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HOPI PROGRESSIVISM: CHANGE, CONTINUANCE, AND  
THE INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT (1906-1936)

by

Tonya Lynn Cornelius

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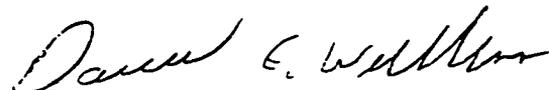
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This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

  
\_\_\_\_\_

David E. Wilkins

Professor of American Indian Studies

7/27/96  
\_\_\_\_\_

Date

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## DEDICATION

For believing in me, I dedicated this thesis to my aunt, Geralda and uncle, Jacob Thompson.

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## ABSTRACT

Despite all the scholarly work on the Hopi, studies primarily focus on the role of the Federal government and Hopi resistance; discussions generally dismiss Hopi Progressives as "assimilationists" and "puppets" of the Federal government. This limited focus has lead us astray in our attempts to analyze the Hopi response to the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) which created the Hopi Tribal Council. This study restructured the framework of analysis by tracing the political changes among Hopi Progressives during the post Oraibi Split era (1906-1936).

Hopi history served as a model of Hopi political tradition for comparative analysis of Progressive leadership and activities. The results of the comparison demonstrated that Hopi progressivism was rooted in tradition and strove to insure greater sovereignty. Finally, the political changes among Progressives created parallels to the IRA. In giving a new definition to Hopi progressivism, this study expands the framework of the Hopi IRA process.

## Chapter One

### INTRODUCTION

*Indian traditions have neither fossilized nor disappeared; Indian ways of today are not those of centuries ago but they are nonetheless Indian. Indian cultural traditions have continued to grow and change, and there has been constant integration of innovations into characteristically Indian ways and Indian views (Berkhofer 1978: 67-68).<sup>1</sup>*

While Native American identity and ways of life have changed drastically from the times before colonization, Indian peoples remain culturally and politically distinct. Such changes which have taken place over the past five hundred years do not mark the assimilation, nor the final transition into "modern" society, of Indian people. The fact that Native people continue to thrive in North America signifies their ability to adapt while remaining culturally distinct. Vine Deloria Jr. and Clifford Lytle point out that "Indians have survived and that means that they have successfully and consistently adapted themselves and their institutions to new situations" (19: xi).

Throughout history tradition has always remained a thread in the political and social fabric of Indian people's responses to change. Events of history, however, often forced languages and traditions into

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hiding; in the process, many have been lost and transformed. Increasingly, since the 1960's Pan-Indian Movement, many Native people and tribal nations have been rediscovering and reasserting their cultural heritage, yet global modernization and change are forcing Native people to address the question of tribal political integrity that is constantly being challenged by their political, social and economic incorporation into American society. At what point does culture change and adaptations begin to threaten the political integrity of a people? When cultures change and adaptation disrupts internal cohesion and divides leadership, how might greater unity be reestablished, if possible?

It cannot be denied that the experience of colonization and external threats have widened the rifts within indigenous groups and, to some degree, disabled traditional means of dealing with both intratribal conflicts and the external threats themselves. Although tribes were never utopian societies, tribal ideology and social structure functioned to maintain unity and cultural cohesion. Colonization and Federal Indian policies challenged and often broke down tribal ideology and social structure, and with it a sense of community. Amid external challenges confronting indigenous groups, internal tribal dissension has often arisen, promoting the emergence of what have become known as "Traditional" and "Progressive" leaders. Researchers have often identified Traditional leaders as those who held on to and fought for the "old ways"; Progressive leaders have been described as those who accepted

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Western values and ways of life or who submitted to the authority of the Federal government. Such apparent internal polarization has come to be seen, especially concerning some tribes, such as the Hopi, as "separate" responses to the forces of change and modernization.

It was not until the late Nineteenth century that external interference began to impinge on the Hopi people who reside on top of three isolated mesas in Northeastern Arizona. While a united front of Hopi resistance to the religious oppression Spaniards posed was demonstrated in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the later destruction of Awatovi, a Hopi village, in 1700 reveals internal dissension regarding Christianity. The destruction and abandonment of Awatovi sent a rippling message to Hopis against Christian conversion and signified renewal in Hopi society. However, by the late Nineteenth century, internal dissension combined with other pressing forces at the Oraibi village in Third Mesa divided the people into two factions known to Federal officials as the "Friendlies" and "Hostiles". The former were seen to represent those who cooperated with the Federal government and the latter those who opposed the Federal government. This internal dissension, brought on by the changing political and social environment, culminated in the Oraibi Split of 1906. The Oraibi Split separated the Friendlies and Hostiles through the establishment of new villages at Third Mesa.

Following the Oraibi Split, three new autonomous villages were created at Third mesa. Increasing external influence continued to impinge on Hopi society. Adaptation and acculturation responses

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further divided the communities into two dominant factions, the "Traditionalists"<sup>2</sup> and the "Progressives". Traditionalists emerged following the Oraibi Split as advocates for the protection of religious leaders and the Hopi ceremonial system. Whereas, Progressives were largely educated members combined with less conservative members. Progressives have often been regarded in the literature as more accepting of Federal Indian policies, including the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934 which reorganized tribes politically and economically under a tribal council and constitution. In case studies of the Hopi Tribe, analyses of the IRA process have largely focused on resistance among Hopi Traditionalists and the oppressive role of the Federal government. During this IRA process, Hopi Progressives have largely been viewed as "assimilationists" or "puppets" of the Federal government. However, this type of analysis of Hopi Progressives is far too mechanistic and simplistic. Native American cultural and political adaptation is not just a surrender to or resistance of the imposing colonizing culture. Rather it is a translation of the colonizer's institutions into and through meaningful traditional forms of political and cultural responses. As many Native peoples of North America, the Hopis adapted through the incorporation of non-Hopi ideology and institutions while continuing to utilize and build on their traditions.

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## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This thesis addresses one issue of political-culture change and adaptation. How have Native Americans managed to survive as culturally and politically distinct peoples while adapting to change? More precisely, this thesis traces the development of and ideological and institutional changes among the Hopi Progressives at Third Mesa during the post Oraibi Split era (1906-1936). During this era, how did the Hopi Progressive faction at Third Mesa conceptualize and incorporate new, non-Hopi ideology and institutions within Hopi political tradition? The ultimate purpose is to determine how the Hopi Progressives' adaptation of Hopi political tradition during the post Oraibi Split era created a political landscape which enabled the establishment of the Hopi Tribal Council under the IRA in 1936.

The answer to these questions create an historical and cultural context for analysis of the Hopi IRA process and its outcomes. Studying the Third Mesa political landscape during 1906 through 1936 will provide insight into the internal forces among the Hopi Progressives which played an important role in the IRA process and outcomes. While a study of First and Second Mesa during this era is equally worthy of analysis, this thesis focuses on Third Mesa because of the political importance of Oraibi, the original village of Third Mesa. The Split of the Oraibi village in 1906 signified important change in Hopi political-culture. Moreover, the availability of documentation on political leadership and events at Third Mesa pointed to parallels with the outcomes of the IRA. Whereas, limited

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documentation is available on the political-culture at both First and Second Mesa. Additionally, this thesis focuses on Hopi Progressives for their adaptations to Hopi political-culture suggests parallels to the IRA outcomes which have largely been dismissed in the literature. Progressive political leadership and activities represent an equally legitimate perspective as the Hopi Traditionalists. This study of these internal forces will shift the focus regarding the Hopi IRA experience from the much studied Federal involvement and its concomitant images of oppression, to a study of tribal progressive leadership and intratribal dynamics. This perspective enables us to see how one Tribe adapted their political traditions and ideology to the changes within their society. Finally, a study of this period will hopefully unravel the interwoven relationship between the Oraibi Split and the IRA.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

In recent years, a growing body of research on historical Hopi political activities is beginning to piece together a complex and multidimensional system. A common element in studies of the traditional Hopi political system reveals the connection between Hopi religion and political ideology and practices (Thompson 1946; Eggan 1950; Townsend 1950; Clemmer 1978; Wyckoff 1985; Whiteley 1988a, 1988b; Geertz 1994). Most scholars characterize the Hopi political system as a theocracy (Thompson 1946; Townsend 1950; Clemmer 1978). Anthropologist Peter Whiteley provides a valuable

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analysis of Hopi political structure and practices in his Deliberate Acts (1988a). In an overview of the traditional Hopi political system, Whiteley describes Hopi's division into two "social" groups, the "*Pavansinom* (ruling people)" and the "*Sukavungsinom* (common people)" (1988: 60-66).<sup>3</sup> The *Pavansinom* were initiated members of ten religious ceremonies (ibid.). These select religious leaders had political authority and power within Hopi society through their secret religious knowledge and rituals. They exercised this political authority through "deliberate" decision-making (Brandt 1954; Whiteley 1988a; Rushforth and Upham 1992). Some scholars have described the Pueblo Revolt, the destruction of Awatovi, and the Oraibi Split as events secretly planned by the village leaders (James 1974; Whiteley 1988a and 1988b; Geertz 1994). Within this political and cultural context, Hopi prophecy was interpreted by the religious elitists to guide and justify their decisions (Whiteley 1988a; Geertz 1994). Religious elitist were empowered through the supernatural to make decisions and interpret prophecy for the "welfare" of the people.

Most of the literature on Hopi political history focuses on Hopi factionalism. While this is an important, and highly visible aspect of Hopi political developments, intratribal forces are more complex and interwoven in Hopi tradition. Through examining the literature on Hopi factionalism and important historic events, a model of Hopi political tradition emerged: a tradition that provides worthy insight into political developments among Progressive leadership and later

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responses to the IRA. Several scholars have attempted to describe at some length the nature and significance of Hopi factionalism. Siegel and Beals concluded that Hopi factionalism was based on "a disagreement over the means" rather than over the goals in question when confronting an issue (1960: 109). Similarly, Cox demonstrated that Hopi factions do not necessarily disagree in goals or means; rather, it is the regime of the Hopi Tribal Council which the Traditionalists oppose (1970: 89-91): "What the Progressives stand for, then, is generally what the Traditionalists oppose. Thus, to allow electric power lines into the villages ...would be to give in to the Tribal Council" (Ibid. at 90). Cox cites one Hopi Traditionalist who explained that "the Hopi chiefs do not oppose mineral development, but such developments should come *when the chiefs feel the time is right* " (emphasis added, Ibid. at 91). Agreeing with Nagata (1968), Cox concludes that modern Hopi factionalism is structured around the issue of the Tribal Council under which most leaders are pressured to align themselves (1970: 89). Cox's conclusions suggest that Hopi factionalism represents a struggle over political authority and influence regardless of the political issues in question. In aligning factional support, according to Cox, gossip is used as a form of "information manage" to influence both "public support" and "political power" for a particular faction (ibid. at 93-97).

An alternative viewpoint, suggest that Hopi factionalism is political. The political issues which divided Hopis and the characteristics associated with a given faction have themselves

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evolved and changed through time. Accordingly, the factions can be distinguished not by general attributes, but by their political position regarding specific issues under which Hopi leaders and their supporters align themselves. Each of these events became a focal point of Hopi factionalism. When an issue, such as installing electric power lines during the 1950s, or Indian gaming in 1996, Hopi leaders and members take varying positions regardless of the "Progressive" or "Traditionalist" labels.

This characteristic of Hopi factionalism makes it difficult to categorize Hopi leaders and villages as either strictly "progressive" or "traditional." As Nagata pointed out, "side switching" is not uncommon; in one circumstance a member of a village may take a progressive position and in another circumstance he may take a traditionalist position (1968). For instance, while a particular Hopi leader may support federal education policy, he may, on the other hand, oppose federal allotment policy. Whiteley and Geertz take a similar stance in their discussion of Hopi factionalism. Whiteley states that the "Traditional-Progressive opposition is primarily political" (1988a: 234). He explains that there really is no set criteria for a "Traditional" faction or village compared to a "Progressive" faction or village. One faction or village may be regarded as more traditional than the other depending on the "political principles and points of issue" involved (*ibid.* at 232-234). A progressive does not necessarily deny all traditional ideology or practices. Nor do all

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traditionalist deny all non-Hopi ideology or practices (Whiteley 1988a; Geertz 1995).

Through factions' struggles to assert political goals, scholars pointed out that Hopi factionalism has had a modernizing effect. Nagata, refuting Siegel and Beals' argument, concluded that the political practices of the "Traditionalists" and the IRA formed Hopi Tribal Council, practices which Nagata called "weapons", became increasingly similar (1968: 28). Accordingly, the Traditionalists factions' political practices or "weapons" were modernized through time. Reflecting on Firth's insight on the positive role of factionalism as providing "a training ground for political action" (1957: 294) Nagata explained that Hopi factionalism has had and continues to have the effect of "modernizing" the traditional faction (1968: 30). While looking for positive affects of factionalism, both Firth (1957) and Nagata (1968) suggested that the "Traditionalists" are becoming more progressive in not only their goals (Siegel and Beals 1960), but also their means. Under such assumptions the factions would eventually cease to be in disagreement. Yet, as it has been studied, Hopi factionalism has been an on going phenomenon for the past century and the trend has been the creation of factions within factions. For instance, within Moencopi factions emerged during the early 1930's, ultimately, ending in the split of Upper Moencopi, (constituting the more progressive faction) and Lower Moencopi, (constituting the more conservative faction).

Progressivism can thus be viewed as a form of modernity in which tribal members incorporate new values and institutions within their existing order. According to existing literature, the process of "incorporation" ultimately leads to "assimilation" of tribal values and institutions. However, Huntington observed that "the rise of modernity in society was not accompanied by the fading of tradition" (1971 cited in Wilkins 1993: 296). Huntington noted that "modernity supplements but does not supplant tradition. Modern practices, beliefs, institutions are simply added to traditional ones" (ibid.). Lloyd and Suzanne Rudolf made similar findings that indicated an "entwined" relationship between tradition and progress in which tradition grows and often increases in ideological power along with progress (1967 cited in Clemmer 1994: 130).

Hopi research specialist, Richard Clemmer (1994) provided an insightful analysis of this phenomenon of culture change and continuance in his recent article *The Hopi Traditionalist Movement*. According to Clemmer, the Hopi Traditionalist Movement "functioned as a coalition of Hopi leaders from several villages, plus a varying number of Hopi activist and sympathizers" (1994: 125). His analysis of the Hopi "Traditionalists" political activity entailed a review of the history of the "Hopi Traditionalists Movement" within the context of Hopi culture and the process of "modernization."<sup>4</sup> Clemmer proposed "that Hopi Traditionalism is a modern, and modernist, phenomenon" in which traditionalists select items out of Hopi cultural ideology and history to support their interest (1994: 128-131). Clemmer

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explained that "Tradition constitutes part of the 'other' modernity:" it is a reaction to and defined by "modernist ideology" (ibid. at 130). Clemmer explains that both "Traditionalism and progressivism among the Hopi have resulted from their differential interpretations of their history and culture, and they represent two broad metaphors rather than actual behavior patterns" (Ibid. at 131). "The Hopi have stretched various cultural traditions to accommodate modernity to tradition and tradition to modernity. Traditional and progressive factions have persisted and intertwined with one another in a constant redefinition and strengthening of Hopi social identity" (Clemmer 1994: 156). Accordingly, within Hopi factions there exist both change and continuance of Hopi culture, woven and shaped together by the evolving goals within each group.

This interpretation of Hopi tradition according to a faction's goals is further developed in scholars analysis of Hopi prophecy. Armin W. Geertz, in his extensive work on Hopi prophecy, provided a very inclusive definition:

It is tradition that is spoken by someone to someone else for specific purposes, whether for moral, ideological, or political reasons. Prophecy is not static, but is and always has been used in response to internal and external conditions. It is a way of articulating and defining contemporary events within the context and language of "tradition" (1994: 7).

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Accordingly, Hopi prophecy is interpreted and reinterpreted in response to "contemporary conditions and events" within Hopi society (ibid.). This tradition of interpreting Hopi prophecy has remained constant in Hopi society. In light of Hopi factionalism, the analysis of Whiteley (1988a, 1988b, and 1992) and Geertz's (1994) concluded that historical events, such as the destruction of Awatovi and the Oraibi Split, were "deliberately planned" in accordance with the interpretations of prophecy. Both Geertz and Whiteley concluded that leadership and other events in Hopi history were acted out in accordance with prophecy which called for the abolishment of Hopi ceremonies (ibid.). As late as the 1970's, Clemmer noted that the Hopi Tribal Council interpreted Hopi prophecy to justify and rationalize mineral exploitation (1979: 40, 50). Thus, Hopi progressivism is not completely divergent from Hopi traditional political ideology and practices.

In examining the existing literature on Hopi factionalism in the Twentieth century, four distinct characteristics were identified:

1. Hopi factionalism is reactionary to the opposing faction or entity regardless of the issue at stake (Siegel and Beals 1960; Cox 1970).
  2. Hopi factionalism is political, depending on the issues at stake (Nagata 1968; Whiteley 1988a; Geertz 1994).
  3. Hopi factionalism represents a transformation process from "traditional" toward "modernization" (Firth 1957; Nagata 1968).
  4. Hopi factionalism represents two different processes that represents both modernity and tradition (Clemmer 1994).
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These characteristics of Hopi factionalism will be taken into consideration when analyzing leadership and activities among Hopi Progressives.

Although there has been some work on Hopi factionalism, in terms of actual events studied in depth, scholars have written most extensively on two historical events in recent Hopi history: the Oraibi Split of 1906 and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, leaving a gap in our understanding of the intervening years and particularly Hopi Progressive leadership and activities.

### Historical Background

A well documented event, the Oraibi Split of 1906 involved the division of leadership in Oraibi in which one faction, the "Hostiles" were forced to leave and establish a new village (Alvarado 1968; James 1972; Clemmer 1975; Walker and Wyckoff, eds. 1983; Wyckoff 1985; Whiteley 1988a and 1988b; Rushforth and Upham 1992). According to James in 1906 the "internal dissension long brewing between the Bear and Spider clan people and their associates was the basic cause for the dissolution of this once important Hopi community" containing half the entire Hopi population (1975: 13). However, Whiteley, taking a different view, concluded that the Oraibi Split was a planned event carried out to confront internal political corruption among the *Pavansinom* (ruling people) (1988a: 108-118).

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"The essential aim of the Split was to destroy the corruption at the heart of the Oraibi community--its ceremonial system" (Ibid. at 144).

On the other hand, Rushforth and Upham bring together Whiteley's and Aberle's analysis to suggest that the Oraibi Split represented a "transformative social movement" in response to "political-economic conditions" similar to other social movements in Indian Country during the 1880s and 1890s, such as the Ghost Dance Religion (1992: 142-148). Rushforth and Upham's point on the "transformative" nature of the Oraibi Split suggest that the Oraibi Split created renewal in Hopi society in response to their changing conditions (1992). This point is further supported in Levy's analysis of the Oraibi Split. Levy noted that the Oraibi Split created renewal in Hopi society (1994: 124).

While there has been extensive research on the Oraibi Split, most research on the IRA process of 1936 provides only a brief overview or cites the Hopi as a case in point (Haas 1947; Townsend 1950; Kelly, W. 1953; Spicer 1962; Kelly, L. 1975; Philp 1977; Benedek 1992). Still others provide only a brief discussion of the IRA as an episode in Hopi history (Titiev 1972; James 1974; Cleaves in Walker and Wyckoff 1983; Whiteley 1988a; Rushforth and Upham 1992; Levy 1992; Geertz 1994). Furthermore, these studies fail to distinguish between the process of establishing the first IRA Council of 1936 from the re-establishment of the council in 1945, following the collapse of the first council (Clemmer 1969, 1978; Lapham 1972; Rushforth and Upham 1992).

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Literature by Hopi authors offers important insight into both Hopi history and experience under the IRA process. Qoyawayma (1964) and Talayesva (1942) provided insight into the role of Hopi cultural ideology and practices in shaping individual responses to events within their lives. Moreover, Qoyawayma described the events leading up to and following the Oraibi Split (1964). Of significant importance is Emory Sekaquaptewa, anthropologist, insightful analysis of the Hopi Tribal Council (1972). Sekaquaptewa's analysis purports that the "Hopi traditional social and political control" within Hopi society continues despite the formation of the Hopi Tribal Council under the IRA (1972: 239). Focusing on the overall "government control" of the Hopi Tribal Council, he attributed its historical and contemporary ineffectiveness to the failure of implementing traditional values through the Constitutional system of government (1972). Unlike many other scholars' analysis of the Hopi Tribal Council, Sekaquaptewa considered the cultural context of Hopi society in shaping responses to the IRA Tribal Council.

Other studies which do provide a more detailed analysis of the Hopi IRA process, nearly all exclusively focus on the role of the Federal government (Townsend 1950; Clemmer 1969, 1978; Indian Law Resource Center 1979; Cleaves in Walker and Wyckoff 1983; Hecht 1985). A recurrent theme in what literature does exist is the view that the IRA was forced on the Hopis against their will (Spicer 1962; Lapham 1972; Clemmer 1972, 1978, 1986; Clemmer and Jorgensen 1979; Indian Law Resource Center 1979). Emphasizing the

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role of the Federal government in the Hopi IRA process. many scholars have argued that those among the Hopi who supported the IRA were acting as mere "assimilationists" or "puppets" of the Federal government (Clemmer 1969, 1972, 1978; Matthiessen 1979; Cleaves in Walker and Wyckoff 1983; Mander 1991). Cleaves maintained that anthropologist, Oliver La Farge and progressive members created the Hopi constitution under the IRA. But rather than examine the complex internal Hopi forces that contributed to the formation of the Hopi constitution, Cleaves merely writes Progressives off as "assimilationists, predisposed or already committed to the American road" (1983: 53-54). Matthiessen described the Tribal Council representatives as "a privileged minority backed by the money of the white man's church and state" and following its collapse in 1943 he described the council as the BIA's "stumbling puppet" (1979: 77, 78). Even more direct, Mander labeled the Hopi Tribal Council as "puppet governments" represented by "progressive Mormon BIA Hopi" members within his subsection entitled The Creation of Puppet Governments (1991: 277-283). Yet, Clemmer points out that "the tribal council emerges as part of the response of the Hopi Nation as a whole to perpetuate its vitality" (1979: 40). Washburn, in turn, attempts to refute Clemmer's and Jorgensen's claims that the elected Hopi tribal leaders "are corrupt, dictatorial, unrepresentative, and tyrannical" (1979: 89, 1984). Washburn argued that their research was not thorough and the

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analysis was guided by a "political purpose" rather than the search for "truth" (ibid. at 91-98).

Among other studies which focus on the role of the Federal government is the Kikmongwi Report issued in 1979 by the Indian Law Resource Center. The Kikmongwi Report provides an extensive historical and legal analysis of the struggle of "Traditional" leaders for control of Hopi land and recognition of their political power within the United States legal system (ibid.). Although this document gives a powerful analysis of the reestablishment of the Hopi Tribal Council in 1953, its approach to analyzing the initial Tribal Council in 1936 is unsatisfactory, as it focuses primarily on the role of the Federal government from the traditionalist perspective, rather than focusing on internal Hopi political forces or on the progressive perspective (Indian Law Resource Center 1979). While the analysis of the traditional perspective provides partial insight into intertribal dynamics it is incomplete. The perspective of the progressives' deserves greater consideration and their role in intertribal dynamics represents a largely neglected and underestimated contributing factor in the IRA process.

Hopi Progressives' historical and contemporary leadership and activities have been largely viewed in the literature as an arm of the Federal government. According to Titiev (1972), the councils of New Oraibi, Bacavi and Upper Moencopi "were set up by the American government, beginning in the mid-1930s" (ibid. at 18). The Progressive faction have often been characterized as mere puppets of

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the Federal government and since the establishment of the Hopi Tribal Council they are viewed by some scholars and community members as actors in "puppet governments" organized under the IRA (Spicer 1962; Lapham 1972; Clemmer 1972, 1969, 1978; Indian Law Resource Center 1979; Matthiessen 1979; Josephy 1982; Mander 1991). Moreover, Hopi Progressive leadership and its initiatives have been trivialized and dismissed as mere political aberrations and not given sufficient consideration (Whiteley 1988a: 234 n. 13). "Its longtime early leader, Otto Lomavitu, one of the earliest Mennonite converts, began trying to organize a council (on which he wanted to have pan-Hopi representation) as early as 1916 (Keams Canyon Office Diary 5-1-1916 cited in Whiteley 1988a: 327 n. 13). While analysis of Hopi Progressives during the post Oraibi Split era has been largely ignored, the literature on the role of the Federal government and the Hopi Traditionalists perspective is copious (Spicer 1962; James 1974; Rushforth and Upham 1992; Lapham 1972; Clemmer 1972, 1969, 1978, 1994; Indian Law Resource Center 1979; Matthiessen 1979; Cleaves in Walker and Wyckoff 1983; Whiteley 1988a; Wyckoff 1990; Mander 1991).

However, it is important not to dismiss or disregard intratribal dynamics or regard Progressive members as acting as mere "puppets" in response to government interests. Viewing Indian people as merely reactive to external forces provides a limited and simplistic analysis of tribal people. This point of view assumes that

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Progressives act only in the interests of the Federal government and not for their own political and cultural survival.

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

From this review of the literature, three theories emerge in regards to Hopi progressivism and political history: (1) One theory is that the Progressive faction acted as mere "puppets" representing Federal interests and later through the "government" organized Hopi Tribal Council under the IRA (Spicer 1962; Lapham 1972; Clemmer 1972, 1978, 1986; Indian Law Resource Center 1979). This theory largely ignores the actions and voices of the Hopi people themselves. Furthermore, labeling the Progressives as mere "puppets" ignores the cultural context in which Hopis interpret and apply non-Hopi concepts and practices. (2) Another theory is that the Progressives represented "assimilationists" in Hopi society (Matthiessen 1979; Cleaves in Walker and Wyckoff 1983; Mander 1991). This theory is also problematic. While this view does examine Hopi responses, it underestimates the deeply rooted historical and cultural forces which shape the Hopi outcomes. Reflecting on Richard Clemmer's 1994 article, *The Hopi Traditionalist Movement*,<sup>5</sup> his analysis suggests another theory. (3) The Third theory developed in this thesis is that Hopi progressivism represented another form of the "modernity of tradition," progressivism is not a mere adoption of non-Hopi ideology and institutions, but is a creative adaptation to modernity, an

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incorporation of new ideology and institutions within the context of traditional Hopi political practices. Progressives adaptation of Hopi political tradition created a means of cultural and political survival. As the title of this thesis suggest, Hopi progressivism involved both change and continuance within the Hopi landscape in such a way that it opened the road to the IRA. Accordingly, in the course of Progressive development within Hopi society, leaders interpreted and utilized new (non-Hopi) concepts and institutions within the context of Hopi tradition to justify and rationalize its actions and decisions. This analysis suggests that all responses to change were based on Hopi tradition as a means of survival and continuance, regardless of the labels used to identify or group them.

This new perspective examines the historical and cultural context of not only Hopi responses to change, but also the role of Hopi history and political-culture in shaping ideological and institutional change. This thesis will reveal that Hopi factionalism is neither merely reactive, nor does it represent a transitional process, rather it represents two divergent means of political-culture change and adaptation within the context of traditional Hopi cultural.

Building on this last theory, specific elements from the literature on Hopi history, political practices and culture construct a model of Hopi political tradition. This model will be utilized for the analysis of Hopi progressivism at Third Mesa during the post Oraibi Split era. Whiteley's discussion of the traditional Hopi political ideology and practices as revealed in historical events during Spanish

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contact and later in the late nineteenth century creates a historical and cultural context for analysis of the Hopi Progressives following the Oraibi Split. This modeling includes the traditional Hopi concept of stewardship in which *Masau'u* and supernatural gives specific duties and responsibilities to the Hopi people in exchange for the supernatural powers and authority of the *Pavansinom*, a ruling elite group. The *Pavansinom's* power and authority is reflected in their ability and right, divinely confirmed, to *pasiani* (make decisions over the course of events) through the interpretation of prophecy (Whiteley 1988a: 226). In addition to the stewardship and reciprocal relationship between the supernatural and ruling elitist, the model of Hopi political tradition revealed in Whiteley's analysis, illustrates political practices of passive resistance through manipulation and delay. Moreover, geographical and political splitting represented a means to avoid confrontations and maintain a degree of internal cohesion. Incorporated within this model of Hopi political tradition is Geertz (1994) analysis of historical and modern interpretations of Hopi prophecy to rationalize and justify decision making. Additionally, Clemmer's mention of the Hopi Tribal Council's use of prophecy to justify mineral development activities during the 1970's is taken into consideration as a reflection of the continuance in Hopi political tradition (1979: 50).

Utilizing this empirical model of Hopi political tradition revealed in existing literature, a historical and cultural context will be created for analysis of the Hopi Progressives. The second process

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involved in this study will be the comparative analysis of Progressive political leadership and activities during the post Oraibi Split era to determine where changes and congruencies in the model occurs. This application will entail illustrating how the cultural changes of Hopi Progressives were created through conceptualizing and incorporating new ideology and institutions within Hopi tradition. Adopted within this approach is Huntington's (1971 cited in Wilkins 1993: 296) and Lloyd and Suzanne Rudolf's (1967 cited in Clemmer 1994: 130) description of modernity as a process in which new ideology and institutions are incorporated within existing cultural traditions. While the process of modernity has a transforming effect, there remains a unique core deeply embedded in tradition and culture.

Further supporting the appropriateness of this approach is Clemmer's brief mentions of the Hopi Tribal Council. Although spending much of his scholarly career badgering the Hopi Tribal Council, largely because of their involvement in mineral development, Clemmer admits that the Hopi Tribal Council represents one Hopi response "to perpetuate its vitality" (1979: 40). Reflecting on Clemmer's statement, this thesis will illustrate that the ideological and institutional developments among Hopi Progressives represents one groups' struggle for cultural and political survival. This overall model and framework will bring to light both the changes and continuance in Hopi ideology and institutions within the Progressive faction.

Ultimately, this framework will reveal how Hopi Progressives adaptation of Hopi political tradition during the post Oraibi Split era created parallels with the provisions of the IRA. Within the provisions of the IRA, many Hopi Progressives envisioned a path toward empowerment within Hopi society and in monopolizing the power and influence of the Federal government over their affairs. This study ultimately provides a new perspective to Hopi responses which recognizes the significance of Hopi Progressives in shaping the political landscape.

## Summary

What follows in chapter one is an overview of Hopi political tradition as revealed in Hopi history and culture. Through this overview, a model of Hopi traditional political ideology and institutions emerges creating a historical and cultural context for analysis of the Hopi Progressive faction. Following this review in chapter two, the emergence and unfolding of the Progressive faction at Third Mesa is traced through time during the post Oraibi Split era. Special attention is given to the leadership and activities of Hopi Progressives, particularly Otto Lomavitu of New Oraibi (Kykotsmovi) and Tuwaletstiwa (Fred Johnson), chief of the Bow clan, in Oraibi.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, analyses of the Progressives effort to establish a small hospital will reveal how this event crystallized Progressives' ideology and goals. Based on this review of events, chapter three analyzes how the Hopi Progressive faction conceptualized and incorporated

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new ideology and institutions in the context of Hopi history and culture by testing the model against the Progressive's history. This final analysis reveals how Progressive leadership and activities historically paved the way for the establishment of the Hopi Tribal Council under the IRA in 1936.

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## Chapter Two.

### A MODEL OF HOPI POLITICAL TRADITION

*Thus was engendered the dissension that has plagued humanity from that day to this ( Emergence Myth as told by Tewaquaptewa in 1906, James 1974: 3).*

In the Northeast region of Arizona lies the Hopi Reservation, established through Executive Order in 1882. Atop three jagged mesas are twelve Hopi villages: First Mesa consists of Sichomovi, Walipi, Hano (Tewa village), and Polacca; Second Mesa consists of Shongopavi, Shipaulovi, and Mishingnovi; lastly, Third Mesa consists of Oraibi, Hotevilla, Bacavi, Kykotsmovi (New Oraibi), and Upper and Lower Moencopi (Rushforth and Upham 1994: 10).

### HOPI CULTURE

Before the Federal government ever designated an area of land for the Hopi Reservation and before the establishment of twelve separate villages, Hopi oral tradition tells of internal struggles between good and bad among mankind in the Underworld. The oral tradition of emergence reveals prominent elements of Hopi ideology and practices at the root of Hopi tradition.<sup>7</sup> The emergence story reflects the important of internal social cohesion and the role of religious leaders in Hopi society. Internal dissension in Hopi society

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had catalyze effects on the welfare of the people and disrupted the religious relationship with the spirits who provided rain and nourishment for the people. Through a council of elders, Hopis enforced a reciprocal relationship with the spiritual world. This relationship was achieved through knowledge of ceremonial songs and ritual practices used to guide and empower the council of elders to protect the Hopi people. Thus, the religious leaders acted as stewards of the land and people through their supernatural knowledge and practices. It is worth presenting a paraphrased account by Tewaquaptewa in 1906 from James (1974: 2-8):

In the Underworld the people lived "in peace, friendship, and happiness." Then there came a time when the people "Spider Woman had created began to quarrel; first with each other, and later with the people who had been created by the two Hurung Whuti. The quarrelsome people became brutal and corrupt." Following this internal discord, drought and famine began to plagued the people. "The chief of all the people living in the Underworld called a meeting of his wisest councilors." The "wisemen" thought of how they might "protect" their good people "from the wicked ones."

After three days of council, on the forth day around the council fire the chief blew smoke from his pipe in the "four world directions, and up and down, while he made his prayers for guidance and power. After the "pipe made the circle of the wise ones," "each lit his won pipe, which in turn made the circle of the council, as once more they all prayed for guidance and power." Their prayers unanswered, they called to "Mockingbird" and "Yellow Bird" for guidance and power. Both Mockingbird and Yellow Bird turned into "Bird men" and directed the chiefs to build an altar

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with a "small ceremonial water bowl" in its center. Through the help of "Golden Eagle" and "Shrike," the chiefs learned of the Upper World. In the Upper World when Shrike emerged from the Underworld, a "fearsome-looking man" asked him of his "purpose." After Shrike told him of the "conditions" in the Underworld, the man told Shrike he was "*Masau'u-u*, the god of fire and Death,"<sup>8</sup> who lived there "in poverty, but in peace." *Masau'u-u* then told Shrike to "Tell those good people of the Underworld that, if they wish to share such a life, they are welcome."

Through ceremony and many prayers, a small animal, "Chipmunk," grew a "reed tree" tall enough to reach the Upper World. A hollow tree, the "good people" climbed up through the tree to "*Sipapu*" (the entrance to the Upper World). Mockingbird told the people were to live and taught them their language. Mockingbird sang his ceremonial songs and when he finished the "*Sipapu*" was closed off and no more people were allowed into the Upper World. The people trapped are said to "form the joints" of the reed tree.

Through an examination of the Hopi emergence story it is evident that quarrelsomeness was associated with corruption, discord and poor agricultural conditions.<sup>9</sup> Additionally, it should be noted that in response to these conditions a central chief oversaw the council of "wisemen." The strong relationship between knowledge of ceremonial songs possessed by "Mockingbird" and ritual knowledge of "Chipmunk" provided guidance and power to the council of "wisemen" for their emergence into the Upper World. The prayers for "guidance and power" was a recurrent theme in the emergence story. This points to religious knowledge and ritual as the source of

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leaders authority and power to "protect" the people through ensuring internal cohesion.

Following the emergence from the Underworld, the Hopis divided into groups in search for the lands "promised to them by Mockingbird" (James 1974: 9). As each group journeyed in search of the lands, they came upon "natural species and supernatural forces." symbolizing the designation of their clanships and clan societies (Whiteley 1988: 52). Each village, clan and ceremony has its own creation legend. Important for this analysis is the Bear Clan and the founding of Oraibi. The Bear Clan was "the first to arrive in the Hopi *Tusqua*, or land of the Hopi" (James 1974: 17). *Masau'u-u*, "patron of the earth and all food plants" gave the Bear Clan some of his land for their village and fields, in what now is Old Oraibi (ibid. at 18). In view of this founding and agreement with *Masau'u-u*, the Bear Clan had authority over land used in Oraibi; other clans could obtain use of specified fields upon the approval of the Bear Clan chief and in accordance to "*Masau'u-u's* instructions," provided that they contributed "ceremonies" for "the general welfare of the village" (ibid.). Initially, the Bear Clan had established a reciprocal relationship with *Masau'u-u* in which other clans could partake in this reciprocity under the discretion of the Bear Clan. Through the Hopi ceremonial system a "reciprocal" relationship is maintained between the Hopi people and "spirits of the other world" (Hieb 1979: 580). This reciprocity is expressed through prayers which "feed the spirits" and "make obligatory and compensative requirements of the

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spirits" to the Hopi people, often in the form of rains for good harvest (ibid.). Through this reciprocal relationship with the supernatural, Hopi leaders were guided and empowered to protect the welfare of the people. Moreover, the Bear Clan "owns" the Soyal ceremony, thus is recognized as the most powerful clan within the Hopi religious-political order (Rushforth and Upham 1992: 124). The Bear Clan, thus, maintained an important role in the reciprocal relations at Third Mesa.

In addition to the role of Hopi clanship, the village leaders acted as centers for Hopi internal cohesion. Each of the six original villages of the three mesas were governed by its own *Kikmongwi* (village chief) who acted as a "guide and advisor" and "interpreter of tradition" (Titiev, 1944: 64-65 cited in Whiteley 1988: 66). A council of clan and society chiefs advised the *Kikmongwi* (Clemmer 1979: 29-30). This elite class of leaders and their descendants gained their influence and political power through supernatural power attained in initiation rites and maintained through religious rituals (Whiteley 1988: 68). The *Kikmongwi* walked a "sacred path" in which he must avoid "ordinary quarrels" and "keep away from strife. Therefore he is sheltered, and while he exercises real authority, must be protected from unpleasant contacts" (La Farge 1936: 7). Hopi society was thus, traditionally and historically, ruled by religious elitists.

Each village had a distinct role in the Hopi ceremonial system with separate ceremonies, kivas and religious societies. Within these closely knit communities, Hopi social control was largely maintained

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through gossip (Cox 1970) and ridicule (Qoyawayma 1964: 72. Gossip internalized Hopi law and cultural values which created social controls based on "an implicit compact rather than by external force" (Ragsdale 1986: 448). "The tongues of the tribe are the great policing medium, public opinion the one thing against which no one can stand" (La Farge 1936: 3). Such social controls are further enforced in Hopi Clown dancers which exhibit both inappropriate behaviors and portray perspectives regarding internal and external conflicts (Geertz 1994).<sup>10</sup> Disputes were usually settled through arguing, rather than resort to violence which was abhorred in traditional Hopi society (La Farge 1936: 1-3).

Hopi communities and village life were structured to maintain social cohesion. Historical events shed light on the fundamental role of Hopi leadership in maintaining this internal cohesion. Although, these elites ruled at the village level and were autonomous within a village, during times of eminent threat, the *Pavansinom* from the various villages met secretly as a council (Townsend 1950; James 1974; Clemmer 1969, 1972; 1978: 29-30,33, Whiteley 1988a: 18-20, 31, 38 and 1988b; Rushforth and Upham 1992). In this council, decisions and plans were made, based on Hopi religious ideology. Accordingly, through religious knowledge and ritual, Hopi religious-political leaders received guidance and power for the "Third World" to make decisions for the betterment and "welfare" of Hopi people. As one Hopi informant explained to Whiteley "the *pavasinom* have the destiny of the people in their hands" (1988a: 69). According to

Whiteley's analysis, the practice of Hopi decision making is a "deliberate", and, *pasiani* which refers to "the process of decision making" which were "ritually agreed upon and 'sealed' in such a way that their planned consequences are ineluctable: 'once something is planned that way, it has to happen" (ibid. at 226). Hopi social and political ideology was centered around their reciprocal relationship to the spiritual world through religious and social responsibilities and practices. This ideology was incorporated within Hopi leadership, social structure and community life to maintain internal cohesion.

#### TRADITIONAL POLITICAL PRACTICES

The Oraibi village in Third Mesa is one of the earliest occupied<sup>11</sup> and politically important villages. While today Oraibi is "largely in ruins," historically it was the most politically and culturally important of the villages (James 1974: 13). According to census data taken in 1890-91 by Thomas Donaldson, there were 903 inhabitants in Oraibi with only 496 at First Mesa and 595 at Second Mesa villages (ibid. at 16). The historical significance and political ideology and practices of Oraibi is revealed in documented contacts with Spaniards and the United States Federal government (Titiev 1972; James 1974; Walker 1983; Whiteley 1988a, 1988b; Levy 1992).

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## Pueblo Revolt

Although the Hopis were located atop three high mesas and were more isolated than the Eastern Pueblos, Spanish government, military and missionaries frequented the Hopi villages during the Seventeenth century. During early Spanish contacts in 1540, the Hopis political system was described by Castaneda of the Spanish military, as governed by a council of the "oldest men" who "tell them how they are to live" (Whiteley 1988a: 14). Later military expeditions were accompanied by missionaries (ibid. at 16). As early as 1628, Catholic missions had been built at some Hopi villages. By 1680 missions had been built in "Awatovi, Oraibi, and Shongopavi" with an estimated "five friars" at Hopi (Rushforth and Upham 1992: 100; Whiteley 1988a: 16). The Franciscans used excessive force and brutality in subverting Hopi behavior.<sup>12</sup> For instance, in 1655 an Oraibi man was publicly beaten in the plaza and again at the mission, then "doused with turpentine" and burned alive for worshipping idols. Following this incident and other acts of brutality, a Hopi "delegation" made complaints to Spanish officials in Santa Fe (Rushforth and Upham 1974: 100).

Regardless of these complaints, the injustices and brutality continued (ibid. at 101). "Throughout this period Spaniards expropriated Pueblo lands, resources, and labor and made every attempt to abolish traditional Puebloan ways of life" (ibid.). It was this oppressive climate which culminated in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. In secrecy the Pueblo leaders devised a plan to attack the

Spaniards. In August of that year the Pueblo people revolted against the Spaniards: destroying the missions, killing the priest, and driving the colonist and Spanish officials out (Whiteley 1988a: 18-19; Rushforth and Upham 1992: 99-102; James 1974: 51-58). At Hopi the "Warrior Kachinas" killed the priest and threw them "off the mesa edge" (Whiteley 1988a: 18).

Following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the Franciscan, De Vargas returned in 1692 to reconquer the Eastern Pueblos. The Franciscans attempted to establish missionaries at First Mesa and Second Mesa, however, all of the villages refused except Awatovi at First Mesa (Whiteley 1988a:18-21; Rushforth and Upham 1992: 103). Shortly after Spanish reconquest of the Eastern Pueblos, Francisco de Espeleta, an Oraibi leader who was "raised and taught to read and write by the missionary Jose de Espeleta," lead Hopi diplomatic initiatives with the Spaniards (Hackett 1937: 385 cited in Whiteley 1988a: 19). In October 1700, Espeleta led a delegation from Oraibi to negotiate an agreement with the Spaniards. The Hopi delegation presented itself as "formal" representatives of a "foreign power" meeting with a body of representatives from another sovereign entity (Bandelier 1892: 371-71 cited in Whiteley 1988a: 19-20). The Hopi delegation proposed to maintain peaceful relations with the Spaniards and practice their own religion, rather than Christianity. Upon Spanish refusal of that offer, Espeleta attempted to renegotiate by offering them to "visit one pueblo each year for six years to baptize, but postponed permanent resident till the end of that

period" (Bancroft 1889: 222, cited in Whiteley 1988a: 20). The Spaniards again refused Espeleta's proposal. The Hopi delegation then returned to Oraibi.

Hopi leaders again planned a strategy for overcoming the Spaniards threat to their religious beliefs and practices. Hopi leaders "planned" and successfully destroyed the village of Awatovi, which had previously accepted the establishment of a Spaniard mission. The men of Awatovi were killed while the women and children were adopted into other villages. The buildings, farms and property of the village were destroyed and the village abandoned (Whiteley 1988: 20-21; Rushforth and Upham 1992: 104-105). Subsequently, the Hopi were never reconquered by the Spaniards.

## Education

In the early to mid-Nineteenth century after Spanish and Mexican attempts at conversion had subsided, the United States government and Anglo presence began to extend into Hopi Country. By 1869 an "independent Hopi Agency" was established (Cleaves in Walker and Wyckoff 1983: 44). The Federal government provided some annuities to the Hopis, but most rejected them (Whiteley 1988a: 75). Many of the Hopis incorporated American goods through "trade by barter, for cash, or for labor" (ibid. at 56), although, the members and villages differed in their degree of incorporation of American goods (Cleaves in Walker and Wyckoff 1983: 44). A Keams Canyon trading post "was operating in 1881" in addition to Hopi stores and post

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within the reservation (Kennard 1979: 559). Through this trade system, Hopis controlled the degree of incorporation of non-Hopi materials into their way of life: substituting soap rather than gather yucca and purchasing salt rather than gathering salt from the canyons (Titiev 1972).<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, by the late Nineteenth century, Federal assimilation policy began to make its way into the Hopi Reservation. In 1887, Thomas Keams, trader, organized a petition for to turn his trading post into a "boarding school" (Cleavers in Walker and Wyckoff 1983: 45). The names of twenty Hopis who also petitioned for the establishment of a school, although none were from Oraibi (James 1974: 106-107; Cleavers in Walker and Wyckoff: 44-45). On May 26, 1887, James Gallaher, the first school superintendent and also acting as Indian Agent, arrived at Keams Canyon to establish the Navajo-Hopi Office (Cleavers in Walker and Wyckoff: 44-45). Federal Indian policy at the time was largely geared toward the control and assimilation of Indian people. Under assimilation policy many tribal dances and religious practices were outlawed under the code of Federal regulations (Deloria and Lytle 1983: 113-115). During the assimilation policy era, Agents were given arbitrary authority over Indians within the reservations to use whatever means necessary for the ultimate "civilization" of Indian people. At Hopi, agents often battled both traditional leaders and tourists in their efforts to oppress Hopi ceremonies (James 1974: 123-129). Subsequently,

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agents often focused their assimilation programs on education of Hopi children.

However, once the Keams Canyon boarding school opened in 1887, the people of Oraibi refused to send their children because of interference with Hopi religious occasions (*ibid.* at 111). In Oraibi, those leaders who sought ways to provide a limited form of cooperation with the Federal government's forced education program were referred to by Federal officials as the "Friendlies." What began to distinguish the "Friendlies" from the "Hostiles" was the method of resistance (passive resistance), practiced among the "friendly" leaders as opposed to active resistance, practiced by the "hostile" leaders. However, as Whiteley noted, the Espeleta's negotiations with Spaniards for limited Christianity and earlier Hopi political practices, the Hopi practice of limited cooperation emerges as a traditional form of Hopi passive resistance (1988a: 18-29).

To illustrate this further, in 1887, acting in accord with the Federal government's forced education policy, Agent S.S. Patterson optimistically reported that "Even the Oraibi chief, whose people until recently despised the face of a white man, told me the other day that he would send two of his children to school, and would secure the attendance of several others from his village" (Patterson 1887: 178 cited in Whiteley 1988a: 74) Despite this promise of the Oraibi chief, Lololoma, no Oraibi children were sent to the Keams Canyon boarding school. Two years later in 1889, Navajo Agent C.E. Vandever, reported that "the [Oraibis], who have never sent a child

to school and never accepted but very little annuity goods. during my last visit promised to send half a dozen of their children to school" (Vandever 1889: 262 cited in Whiteley 1988a: 75).

To encourage Hopi cooperation and support for the Federal education policy, in 1890 C. E. Vandever, the Navajo agent, organized a trip for Oraibi leaders to Washington, including Lololoma from Oraibi (Whiteley 1988a: 75). Following this visit to Washington and the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, several village leaders supported having a school (James 1974: 111). Showing his cooperation, Lololoma requested that a day school be built in Oraibi for the children.

In 1890 the Oraibi day school was established; Lololoma again made a promise, this time to Donaldson, another Navajo Agent, that he would send his children to the Oraibi Day school and persuade his people to do the same (Donaldson 1893: 56 cited in Whiteley 1988a: 76). Donaldson, demanding a quota from each village within two weeks reported that "when the two weeks had expired and no children had arrived I waited another week, being informed in the meantime by Lololoma that he was being opposed by a large party in his village (Oraibi) in his effort to get children" (ibid.). These events reveal that the leaders of the "Friendlies," such as Lololoma, sought to maintain peace and avoid a confrontation with the Federal government through manipulation. Yet, beneath this front of cooperation, Lololoma's failure to send his children reflects his passive resistance to education.

Those who opposed Lololoma's practice of apparent cooperation but actual passive resistance to government education were led by Yukioma, head of the Kookop clan. Yukioma and his supporters were referred to as the "Hostiles" by Federal government officials. Yukioma called for absolute refusal of anything representative of the Federal government (Hopi Hearings 1955: 170). The Federal government often attempted to subvert Hostiles' resistance through imprisoning them at Alcatraz or placing them under "surveillance" at the Keams Canyon Office (Whiteley 1988a: 71-83). In addition to imprisonment, there were other forms of punishment for those who resisted Federal interference.

Shortly after Charles E. Burton's appointment as school superintendent in 1899, he began a policy of cutting Hopi men's long traditional hair styles to force obedience. James described how Agent Burton began this haircutting program as punishment for those who resisted his policies (1974: 123-129). Hopi hairstyles symbolized prestige in Hopi society; cutting Hopi men's hair was an act of public humiliation. When Oraibi resisted smallpox vaccinations in 1901, "sixteen police and employees" ordered the entire village out and "compelled" them to receive vaccinations (Whiteley 1988a:94). When four men continued to resist vaccination, their hair was cut and they were forcibly vaccinated (Burton 3-24-1901 cited in Whiteley 1988a: 94). Despite this treatment of Hostile leaders, (in part because of it) opposition to Federal government assimilation continued.

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In response to this continued active opposition to education by the Hostiles and the Friendlies passive resistance, school superintendent Ralph P. Collins, with the assistance of troops from Fort Defiance, raided Oraibi and captured 102 youngsters on December 28, (James 1974: 111). By 1893, an Oraibi Day school had been built with little success in enrolling students. Unlike the Keams Canyon Boarding school which maintained an average of 93 children, the Oraibi school had only 30 children (ibid. at 113).

### Allotment

In addition to its forced education policy, the Federal government attempted to allot Hopi lands in conformity to the Dawes Act (Allotment policy) of 1886. In 1892, allotment surveyors began the process of surveying the Hopi lands to assign 120 acre allotments to the heads of households and 85 acres to single tribal members (Deloria and Lytle 1983: 8-12). Again divergent Hopi responses between the Hostiles and Friendlies contrast between active resistance and passive resistance, similar to responses to education. In response to the allotment policy, all the survey stakes were destroyed and threats to destroy the Oraibi Day school were reported during the summer of 1891 (Whiteley 1988a: 78).

"As for the Friendlies, Mayhugh's (special Allotting Agent) correspondence reveals that Lololoma occasionally expressed a desire to accept his allotment (perhaps as Eighteenth-century Oraibi leaders expressed to missionaries a desire for Christianity), but would never

actually accept the one assigned voicing a variety of reasons" (ibid. at 81). In Whiteley, Mayhugh reported to the Bureau of Indian Affairs that "Lololoma told Mayhugh on more than one occasion that he could not take his allotment for fear of being killed by Heevi'ima [Hostile leader of Oraibi]" (Mayhugh 7-12-1893 cited in Whiteley 1988a: 82). Mayhugh increasingly described Lololoma as "evasive, equivocating, and often deliberately misleading" (ibid.). Interesting enough, a petition against allotment was organized by Lololoma and signed by 123 Hopi men, all "Friendlies" and over 50 were from Oraibi (ibid. at 81-82). Hopi lands were never successfully allotted and the effort was discontinued in February 1894 (ibid. at 81).

### The Oraibi Split

Review of Hopi responses to Federal education and allotment policy revealed a common resistance expressed through different means. However, this fractional dissension was further reflected in the Hopi ceremonial system (Rushforth and Upham 1991: 127). Fictional members refused to participate in the opposing factions ceremonies. Subsequently, Friendly and Hostile (neutral at Moencopi) kivas were created at Third Mesa (ibid.). A smallpox epidemic in 1898 and shifts in political leadership may have further contributed to the internal discord at Third Mesa (ibid.). This internal dissension sparked by responses to the Federal government and the social landscape culminated in the Oraibi Split of 1906. This event marked the geographical and religious separation of the "Hostiles" and

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"Friendlies" (Qoyawayma 1964: 42-48). According to traditional prophecy one faction was required to leave Oraibi, but "neither wished to go" (Whiteley 1988a: 103-118). Tensions peaked when Lomahongyoma, Hostile leader from Oraibi, invited several Second Mesa supporters to Oraibi. The Friendlies, numbering 324, were "outraged at the distribution of their lands to Second Mesa villagers" (Cleaves in Walker and Wytckoff: 47). Yukioma challenged Tawaquaptewa, who descended Loololma approximately in 1901, to a "pushing contest" (Rushforth and Upham 1991: 127). Yukioma and his supporters were pushed over a line drawn in the dirt, thus they were required to leave Oraibi and establish a new village at as foretold by prophecy (Whiteley 1988b: 57). Noting Yukioma's disappointment in the outcome, Naquavehema declared "We must go on to fulfill our destiny" (ibid.). The Hostiles headed north "to the land of Ka-weis-ti-ma, told of in their religious songs" (ibid.).

However, the Hostiles stopped at Hotevilla to camp temporarily, eight miles northwest of Oraibi (James 1974: 14, 138-139). Federal officials arrested Yukioma and several other who refused to return to Oraibi and placed their children in Keams Canyon School where they stayed for five years (Whiteley 1988a, 1988b; James 1974). Lomahongyoma, a Hostile who had split from Yukioma, and his supporters returned to Oraibi (ibid.). Tewaquaptewa was sent to the Sherman Institute, in California to learn English and "the white man's ways" (James 1974: 139-142). The government's intention was to gain the loyalty and cooperation of both leaders. However, when

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Tewaquaptewa returned from the Sherman Institute in 1909 he demanded the removal of those who had returned to Oraibi.

Lead by Lomahongyoma, they left and founded Bacavi, eight miles north of Oraibi (James 1974: 12; Whiteley 1988b).<sup>14</sup> According to Whiteley's findings between 150-160 members out of a total of 485 Hostile members founded Bacavi (1988a: 6). Among those who founded Bacavi, a large proportion of them were important religious leaders (ibid.) Yet, once settled in Bacavi, these once "Hostiles" adopted a "policy of cooperation" (Whiteley 1988b: 139-149). Subsequently, as early as 1909, Bacavi leaders requested that the Federal government established a day school within the village and allot their lands (ibid. at 68-69, 99-109, 139).

Although Tewaquaptewa was characterized as a Friendly, he never fully accepted Federal government policy, nor Christianity (James 1974: 142-143). Even though he remained resistant to the Federal government's policy, the Oraibi Split signified Hopi prophecy for the abandonment of Oraibi and the ceremonial system (similar to the destruction and abandonment of Awatavi) (James 1974; Whiteley 1988a, for counter views of the ending of the Hopi ceremonial system see Levy 1992). Accordingly, to ensure the fulfillment of the prophecy Tewaquaptewa persuaded many to leave the village, including those who accepted Christianity (James 1974: 143). Increasingly, Oraibi population "dwindled" (Qoyawayma 1964: 48). The depletion of Oraibi clansmen disrupted the village ceremonial

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system (ibid. at 47). Moreover, the Bear Clan "lost face by the break [Oraibi Split] in the Hopi ranks" (ibid.).

Many less conservative Hopis migrated to New Oraibi (Kykotsmovi) just below the mesa. In addition to the less conservatives, many Hopis migrated to Kykotsmovi for better water supply and proximity to the mission, post office and store (James 1974: 143; Whiteley 1988a: 123; Qoyawayma 1964: 142). The village of Kykotsmovi was gradually established through this migration of less conservative members. Eventually Kykotsmovi established a plaza and built ceremonial kivas, for Kachina dances. However, according to Whiteley, neither Kykotsmovi or Moencopi practiced "much of the ceremonial cycle or had traditional forms of government" (Whiteley 1988a: 232). Rather, Moencopi was largely dependent on Oraibi for its ceremonies and political leadership, whereas, Kykotsmovi separated from the traditional religious-political system (Whiteley 1988b: 226, 232).

In partial fulfillment of Hopi prophecy Tewaquaptewa declared that no supernatural or ceremonial authority, (thus, religious-political authority), would exist within the newly founded villages that split off from Oraibi.<sup>15</sup> Despite this declaration by Tewaquaptewa, Hotevilla reestablished the traditional religious-political system within their village. Upon Yukioma's return from jail with his supporters, the people of Hotevilla wished to reestablish the traditional ceremonial system. Yukioma hesitated, but gave in to the pressure and stated that it would only be temporarily since prophecy

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foretold of the end to the tradition and its power (Whiteley 1988b: 148). "Yukioma wasn't personally in favor of beginning them [*Wuwtsim* ceremonies] again, but the people wanted to, so he agreed to go along with it" (ibid.) Although Hotevilla continues some of the ceremonial system, there were few important leaders with knowledge or authority under the traditional system (ibid. at 140). Consequently, Hotevilla is now recognized as a commoner village and depends on Oraibi for religious and political authority.

Hostiles response in the cultural context reflect "fatalism" (Qoyawayma 1964: 46). Following Yukioma's arrest after the Oraibi Split, he believed he would be left alone and die only after his forth imprisonment by Federal officials (ibid.). "Fatalism was ingrained in Yeokeoma, as it is in all Hopis" (ibid.). For instance, at an unknown date during the post Split era, after continues episodes of imprisonment and public humiliation, Yukioma asked the Hopi agent to behead him (Hopi Hearings, 1955: 170). It was explained by Johnson, a Mormon convert from Oraibi, that through such a sacrifice he would recover his land, become a great man, and also be vested with the authority of the elders (from the Third World) "who were in authority before the Hopis came from below somewhere upon this earth" (Ibid.). Yet, according to findings of Levy, Yukioma requested that the Federal government behead friendly chief, Tewaquaptewa to end the conflicts (1992: 134,144).

The Oraibi Split represents a "Hopi way" of confronting internal dissension and creating renewal within Hopi society (Levy 1992:

124). In light of the internal cohesiveness of Hopi society and abhorrence of violence, the tradition of splitting when internal dissension erupted acted as a means for avoiding conflict and maintaining internal cohesion. Moreover, this tradition of splitting is revealed in the emergence myth discussed in the previous pages.

### CONCLUSION

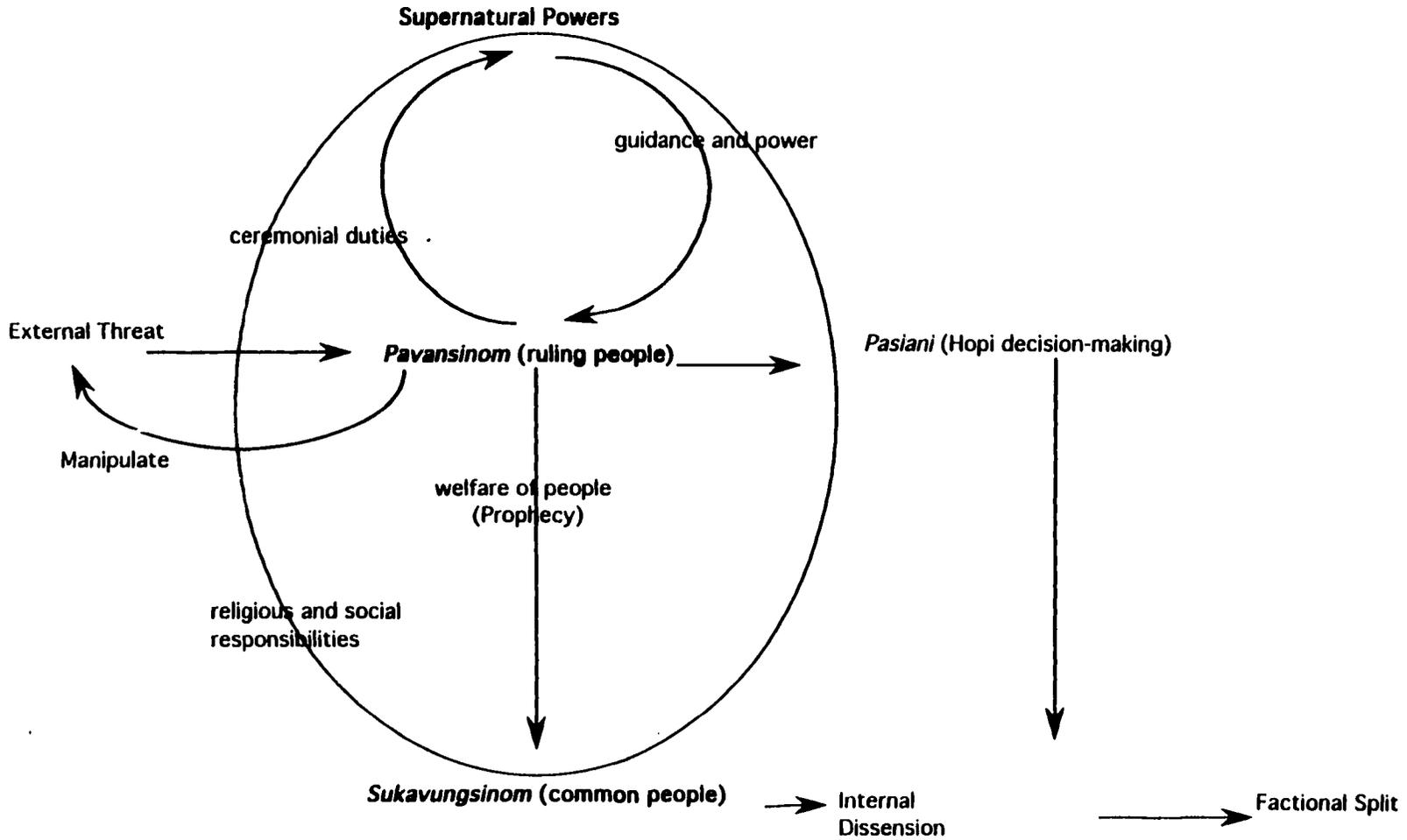
Historical relations with the Spaniards and later the United States Federal government under assimilation policies reveal the role of Hopi culture, political ideology and practices within Hopi society. Hopi social and political life enforced internal social cohesiveness through social controls, such as gossip and clown dancers and religious controls, such as ceremonial obligations and the interpretation of prophecy. Internal cohesion within Hopi society enforced and maintained Hopis' reciprocal relationship with the supernatural which the well being of the people depended on. When internal dissension disrupted this cohesion, thus the reciprocal relationship, the *Pavansinom* (ruling people) determined the course of events through the interpretation of prophecy. Hopi prophecy called for the renewal of Hopi society, whether through destruction, splitting, or beheading. Through the geographic and political splitting of factions confrontations are subsided and a degree of renewal is created as was revealed in the emergence myth and the Oraibi Split. However, when external forces posed a threat to the traditional "Hopi way," the *Pavansinom* attempted to manipulate the opposition to

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delay or avoid confrontation. Often through manipulation, the Pavanisinom convinced external forces that they were cooperating as revealed in the Pavanisinom's response to Spaniard missionaries and the United States government education and allotment programs.

Through a review of these political relations and the events which unfolded during early contact, a model of Hopi political tradition emerged. This model provides insight into traditional political ideology, structure, and practices prior to the development of Hopi Progressive leadership following the Oraibi Split in 1906.

Figure 2-1  
Model: Hopi Political Tradition



## **Chapter Three**

### **EMERGENCE & UNFOLDING OF HOPI PROGRESSIVISM**

This chapter describes the distinctive characteristics of and political activities among Hopi Progressive leadership. Through tracing the role of Progressive leadership in the Hopi political landscape following the Oraibi Split through the 1930s, this chapter reveals the changes and continuance in Hopi political tradition. The leadership of Otto Lomavitu and Fred Johnson, in particular, created a landscape with political discourses and institutions similar to the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

#### **PROGRESSIVE LEADERSHIP AND ACTIVITIES**

In the village of Kykotsmovi (New Oraibi), established between 1906 and 1909 by less conservative members of Oraibi, the traditional religious-political system was never reestablished. Largely a progressive village, residents looked to secular models of government and leadership. Leadership was represented by those who assumed it. Many of the more educated Hopis, primarily the younger generation, assumed such leadership in Kykotsmovi (New Oraibi). One prominent progressive leader from New Oraibi was Otto Lomavitu. Lomavitu was a full blood Hopi who was educated at Chilocco Indian Boarding School in Oklahoma and later in an Oakland, California high school (Senate Hearings 1931: 9379-80). Actively

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involved in the Mennonite missionary work for approximately sixteen years. Fluent in both Hopi and English, Lomavitu translated scriptures from the New Testament to Hopi and frequently worked for the Hopi agents as an interpreter (*ibid.* at 9379).

Another prominent leader during the post Oraibi Split era was Tuwaletstiwa (Fred Johnson) chief of the Two-Horn Brotherhood at Oraibi. Johnson is described as an old man who walked with a limp (Waters 1963: 382 cited in Geertz 1994: 19). It is said that Johnson had challenged another man to a horse race to test their powers of healing. As the other man declined to the challenge, Johnson's horse bolted, knocking Johnson to the ground. His leg was broken in the fall and his leg never healed properly (Geertz 1994: 19). It may very well be that this incident signified a new path for Johnson along his road in life. Comparable to the events in Sun Chief's life which directed him off the path of education and Christianity back toward the "Hopi way" (Talayesva 1942).

### Political Organization

Lomavitu described the traditional political organization within the other Hopi villages "on the line of a monarchy, autocracy, or elder statesman's system" in which the chief of each village has independent authority over his village members (Senate 1931: 9369). The chief is assisted by a few councilors who are either appointed by the chief or "through hereditary rights" (*ibid.*). It is worth noting that Lomavitu did not comment on the role of religion

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as an aspect of the traditional Hopi government system as one might suspect he would.

Unlike the political organization of the other Hopi villages which incorporated the traditional religious-political system within their government, Kykotsmovi's political organization was led by progressive leader Otto Lomavitu. As early as 1916, Lomavitu was organizing a council government in Kykotsmovi (Keams Canyon Office Diary, 5-1-1916; Whiteley, 1988a: 234 n. 13).<sup>16</sup> In this early stage of progressive political development, an effort was made to establish a central government body linking each village together. Through such a central body of government, progressive leadership would have greater influence and representation within Hopi society. According to Lomavitu's testimony at the 1931 Senate Subcommittee hearing in Oraibi:

Some four or five years ago we attempted to form an organization among the village people throughout the reservation and we called it the Federation of Hopi Indians but through lack of cooperation on the part of the older people why the thing was abandoned. Since then we have formed this organization [Hopi Council of New Oraibi] up in this village [New Oraibi] and it has functioned very well so far (Senate 1931: 9368).

The organization of the "Federation of Hopi Indians" was initiated in either 1926 or 1927 according to Lomavitu (ibid.). The intention was apparently to form a central government body with both Traditional and Progressive leadership through out the Hopi reservation. Within

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New Oraibi the organization was continued, however, it remained open to all male Hopis. According to Lomavitu, the Council of New Oraibi had approximately "250 educated Indians with older ones in village of New Oraibi and practically every one enrolled under this organization" (Senate 1931: 9410). In fact, according to Lomavitu there were a number of members on the Council from First Mesa (ibid.). Also, Tuwaletstiwa from Oraibi later became increasingly involved in the Council of New Oraibi during the late 1920s (Whiteley 1992).

### Crusade Against Hopi Ceremonial System

Following the Oraibi Split and though the 1920s, Federal Indian policy of assimilation was being actively enforced through out Indian country. Hopi Agent Charles Burke used "threats to persuade Hopi leaders" to give up their ceremonies (James 1974: 190). Moreover, increasing word came to the Hopi of the "Indian Bureau's campaign" against Pueblo religious practices (ibid. at 189). These policies against religious ceremonies posed a direct threatened the traditional Hopi religious-political authority and power.

This climate of religious oppression propelled many Hopis to align with and garner support from non-governmental organizations which sympathized with Indian religious freedom struggles (ibid. at 185-192). Sakwaitewa (Burt Fredericks), and Monroe Fredericks, attended meeting of the New Mexico Association for Indian Affairs and the National Association to Help the Indians on behalf of

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Tewaquaptewa for religious freedom support (ibid. at 189). Franklin Nooma of Moencopi also rallied support for Tewaquaptewa through the Association on Indian Affairs in Phoenix (ibid.).

While the Traditionalists were campaigning with non-governmental organizations for support of Hopi ceremonies, Progressive leaders campaigned with the Federal government "to break down Hopi religious solidarity" (ibid.). Tewaquaptewa's third brother, Charles Fredricks and five other Christian converts urged "Superintendent Edgen J. Miller, to throw Tewaquaptewa into jail" (ibid.).

In addition to the alliance with Agent Miller, some Progressives crusaded against the Hopi ceremonies through the traditional order. An important event was led by Tuwaletstiwa (Fred Johnson) in 1922. As chief of the *Aa'alt* (Two-Horn) Brotherhood at Oraibi, Tuwaletstiwa had authority and "ownership" over the Two-Horn altar. When Tuwaletstiwa's aunt died, one of the last of his clan, he embraced Hopi prophecy foretold by Loololma in 1906 which called for the abolishment of Hopi ceremonies (Geertz 1994: 20-22). The death of his aunt signified the unfolding of Loololma's prophecy. Upon this revelation, Tuwaletstiwa decided he would burn the Two-Horn altar to open the door to Christianity as a way out of the ceremonial system in fulfillment of prophecy (ibid.). After discussing his plans with Otto Lomavitu and the Church he proceeded to retrieve the altar from Yukioma at Hotevilla, in which it was loaned. Knowing of Tuwaletstiwa's plans to burn the altar, Yukioma handed

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them over and said: "Alas! it has come, but so must it be. By destroying these things you will have destroyed the very foundation of our ceremonies. The conflagration must spread. Take these and so as you have said" (Suderman n.d: 4, cited in Geertz 1994: 22). The words of Yukioma signified his recognition and compliance to Hopi prophecy calling for the end of the ceremonial system.

Through ceremonial songs and ritual Tuwaletstiwa and Lomavitu ritually prepared the altar for the forthcoming public burning at Oraibi. For four days the "village crier"<sup>17</sup> informing Hopis of the event. On the same day the Snake Dance was scheduled, which attracted numerous tourists, with much ritual Tuwaletstiwa began the public burning of the altar (Whiteley 1992: 53). As he declared the abolishment of Hopi ceremonies, the Christians sang hems. Tuwaletstiwa saw Christianity as "a way out of Hopi ceremonies" (Geertz 1994: 19-36). Through embracing Hopi prophecy in response to the near extinguishment of the Bow Clan and great internal discord, Tuwaletstiwa called for the abolishment of the Hopi ceremonial system.

#### HOSPITAL: SEARCH FOR EMPOWERMENT

Although Hopi Progressive leadership made many attempts to assert their authority and influence within Hopi society, their activities continued to be subject to the ultimate authority of the village *Kikmongwi*. Despite this continued rule of the Hopi religious

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elite and their supporters, Progressive leaders made many attempts to establish non-Hopi institutions. Subsequently, when Traditional leaders opposed these attempts, Progressives often challenged the Traditionals' authority to stop them. This struggle over authority was clearly demonstrated in the events during and following the proceedings over the construction of a small hospital in Oraibi. This event in 1929, set into motion the crystallization of Hopi Progressives struggle for empowerment. This event brings to light the frustrations of Hopi Progressives and their determination for political and cultural empowerment within Hopi society. In effect, it was a catalyst for the continued development of Progressive leadership.

During the summer of 1929 Byron Adams proposed the construction of a small hospital on his property within Oraibi (Senate 1931: 9402). His wife, a trained and registered nurse, was willing to provide and make available Western medicine to Hopi tribal members (*ibid.*). Adams shared his idea with Lomavitu and other progressive members who then mostly supported the idea. Having to work within the traditional Hopi system, a council was held at Adam's home to discuss the matter with traditional leaders from all three mesas (*ibid.*).

Although Hopi council proceedings were not recorded, Lomavitu's written statement of 6 August 1929, to Agent Miller regarding the council at Adam's home, provides valuable insight into his perceptions of Traditional leadership and the role of the Federal government. According to Lomavitu, the traditional leaders opposed

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the hospital because they were holding on to a way of life that was "uncivilized" and "outmoded" (ibid. at 9402-03).

The council decided against the hospital for various reasons (ibid. at 9403). According to Otto Lomavitu, the village chief of Polacca, Tunoa, argued as follows: "He (Byron P. Adams) must not build. He may eventually draw away our people to his way, thus bringing to a premature end our Indian life" (ibid.). Furthermore, Lomavitu cited Tom Pavatea, a Hopi trader from First Mesa as stating that "it may be that through rapid progress of some of our educated boys the government may declare us self-efficient and thus withdraw its oversight over us" (ibid.). Lomavitu went on to write that, in general, those who opposed the hospital argued that they were "afraid that some outsider, a white man, who finances you [Byron Adams], may creep in to claim our land" (ibid.).

Having no recourse within the traditional council, the Progressives attempted to appoint Agent Miller as "chief" and stated that what ever decision he makes, they would "stand beside him" (Senate 1931: 9402-9403). The Progressives were hopeful that Miller would overturn the council's decision, in so doing, sanction the "non-Hopi way". But, Miller rejected the appointment and stated that "the decision stands as it is" (ibid.). Clearly, the Progressives, by initially discussing the matter with traditional leaders, first attempted to work with the Traditional leadership; however, when the system failed to uphold a favorable decision, they turned to Miller for recourse. As an ad hoc strategy the Progressives resorted

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to placing themselves under a government representative to fulfill their political interests.

### Progressives Campaign for Empowerment

Outraged by this outcome, Lomavitu made declarations to the Federal government against the traditional leaders authority as "oppressive" and Agent Miller's administration as a legal and moral failure. These declarations were documented in a letter to Miller on 6 August 1929, and a petition to the Secretary of the Interior against Miller as seen in the 1931 Senate Subcommittee Hearing at Oraibi.<sup>18</sup> Lomavitu argued that the traditional leaders were uneducated and the traditional councils were "barbaric" and "oppressive" of the more educated Hopis (Correspondence to Miller in Senate 1931: 9402-9403).

Lomavitu argued that these chiefs were "barbaric" and "uncivilized", yet they had the ultimate authority in decisions. Consequently, in Lomavitu's view, the chiefs used this authority to oppress the more progressive Hopis and undermine their influence of "civilery" over other tribal members (ibid. at 9402). Lomavitu argued that:

Must we, who have some education and who desire to progress in better living always have our ambitions be subject to the approval of the other Indians who are more or less clinging to the old ways (Senate Hearings, 1931: 9402-3).

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While being subject to the authority of a traditional system which was viewed by Lomavitu as inferior, his statement reflected his claims to the value of education and the legitimacy of "progressivism". He made it clear that in his judgment no matter what others wished for, the chiefs had the ultimate authority in the issue and often refused to listen to opposing views (ibid. at 9402). Lomavitu argued that:

So long as the so-called judges and the headmen are present at the councils of the Hopi Indians no laymen may speak without being considered *presumptuous*. Moreover, no person, be he *gifted*, can hope to divert the trend of thought or have his word heeded without the final sanction of the recognized chief. '*Majority*' has no weight at these councils as it has among the more enlightened and civilized people. Thus, you will readily see that the younger generation or the returned students are held in check. (Senate Hearings, 1931: 9402-3). [emphasis added]

Lomavitu's testimonies against the traditional Hopi government reflected his frustrations under an elitist system of government that failed to represent progressive views and concerns. In Lomavitu's judgment the traditional council of chiefs dismissed and ridiculed the opinions and voices of the more "gifted," educated and "civilized" members as being arrogant. Moreover, he argued the system itself was inferior to non-Hopi forms of government which were based on representation rather than elitism.

Having no representation within the traditional system, the Progressives choose Miller as their "chief" to represent them in the council. Lomavitu reasserted Progressives support of Miller in the words of Maho, of Walpi, provided Miller side with their interests:

To prove this, let me quote Maho, who only said what others had been saying, 'You are our leaders (chief). We will abide by your decision. I (we) will follow you all the way. Were you go over the cliff I will follow you.' And this, after you [Miller] said you would stand behind the decision of the head men and after the decision was made" (ibid., at 9402-9403).

Miller as their representative, in light of the fact that prior to the meeting he had expressed his support of the hospital construction. Accordingly, as the Progressives' representative, they would have stood behind him. As Lomavitu's statement reflected, just as Maho continued to stand behind Miller's decision even though in the end Miller refused to reverse the decision, they expected Miller to do the same.

Finally, Lomavitu contended that Miller's recognition of these "uneducated" chiefs and their authority was oppressive of the more educated and civilized Hopis (Senate Hearings, 1931: 9402). Writing to Miller, Lomavitu asked whether "you [Miller] stand behind them [chiefs] in their decision which was in favor of the non progressive party (for the old Indian life with its superstitious practices)? Have you no backing for the returned student?" (ibid. at 9403).

Having no backing within the council or from Miller. Lomavitu wrote a petition to the Federal government contained five points of contention against Miller's administration, declaring it a legal and moral failure (petition in Senate 1931: 9400-9402). First, Lomavitu argued that since Miller's administration for the past eight years, he failed to hold bi-monthly meetings for consoling Hopis' grievances as he had promised to. Secondly, Lomavitu strongly opposed Miller's involvement in Hopi ceremonies. He argued that Miller condoned and actively encouraged the "old ways," such as the "buffalo dance and snake dance" ceremonies, while oppressing the views and activities of the educated Indians (ibid. at 9401).

Since his [Miller] arrival on the Hopi Reservation he has been noticeably active in promoting or encouraging directly or indirectly our Hopi people to participate in public shows outside the reservation in contributing Indian dancing, such as the buffalo dance, or on the reservation, such as the snake dance. We understand that the policy of the Indian Office is to gradually wean the Indian from the old ways. We Hopis consider this flagitious and an injustice to us, because these things take up much time and must necessarily occupy his mind, thus crowding out all time for concentrating on our problems besides reflecting on us for evil (Senate 1931: 9401).

He stated that Miller's Indian policy was to hold the "educated Indians in check, because they may lead others to abandon old life and become worthy citizens" (ibid. at 9404). Lomavitu's

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understanding of Federal Indian policies were to assimilate Indian people through oppression of ceremonial dances, rather than condone them. Such views held by Lomavitu reflected the influences of both missionaries and the policies of past agents at Hopi. Third, related to Lomavitu's concern over Hopi ceremonies is his concern over the exploitation of Hopis through tourism. Following white tourists observance of a snake dance at Hotevilla, according to Lomavitu, Miller had "his native policeman announce" to Hopis who had rented their homes to tourist to provide accommodations free of charge.

Forth, Lomavitu attested Miller's failure to punish the immoral conduct of his employees. Lomavitu described how a Hotevilla teacher, Miss Ring, physically abused a young boy before his classmates causing internal bleeding and ultimately his death. According to Lomavitu's account, Miss Ring used excessive force to discipline children.

She snatched the boy by the shoulders, jerking him fiercely, landing him against the corner of his desk. She again jerked him, this time crumbling him under the desk. She yelled at him to get up, saying that he was not hurt. She pulled him up and pushed him to is desk. The boy died four days later. When his body was examined there was an ugly bruise above the pelvis bone (Senate 1931: 9401).

Following this event, the boy's father brought the matter before the Holbrook court with Lomavitu as his interpreter. Before officials,

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referring back to Lomavitu's involvement with Johnson in the burning of "those idols", Miller accused Lomavitu of being a "meddler" (ibid. at 9401-02). The case was then dismissed and Miller "simply exonerated the teacher" (ibid. at 9401-02). In addition to this mistreatment of children by school officials, many Hopi Progressives complained about Miller's failure to punish the immoral activities of his officials and the Hopis. Finally, in his petition, Lomavitu contended that Miller "frustrated progress of the educated Indians" (ibid. at 4402). He described Miller's failure to overturn the traditional council's decision against the construction of the hospital at Oraibi.

Aside from the petition against Miller to the Federal government, Lomavitu's testimony at the 1931 Senate Hearing in Oraibi further elaborates on his grievances under Miller's administration. Of primary concern were both the misconduct of employees under Miller and treatment toward the "more educated Hopis." Among the misconduct of employees contested by Lomavitu was the school principal, Duvall, who committed adultery and then divorced his wife to marry the other women. Such immoral conduct by officials, which were viewed as immoral influence within Hopi society, were outside the dominion of Hopi social controls. Subsequently, Lomavitu expected the Federal government to prohibit these immoral acts. Furthermore, Lomavitu complained that the Indian police selected by Miller committed immoral acts such as divorcing their wives and in preginating and marrying other women,

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which resulted in "breaking up families and the community and presenting immoral examples" to the Hopi people (Senate Hearings 1931: 9406-07). Despite this "immoral" conduct, Lomavitu complained that Miller did not punish them and continued to employ them (ibid.). Moreover, Lomavitu's argued against Miller's disregard for Progressive's views and neutrality. "Instead of welcoming friendly criticism and opinions of the educated Indians, Mr. Miller calls them 'meddlers.' Instead of talking with them and trying to understand them, he calls them trouble makers" (ibid. at 9404). Miller's low regard for progressive views frustrated Lomavitu. It gave Progressives no means of recourse for grievances and undermined their influence over their own affairs. Lomavitu explained "We want a man who will be a Hopi agent and whose time and interests will be given to the betterment of our people" (Ibid. at 9404).

Miller in reply explained that "the government had jurisdiction over Federal offenses, but no laws to punish moral conduct of Hopis on the reservation" (ibid. at 9407). Lomavitu argued that the Federal government had a legal and moral duty to protect educated Hopis and usurp the traditional leadership's authority and power if it interfered or threatened progress toward civilization.

Thus, you will readily see that the younger generation or the returned students are held in check. Their only hope and salvation rest with the government agent and his employees. They must back them up in their

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worthy enterprise if they wish to see the fruit of their labor" (Senate Hearings, 1931: 9402).

Lomavitu's statement reflects his frustration of the, perceived or real, tutelage of the traditional system and Miller's administration. In light of these feelings of oppression experienced by Lomavitu he pled for Federal protections of the "more educated" Hopis desire for a less conservative way of life. In line with the Federal government's assimilation policies, Lomavitu asserted that Progressives should be protected by the government. Lomavitu elaborated on his conception of the legal and moral relationship between the Federal government and educated Hopis:

Forgive me if I seem to be overzealous, but I, for one, am longing to see educated Indians meet their obligation to the generous government by putting into actual practice what they have learned in school (Senate Hearings, 1931: 9403).

Accordingly, in addition to the Federal government's duty to educated Hopis, Lomavitu proclaimed that the "educated Indians" had accountability to the Federal government.

In retrospect, Lomavitu opposed the Traditionals" and Miller's administration because neither entity recognized nor represented the Progressives' views. Both the Traditionals' and Miller were seen as oppressive of the more "educated Hopis" whom were treated as "meddlers" and "presumptuous" whenever they voiced their opinion

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or acted on their interests. Having no recourse within the Traditional system nor from Miller, Lomavitu turned to the Federal government as a forum for their grievances. In Lomavitu's view the Federal government and educated Hopis had a reciprocal legal and moral obligation to further the "civilization" of Hopis.

During the post Oraibi Split era the internal discord within the Traditional Hopi religious-political system combined with the historical and contemporary external influences within Hopi society, in effect, created a power vacuum at Third Mesa. The decline in both Hopi ceremonies and clans following the Oraibi Split combined with Loololma's prophecy of the abolishment of the ceremonial system directly threatened the traditional leadership and system of government. Moreover, the leadership of Tuwaletstiwa and Lomavitu actively demonstrate against the traditional system through utilizing both the Federal government and traditional Hopi concepts and political tradition, thus creating an alternative to the traditional order.

#### HOPI COUNCIL OF NEW ORAIBI CONSTITUTION

As an alternative to the traditional order and in accord with Federal political ideology and institutions, Lomavitu sought to further legitimize the Hopi Council of New Oraibi through establishing a constitution and by-laws. By May 18, 1931 the Hopi Council of New Oraibi had formed its own constitution and by-laws as an

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independent government separate from the traditional system to represent the Hopis in internal and external affairs (Ibid. at 9409-9410).

### Council Leadership and Structure

According to the constitution, the council was to consist of education Hopi men who assert their authority according to the structure and functions of the Council. The provisions reveal not only an American model of government, but also some distinguishing features regarding progressive ideology. Particularly of interest is how Progressives interpret and incorporate American principles of government within the context of Hopi culture and history.

The Council was to consist of elected officers including a president, vice-president, treasurer, secretary and a sergeant at arms (Senate Hearing 1931: 9409). Offices were to be elected by the members. Membership open to all Hopi males. In addition to the council, a four member advisor board would consist of "*educated*" and "*mature*" Hopis who "understand transitions of different kinds" (ibid.). [emphasis added]

### Council Purpose and Objectives

Article five of the Constitution described four objects and purposes of the Council. First, "To hold the tribe in a bond of peace through mutual understanding and cooperation." Second, "To act as a medium for better understanding between the United States Government, the

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officials who labor amongst us, and the Hopi Tribe through cooperation for the up building of our people." Third, "To defend our individual and tribal rights against encroachment as citizens of the united States, howbeit welcoming any aid which may be given our tribe free from graft." Fourth, "To be the channel through which governmental announcement and transactions shall be made in things pertaining to the Hopi Tribe" (ibid. at 9409). In regards to religion, Article VI stated that the council "shall be neutral." This Article declared that the intention of the council was:

To cooperate with our Indian chiefs and elders in so far as they seek the *welfare* of our Hopi people, keeping in view that we are approaching a new era in Indian life, sponsored by the Government, with a view of finally absorbing the tribe into its full citizenry, and for which purpose the government has placed its employees among us" (Senate Hearing 1931: 9409).  
[emphasis added]

Through remaining "neutral" on issues pertaining to religion, the Council avoids confrontation with Traditional leaders.

The New Oraibi Constitution reflected Progressives policy of cooperation, both internally among the Hopis and village leaders and externally with the Federal government. Under a policy of cooperation Progressive leadership could avoid direct confrontation and open the way for greater support from Traditional leaders. Additionally, the Constitution reflected Progressives intent to represent the Hopi people as a sovereign entity in regard to external

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relations with the Federal government and external conflicts. such as. encroachment on Hopi lands.

### CONCLUSION

During the post Oraibi Split era, Hopi Progressive leadership and political activities were extensive and instrumental. The basic issues involving Progressive leadership and events were gaining empowerment while confronting the council of chiefs. Since the traditional leadership continued to have authority over Progressive members and great influence within Hopi society while according to Lomavitu, it conflicted with Federal Indian policy of assimilation. Hopi Progressives looked to the Federal government for protection and empowerment.

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## Chapter Four.

### THE IRA ROAD IS PAVED

*No tribe simply adopted the forms of government suggested by the Federal government. The peoples of the reservation always made adaptations that suited their needs (Deloria and Lytle 1983: 98).*

The post Oraibi Split era, a time of transformation, constituted the first phase of the Hopi Progressives' struggle for political and cultural empowerment. During this era of change,<sup>19</sup> Hopi progressives conceptualized and incorporated new, non-Hopi ideology and institutions within Hopi political tradition. In turn, Progressive leaders' changes to and adaptations of Hopi political tradition created a landscape that enabled the establishment of the Hopi Tribal Council under the IRA in 1936. For many Hopi Progressive leaders, the IRA symbolized a path toward empowerment and signified an avenue for renewal, which prophecy had foretold thirty years before in 1906.

### STRUGGLE FOR EMPOWERMENT

During the post Oraibi Split era, Hopi Progressives struggled for internal power and influence within their lands and society. Their experience the misconduct of Federal officials, Navajo land encroachment, tourism, and the lack of political and cultural

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empowerment within Hopi society set in motion the Progressive movement to establish a forum for grievance. Hopi's traditional means of dealing with deviant behavior was through social control. Federal officials working and living within the Hopi reservation and without Hopi consent, were outside the social controls of Hopi society. Subsequently, the existing traditional Hopi government system had no procedures, nor means of controlling Federal officials' behavior and activities. Many Hopis complained that Agent Miller failure to punish employees misconduct and immoral acts. Such as that of "Miss Ring" or Miller's police.

In addition to this lack of control over Federal officials, the influence of Hopi Progressives within Hopi society was hindered by tourists who frequented the reservation to observe Hopi ceremonies. The subsequent commercialization of Hopi ceremonies, especially the snake dance and buffalo dance, encouraged many Hopi to continue practicing these Hopi ceremonies despite the prophecies announced by Tewaquaptewa. Lomavitu expressed his objections to both Miller's involvement in and the commercialization of Hopi ceremonies. The encouragement of Hopi ceremonies by both non-Indian tourist and Miller, hindered the Progressive's influence within Hopi society. Their influence was further undermined by commercialization, which Lomavitu objected to: "I am adverse to any white man commercializing the Indian life to is personal advantage. Furthermore, I have expressed this same opinion to the majority of our Indians and they agree with me" (ibid. at 9413).<sup>20</sup>

This climate of disregard for Progressives' concerns over activities, which undermined their authority and influence within Hopi society, helped propel the Progressives' drive for empowerment. Through the struggle of Progressives for empowerment during the post Oraibi Split era, their efforts became more focused and their goals began to crystallize. Initially, Lomavitu and Johnson had sought to Christianize Hopi people. By the late 1920s, Progressive leadership became focused on establishing a forum to represent the Hopi people in federal-tribal relations. Within this focus, Hopi Progressives began toward the formation of the Hopi Council of New Oraibi Constitution in 1931. This Constitution symbolized their claim of independence and their assertion of political and cultural authority within Hopi society. This crystallization of Hopi Progressives' goals represented not only one group's response to change, but more importantly, the role of intratribal dynamics in the context of history and culture.

#### ADAPTATION OF HOPI POLITICAL TRADITION

Hopi Progressives struggle for political and cultural empowerment involved a process of adapting Hopi political tradition. This process involved both the conceptualization and incorporation of new, non-Hopi ideologies and institutions into Hopi life that: (1) depended on Hopi cultural ideology and traditions and (2) reflected their interests and goals. The way in which Hopi Progressives conceived the

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Federal-tribal relationship and the American model of government and in accord with their interpretation of Hopi prophecy, the road to political and cultural empowerment ultimately came together in the establishment of the Hopi Tribal Council under the IRA.

### Change and Continuance

The emergence and unfolding of the Progressive faction revealed both advances of modernity and continuances of Hopi political tradition. Through the advancement of modernity, Hopi Progressives adopted new, non-Hopi ideas, practices, and beliefs to replace traditional ones. This process of modernity largely involved the establishment of a forum for the Hopi Progressives' political empowerment, that separated the political and religious systems. Secular knowledge came to determine leadership, decision-making and policies. These new developments represented one means for empowerment and adaptation in Hopi society.

While modernity distinctly signifies new, non-Hopi ideas, practices and beliefs, the continuance of Hopi culture and political tradition refers not to a static process, rather, it is a transformation process rooted in Hopi tradition. In some instances, the Hopi traditions themselves called for change. Such is the case with the Hopi political practice of interpreting prophecy and "splitting" when internal dissension divided the community. Alternatively, certain elements of Hopi political traditions are transformed in order to confront the changing conditions. The Progressive leadership came

to secularize the Hopi ideology of stewardship under Masau'u-u and political practices of ruling by religious elitists. In many ways, the political practices of progressivism incorporate both practices and beliefs of modernity and tradition pursuant to progressives' evolving and changing needs and interests.

Both processes of change and continuance among Progressive leadership often occurred simultaneously in three distinct areas: (1) the interpretation of Hopi prophecy; (2) the American model of government; and (3) the Federal-tribal relationship.

### *Hopi Prophecy*

The nature of Hopi interpretation of prophecy reflects the Hopi tradition of change and continuance. Through the interpretation of Hopi prophecy, Hopi leaders responded to the pressing issues in Hopi society. Internal dissension, and according to Yukioma's 1903-1904 interpretation as noted in chapter one, political corruption among the chiefs in the Hopi Underworld called for renewal through the emergence of those with "good hearts" to the Upper World (Geertz 1994: Appendix B 375-384). Similarly, many Hopi prophecies foretold of renewal in the face of pressing conditions such as famine, drought, corruption and internal dissension. In turn, these interpretations reflected their perceptions of contemporary conditions in the context of Hopi tradition. In effect, through interpreting prophecy, Hopi leaders rationalized and justified their

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decisions and actions. Prophecy was used as a political and social tool, to influence Hopi people.

During the years before and preceding the Oraibi Split in 1906, Hopi Progressives struggled under the conditions of internal political corruption, drought, and the impact of Federal assimilation policies. Ultimately, these conditions caused the development of Hopi prophecies for the abandonment of Oraibi and the Hopi ceremonial system. Through the interpretation of Hopi prophecy, Tewaquaptewa, the Kikmongwi of Oraibi, called first for the abandonment of Oraibi and with it, of Oraibi's religious and spiritual significance in Hopi society. Tewaquaptewa further declared that any newly established village at Third Mesa would not have the supernatural powers and authority of the traditional system.

Similarly, following the death of Tuwaletstiwa's (Fred Johnson) aunt, one of the last of his clanship, he publicly burned the Two-Horn altar in 1922. In the Hopi Hearings of 1955, Fred Johnson, an Oraibi convert, explained that Yukioma was the last of the "true" traditionalists. Had he fulfilled his plan to be beheaded, the traditional power and authority of "the elders from the Third World" would have been with him and passed down to the Traditional leadership for the continuance of the Hopi way (Hopi Hearings 1955: 170). However, since Yukioma failed in his task, it is said he told his son not to follow his path, for the supernatural power and authority would die with him and not be passed to anyone (*ibid.*). With the prophecies of Tewaquaptewa and the failure of Yukioma, Progressive

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leadership argued that "the Hopi way must come to an end" (Johnson in Geertz 1994: 21-26).

During the post Oraibi Split era, Hopi Progressives responded to their lack of empowerment and the continued influences of the Bureau within Hopi society. Hopi Progressives interpreted Hopi prophecy in order to rationalize and justify their authority to decide what was best for the Hopi people. This assumption of authority and the conception of the "welfare of our Hopi people" is revealed in the New Oraibi Council Constitution. "Keeping in view that we are approaching a *new era* in Indian life, sponsored by the Government, with a view of finally *absorbing* the tribe into its full citizenry, and for which purpose the Government has placed its employees among us" (emphasis added, Senate 1931: 9409). This statement of a "new era", it can be inferred that the Hopi Progressives were creating a forum for the renewal of Hopi society. Accordingly, this new path called for the gradual abolishment of the traditional ceremonial system, in accord with Traditionals' prophecy.

### *Federal-Tribal Relationship*

The increasing involvement of the Federal government in the Hopi internal affairs signaled the Hopi Progressives to the importance of both political relations with and recognition from the Federal government as necessary for establishing their own control and influence within Hopi society. Hopi Progressives conceptualized this political recognition and relationship with Federal officials based on

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Hopi history under Federal assimilation policies. Historically, these assimilation policies called for the education and ultimate incorporation of Indian people. For many Hopi Progressives, these assimilation policies established a Federal-tribal relationship which called on the Hopi to become "civilized." In agreeing to be educated and civilized Hopi Progressives expected power and authority in return. This view of the Federal-tribal relationship as a form of reciprocity, reflected Hopi's tradition of empowerment and stewardship under Masu'u and the supernatural.

This reciprocal relationship between the Federal government and Progressive leadership, was revealed in Lomavitu's address to Miller regarding the meeting to construction a hospital in Oraibi: "They [Federal government] must back them [educated Hopis] up in their worthy enterprise if they wish to see the fruit of their labor" (Senate 1931: 9402). Lomavitu had challenged the Federal government to support the Progressives adoption of non-Hopi institutions regardless of the village Kikmongwi's opposition. In exchange for Federal government empowerment of the "educated" Hopis, "civilry" would be practiced within Hopi society, thus fulfilling the Federal government's assimilation policy. Through this collaboration between the Federal government and "educated" Hopis, a cooperative relationship would emerge in which both entities' interest would be achieved.

Lomavitu further expresses this Federal-tribal relationship of reciprocity in his discussion of the "returned student's" obligation to

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the government: "I, for one, am longing to see educated Indians meet their obligation to the generous Government by putting into actual practice what they have learned in school" (ibid.). Accordingly, these conceptions of the Federal-tribal relationship indicate a reciprocal relationship which was practiced under the traditional theocratic system. Through arguing for the substitution of one elite (religious leaders) by another (educated leaders), Lomavitu avoids confrontation with Traditional leaders while opening the way for empowerment of those who supported the "progressive" way. A secular reciprocal relationship with the Federal government would empower Hopis to monopolize Federal power and influence within Hopi society.

Under the theocratic system, political empowerment was derived from Masu'u and the supernatural through secret religious knowledge and ritual (Whiteley 1988: 69). In exchange for these powers from spiritual entities and life forces, the Pavansinom had a great number of religious responsibilities as stewards of the land and people (ibid. at 66-68). Whereas, under Progressive leadership, the Federal government and secular knowledge, represented a source of power over Hopi lands and influence within Hopi society. Through the recognition and authorization by the Federal government rather than by Masu'u, Hopi Progressives would assume stewardship over Hopi affairs, land issues, and policies of the Federal government as they applied to the Hopi.

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As a council, Progressive leadership envisioned the power and authority to assume the tasks of management and political representation of the Hopi people. Under this secular system the Council was, "to be the channel through which governmental announcement and transactions shall be made in things pertaining to the Hopi Tribe" (New Oraibi Constitution Title V, section (e) Senate 1931: 9409). Additionally, to assert Hopi Progressives' authority over Hopi lands, the Council would "defend our individual and tribal rights against encroachment" (New Oraibi Constitution Title V, section (d), *ibid.*). These provisions within the New Oraibi Constitution envisioned a Council of leaders who would assume the authority as the exclusive governing body of the Hopi Tribe. Through this sovereign authority, Lomavitu and his supporters, may very well have envisioned not only usurping the authority of the village Kikmongwi, but also having greater influence in the decision-making and policies of Federal officials within the Hopi Reservation.

Although Hopi Progressives envisioned secularizing political and cultural authority and systems of influence, still what continued was a continued political tradition of stewardship under an elitist group. However, during the mid-Twentieth century, it became increasingly evident to Hopi Progressives that political relations and recognition from the Federal government were necessary. Through Federal political recognition and relations, Hopi Progressives asserted their authority and influence within Hopi society.

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*American Model of Government*

In order to act as stewards in Hopi society, the Progressive leadership made several attempts to establish a forum for recognition and authority within Hopi society and in relation to the Federal government. While initially this effort to establish a government representative of Progressive concerns attempted to work within the traditional system, it was opposed by "the elders." the village Kikmongwi and Progressives from New Oraibi (Kikotsmovi) proceeded to organize outside the traditional system. However, Progressive leadership received little or no influence or recognition within Hopi society, or from the Federal government. For Hopi Progressives the American government system served as a model under which both a Federal-tribal relationship and stewardship over Hopi people could be recognized.

Based on conceptions of the Federal-Tribal relationship previously described, Hopi Progressives modernized Hopi government through the secularization of leadership, structure and purposes. Under an American model of government, Hopi leadership was to be authorized and empowered in decision-making through secular knowledge and practices (New Oraibi Constitution Article III and Article V, section (b) in Senate 1931: 9409). Under a secular form of government Hopi Progressives sought protection from the restraints of Traditional leadership and to monopolize Federal government power and influence within Hopi society. Additionally, the establishment of a secular elitist group would assume the role of

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directing Federal government relations as representatives of the Hopi people. Conversely, Hopi political tradition empowered select elitist to *tiingavi* (element of planning)<sup>21</sup> with their powers achieved through religious knowledge and practices.

Additionally, under an American model of government, policies and procedures were to be structured to promote secularization. "To further progress in education, better living, sanitation, and all that goes to make up better civilization" (Senate 1931: 9409). Similarly, history suggests that the village *Kikmongwi*, though guided by supernatural knowledge and ritual unlike Progressives, made decisions during the late nineteenth and into the twentieth century calling for the abolishment of the Hopi ceremonial system. Although an alternative system was not suggested by the *Kikmongwi*, this may have opened the door for secularization.

For instance, when Yukioma, the village chief and leader of the Hostile faction at Hotevilla, was approached by Tuwaletstiwa, chief of the *Aa'alt* (Two-Horn) Brotherhood at Oraibi, for the Two-Horn altar, after hesitation and having no authority over the altar, Yukioma gave them to him and with great feeling he said: "Alas! it has come, but so must it be. By destroying these things you will have destroyed the very foundation of our ceremonies. The conflagration must spread. Take these and so as you have said" (Suderman n.d: 4, cited in Geertz 1994: 22). In effect, this suggests that Hopi Progressives' efforts to secularize were in accord with the decisions and wishes of both Tewaquaptewa, Oraibi *Kikmongwi* and Yukioma, Hotevilla

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Kikmongwi. Although there may have been many Traditional leaders who opposed the abolishment of the traditional ceremonial system, it is important to note that both Tewaquaptewa and Yukioma as Kikmongwi, were highly influential leaders at Third Mesa. This process of secularization will be discussed in greater depth in the following sections.

While Hopi Progressives conception of the American model of government reveals modernity, this conceptualization shows elements of Hopi political tradition. The American model of government would suggest the adoption of democratic principles such as the terms "majority rule" and "elective system" suggest. however, the provisions of the 1931 Constitution reveal Hopi conceptions of these terms in the context of their political tradition. The council system of government operating under a written constitution was conceptualized by early Progressive leadership as a system empowering a select group who were outside the religious system. In effect, the Progressive New Oraibi Council system represented a secular elitist in place of the traditional theocratic system of government. According to the Constitution the advisory board was to consist of men who "posses sufficient education." Additionally, under Title V, the Council was to act as a "medium" and "channel" between the Federal government, its officials and the Hopi Tribe (Senate 1931: 9409). Under this American model of government, Hopi Progressives attempted to empower their

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influence and authority within Hopi society and through the recognition of the Federal government.

### THE TRADITION OF PROGRESSIVISM

The progressive faction within Hopi society provided a means of cultural and political continuance through adaptation to Hopi political tradition. Through the review of Hopi political history, described in chapter one, a model of Hopi political tradition emerged. This model identified five primary elements of traditional Hopi political leadership, ideology, and practices. Accordingly, traditional leadership was vested with political power and authority through their reciprocal relationship with the supernatural. This reciprocal relationship empowered the religious leaders (*Pansinom*) in exchange for the duty of stewardship over the land and people. Through declarations and activities of Lomavitu, Progressives initiated a reciprocal relations with the Federal government. Under this reciprocal relationship Hopi Progressives sought political power and authority within Hopi society in exchange for their practicing and promoting "civilry."

Under Hopi political tradition, decisions and action of the *Pansinom* were sanctioned by interpretations of Hopi prophecy. Like the Traditional leadership's use of prophecy, Progressives rationalized and justified their actions through interpretations of prophecy. When internal discord erupted (as it did during

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emergence and the Oraibi Split) conflicting factions "split." in effect. avoiding confrontation. The discord between Traditionals and Progressives during this time period ultimately culminated in the split between the religious and secular systems of government. However, when external forces impinged on Hopi society. Traditional leaders practiced passive resistance through manipulation of (often through delay as was the case with education and allotment) or showed a degree of cooperation with the imposing force to avoid confrontation. The New Oraibi Constitution reflected a policy of internal and external cooperation. Internally, the Council established provisions to promote cooperation with Traditional leaders regarding religion and among Hopi villages. In external relations with the Federal government and land disputes the Council Constitution provided for cooperative relations. Another strategy used by Traditional leaders to confront an imposing force was through destruction to create renewal in Hopi society. This tradition of renewal among Hopi Progressives was expressed in Tuwaletstiwa's ritual burning of the Two-Horn altar. Thus, progressivism is not merely progress, it is progress and tradition.

#### IRA ROAD TOWARD PROGRESSIVES' EMPOWERMENT?

The post Oraibi Split landscape represented Progressives' struggle for empowerment. The traditional chiefs and council system pre-empted the arena of internal influence and political authority.

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Miller's administration policy of cooperation and condoning Hopi ceremonies often frustrated some Progressive leaders. whereas. historically policy at Hopi had been to assimilate Hopis through oppression and force. Consequently, there was a lack of representation of Progressives' views within the traditional Hopi system of government and from Miller's administration. Many views and initiatives of the Progressives' were disregarded within the council of chiefs and from Agent Miller. These conditions necessitated a forum for Hopi Progressives' grievances and empowerment. The combination of the political landscaped coupled with the adaptations of Hopi political tradition paved the way to the IRA. These developments further secularized and grounded Progressive leadership and political organization. Through secularization many Progressives sought authorization and official recognition from the Federal government. Additionally, there was the need for internal and external cooperation amid the continuous ambiguities and dissension within Hopi society. Many Progressive were in search for political empowerment.

The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) passed in 1934 (25 USCA s 461) offered an avenue for tribal empowerment. Tribal self-government was the major thrust of the IRA. Under the Act tribes were to be organized under a central government which operated under an adopted constitution and by-laws. The role of tribal councils would be to administer tribal programs and services, such as economic development funded under a "revolving credit fund" (O'Neil

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in Philp ed. 1986: 40). Once organized under a council government tribes could establish charter corporations authorized to "employ legal counsel, prevent the leasing or sale of land without tribal consent, and negotiate with federal or state government for public services" (ibid.). In addition to tribal self-government, the IRA officially ended the Allotment policy and, unlike previous policies which were often applied without tribal consent, the IRA allowed tribes to vote against its application (Deloria and Lytle 1984: 141). Consequently, tribal adoption of the Act required that John Collier, who was instrumental in establishing the IRA, and other federal officials to advocate within reservation communities for its support. However, a number of tribal members boycotted the IRA referendums, including many of the Hopi.<sup>22</sup>

Scholars have noted a number of discrepancies regarding the number of eligible voters at Hopi and the degree of support for the Act (Lapham 1972; Clemmer 1986; Cleaves in Walker and Wyckoff 1983). At the Hopi IRA referendum in 1935, according to Collier, 519 eligible voters supported the Act while 299 voters rejected it (Clemmer 1969: 23-24). Hopi census data by Washburn in 1934 indicated that there were 1,566 eligible Hopi voters (Clemmer 1969: 24). Accordingly, fifty-two percent of the eligible Hopi voters participated in the IRA referendum. Some researchers maintained that Hopi support was often gained through misinforming members, misrepresenting registration papers and fabricating voters (Clemmer 1969; Indian Law Resource Center 1979; Cleaves 1983). While there

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is inadequate data available to discern some of these discrepancies regarding the Hopi IRA referendum, this thesis proposed to trace the role of Hopi political-culture change in ultimately enabling its implementation at Hopi.

Following the IRA referendum, a group of Hopis had requested that the Commissioner send someone to help them apply the provisions of the Act (Harper 1936: 31). During the summer of 1936, John Collier appointed anthropologists, Oliver La Farge, to work with the Hopi in organizing a tribal constitution. Upon La farge's arrival he noted that all the Hopi villages were organized under the traditional theocratic government system except Kykotsmovi and Upper Moencopi which had an elective council system of government. Under the guidance of La Farge, the villages appointed "constitution committees" to formulate drafts of a Hopi constitution (Harper 1936: 31). Despite La Farge's efforts to gain the involvement and support in formulating a Hopi constitution, he found that few attended the meetings (La Farge 1937: 8). "In no case did ten percent of the voting population of a village attend one" (ibid.). He attributed this lack of involvement to the culturally inappropriateness of committee meetings which were largely viewed "as merely initiating consideration, or else as an attempt to trap them into a hasty commitment" (ibid.). In addition to village committee meetings, La Farge frequently met with individual village kikmongwi to gain their support. In these meetings he often asserted the need for traditional leadership and the power of influence which could be

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obtained through the constitution (La Farge 1936). However, most kikmongwi, including Yukioma of Hotevilla and Tewaquaptewa of Oraibi, were suspicious of La Farge and his activities because of his association with Otto Lomavitu and other members of Kikotsmovi (La Farge 1936). Lomavitu was instrumental in promoting the Hopi constitution.<sup>23</sup> He coordinated Kikotsmovi village meetings and advocating for support of the constitution within the various villages.<sup>24</sup> Additionally, he discussed his views on issues of land and religion and worked with La Farge in revisions of the Constitution (La Farge 1936: 47, 52-53). Moreover, Lomavitu sometimes worked as an interpreter for La Farge (La Farge 1936: 53-54).

The final draft of the Hopi Constitution attempted to establish a central Hopi government body to represent the tribe in intergovernmental, intertribal and inter-village relations, while maintaining village autonomy. Through a central Hopi Tribal Council, the Constitution proposed to provide a forum for representation of both progressive and conservative members. Among the important provisions of the Constitution, it asserted the political autonomy of each village and the continued leadership of the village kikmongwi unless the village choose to organize in another manner (Article III, section 3). Additionally, the Constitution required that each village representative be certified by its respective kikmongwi (Article IV, section 4). Concerning land issues, the by-laws affirmed the Tribal Council's authority to negotiate with the United States government agencies and tribal government entities to ensure the protection of

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Hopi access to sacred sites and traditional hunting territories (Article IV). On October 24, 1936 the referendum for the Hopi Constitution was held. Of the approximately 1,500 eligible voters, 755 members participated in the referendum (approximately fifty percent participation rate); 651 voted in support of the Constitution and 104 voted against it (Hutton 10-28-1936). According to La Farge, the non-participation of Hopis was a good indication of their objection (La Farge 1937: 8). Accordingly, if the non-participation is counted as no votes the results would be as follows: at Third Mesa, both Oraibi and Hotevilla nearly unanimously opposed the Constitution while Bacabi and Moencopi were roughly split; whereas, Kykotsmovi obtained majority support (65 percent support) (Indian Law Resource Center 1979: Exhibit 12a-12i). Clemmer maintained that the Hopi "voting population was unknown" in 1936 (1986: 22). Subsequently, some scholars maintained that the Hopi Tribal Council was illegitimately established (Indian Law Resource Center 1979; Clemmer 1986).

Following the establishment of the Hopi constitution and by-laws, Lomavitu remarked to La Farge that "For the first time in our history this work is not made in Washington but is the result of the Hopi leaders deliberation with your very efficient aid" (Lomavitu 10-17-1936). Byron Adams and Fred Johnson of Third Mesa also contributed to La farge's work (La Farge 1936: 27, 33, 52). Adams indicated that he tried to assure Tewakuaptiwa of Oraibi that the Constitution asserted the Kikmongwi' authority to choose village

representatives and could assure their influence over "the whole tribe to stand by their old customs and the leaders and curb the radicals" (Byron 8-25-36).

Through the establishment of a Hopi Tribal Council under the IRA, many Hopi Progressives envisioned an avenue for political authority within the reservation and internal control over their own affairs.<sup>25</sup> The IRA provided for the recognition of both Traditionals' and Progressives' authority and representation from each village within a central council system. The IRA proposed to establish a political relationship with the federal government based on cooperation and tribal consent. Progressives envisioned a path toward improvement of reservation conditions such as water and sanitation and health and education facilities. It provided a forum for grievances including land encroachment, employees conduct, non-Hopi tourists and health services. It provided for the protection of Hopi lands and eagle hunting territories and shrines (Indian Law Research Center 1979: Exhibit 11n).

Although many Hopi Progressives had envisioned their empowerment through the establishment of the Hopi Tribal Council, ultimately it became evident to many Hopi representatives on the council that regardless of their views, the Federal government would enforce its own policies over them. In the Bureau's enforcement of District Six which reduced the Hopi 1882 Executive Order Reservation by at least seventy percent, they confronted great resistance and opposition from the Hopi Tribal Council (Indian Law Resource Center

1979: Exhibits 16b-29i). The establishment of District Six undermined Hopi jurisdiction over the 1882 reservation. Despite this apparent opposition, as a matter of expedience in soil conservation, the establishment of District Six continued. In fact, according to Solicitor, Nathan R. Margold regarding grazing regulation within the 1882 Hopi Reservation boundary, "a formal agreement or the signing of a document by the Hopi Tribal Council is not necessarily if they are reluctant to take such positive action" (Indian Law Resource Center 1979: Exhibit 24f). Frustrations concerning District Six were strongly expressed in the "Resolution of the Hopi Tribal Council" on 22 March 1942 as a final attempt to enforce Hopis land rights before its collapse shortly after (ibid. at Exhibit 25e-25f).

While a group of Hopi had been trying to reestablish the Hopi Tribal Council following the livestock reduction program in 1943, the Council was not officially reinstated until 1955<sup>26</sup> under Federal pressure to confront both the Hopi-Navajo boundary issue and mineral leasing (Hopi Lands Office 1981: 8-10). The Hopi Land Office maintains that despite widely held arguments that the Hopi Tribal Council was established in order to facilitate the process of mineral leasing in the Black Mesa, Karl Nasewytewa, former Chairman of the Hopi Tribe was very active in the Councils reestablishment in order to deal with Navajo encroachment, "livestock reduction" and the "illegal establishment of District Six" (Office of Hopi Lands 1981: 8).

Today the Hopi Tribal Council is recognized by the Federal government as the only legitimate sovereign Hopi government. Yet,

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within the Hopi community, the Hopi Tribal Council remains a spectacle of conflict and criticism, barely and often unable to meet its quorum requirements under the Hopi Constitution. Consequently, the Council is reevaluating its government structure. Yet, today the Hopi Tribal Council is using its sovereign powers and authority to legislate for the protection of Hopi religious knowledge, repatriate artifacts, preservation of cultural and language, and recover lands administratively lost under Bureau management.

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## Chapter Five

### CONCLUSION

In chapter one, the issue of political change and continuance was raised. Focusing on the Hopi Progressive faction at Third Mesa from 1906 through 1936, two fundamental research questions were posed. How did the Hopi Progressive faction at Third Mesa conceptualize and incorporate new, non-Hopi ideology and institutions within Hopi political tradition? How did the Hopi Progressives' adaptation of Hopi political tradition during the post Oraibi Split era create a political landscape which enabled the establishment of the Hopi Tribal Council under the IRA in 1936?

Hopi progressivism during the post Oraibi Split era, represented one groups' struggle to survive through meaningful adaptation of Hopi political tradition. Hopi Progressives adapted their ideology and institutions to changing conditions within Hopi society by embracing Hopi prophecy which called for the abolishment of the Hopi ceremonial system, establishing a political relationship with the federal government for empowerment of secular leadership, and adopting an American model of government for the representation of progressive views and grievances. Through conceptualizing and incorporating the concept of the federal-tribal relationship and American democratic principles, Lomavitu attempted to create a forum for Progressive leadership and representation. Ultimately, Hopi Progressives' political-culture

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adaptation in their struggle for empowerment and representation created a landscape that enabled the establishment of the Hopi Tribal Council under the IRA in 1936. In the establishment of the Hopi Council and Constitution of New Oraibi, Hopi Progressives focused their goals and established a structural foundation for the implementation of the IRA. The New Oraibi Council and Constitution embraced secular leadership and principles of majority vote. This Constitution symbolized a means for Progressive representation and authority within Hopi society and in intergovernmental relations. While the Oraibi Council and Constitution largely remained a symbol and had limited influence, it created parallels to provisions of the IRA. The IRA signified a path toward political empowerment for Hopi Progressives in tribal internal affairs and relations with both federal officials and non-Hopi tourists. Through federal government recognition and sanction under the IRA, many Progressive leaders envisioned greater internal influence and authority over Hopi affairs.

Evident within this thesis has been the recurrent theme of Native American political-culture adaptation as the keystone to their survival and continuance. In light of the decline of the Hopi clanship and ceremonial system, many Traditionalists advocated for the rights of religious leaders and the continuance of the Hopi ceremonial system. Whereas, the increased influence and interference of federal officials prompted the Hopi Progressives' movement toward empowerment within their internal affairs and in federal relations. Regardless of the labels attributed to them, both groups expanded

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and transformed Hopi political tradition through conceptualizing and incorporating non-Hopi discourses and institutions in their struggle for continuance. Hopi Progressives adapted Hopi political institution, just as many tribal nations are adapting their economic institutions as a means, for greater exercise of tribal sovereignty.<sup>27</sup> Yet, integral to tribal political and economic change which makes these shifts so meaningful today is tribal culture. Moreover, this thesis demonstrated the legitimacy of many Hopi Progressive' claims to empowerment. Progressive' leadership and initiatives during the post Oraibi Split era represented an alternative means of utilizing existing and alternative mechanisms for meaningful understanding and adaptation to the changing Hopi landscape. To empower Hopi sovereignty over their own affairs and in relations with the federal government and non-Hopi visitors, many Hopi Progressives adapted Hopi political tradition. Thus, both the Hopi Traditionalists and Progressives represented legitimate political bodies within Hopi society struggling to assert Hopi sovereignty over their own affairs through their understanding of Hopi tradition and adopting new means of authority and influence. The Hopi Progressives' experience represented a substantial and legitimate group worthy of analysis.

Through this approach, a redefinition of Hopi progressivism emerged. Hopi progressivism was not the surrender of all that was Hopi. Rather, it was a creative adaptation of tradition through conceptualizing and incorporating new, non-Hopi discourses and institutions. The result of this adaptation has been the creation of

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ideologies and institutions neither entirely American, nor Hopi, but nonetheless, distinctly Hopi. Nor was Hopi progressivism a submission to the control and commands of the United States Federal government. Rather, Hopi progressivism entailed monopolizing Federal government influence and power for greater sovereignty over internal affairs and in political relations within the national arena. This thesis illuminated the common ground, rather than the differences, among the Hopi people by shedding light on both the necessity for political change and the continuing role of tradition among Hopi Progressives.

An analysis of the Hopi Progressive faction will contribute to greater understanding of culture change and adaptation. Too often, Native peoples are viewed as cultures always on the fringe of dying out. Such conceptions are problematic in that they build on romantic images of the mythic "real Indians" and undermine the strength of Indian identity and the continuing role of tradition. Many unrecognized tribes<sup>28</sup> in the United States are battling with these mythic images of Indian people and the reality of historic and continuous adaptation and change. Regardless of land holdings, loss of language and traditions, and economic conditions, the strength of Indian identity continues among many tribal nations. Through an analysis of Hopi Progressives' adaptations of Hopi political tradition, this thesis dispels some of the popular mythic images of Indian people and illuminates the intricacies in Hopi culture which allowed change and continuance. This analysis will give insight into the

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historical and modern dilemma confronting many tribes: the need for cultural change and adaptation on the one hand and the threat to cultural integrity and continuance which such adaptation often poses. Finally, through an analysis of the internal forces among Hopi Progressives at Third Mesa, this study dispels both the images of Indian people as "helpless" victims and of Progressive leadership as "puppets" under the mastery of Federal officials.

Scholars must continue to challenge the mythic images of Native peoples as a "dying culture" and "helpless victims". Such utterances echo the public clamor during the late nineteenth century. To begin to dispel these mythic images, analysis of federal Indian policy must further explore the internal forces which shaped tribal responses and trace the threads of tradition which continue to form the fabric of many tribal discourses and institutions. Since the changes in tribal culture are certain to continue in the future, Native peoples will continue to play an important role in redefining their cultural identity. The question which must be proposed is what tribal internal cultural, political and historical forces enable some nations to successfully balance change and continuance more harmoniously than others. Most importantly, the voice of native peoples' perspective of historical events and contemporary issues must continue to form the foundation of any historical or political analysis of tribes. Although hearings and autobiographic materials provide insight into the views of vocal Hopi leaders, surveying diverse Hopi' views of the post Oraibi Split political landscape and

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the IRA process would further our understanding of the role adaptation and continuance in Native peoples' ability to endure both politically and culturally.

The Hopi Tribe today continues to battle for balance between change and continuance. Internal dissension that erupts over pressing issues have nearly caused the near downfall of the Hopi Tribal Council established under the IRA. Unable to meet the quorum requirements of the Hopi Constitution, the Hopi Tribal Council is reevaluating its government structure. Such evaluation is influenced by Hopi political history, but as Hopi tradition reflects, must work toward the empowerment and continuance of the Hopi people within the contemporary and future landscape.

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APPENDIX A: HOPI COUNCIL OF  
NEW ORAIBI CONSTITUTION

(Senate Hearings 1931: 9409)

- I. Name: The name of this organization shall be the Hopi Council of New Oraibi.
  - II. Officers: Its officers shall consist of president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and sergeant at arms.
  - III. advisory: Its advisory board shall consist of four members, men of mature mind and who possess sufficient education as to readily understand transactions of different kinds.
  - IV Membership: Its membership shall be open to all men and boys of the Hopi Tribe of Indians.
  - V. Object and purpose: The object and purpose of this organization shall be --
    - (a) To hold the tribe in a bond of peace through mutual understanding and cooperation.
    - (b) To further progress in education, better living, sanitation, and all that goes to make up better civilization.
    - (c) To act as medium for better understanding between the United States Government, the officials who labor amongst us, and the Hopi Tribe through cooperation for the up building of our people.
    - (d) To defend our individual and tribal rights against encroachment as citizens of the United States, howbeit welcoming any aid which may be given our tribe free from graft.
    - (e) To be the channel through which governmental announcement and transactions shall be made in things pertaining to the Hopi Tribe.
  - VI. Religion: In things religious, this organization shall be neutral. It is the intention of this organization to cooperate with our Indian chiefs and elders in so far as they seek the welfare of our Hopi people, keeping in view that we are approaching a new era in Indian life, sponsored by the government, with a view of finally absorbing the tribe into its full citizenry, and for which purpose the Government has placed its employees among us.
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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Richard Berkhofer, *The White Mans Indian; Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (Alfred A. Knopf: NY, 1978) by one of the editors of *North American Indians in Historical Perspective* p.12 by Eleanor B. Leacock and Nancy O. Lurie, eds. (1971).

<sup>2</sup> The terms "Traditional" and "Traditionalists" are discussed in greater detail within the literature review. I use "Traditional" to refer to the Hopi leaders who historically avoided active involvement in internal and external politics. Whereas, the term "Traditionalists" refers to those Hopi members who largely advocate on behalf of the Traditional within the political arenas. See Richard Clemmer, "The Hopi Traditionalist Movement." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 18:3 (1994): 125-166 and "Then Will You Rise and Strike My Head From My Neck: Hopi prophecy and the discourse of empowerment." *The American Indian Quarterly* 19(1) (Winter 1995): 31-73 for analysis of the Hopi Traditionalists and their relationship to Hopi tradition.

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Also, see Armin W. Geertz *The Invention of Prophecy: continuity and meaning in Hopi Indian religion*. (University of California Press, 1994) for comparative discussion of the Hopi "Traditionals" and "Traditionalists".

<sup>3</sup> Richard B. Brandt in his *Hopi Ethics: a theoretical analysis* (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1954) uses different Hopi terms to describe the two "classes" in Hopi society: *mongsinom*, people who have the title or dignity of the chiefs, and *sukaavungs sinom*, the common people (1954: 23-24).

<sup>4</sup> Clemmer (1994) defines "modernization" as a process of change within a group according to "set goals and ideology of values" (1994:129).

<sup>5</sup> *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 18:3 (1994)125-166.

<sup>6</sup> See Peter Whiteley "Burning Culture: Auto-Da-Fe at Oraibi" *History and Anthropology*, 1994: 46-85 for an extensive analysis of the events surrounding Fred Johnson's burning of the *Aa'alt* altar. For more information on the intricacies of the Hopi clan and ceremonial systems, see Peter Whiteley. *Deliberate Acts*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988).

<sup>7</sup> Geertz (1994) provides an analysis of the Hopi emergence myth in the context of how the interpretations of myth reflects Hopi changing ideology and is used as political rhetoric in Hopi society. He noted that there are several versions of the emergence myth, twelve versions from Oraibi he discusses in his 1984 article, "A Reed Pierced the Sky: Hopi Indian Cosmography on Third Mesa, Arizona" *Numen* 31(2):216-241. His (1994) appendices includes a *Bilingual Version of the Emergence Myth with Commentary and Selected Versions of the Emergence Myth Narrated by Hostiles and Traditionalists*.

<sup>8</sup> Harry C. James *Pages From Hopi History*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974) noted that *Masau-u*, among other things, possessed "power over the germination of seeds and the growth of all plants (1974:6).

<sup>9</sup> According to Yukioma's 1903-1904 account of the emergence myth, it was the corruption of the chiefs which led to discord and crop failure in the Under World (Geertz, 1994:375-384).

<sup>10</sup> See Louis A. Hieb's "Hopi World View," in Alfonso Ortiz ed., *Handbook of North American Indians* (9(Southwest) Washington, D.C. Smithsonian, 1972:578-580) analysis of Hopi Clown dancers within Hopi society ("The Hopi Ritual Clown: Life as it should not be." Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1972). Also, Bruce A. Cox "What is Hopi Gossip About? Information Management and Hopi Factionalism" (*Man* 5(1) 1970:68-98) provides some discussion of Hopi Clown dancers as a reflection of politics and gossip among Hopi factions between and within villages

<sup>11</sup> Archeological evidence at Oraibi dates as early as A.D. 1150 (James 1974:13).

<sup>12</sup> See Peter Whiteley (1988a) recorded incidents of Spanish brutality among the Eastern Pueblos and Hopis (1988a:16-18).

<sup>13</sup> However, this is not to say that these traditional practices were altogether abandoned. Many Hopi continued these practices (Talayasva. *Sun Chief: the autobiography of a Hopi Indian*. Leo W. Simmons, ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942).

<sup>14</sup> See Peter Whiteley's *Bacavi: journey to Reed Springs*. Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1988.

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15 As early as 1930 the Kikmongwi of Shungopavi was challenged by a "persuasive and powerful" member. He and his supporters "split" from Shungopavi and established Shipaulovi (Clemmer, Richard. *Continuities of Hopi Culture Change*. Romona: Acoma Books, 1978:29-30). A "Younger Sister" village, Shipolamovi agreed to have no political authority as a condition for the leaving (ibid.).

16 Having requested a copy of the Keams Canyon Office Diary for 1916, the librarian at Office in California explained that the text was so brief she could recite it over the phone.

18 Statements and sworn testimony from the (U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States: Hearings before a Subcommittee*. 71st Cong., 3d sess., Part 18: Arizona-New Mexico Navajo and Hopi. Washington, D.C.: GOP, 1932), the August 6, 1929 letter, and the petition against Miller's administration are incorporated topical within the following section.

19 By 1931 all the Hopi children were in school and the influences of non-Hopi materials and institutions became more visible. Many Hopis at Third Mesa, including representatives from the Traditional or conservative villages, complained to the Federal government of the need for increased wage labor, adequate housing and equipment, and education and hospital facilities (Senate 1932: 9359-9427).

20 Otto Lomavitu was referring to the activities of Billingsley, a non-Hopi living in Mesa, Arizona (300-400 miles south of Hopi). Since approximately 1924, Billingsley frequently hired Hopis to perform their ceremonial dances publicly across the United States and in Europe (Senate 1932: 9411-9413).

21 Armin w. Geertz developed what he called "The Tiingavi Hypothesis" to his analysis of the role of Hopi prophecy in Tuwaletstiwa (Fred Johnson) burning of the Aa'alt (Two-Horn) altar in 1922. Geertz cited Gordon Krutz's description of the Hopi decision-making process in the Oraibi Split. According to Krutz, in his article on the Oraibi Split of 1906: "it was *diingavi* that really set the stage on which actors played out their predetermined roles fulfilling Hopi prophecy; the split was inevitable, preordained and Hopis merely played a part, as ad earlier Hopi villages facing similar stresses in the process of segmentation" ("The Native's Point of View as an Important Factor in Understanding the Dynamics of the Oraibi Split." *Ethnohistory* 20 (1) 1973:77-89, cited in Geertz 1994:37). Peter Whiteley (1988) made similar findings in his *Deliberate Acts*, however he refereed to this political decision making process as "*pasiani*," in which the *pavasinom* are "deliberative over the course of events in the world" (1988:226).

22 For instance, of the 800 eligible voters among the Mohawks, 517 did not vote. Of those who voted only forty-six supported it. Although they "technically accepted the legislation" according to its provisions, it was never officially implemented among the Mohawks (Laurence M. Hauptman. *The Iroquois and the New Deal*. ↗ Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1981:69).

23 According to Mischa Titiev *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi: change and continuity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972) Otto Lomavitu was arrested for statutory rap around 1938 and following his release he left the

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<sup>24</sup> See generally *Oliver La Farge collection relating to La Farge's work on the Hopi Indians constitution* (Library, Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin, order no. 7227, 1989) for documentation of meetings among Hopis during his work in 1936. Mentions of meetings and activities of Otto Lomavitu are contained within La Farge's *Running Narrative* in the La Farge collection (1989:7,14,19,30,47,52-3). Additionally, correspondences between Oliver La Farge and Lomavitu following the establishment of the Hopi Tribal constitution in 1936 (*ibid.*).

<sup>25</sup> While this thesis focuses on Progressives as Third Mesa, it should be noted that a number of Progressives from both Second Mesa and Third Mesa participated in the organization of the Hopi constitution (See Oliver La Farge *Running Narrative of the Organization of the Hopi Tribe of Indians, 1936* Typescript marked "Confidential" in La Farge Collection, Library, Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin, 1989). Additionally, Kikmongwi Kutka of Walpi and Shichumovi often attended meetings organized by La Farge. Initially as an observer (*ibid.* at 30), later Kutka counseled with the other chiefs (*ibid.* at 33). Although Kutka expressed his support of the Hopi constitution to La Farge, he may have been acting as an "informant" for traditional leaders.

<sup>26</sup> See Indian Law Resource Center (1979) for a comprehensive analysis of the process of reinstitution the Hopi Tribal Council during the 1950s (1979:55-130).

<sup>27</sup> See Sioux Harvey, "Two Models to Sovereignty: A Comparative History of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation and the Navajo Nation." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 20:1 (1996) 147-194.

<sup>28</sup> Unrecognized tribes are defined by Sharon O'Brien *American Indian Tribal Governments* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1989) as lacking official political relations through treaty, legislation or executive order with the United States Federal government. See the Federal recognition process and the Lumbee Indian Tribe of North Carolina, the largest tribe east of the Mississippi, struggle for Federal recognition.