area*. Tucson: University of Arizona.

15. Lomakema, Milland, and Mark Lomayestewa. 1978. *Two Hopi Song Poets Of Shungopavi*. Edited by Michael Kabotie. Illustrated. Published by the authors with the assistance of M. Kalectaca.

16. Malotki, Ekkehart. 1978. *Hopitutuwtsi: Hopi Tales*. Illustrated by Anne-Marie Malotki. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

17. Matthiessen, Peter. 1979. "Journeys To Hopi: National Sacrifice Area." *Rocky Mountain*. July-August.

Evaluates the effects of mining and industrialization in the Hopi-Navajo area from a humanistic point of view. Presents the perspective of the Hopi Traditionalists. Also presents the perspective of Craig Carpenter, who accompanied Matthiessen. Color and b/w photos by Dan Budnik. About one-third of the article is based on Clemmer's *Continuities Of Hopi Culture Change*.

18. Miller, J. 1975. "Kokopelli." In T.R. Frisbie, (ed.), *Collected Papers In Honor Of Florence Hawley Ellis*. Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, Paper #2. pp. 371-80.

Not seen by this author.

19. Monthan, Guy, and Doris Monthan. 1975. *Art And Indian Individualists*. Flagstaff: Northland Press.

Many color photos. Good overview of development of contemporary Indian art. Hopi artists featured: Charles Loloma, Otellie Loloma, Preston Monongye, Elizabeth White (Polingaysi Qoyawayma), Michael Kabotie and "Artist Hopid" are also mentioned.

20. Mullett, G.M. (Editor). 1979. *Spider Woman Stories*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

21. Nagata, Shuichi. 1977. "Opposition and Freedom in Moenkopi Factionalism." In M. Silverman and R.F. Salisbury (eds.). *A House Divided? Anthropological Studies Of Factionalism*. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Social and Economic Papers No. 9.

Concludes that the imposition of political modernization by the U.S. Government weakened the base of community solidarity in this Hopi village, and that the kind of factional opposition existing there is radically different from the kind of "loyal opposition" envisaged by democratic theory.

22. ————. 1978. "Dan Kochhongva's Message: Myth, Ideology and Political Action Among the Contemporary Hopi (1)." In Erik Schwinner (ed.), *The Yearbook Of Symbolic Anthropology* 1. London: C. Hurst & Co.

23. Navajo and Hopi Indian Relocation Commission Reports. 1978, 1979. Flagstaff.

24. Qoyawayma, Polingaysi (Mrs. Elizabeth White). 1978. *Sun Girl*. Flagstaff: The Museum of Northern Arizona Press.

Facsimile reproduction of the 1941 edition. (See Laird's entry #2186.)

25. Schlegel, Alice. 1977. "Male and Female in Hopi Thought and Action." In *Sexual Stratification: A Cross-Cultural View*. New York: Columbia University Press.

A good summary based on the author's own research and on published sources.

26. Scudder, Thayer. 1979. *Expected Impacts Of Compulsory Relocation On Navajos With Special Emphasis On Relocation From The Former Joint Use Area Required By Public Law 93-531*. Binghamton: Institute for Development Anthropology, Inc.

This extremely important document was produced on contract to the Navajo Tribe, and only touches on Hopis tangentially. It recommends amendment of 93-531 to provide far more monetary compensation to relocatees; to provide additional acreage to the Navajo Reservation; and to provide economic development that would compensate for stock reduction and relocation. Contains good comparative data on other relocations throughout the world, and on relocations of Navajos from areas other than the Joint Use Area.

27. Steiner, Stan. 1974. *The Vanishing White Man*. New York: Harper and Row.

The first chapter contains an interesting narrative of the author's role in persuading elders of Shungopavi village to permit

Shelly Grossman to make his film, *Black Coal, Red Power*, and an interview with Alvin Dashee, then Vice-Chairman of the Hopi Tribal Council, who relates a prophecy concerning the ultimate fate of American civilization and Peabody's strip mine on Black Mesa.

28. U.S. Congress. 1978a. *Relocation Of Certain Hopi And Navajo Indians*. Hearing before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs on S. 1714 (95th Congress, 2nd Session).

1978b. *The Navajo And Hopi Amendments Of 1978*. H.R. 11092.

29. Washburn, Wilcomb. 1975. *The Indian In America*. New York: Harper & Row.

Contains some material on Hopi political history.

30. ————. 1979. "On The Trail of The Activist Anthropologist." *Journal Of Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 4.

Disputes Jorgensen's and Clemmer's critical review of *The Indian In America*, and challenges the bulk of Clemmer's anthropological work among the Hopi.

31. Wright, Barton (ed.). 1979. *Hopi Material Culture*. Flagstaff: Northland Press. Introductions by Fred Eggen and Byron Harvey III.

Artifacts gathered by Mennonite missionary Heinrich R. Voth. Co-published with the Heard Museum, Phoenix.

32. Yava, Albert. 1978. *Big Falling Snow: A Tewa-Hopi Indian's Life And Time And The History And Tradition Of His People*. Edited by Harold Courlander. New York: Crown.

Not seen.

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The Navajos And The New Deal. By Donald L. Parman. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976. 316 pp. \$17.50.

When the federal government tackled the problems created by the Great Depression of the 1930s, Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier singled out the sprawling Navajo Reservation for a set of special programs — programs which reached deeply into the Navajo world and touched almost every aspect of daily life. Collier was particularly interested in reducing overgrazing on a scarred land, but he also sought to create a centralized tribal government, revamp the educational system, and improve existing medical facilities. At the same time he placed great emphasis on preserving Navajo religious and cultural heritage. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, working with other government agencies, poured thousands of dollars into