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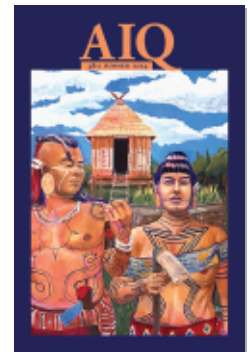
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A Social Biography of Hopi Activist, Ernest Naquayouma

ROBERT EDWARDS

Abstract: Hopi activist, Ernest Naquayouma, was a co-founder of the American Indian Center in Chicago, which was the first urban, intertribal, Native-run community center in the United States (est. 1953). He is also well-known for the work he did with US ethnolinguist Benjamin Lee Whorf in the 1930s. Although the literature on these topics often mentions Naquayouma's name, the significance of his role in both of these stories has been largely overlooked. Recent scholarship has revealed a more in-depth picture of Naquayouma's biography. This has shed new light on the history of the American Indian Center and on Whorf's work. It has also invited a reappraisal of Naquayouma's significance as a historical actor. In this article Robert Edwards offers an overview of Naquayouma's life story to supplement the existing historical record. Edwards argues that Naquayouma's life illustrated three key features of the American Indian self-determination movement in the first half of the twentieth century: (1) the anti-colonial traditionalist politics of North American tribal nations; (2) the intertribal social networks that bridged reservations and urban centers across the country; and (3) the pan-Indianism social movement, which fostered a shared American Indian identity among diverse tribal groups. For these reasons, Naquayouma's story is relevant to the field of American Indian history. It is also relevant to American studies and science studies, insofar as it provides insight into the settler-colonial nature of US culture, and the subaltern politics of ethnographic consultants.

Keywords: Hopi, Native modernity, Native diaspora, self-determination movement, pan-Indianism, the urban Indian experience, intertribal community, Pueblo dance controversy, American Indian center, survivance, history of anthropology

There are interrelated limitations to this article. Naquayouma's biography is here pieced together from nine years of research into a variety of archives and other sources.¹ The collated material only offers a sketch of Naquayouma's life, however. Given the limitations of the archive, the genre of social biography is a pragmatic choice. I use historical and social contexts to connect and structure the events of Naquayouma's life in a narrative form. At times I include biographical snippets of individuals close to Naquayouma to shed light on his social milieu, which, in a roundabout way, gives an impression of Naquayouma's experience. The effect of these writing strategies is that Naquayouma sometimes fades in and out of the story. There are other limitations to this article as well. I am a non-Hopi, non-Native settler scholar working from a settler institution (University of California, San Diego). My positionality is linked to perennial dangers of bias, misinterpretation, and the varied consequences of academic knowledge production.² In light of this, I have been conscientious in my approach to writing. Aware of the dangers of scholarly projection, I am cautious not to speculate into Naquayouma's subjective states. When addressing the critically important topics of Naquayouma's consciousness, beliefs, motives, and politics, I do so in a qualified manner that is grounded in evidence and relevant scholarship. Likewise, I take a conservative approach to describing Naquayouma's historical agency that avoids literary license. Again, the downside is that Naquayouma is not always presented as a typical protagonist. Acknowledging these limitations, the strength of this research is its humanistic documentation of Naquayouma's biography. Fortunately, the facts of his life hold their own and, on the whole, his historical agency shines through in the story. In sum, while academic research of this kind is never neutral, transparent, or innocent, this scholarship can be of service to the communities Naquayouma shared his life with. Moreover, critical history is an important tool in ongoing historical struggles for tribal sovereignty and decolonization.³ This article is a contribution to these ends. The research has been done in collaboration with vested parties.⁴

NAQUAYOUMA'S BACKGROUND

Ernest Naquayouma was born in the midst of a pivotal event in Hopi history known as the Orayvi split. After centuries of contact with Spain

and Mexico—and neighboring tribal groups like the Diné (Navajo) and Apache—the Hopi had managed to maintain a large degree of cultural and political autonomy due to their geographic isolation and diplomatic wit.⁵ Hopi society faced an unprecedented challenge, however, when the United States annexed their ancestral territory in the mid-nineteenth century following the Mexican–American War. Between the 1850s and 1880s, as settlers encroached on Hopi lands, protestant missionaries and government agents from the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) imposed themselves on the Hopi community. In 1882, the Hopi lost most of their original territory when the Hopi reservation was created by executive order. Shortly thereafter, the federal government began enforcing assimilationist policies. This included the construction of day schools and the allotment of tribal lands.⁶ This was part of a larger “civilizing mission” meant to transform American Indians into protestant liberal subjects.⁷ The Hopi resisted but could not match the military might of the US Army.⁸ Over time, the colonial situation created two loose factions in the Hopi villages. Roughly speaking, one group resisted American influence in defense of traditional life ways, the other group accommodated the Americans with a more accepting view of American culture, though the spectrum of Hopi views was complex, diverse, and changed over time.⁹ The factional division led to an inner-tribal confrontation in the Hopi village of Orayvi.

On the western part of Hopi territory, farthest from the reach of foreign influence, the Third Mesa village of Orayvi was the largest of the Hopi villages and had a controlling influence over Hopi ceremonial life. Although the village had been a bulwark of anti-Americanism since the 1870s, Orayvi leadership did an about-face in the 1890s and began accommodating the US government.¹⁰ The political turn fomented decades of factional infighting in the village, which reflected divisions across the Hopi community.¹¹ The tension came to a head in 1906 when traditionalists from multiple villages tried to seize power at Orayvi, hoping to restore the old social and political order. Unable to gain control of Orayvi, the traditionalists left the village *en masse*.¹² Later known as the “Orayvi split,” the event and its fallout reset the organization of Hopi society. Although the event was historically unique in many ways, the factions had precedents in earlier colonial periods, and factionalism was characteristic of Hopi politics in general (e.g., village and clan politics). In this sense, the Hopi community responded to US colonial pressure on their own terms. Moving from the

Orayvi split into the twentieth century, Hopis maintained a shared tribal identity.¹³ Both factional groups were pragmatic and negotiated with the US government and American culture to pursue their respective goals, and both groups believed they were working in the best interest of the Hopi community.¹⁴

Naquayouma was born in 1906 in Mishongnovi, Second Mesa, five months prior to the Orayvi split. His family were part of the traditionalist elite.¹⁵ It is unknown if they were directly involved in the events at Orayvi, but they were partisans of the traditionalist faction when those events unfolded, and Second Mesa traditionalists were enmeshed in the conflict.¹⁶ Naquayouma had a traditional upbringing in this dynamic social environment. His family status gave him hereditary rights to special education and leadership positions, and he was initiated into the prestigious Snake Society at a young age. In tandem with his traditional upbringing, Naquayouma also attended the government day school at Second Mesa.¹⁷ Despite their initial opposition to government schools, Hopi traditionalists gradually accepted American education believing their children's exposure to white customs and language would produce strong representatives for their people. Through schooling and other interactions with white society, Naquayouma learned practical lessons about navigating Anglo-American life.

In 1922, when he was sixteen years old, Naquayouma began attending the Sherman Institute, a federal Indian boarding school located in Riverside, California. It began enrolling Hopi students after the Orayvi split, shipping them via newly constructed railway lines. Schools like Sherman were part of the government's assimilation agenda. As a counterpart to missionary work and allotment policies, off-reservation boarding schools were meant to shatter students' tribal identity and make them "think, behave, work, and look less like Native people, and more like protestant Americans."¹⁸ The student population at Sherman hailed from Southwestern and Northern Californian tribal groups. Hopi and other Native students initially felt culture shock when they arrived from their reservations. It was typically the children's first time living with people from other tribal groups, and together they endured homesickness and abuse from their teachers and administrators.¹⁹

The educational structure of the Sherman Institute combined academic classes, vocational training, and the daily routine of a military academy. The academic courses were roughly equivalent to a high school educa-

tion; though, students came into the courses with varied educational backgrounds. In the gendered vocational training, young women were prepared for domestic work, and young men learned construction, industrial, and agricultural skills. Administrators used student labor to build campus dorms, offices, and industrial shops. And private agencies that had contracts with Sherman outsourced students to work low-wage jobs in Riverside and other nearby communities. Although the labor practices were meant to push Native students into the lower rungs of a racialized working class, the wages were often an important support line for their families and communities back home.²⁰

In the arc of a typical three-year term at Sherman, students' reception of US culture varied. Some willingly adopted American views and rejected their traditional upbringing. Others were happy to forget their acculturation when they returned home. Most students selected things they liked about the experience and wove it into their tribal identity. Hopi scholar Mathew Sakiestewa Gilbert points out that, although boarding schools had negative aspects, there were also positive outcomes. Many Hopi students saw their schooling as an extension of their Native education and used what they learned in ways not intended by the government. Students also learned valuable skills they could use to succeed in life. In these ways, Hopi students' education at Sherman reflected the agency and continuity of Hopi culture.²¹ The boarding school experience also forged inter-tribal bonds among Native students that would have been unfamiliar to many of their parents and grandparents. Naquayouma attended Sherman for only two years, but his experience at the school reflected these larger patterns.²²

THE "LEGENDS OF THE HOPI" TOUR

While Naquayouma was attending the Sherman Institute, the Hopi community was contending with an attack on their ceremonial life led by a group of protestant missionaries and OIA officials known as "reformers." In a historical episode known as the Pueblo dance controversy, assimilationist reformers sought to end Pueblo ceremonial dances, viewing them as immoral relics obstructing Indians' progress toward civilization. In 1921, OIA Commissioner Charles H. Burke issued Circular No. 1665, which restricted Pueblo ceremonies including the Hopi Snake dance (part of the Snake-Antelope ceremony). From there, reformers lobbied Congress to pass legislation that would ban the cer-

emonies entirely.²³ The issue was a pressing concern for Second Mesa traditionalists, including Naquayouma's family and the Second Mesa Snake society. To make matters worse, the villages of Second Mesa were experiencing intense poverty from the impact of the changing political economy. These combined ceremonial and economic concerns soon converged in a series of events that threw Naquayouma into the middle of a national debate about American Indian rights.

Enter M. W. Billingsley. Billingsley (Euro-American) was a vaudeville actor and producer. Originally from Iowa, in an unusual backstory he had been visiting Second Mesa off and on since he was a young man. In 1921, after serving in World War I, he bought a ranch on the outskirts of Phoenix and started a printing business downtown. He visited Second Mesa often and developed close ties with some traditionalist families. The nature of their friendship was complex. Billingsley's romantic understanding of American Indians drew him to Second Mesa. Second Mesa traditionalists welcomed his presence for the practical purpose of having a contact in white society who was not associated with the OIA. In this context Billingsley helped the families procure goods, he helped them sell their livestock to white ranchers for a fair price, and he mediated between village leaders and OIA officials.²⁴

In the summer of 1923, with financial backing from an Arizona booster named Ralph Murphy, Billingsley recruited six Hopi dancers from Second Mesa's Snake society to dance in a regional vaudeville tour promoting Arizona tourism.²⁵ The Hopi dancers saw this as a means to earn money. On the final leg of the tour, Billingsley and the Hopi troupe joined an anthropological expedition to Mexico sponsored by the Smithsonian Institute. While in Mexico, they were invited to perform at the National Palace and were official guests of President Obregón. Later that year, Billingsley and the Hopi troupe travelled to Chicago to perform at the Field Museum by invitation of its curator, who likely learned of the Hopi performers through press coverage of their Mexico visit. The diplomatic overtone of these performance tours was not lost on Second Mesa traditionalists back on the Hopi reservation.

After the Hopi performers returned to Second Mesa, traditionalist leaders—including Naquayouma's father—met to discuss news that the assimilationist reformers were lobbying Congress to impose a ban on Pueblo ceremonies including the Hopi Snake dance. The Hopi troupe (I henceforth refer to them as the Second Mesa cohort) brought Billingsley

as their guest. After hearing the Hopi council's concerns, Billingsley offered to get help from his local Shriners chapter in Phoenix, which included some very well-connected individuals. The traditionalist leaders agreed.²⁶

The Shriners were a fraternity founded on principles of recreation and philanthropy. Their nationwide organization included influential figures in American society, including politicians and business magnates. After the Second Mesa meeting, Billingsley met with the Phoenix Shriners and convinced them to take up the Hopis' cause, which he described in terms of cultural preservation and religious freedom. This framing of the Hopi's situation appealed to the Shriners' romantic and paternalist view of American Indians—a view that was informed by the liberal-progressive turn to the idea of cultural pluralism, and the unfolding Congressional debate about American Indian citizenship.²⁷ Having gained the Shriners' interest, Billingsley devised a plan for a national show tour that would perform at Shriner temples throughout the country to generate public support for the Hopis' cause. For the tour, he drew up a three-part play based on Hopi oral traditions and called it "Legends of the Hopi."²⁸ Billingsley then arranged a meeting between the Second Mesa cohort (representing Second Mesa traditionalists) and Arizona Senators Henry F. Ashurst (Democrat) and Ralph Cameron (Republican). Both Senators were Shriners. After meeting with the Hopi group, Senator Ashurst promised legislative help going forward. The plan for a Hopi advocacy tour was now set. Sixteen Hopi performers joined the tour including an eighteen-year-old Ernest Naquayouma. Other key members of the group were Guy Kolchoftewa, Clyde Soloftoche, and Viets Lomahaftewa.²⁹

The first performance of "Legends of the Hopi" was on January 26, 1924, at the El Zaribah Shriner's temple in Phoenix.³⁰ The backdrop for the stage was painted by a Phoenix artist who rendered a scenic landscape of the village of Walpi, which many Americans recognized as a famous ancient Hopi village. The theatrical production began with Billingsley giving a lecture on Hopi culture to an all-white audience. After presenting details of Hopi history and folklore, he informed the audience about the government's unjust attack on Hopi ceremonies like the Snake dance, which he framed in terms of cultural preservation and religious freedom. Explaining the esoteric meaning of the Snake dance (an agricultural prayer for rain reflecting Hopi beliefs), he emphasized that it was a form of prayer that Christian American audiences could relate to. Then the three-act play commenced. The Hopi actors portrayed a sequence of Hopi folk tales with

moments of humor and drama, mixed with traditional dances, songs, and dialog done in the Hopi language. The play was followed by a truncated version of the Snake dance that used real snakes and traditional regalia.³¹ The tour went on to travel the country performing at Shriner venues and theatres. The Hopis soon expanded their performance by adding other ceremonial and social dances. Billingsley added a travelling museum of Hopi artifacts for audience viewing, and the Hopi performers began selling hand-made goods. Often billed as “historical and educational,” the show tour blurred political activism and cultural diplomacy with entertainment and Hopi entrepreneurship. The show tour traveled continually for six years, returning home to Arizona during winter months.³²

The character of the tour changed in 1926 when Billingsley’s new wife, Edyth Sterling, joined the outfit. In her previous career, Sterling was a well-known actress in Western films. Her contribution to the “Legends” program was as an actor-persona, interpreter, and co-manager. As an “Indian expert,” she also gave lectures on Hopi culture to white audiences. Her presence brought a wild west show atmosphere to the program.³³ As the tour continued to evolve, the group expanded its audience and began performing at school gymnasiums, universities, and city parades in addition to theater venues. In the press the tour generated, Billingsley gave statements criticizing the authoritarian character of US Indian policy.³⁴ As the relationship between the Second Mesa cohort and the Shriners strengthened, senior members of the Hopi troupe began “adopting” Shriner potentates in public ceremonies that were publicized in the press. The adoptions appear to have been a kind of syncretism between Hopi practice (political adoptions) and Shriner practice (political adoptions), with a complicated set of mixed interests behind them. Mayors, governors, senators, and prominent businessmen were given Hopi names, and through the spectacle of these affairs, the story of Hopis fighting for their religious freedom against an oppressive federal government became national news.³⁵

The ultimate goal of the “Legends of the Hopi” tour was to rally enough public sentiment to gain an audience with government officials in Washington, DC. This goal was achieved on May 16, 1926, when the Hopi troupe performed the Snake dance, Buffalo dance, and Katsina dance on the capital plaza before a five-thousand-person crowd that included President Calvin Coolidge, Vice President Charles Dawes, “innumerable” Congress members, and some Supreme Court justices.³⁶ The grand exhibition generated world-wide attention and garnered support from the American pub-

lic and US government officials. Arizona senators Ashurst and Cameron voiced their support for the Hopi cause from different sides of the aisle. In the wake of the media coverage that followed—and in concert with a separate cultural diplomacy effort organized by the All-Pueblo Council, the Federation of Women's Clubs, and social activist John Collier—the effort to ban Pueblo ceremonies fell apart.³⁷

The Hopis' performance on the capital plaza led to future exchanges between the Second Mesa cohort and high-ranking officials in Washington.³⁸ By this time, the cohort represented a broad coalition of traditionalists from all three Hopi mesas. Back on the Hopi reservation, Hopi traditionalists and Hopi accommodationists (now known as “progressives”) had established independent tribal councils and were competing to represent the tribe in its dealings with the US government. In this context, the traditionalist coalition used the Hopi-Shriner network to circumvent the OIA and Hopi progressives, and engage with Congress directly on issues like federal aid, infrastructure development, OIA corruption, the removal of protestant missionaries, Hopi self-governance, and the repatriation of lands lost when the Hopi reservation was created in 1882.³⁹ Now an experienced young man with status among Hopi traditionalists, Naquayouma had a central role these diplomatic efforts.

On April 10, 1929, when the “Legends” tour returned to Washington, DC, for a second time, the Second Mesa cohort (including Naquayouma), Billingsley, and Sterling met with Vice President Charles Curtis to discuss the issues outlined above. On the vice president's request, Naquayouma and his Hopi counterparts wrote a petition outlining Hopi traditionalists' concerns. Citing historical wrongs and appealing to American political principles, their petition was couched in the discourse of freedom, sovereignty, and self-determination.

Our chiefs and fathers tell us that in a time long ago which is recorded by white man's recounting of time as the year 1863 that a promise was made by the white man's chief and brother that our people were to retain their present homes and territory surrounding same as their own without molestation from any source whatsoever. Shortly after this so-called treaty, began our oppression from many sources.

Referencing their petition, they continued,

Do these things for our people now. We have waited many generations for these things. When other things you want to do for our people, ask us how things to be done before you do it. It may be we can make valuable suggestions. White Man will look at our reservation and say the land isn't worth doing these things upon. We love this place because it is our home always. Your government said long time ago it was good for us. Maybe now they think it waste of money to fix it up. We don't want to move away from home. Help us keep clean the homes our forefathers built. Let us live among ourselves in the place we love and give us these things we ask in the name of a free-born people.⁴⁰

Curtis forwarded their petition to Secretary of Interior Ray Wilbur and asked him to give it "careful consideration."⁴¹ The Second Mesa cohort and other Hopi traditionalists later returned to Washington, DC, in 1932 to testify before a Congressional subcommittee on Indian Affairs on the issue of Hopi land rights.⁴² Naquayouma was not present at the Congressional hearing, however. By that time, he had moved to New York City.

The outcome of the Hopi traditionalists' diplomatic effort was mixed. The Second Mesa cohort succeeded in drawing Congressional attention to OIA corruption at the Hopi reservation and secured federal aid for infrastructure development. The effort to strengthen Hopi land rights forestalled a 1932 Congressional bill that would have dissolved the Hopi reservation and integrated it into the Diné (Navajo) reservation that surrounded it.⁴³ While this was a significant political win for Hopi traditionalists, Hopi-Diné land disputes continued for many decades.

It must be noted that Billingsley and the "Legends of the Hopi" tour were and remain controversial in the Hopi community. In context, Billingsley was an Arizona settler with asymmetrical social power, and his involvement with the Hopis mixed exploitation and cultural appropriation. He does not seem to have profited financially from the tour itself, but his business ties to the Arizona tourist industry and Arizona commerce—which benefited indirectly from the show tour—complicated his motives. Moreover, Billingsley's commitment to Hopi traditionalists put him in opposition to Hopi progressives. His life-long friendship with Second Mesa traditionalists added yet another layer to the ethical knot he represented.⁴⁴ Naquayouma and the Second Mesa cohort also faced criticism. The fact that they truncated the Snake dance, removed it from its traditional cere-

monial context, and performed it for the entertainment of white audiences was seen by some Hopis as a corruption of a sacred ritual, which, up to that point, had only been performed on Hopi land. Although the show tour had elements of public education and diplomacy, for the most part it was consumed by white audiences as a spectacle, and the vaudevillian aspects of the show perpetuated racist stereotypes. Moreover, Hopis “adopting” white Shriners into the tribe broke with cultural mores and undermined the bonds of tribal identity.⁴⁵

While criticism of the “Legends of the Hopi” tour should be taken seriously, centering Naquayouma and the Second Mesa cohort’s reasons puts the story in a different light. In a precarious place in the rapidly changing political economy of the Hopi reservation, Second Mesa Hopis had few economic options: doing manual labor outside of the reservation, selling handmade goods to tourists, and performing in the entertainment industry. Combining the latter two options, the “Legends” tour was an opportunity for the Second Mesa cohort to bring income back home to their families.⁴⁶ Thus, economic survival was an intrinsic layer to the politics of the “Legends” tour. The Second Mesa cohort’s material motives did not preclude other reasons. The evidence suggests their performances had a sincere ceremonial purpose despite the atmosphere of entertainment surrounding them.⁴⁷ They were in fact traditionalist Snake society members on a mission to defend their ceremony and cultural patrimony. In a closer ethnohistorical read, the oral history of the Snake dance included themes of travel, cross-cultural contact, and medicine; themes that may have resonated with the Second Mesa cohort’s motives and actions.⁴⁸ Add that the politics of Hopi traditionalists was guided by Hopi prophecy.⁴⁹ These facts suggest that the “Legends” tour had a religiopolitical purpose that combined Hopi cultural logics with Hopi political agency.⁵⁰ Although their performances presented compromises, conflicts of interest, and possible shortcomings, in a colonial context they did not choose, Second Mesa traditionalists organized and allied with Billingsley and the Shriner network and accomplished their goals. In the process, they helped build a Hopi-wide traditionalist coalition, gained a collective voice in Congress, and began an unprecedented diplomatic campaign for Hopi tribal sovereignty. It is also worth observing that, at the time, complaints about the “Legends” tour came mainly from Hopi progressives.⁵¹

Historian, Nicolas G. Rosenthal argues that critical assessments of American Indians in the entertainment industry often fail to consider

their lives and motives, “and the ways they worked to negotiate the terms of their performances.”⁵² Gerald Vizenor’s idea of “survivance” is helpful here. Theorizing the experience of Native modernity in the early-twentieth century, Vizenor describes survivance as a mode of survival, resistance, and tribal consciousness underlying Indigenous negotiations with colonial culture. Expanding on this idea, Vizenor looks at vaudeville acts and wild west shows to analyze the ironies of such Native performances: i.e., performing “Indian.” He argues that, in many cases, the performances had a critical and subversive quality to them. They reflexively played on the image of the “Indian” and its place in white Americans’ cultural imagination. By playing on these images, Native performers asserted a tribal presence in the place of colonial fictions. According to Vizenor, acts like these had a politics of sovereignty that needs to be recognized.⁵³ Christine Bold addresses the same set of issues. She argues that, while these forms of mass entertainment were a part of an evolving settler-colonial culture, Native performers often repurposed the spaces for resurgent ends, forging counterhegemonic forms of modernity in the process.⁵⁴ From these premises one can deduce that, from a compromised space, Naquayouma and the Second Mesa cohort used performance to manipulate white expectations and advance their political goals. Looking at the story in its entirety bears out this claim.

Supporting this analysis, ethnohistorian Richard Clemmer cites the Second Mesa cohort as forerunners to a larger Hopi traditionalist movement that emerged in the early 1950s. Although this movement was “traditionalists” by creed, it was modern in its cosmopolitan character, in the way it mobilized dissent and critique to advance its political goals, and in the way it cultivated alliances with non-Native peoples.⁵⁵ Clemmer’s study of modern Hopi politics highlights threads linking Naquayouma’s early activism to larger political currents.

NAQUAYOUMA IN NEW YORK CITY

After the 1929 meeting with Vice President Charles Curtis, Naquayouma moved to New York City with his cousin Morris Mofsie. Mofsie was the same age as Naquayouma. He was also a Second Mesa traditionalist and Snake society member.⁵⁶ On a “Legends” tour stop in New York, the Hopi cousins met two Ho Chunk (Winnebago) sisters named Alvina and Lillian Lowery. Both were graduates of Haskell Indian In-

stitute in Kansas, and both worked as performers. Alvina's and Lillian's aunt was none other than Lillian Margaret St. Cyr, better known as the famous silent film star, Red Wing.⁵⁷ The three women were living together in Manhattan at the time. It is likely that they all met through the social network of Native performers and may have met performing at the same event. Within months of meeting, Morris married Alvina and Ernest married Lillian.⁵⁸ Lillian, the older of the two sisters, had two daughters from a previous marriage. She and Ernest had a daughter together in 1931 (and later, a son in 1937). The two families shared a tenement apartment in the Manhattan neighborhood of San Juan Hill, which was an ethnically diverse working-class community of migrants and immigrants. Red Wing lived nearby in the equally diverse South Harlem, then a key destination for Black migrants leaving the South and home to the Harlem Renaissance.⁵⁹

Born in 1873, Red Wing was a graduate of Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. She later became an actress in the silent film industry and developed her career through the self-molded character, "Princess Red Wing." The name Red Wing represented a persona she had cultivated since a young age to get by as an Indigenous woman in a racialized society. Working within the confines of the American cultural imagination and the film industry that dramatized it, Red Wing's legacy was the way she shaped the stereotyped "Indian princess" stock-film character into a more complex persona with heroic agency.⁶⁰ Although her character reproduced the racial stereotypes of the time, in a context she did not choose, Red Wing used performance to make a living, achieve a modicum of success, and influence US culture. Mentored by cultural and political figure, Luther Standing Bear (Lakota), Red Wing used her acting career to bring public attention to the real-life struggles of Native peoples, a politics that was reinforced by her off-screen work as a culture educator and Indian rights activist.⁶¹ Red Wing's life-path resembled Naquayouma's in many ways. Thirty-three years his senior, and now his aunt-in-law (or, auntie), Red Wing mentored Naquayouma as he established himself in New York City.

In the throes of the great depression, Naquayouma followed Red Wing's lead and became part of New York City's inter-tribal community. With historical roots in local tribes, by the 1930s the community represented around twenty tribal groups from across North America. Social networks and fellowship were especially important in metropolitan centers like

New York where American Indians—especially folks who had recently left reservations—experienced poverty, alienation, culture shock, and racism.⁶² The community was knitted together by social organizations like the Indian Confederation of America, the Indian Freemasons, and the Indian Unity Alliance (IUA). The IUA was an especially energetic group that promoted pan-Indianism, cultural pride, and tribal sovereignty. The group also highlighted the relationship between American colonialism and capitalism. All three groups demonstrated their civic engagement through public ceremonies and participation in civic parades. Red Wing, Naquayouma, and the rest of the extended family were actively involved with each of these organizations.⁶³

Although some of New York City's urban Indian community were white-collar professionals, most were part of the city's working class. Many made a living doing menial jobs like domestic work, municipal work, dock work, and low-skilled industrial labor. Naquayouma's wife, Lillian, for example, took work as a dressmaker in a Manhattan factory. Naquayouma himself held a part-time job as a municipal worker for many years. New York's Native working class also worked in high-skilled industries, as in the case of the famous Mohawk steel workers who helped construct New York City's skyline.⁶⁴ In the Depression years, the "Indian" niche of the entertainment industry was an extension of this Native working class. It was in this niche that Red Wing, Naquayouma, and the rest of the extended family eked out a living performing at events, giving cultural talks, and selling handmade goods. For example, from 1933 to 1938 Naquayouma and Lillian worked seasonally at Indian Point amusement park located on the east bank of the Hudson River. They worked at a company-owned kiosk making and selling traditional craftwork (pottery, beads, weaving, tooled leather, and silver jewelry) to day trippers to from the city.⁶⁵

While in New York, Naquayouma found one additional line of work he often depended on throughout the 1930s: being an ethnographic consultant. His first job of this kind was with comparative musicologist, Helen Heffron Roberts. Roberts studied anthropology at Barnard College, the women's college at Columbia University. In the early 1930s she was a research assistant at Yale's Institute of Human Relations, where she specialized in the psychology and aesthetics of "primitive music."⁶⁶ In the spring of 1932, Roberts was invited to give a guest lecture on "American Indian music" at the New School for Social Research in Greenwich Village.⁶⁷ Her lecture was part of the course, "Musical Systems of the World,"

taught jointly by comparative musicologist Charles Seeger and avant-garde composer Henry Cowell. To accompany Roberts's lecture, Cowell hired Red Wing, Naquayouma, and Mofsie to sing Ho Chunk and Hopi songs for his class. The performers were given space to lecture on the music themselves, alongside Roberts.⁶⁸ Leading up to the event, Roberts took notice of Naquayouma's extensive knowledge of traditional Hopi songs. She arranged for him to travel to the Yale campus so she could record his singing using the latest phonograph technology.⁶⁹

Naquayouma's presence at Yale brought him to the attention of linguistic anthropologist, Benjamin Lee Whorf. Whorf graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and was a chemical engineer by training. His day job was as a fire-prevention agent for the Hartford Fire Insurance Company. While maintaining his first job, Whorf developed a second career as a linguistic anthropologist. In 1931 he began attending Yale as a graduate student. His research included the study of the Hopi language.⁷⁰ Historian Penny Lee notes that Whorf met Naquayouma in a Yale phonology class on March 17, 1932. This would have been Edward Sapir's course. (Sapir was Whorf's adviser and Roberts's supervisor at this time; hence, Sapir may have been an intermediary connecting Naquayouma and Whorf).⁷¹ After their first meeting, Whorf followed up with Naquayouma the next day to arrange a work partnership. The two met several times that year to work on Hopi linguistics.⁷²

Naquayouma continued working with Roberts and Whorf for several years. Roberts returned to guest lecture for Cowell's "Musical Systems of the World" course multiple times between 1932 and 1935. Red Wing and Mofsie gradually fell out of Roberts's orbit while Naquayouma gained more recognition. In the announcement for Roberts's lecture in the spring of 1934, Naquayouma's name was listed next to Roberts's name as: "Ernest Naquayouma, Hopi Indian, soloist."⁷³ That winter, Roberts was unavailable, so Naquayouma performed and lectured in Cowell's class by himself.⁷⁴ During these years, Naquayouma returned to Yale several times to record Hopi songs with Roberts.⁷⁵

Naquayouma worked with Whorf on Hopi linguistics until 1937. They usually met at the Yale campus or at Whorf's home in Hartford, with Whorf paying for Naquayouma's train travel and hotel costs. Other times, Whorf met with Naquayouma in New York City when Whorf was there on business. In 1933, Whorf hired Naquayouma to help him edit the Hopi glossary of ethnographer Alexander M. Stephen's *Hopi Journal*. Stephen

was one of the first Hopi ethnographers and lived on the Hopi reservation for several years in the 1890s (he died of the flu there in 1894). In the 1930s, his ethnographic journals were considered significant enough to be published posthumously. Overseeing the journal's publication, Franz Boas asked Pueblo ethnographer Elsie Clews Parsons to edit the bulk of Stephen's journal. Boas asked Whorf to edit Stephen's Hopi glossary. Still a student of the Hopi language himself, Whorf asked Naquayouma to assess the glossary. As Whorf wrote to Boas on April 2, 1934: "I have thought it better not to trust my own knowledge of Hopi, but to check over every word with my informant. Such checking shows the glossary to be chalk full of errors [of phonetics and meaning]." Whorf decided that the glossary was practically useless and needed to be rewritten with Naquayouma's guidance. He paid Naquayouma with funds Boas had sent from Columbia University.⁷⁶ In print, however, Naquayouma was not acknowledged as a contributor.⁷⁷

Outside of his contribution to the Stephen journal, Naquayouma was an important source behind Whorf's theoretical work. He is often associated with Whorf's work on linguistic relativity: the idea that the unconscious structure of language is linked to patterns of culture and thought.⁷⁸ Whorf's analysis of Hopi language, culture, and thought was a key case study in his writings on the subject, and Naquayouma was the primary consultant in his research.⁷⁹ Whorf's work with Naquayouma extended into other parts of his linguistics research as well.

A pair of letters Naquayouma wrote to Roberts and Whorf on November 9, 1935, indicate his contribution to their research. The letters are a rare glimpse into Naquayouma's life and personality. They also show the nature of his relationship to anthropologists. Having just returned to the Hopi reservation for the first time since his move to New York, Naquayouma wrote separate letters to Roberts and Whorf.

Dear Miss Roberts, I guess you been wondering what became of me. Here I'm writing to you a few lines that I'm still alive. I'm out here at my reservation. I came about month and a half ago, just by myself. I left my family in New York, the first time since I'm been married. I get lonesome for my little girl Ramona but I'm just fine and happy with my folks and they are all well also. I hope you are well too. I had a letter from my wife couple days ago and saying that Ramona has been sick catching cold I guess, but she's getting

better now little bit. So I'm little worried about her but I hope she get all well, as I intend to stay out here till next spring if I can, as I still going to that place up at Indian Point Park next summer but there will be different proposition as the company wants it. Guess they like us or our services [he and Lillian]. There is nothing much doing more around here, except few demands nothing much interest. Say I wonder if you know that man was but here he came from Michigan U. [University].⁸⁰ Says he saw you there some place some time ago but never took much notice of you. He knows Mr. Orchard at Museum of Heye Foundation [now the National Museum of the American Indian]. I'm trying to learn few things of my people so I can know more the next time when I go back to New York. Hope to hear from you soon. I will close here now with my best of luck to you, I'm your friend, Ernest Naquayouma.⁸¹

On the same date, he also penned a letter to Whorf,

Dear Mr. Whorf, Here I am the first time writing you a few lines, since I see you last this summer. I'm out here now at my reservation. I just by myself now I left my family in New York as I'm coming back to New York soon or maybe next spring. I'm fine and happy out here with my folks. Hope you are well also. How are you coming with your work on Hopi language? Are you all finish with it or not? I'm trying to learn few more word, which maybe I don't remember, and some other things what is hard to say, some old words. I know there's lots of more words yet to learn if you if you still are working on that I'll catch a few more words. I saw a man week or so ago from Michigan U. He thought he know Miss Roberts when I was talking to him, but he's gone now. He stay out here about month or so. I'm always busy helping my folks gathering corn, but now everything's getting about finish now. So we are just taking it easy now. If anything you want me to learn let me know. Hope to hear from you soon, your friend Ernest Naquayouma.⁸² [This letter is also cited by Penny Lee (2021)].⁸³

Among other things, these letters highlight Naquayouma's cosmopolitan worldliness and professional savvy. At a deeper level, the letters reveal the asymmetrical social circuits linking tribal communities to metropolitan centers and academic institutions.

Naquayouma worked with other anthropologists during the 1930s as well. Between 1932 and 1934 he developed a relationship with visiting New Zealand anthropologists, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole. The Beagleholes planned to travel to Arizona in the summer of 1932 to do ethnographic work at the Hopi reservation. When they stopped on the US East Coast to make travel arrangements, Roberts introduced them to Naquayouma. Naquayouma arranged for them to stay with his brother in Mishongnovi.⁸⁴ The same arrangement was made for the Beagleholes' second fieldwork trip to the Hopi reservation in the summer of 1934. In 1938 and 1939 Naquayouma worked with George Herzog and Gene (Regina) Weltfish at Columbia University. He recorded and translated Hopi songs for Herzog, and he made multiple appearances in Weltfish's phonetics course at Columbia.⁸⁵ Altogether, Naquayouma was a regular presence at Yale and Columbia Universities throughout the 1930s.

Naquayouma's work with anthropologists raises ethical questions similar to those surrounding Naquayouma's involvement in the "Legends of the Hopi" tour. In this instance, the heart of the question revolves around Naquayouma's sharing of Hopi cultural patrimony, the colonial and extractive nature of ethnography, and the economic, cross-cultural, and social power dynamics surrounding these issues (e.g., the history of salvage anthropology).⁸⁶ This subject comes with its own complexities.⁸⁷ Like the "Legends of the Hopi" tour, one might come to a similar conclusion that a critical analysis of Naquayouma's actions should also recognize his circumstances, reasons, and goals.

Naquayouma had material reasons for taking the jobs. Work with anthropologists was a crucial job opportunity during the Great Depression. Naquayouma's economic strain can be seen in his correspondence with anthropologists. Although his letters were warm and friendly, between the lines it was clear that he was desperate for work. For example, in a letter Naquayouma wrote to Roberts on October 13, 1932, he wrote,

Dear Miss Roberts, I'm writing you tonight to let you know I'm still moving around in the city and am fine and also my family. I was wondering how you have been since I see you last. . . . If you have any work for me let me know I will be glad to hear from you soon. Hope you [had] a good summer and enjoyed. Regards from the wife and kids. Best wishes and good luck.⁸⁸

In a letter he wrote to Whorf on September 18, 1936, he wrote,

Dear Mr. Whorf, how are you this days. It's been long time since I hear from, so I'm writing you a few lines. . . . If you are still want to work on the language of Hopi, I'm not doing anything now. I may get some [other work] soon so if you can work with me again let me hear from you soon. Hope you are well. We are all well, and we had a very nice summer. Hope to see you again sometime.⁸⁹

Beyond his material reasons, the narratives and songs Naquayouma shared with anthropologists and American audiences had cosmological meanings and purposes. At this point in his life, he clearly viewed such engagements through the lens of cultural education and diplomacy. He also used his connections with anthropologist to access academic studies of Hopi and American Indian history and culture. Altogether, he used his relationship with anthropologists to raise his profile as a public figure, believing his public engagement could help advance American Indian causes. By this time, Naquayouma's politics had developed into something more complex. On one hand, he continued to actively support Hopi traditionalists' struggle for tribal sovereignty. On the other hand, he became increasingly involved in the pan-Indian social movement, which sought the rights of US citizenship while asserting cultural pride and American Indian identity. Thus, while there may have been ethical dilemmas surrounding Naquayouma's work with anthropologists, the work also reflected his political agency. (Whether or not Naquayouma's modern experience and political outlook were legible to anthropology is a different subject. I take this issue up further in my concluding remarks.)

Naquayouma's work as a performer and cultural educator in New York City further strengthened his public persona. His professional connections led to his being hired to help design the exterior mural for the United States' national pavilion at the 1937 International Exhibition in Paris. For this story, please see the article by art historians Davida Fernández-Barkan and Phillippa Pitts, which I contributed to.⁹⁰ Naquayouma also played a central role in organizing the Hopi exhibit for the 1939 New York World's Fair. This was a subsequent chapter in the relationship between Hopi traditionalists, M. W. Billingsley, and the Shriners. The Smithsonian Institution was also involved. Like the "Legends of the Hopi" tour, the World's Fair exhibit was a high-profile venue from which Naquayouma and Hopi traditionalists attempted to influence US-Hopi affairs, using

cultural diplomacy to advance political goals like Hopi self-governance and land repatriation.⁹¹

NAQUAYOUMA IN CHICAGO

In the spring of 1940, Naquayouma and his family spent the summer in Columbus, Ohio. He and Lillian had accepted a job working at the Columbus Zoo working as tour guides and cultural educators. The day of their arrival was promoted as a major public event. Leading up to the event, a local newspaper described Naquayouma as “a Hopi chieftain,” and “a lecturer and singer of some note.” A zoo official predicted the day of their arrival would be “the biggest day in the history of the Columbus Zoo.” On a sunny May afternoon, Ernest and Lillian paddled down the Scioto River with their three-year-old son in a blue canoe, dressed in Lakota-styled clothing, to an estimated crowd of 15,000 people.⁹² The Lakota-styled clothing they wore was common to the “Indian” niche of the entertainment industry. It was part of a spectacle curated for white audiences, but it also had historical and cultural links to Lillian’s extended family and tribal affiliations (i.e., Luther Standing Bear; Red Wing likely made the clothing herself). The clothing style was also a signifier of pan-Indian identity.⁹³

When the family landed on the zoo grounds, they were greeted by the president of the Columbus Zoological Society and a group of Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, and Campfire Girls. The scouts helped them raise a tepee, and as the family posed for photos they were “swamped by a crowd of sightseers that pressed around seeking an opportunity to greet them personally and to ask questions on Indian topics.”⁹⁴ That summer, Ernest and Lillian worked as zoo guides, lectured on their respective tribal histories and cultures, and held arts and crafts workshops with visiting youth groups. On the side, Lillian made and sold beadwork, and Ernest made and sold silver jewelry. This snapshot into Ernest’s and Lillian’s ongoing work as entertainers and cultural educators highlights the cross-cultural and political complexities of their public lives.

In the fall of 1940, as the United States began mobilizing for World War II, Naquayouma registered for the draft but was not conscripted.⁹⁵ In the winter of 1940, Naquayouma and his family moved from New York City to Chicago. It is unclear what prompted the move. It appears to have been a combination of factors. Chicago’s emerging war industry created a pull

factor drawing workers to the city; however, defense industry jobs were also available in New York City. Lillian may have had family connections in Chicago. And they may have had other social connections to the city. Whatever the reasons for their move, as soon as Naquayouma arrived he began working at the Signode Steel factory, a war factory that specialized in steel strapping used for freight. He began attending night school at Lane Technical School to learn the welding trade. He also continued working as a cultural educator and performer.⁹⁶

Like New York City's intertribal community, Native Chicago had its roots in local tribal groups and its population expanded during the early-twentieth century, largely due to colonial policies that left many American Indians poor, landless, and seeking jobs in Chicago's urban economy. The economic migration was augmented by the Great Depression and New Deal jobs programs. By 1940, Chicago's intertribal community represented between 15 and 20 tribal groups from across North America.⁹⁷ Naquayouma and his family lived in a small apartment on Chicago's north side near the factory where he worked. Like the Manhattan neighborhood of San Juan Hill, Chicago's north side was composed of an ethnically diverse population of working-class migrants and immigrants.⁹⁸

Five years after relocating to Chicago, Naquayouma joined the Indian-progressive society, the Indian Council Fire (ICF). The ICF had mixed membership of Native and non-Native members, but like many American Indian organizations at the time it was led by middle and upper-class white progressives. When the organization began in the 1920s, it promoted assimilation as the path to American Indian social equality. It became famous for an annual high-society dinner it hosted, which presented an achievement award to an accomplished Native American individual from the national scene.⁹⁹ The messaging of the organization changed in the 1930s when an increase of reservation migrants to Chicago created a resurgence in American Indian cultural practices in the city, including Native arts, powwows, and informal mutual aid networks. This coincided with white progressives' ideological turn toward cultural pluralism. In the wake of these events, the ICF softened its assimilationist stance and began promoting Native cultural heritage as part of its mission. Native members were invited to hold officer positions but remained marginalized in the organization. Naquayouma joined the ICF during this transitional phase and held an officer position working alongside other well-known

Native Chicagoans.¹⁰⁰ Living a more comfortable working-class lifestyle now, Ernest and Lillian raised their family.¹⁰¹

Rosalyn R. LaPier and David R. M. Beck have recently offered a critical take on Indian progressive societies like the ICF. They argue that, although its Native members aimed to “educate the larger population about the place of Indians in modern society,” and thereby shape their own narrative against white society’s prejudices, they ultimately failed to alter American cultural views. And insofar as many of these figures were entertainers (e.g., Naquayouma), their performative appeals to white audiences perpetuated myths and stereotypes. LaPier and Beck also recognize the complexity of the context in which these figures operated.¹⁰²

The end of World War II drove the rapid growth of Chicago’s Native community as veterans from the war—most of whom had grown up on reservations—made their home in the city. This nearly tripled Chicago’s American Indian population. Many were destitute, as exemplified by the so-called Indian skid rows that emerged on Chicago’s West and North sides.¹⁰³ The demographic shift increased demand for Native-run spaces removed from the paternalistic oversight of white progressives. In this vacuum emerged organizations like the North American Indian Council (NAIC). This self-organized group held its own social activities and connected newly arriving veterans to public services, alcohol counselling, and other social programs. Although the organization disbanded shortly after its first year, it signaled the rise of grassroots community organizing in Chicago’s intertribal community.¹⁰⁴

The next major turn in the community was the OIAs urban relocation program, which began in the early 1950s. After more than a decade of a progressive-leaning US policy that aimed to strengthen the rights of tribal governments (i.e., the Indian Reorganization Act, 1933–45), US policy swung sharply back toward a conservative assimilationist agenda. The agenda was known as termination.¹⁰⁵ “Termination” was a legalistic phrase referring to the termination of a contract. In this case, it meant ending federal recognition of treaty rights and the limited-sovereignty rights of reservations. The government’s goal was to bring American Indian peoples more fully into the US political economy and national body politic. Co-opting tribal lands, mobilizing Indigenous labor, and decommissioning the OIA for budgetary reasons were related goals. One termination policy was an OIA program designed to relocate American Indians living on

reservations to urban centers. The program began in 1952 under the new OIA commissioner Dillon Myer, former director of the War Relocation Authority (cf. Japanese internment during World War II).¹⁰⁶ That year, the OIA opened relocation field offices in Chicago and other urban centers across the country. The OIA framed the relocation program as an employment assistance program. Participation in the program was voluntary.¹⁰⁷

When the Chicago field office began its operation, its goal was to recruit relocatees from select reservations and get them jobs in Chicago's industrial work force. To do this, field office staff visited reservations to promote the program and interview people willing to make the move. They initially sought out young men, hoping they could establish themselves in the city before other community members followed. Field office staff also met with Chicago's business leaders, unions, and employment agencies to arrange hiring quotas, so when relocatees arrived they could begin working immediately. The Chicago Housing Authority provided some public housing, which was supplemented by rented rooms at boarding houses and cheap hotels. The field office also arranged for public agencies and private welfare organizations (e.g., churches and women's clubs) to connect relocatees to public services and promote "Americanization": i.e., individualism, protestant morality, industrial-capitalist work ethic, consumerism, and other white middle-class values. The program saw a series of setbacks in its first months as relocatees struggled to acclimate to life in the city. Although some relocatees endorsed the program, most people's initial optimism was dashed by the poor living conditions and low-paying jobs the field office arranged for them. They also experienced racial discrimination and isolation. Many relocatees returned home and discouraged others from participating in the program. Relocation offices around the country faced similar setbacks.¹⁰⁸

In Chicago, the head of the OIA field office, Kurt Dreifuss, led an effort to revise their operation. Under his authority, the office began relocating entire families at once to quell homesickness and improve retention rates. Dreifuss secured additional funding to hire more case workers and improve housing conditions. He also set up education and vocational training programs to improve relocatees' employment prospects. Although the job training pushed relocatees into Chicago's racialized working class, it also opened the door to social mobility. Thus, although the relocation program remained tainted by assimilationist values, relocatees took advantage of the program's resources and opportunities to pursue their

own interests. As historian Douglas K. Miller argues, the urban migration prompted by the relocation program “amounted to more than a consequence of BIA machinations.” Native peoples had their own aspirations and bent relocation to their own purposes. Moreover, the urban Indian experience was not one-dimensional or entirely negative. Cities were also places of opportunity, enrichment, and reinvention.¹⁰⁹ Historian Renya K. Ramirez adds that the traffic between reservations and urban centers helped reinvigorate tribal communities.¹¹⁰ By January of 1954, the relocation program had boosted Chicago’s Native population to around 1,200 people representing at least forty tribal groups (these are likely low estimates).¹¹¹

To strengthen the Chicago office’s links to the broader community, Dreifuss organized an advisory board of public figures from churches, women’s clubs, local businesses, and Native community groups. He succeeded in recruiting members of the ICF including Naquayouma. Former members of the grassroots oriented NAIC also joined the group. The structure of the advisory board was divided into subcommittees that dealt with issues from housing to public relations. Naquayouma and other Native board members advised Dreifuss that socialization into city life was key to the program’s success. On this front, Naquayouma was appointed head of a committee on leisure time activities. Benjmain Bearskin (Ho Chunk-Lakota, former NAIC member) and Herald Schwamp (Oneida) worked alongside him.¹¹²

With help from the Chicago office, advisory board members, and the Chicago Park District, Naquayouma, Bearskin, and Schwamp started a recreational group called the American Indian Club (AIC) in the fall of 1952. The club was organized around two meeting halls: Naquayouma was elected president of the North Side group, which held meetings at Chase Park Field; Bearskin was elected president of the South Side group, which held meetings at Ogden Park. Soon after, the club centralized its management structure and Naquayouma was elected as the first club president.¹¹³ The club met every two weeks to socialize and plan events. In the following months it hosted a Halloween pow wow, a Christmas party, a spring pow wow, and a spring picnic. There were also arts and crafts workshops, a ballroom dance, and other activities. Some of these events attracted upward of one thousand visitors, most of whom were recent relocatees. Established Native residents also attended, as did some non-Native Chicagoans. Bringing people from different tribal groups together in fellowship—some of whom had only recently been in conflict with

one another back on their homelands—required overcoming cultural, linguistic, and political differences. Cultivating relations with Chicago's non-Native, predominantly white community posed similar challenges that were amplified by white Chicagoans' racial and romantic biases. There were also complex class differences to overcome. The genius of the AIC's Native organizers was to build community around a celebration of Native cultural heritage. Using OIA resources, the AIC printed a monthly bulletin called "A Little Indian Newspaper," which promoted club events, listed other recreational activities to do in the city, introduced new relocatees to the community, and had a personals section with neighborly updates on community members.¹¹⁴

Encouraged by the AIC's success, Eli Powless (ICF), Naquayouma, Schwamp, and Bearskin organized a Citizen's Committee to discuss the creation of an All-Tribes American Indian Center (ATAIC): a community center with its own building. Using money raised from club events, with financial backing from Chicago philanthropic groups, and with help from the Chicago field office and the advisory board, they chartered the ATAIC as a nonprofit organization. They rented a building in Chicago's North Side to house the center. The center's Board of Directors included Native and non-Native community leaders.¹¹⁵ Ted White (Lakota-Oneida; Loyola University graduate and social worker) was later elected as the first full-time director of the center. Naquayouma was the financial officer for a time. The main goal of the new organization was to become financially self-sufficient through fundraising events and philanthropic support.¹¹⁶

Essentially a Native led organization with non-Native backers, the ATAIC's stated mission was to "make the center a means of expressing Indian Culture in Chicago; to help create bonds of understanding and fellowship; and to stimulate the integration of the American Indian in the community life of the city of Chicago; to foster the educational and economic advancement of American Indian people; to encourage artistic and avocational pursuits; and to preserve and foster American Indian arts, crafts, and cultural values."¹¹⁷ After the center hosted a well-attended grand opening in November of 1953, members of the American Indian Club and the Indian Council Fire (with Naquayouma representing both groups) gathered for a symposium on the subject of "The Future of American Indians in Chicago." In that meeting, they agreed to disband the AIC and the ICF and focus their collective energy on the ATAIC (the ICF continued to host its annual American Indian achievement award dinners).¹¹⁸

In the following months the ATAIC led an ambitious effort to expand its operations by organizing events, developing the facility, and hosting a slate of community programming that included dance classes, a bowling league, and a film discussion group. The center also participated in civic parades. The activities attracted large turnouts and helped relocatees adjust to life in Chicago, and many relocatees learned valuable leadership skills organizing and directing events.¹¹⁹ Rebranding the “Little Indian Newspaper,” a new monthly bulletin was created called “Tom-Tom Echoes” (later renamed, “Tepee Topics”). Naquayouma chaired a committee on arts and crafts and arranged for part of the center to be made into a studio for local artisans. On behalf of the center, Naquayouma and Powless worked with the Community Symphony Orchestra of Chicago to organize an American Indian Music Festival. The festival included tribal dances and a classical music concert, and highlighted contributions American Indians had made to modern American culture.¹²⁰

As the ATAIC continued its development, it established its own relationship with social welfare groups and city officials and worked to strengthen relocatees’ access to health care and housing. As part of this work, the ATAIC headed an innovative program through which relocatees could own low-cost homes. ATAIC efforts coincided with relocatees’ improving job prospects. With all its problems, the Chicago field office was now helping some relocatees (men and women) get hired into skilled blue-collar and white-collar professions. Thus, from the combined efforts of the OIA’s field office and the ATAIC, relocatees formed a small but upwardly mobile Native community in Chicago that existed alongside the older, more established Native community. As sociologist Janusz Mucha argued, “The goal of both organizations was, to an extent, similar: to make the transition period of Indian immigrants to the city as smooth as possible. But the basic assumptions were different. The [OIA field office] wanted to assimilate Indians. The American Indian Center wanted to retain the tribal, and the pan-Indian identity of newcomers.”¹²¹

The relationship between the ATAIC and the Chicago field office began to deteriorate when the government’s termination policy became public knowledge in the fall of 1953. In response, national organizations like the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) rallied Native communities across the country in opposition. Responding to the NCAI’s call to action, the ATAIC became a venue for Native community leaders and their non-Native allies to openly oppose the OIA’s termination agenda.¹²²

Naquayouma was among them. The criticism drew the attention of Kurt Dreifuss, who described Native opposition as “militant.”¹²³ He proceeded to surveil them and document developments in his official reports to Washington. In the following years, the ATAIC maintained its ties to the OIA office to access its resources, but relations between the organizations turned increasingly bitter. A complete break finally came in 1956 when the Chicago office refused to continue sharing information about incoming relocatees with the ATAIC. From that point on, ATAIC members still on the Chicago field office’s advisory board resigned, and the ATAIC began operating independently.¹²⁴

The ATAIC became an important staging ground for American Indian activism in Chicago during the 1950s and 1960s. A staple in Chicago’s Native community, the ATAIC was a national hub for American Indian politics. As the first Native-run community center, it served as a model for other urban Indian community organizations around the country. In 1961, the center played a significant role in the American Indian Chicago Conference (AICC), which helped launch the American Indian self-determination movement and laid the seeds of the Red Power movement. As a valued member of Chicago’s Native community, Naquayouma was invited to participate in the AICC. There is no record of him attending, however.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, he had a notable part in this larger story.

Rosenthal highlights that through the self-determination movement, relocation participants used urban community centers like the ATAIC as a platform to critique the OIA, influence policymakers, and bend policy toward their own interests. Challenging the government’s termination agenda was by no means simple, easy, or complete, but “by the 1970s, the relocation program had become remarkably less a policy of ‘Americanization’ and considerably more one of ‘self-determination.’”¹²⁶ The political significance of urban Indian community organizations like the ATAIC is heightened by the fact that, since the 1980s, the majority of American Indians have lived in cities.¹²⁷

Critical assessments of Chicago’s history of Native activism include Anne Terry Straus’s and Deborah Valentino’s argument that, although Native women had always made important contributions to Chicago’s Native community, men tended to occupy the most visible leadership positions until the 1960s. They argue that the gendered roles were reinforced by mainstream, non-Native (white) institutional norms; though, tribal

norms were also to blame. In their case study, they point to the American Indian Club's official leadership positions, including Naquayouma's.¹²⁸

In the various archives that reveal pieces of Naquayouma's story, there are few clues illustrating the last decades of his life. He continued working at Signode Steel. At some point he was promoted to the position of inspector, and he retired in 1966. He remained part of the Indian Council Fire and the ATAIC until the mid-1960s. His wife, Lillian, died in Chicago in 1967. Naquayouma participated in the American Indian Festival 1968, which was hosted by the Chicago Field Museum of Natural History. Through the 1950s to the early 1970s he intermittently toured on the road and performed, sometimes independently, and sometimes with Billingsley and the Second Mesa cohort, all of whom were lifelong friends. Naquayouma moved back to Arizona in the late 1960s. In 1977 he remarried. He died in a Phoenix hospital in 1985. A service was held for him in Mishongnovi.¹²⁹

Returning to the initial claims of this article, Naquayouma's biography illustrates three key features of the American Indian self-determination movement in the first half of the twentieth century: (1) the anti-colonial traditionalist politics of North American tribal nations; (2) the intertribal social networks that bridged reservations and urban centers across the country; and (3) the pan-Indianism social movement, which fostered a shared American Indian identity among diverse tribal groups. Although Naquayouma's life was unique in many ways, these three features can be seen in the lives of many American Indian individuals living in the twentieth century. Hence, the goal of this article has not been to emphasize how exceptional Naquayouma's life was; the goal is to see a common set of experiences in the story of his life. These common experiences provide insight into larger themes in the field of American Indian history. Native modernity being the primary example.

It is also worthwhile to consider the historiographical significance of Naquayouma's biography. The particular set of events Naquayouma participated in throughout his life bring together historical contexts that are often arbitrarily separated by academic fields. This point grounds my initial claim that Naquayouma's story is relevant to the fields of American studies and science studies, insofar as it provides insight into the settler-colonial nature of US culture, and the subaltern politics of ethnographic consultants.

To close, I want to expand on the implications of Naquayouma's story for science studies. Naquayouma's role as an ethnographic consultant has largely been ignored in the scholarly literature. His name is regularly noted in relation to Whorf's work. In these instances, he is described as Whorf's "informant"—a term anthropologists used to define Indigenous intellectual laborers. This token of scholarly recognition never ventures to consider who Naquayouma was. In this article I was deliberately brief when analyzing Naquayouma's relationship to anthropology because his historical significance has often been reduced to his work with Whorf. As the research presented here shows, his legacy was clearly much more than his work with ethnographers, which, in retrospect, was something of a side note in his eventful life. Thus, one purpose of this article was to correct this historiographical lacuna. With personhood returned to Naquayouma's name, however, his relationship to anthropology is worth commenting on further.

I think Naquayouma's positionality in the ethnographer-consultant relationship reveals an under theorized topic in the history of anthropology. There is an extensive body of literature addressing the colonial history of anthropology, and there are many studies that have addressed the work relationship between ethnographers and Indigenous consultants, but very few studies have discussed the subaltern politics of consultants. By "subaltern politics" I mean the anti-colonial or counterhegemonic politics of Indigenous subjects who worked with ethnographers. The emphasis of this particular topic is not on the ideological biases of anthropology, the scientific status of anthropological knowledge, the power dynamic between ethnographers and consultants, or the relationship between anthropology and state power (though these issues are of course relevant). The emphasis of this topic is on the historically rooted experiences and political intentions of ethnographic consultants.

In the relational matrix of power, knowledge, and agency that the ethnographic encounter represented, the perspective of consultants, the context of their decisions, and the stakes of their choices were, for the most part, erased in the ethnographic record. This erasure distorted anthropology as a field of knowledge. And to this day the erasure is regularly repeated in the historiography of anthropology, which is typically focused on anthropologists and their theories.

The problem has been recognized. A cohort of scholars have used critical frameworks to reclaim the historical agency of consultants.¹³⁰ Some emphasize that consultants actively contributed to ethnographic knowledge.

Some show how consultants used their relationship with ethnographers to advance their own goals. Some cite instances of ethnographic refusal as a sign of consultants' presence and autonomy. In each of these cases, historical and social power dynamics add nuance to the question of agency.

Despite these interventions, few scholars have considered the visions of sovereignty many consultants and performers brought with them when they worked with ethnographers. It is my position that there is a subaltern politics within the history of anthropology that has yet to see the full light of day. Anthropology created a colonial archive. Reading the ethnographic record against the grain (in concert with other evidence) can bring a new perspective to the history of ethnographic practice and anthropological knowledge—in a way that exceeds and resists the discipline's own intentions.¹³¹ In short, there is an American Indian history of self-determination hidden in the history of anthropology.

This was not the venue to unpack this topic at length using Naquayouma as an example. Nevertheless, I think his biography shows the promise of this line of inquiry.

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NOTES

1. Indigenous institutions with documents pertaining to Naquayouma's biography include the American Indian Center, Chicago. The government archives I con-

sulted were at the National Archives and Records Administration: Riverside, CA, Washington, DC, and Chicago, IL. My research focused on Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The university archives I consulted were Yale University, the University of Arizona, Arizona State University, the University of Oregon, Indiana University, and Cornell University. The library archives I consulted were the Newberry Library, Chicago, and the New York Public Library.

2. Lomayumtewa C. Ishi draws critical attention to the body of literature Western academics have created about Hopi culture since the late-nineteenth century (cf. Edward Said's notion of "cultural archive"). As Ishi argues, colonial stereotypes, ideologies, and other misrepresentations permeating this archive have shaped state policy and public consciousness in ways that have been harmful to the Hopi community (Lomayumtewa C. Ishi, "Hopi Culture and Representation," in *Native Historians Write Back: Decolonizing American Indian History*, ed. Susan A. Miller and James Riding In [Texas Tech University Press, 2011], 52–68). Angela Cavender Wilson draws critical attention to the epistemological biases of European modes of scholarship. In doing so she makes a distinction between American Indian History and "non-Indian perceptions of American Indian history" (Angela Cavender Wilson, "American Indian History or Non-Indian Perceptions of American Indian History?," *American Indian Quarterly* 20, no. 1 [1996]: 3–5). The goal of these critiques is to encourage non-Native scholars to be more reflexive, thoughtful, collaborative, and reciprocal when researching and writing about Indigenous communities.

3. For more discussion of the ethics and politics of academic research on American Indian histories, see Vine Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (University of Oklahoma Press, [1969], 2018); Ned Blackhawk, "American Indians and the Study of History," in *American History Now*, ed. Eric Foner and Lisa McGirr (Temple University Press, 2011); Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79, no. 3 (2009): 409–28; Miller and Riding In, eds., *Native Historians Write Back*; Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *So You Want to Write about American Indians?: A Guide for Writers, Students, and Scholars* (University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Philip J. Deloria, "Historiography," in *A Companion to American Indian History*, ed. Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury (Blackwell, [2002], 2004); Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (University of Otago Press, [1999], 2021); Devon A. Mihesuah, ed., *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians* (University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Donald L. Fixico, "Methodologies in Reconstructing Native American History," in *Rethinking American Indian History*, ed. Donald Fixico (University of New Mexico Press, 1997); Donald L. Fixico, "Ethics and Responsibilities in Writing American Indian History," *American Indian Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (1996): 29–39; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's work also informs my thinking on this topic. See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Harvard University Press, 1999), and Gayatri

Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson (University of Illinois Press, [1985], 1988).

4. Naquayouma's biography is here written in collaboration with his surviving family, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, and the American Indian Center in Chicago.

5. Malcom Ebright, Rick Hendricks, and Richard W. Hughes, *Four Square Leagues: Pueblo Indian Land in New Mexico* (University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 1–8; Thomas E. Sheridan, Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa, Anton T. Daughters, T. J. Ferguson, Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Dale S. Brenneman, and Lee Wayne Lomayestewa, "Moquis and Kastilam: Coronado and the Hopis," *Journal of the Southwest* 55, no. 4 (2013): 377–434; James Wilson, *The Earth Shall Weep: A History of Native America* (Grove Press, [1998], 2000), 138–213; Richard O. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky: The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change* (Westview Press, [1995], 2018), 27–38; David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (Yale University Press, [1992], 1994), 46–48, 133–39; Scott Rushforth and Steadman Upham, *A Hopi Social History* (University of Texas Press, [1992], 2014), 97–107; Peter M. Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture Through the Orayvi Split* (University of Arizona Press, 1988), 13–30.

6. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 38–44; Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 39–40, 73, 91–97, 133–39, 145–46.

7. James Wilson, *The Earth Shall Weep*, 289–329.

8. Mathew Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute* (University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 52, 60–61.

9. Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas*, 9.

10. Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 43, 71–76.

11. Peter M. Whiteley, *Rethinking Hopi Ethnography* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998), 62–68; Rushforth and Upham, *A Hopi Social History*, 149–59; Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 40, 71–97; Albert Yava and Harold Courlander, eds., *Big Falling Snow: A Tewa-Hopi Indian's Life and Times and the History and Traditions of His People* (University of New Mexico Press, [1978], 1982), 10.

12. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 1–3, 47–129; Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 28, 64–70, 89–90, 106, 111, 269–72; Yava and Courlander, *Big Falling Snow*, 53; Fred Kabotie, *Fred Kabotie: Hopi Indian Artist* (Museum of Northern Arizona, 1977), 1; Louise Udall, *Me and Mine: The Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa* (University of Arizona Press, [1969], 1981), 67–76; Polingaysi Qoyawayma (Elizabeth Q. White), *No Turning Back: A Hopi Indian Woman's Struggle to Live in Two Worlds* (University of New Mexico Press, 1964), 17–20, 27–30; Edmund Nequatewa, *Born a Chief: The Nineteenth Century Hopi Boyhood of Edmund Nequatewa* (University of Arizona Press, 1934, 1993), 89, 96–105, 167, 247–48.

13. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 125–26; Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 6–12, 25.

14. Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas*, xxii–xxiii; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 85–86; Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 5–6, 82–83.

15. Ernest Naquayouma: b. 1906, Eagle clan. Naquayouma is an anglicized spelling from OIA records. It translates as “plume bearer” or “he who carries the eagle plumes.” The name “Ernest” was likely given to him by a teacher or administrator at the Second Mesa Day School. Naquayouma’s mother was named Dowanimpka (Eagle clan). His father’s name was Sacmussa (Corn clan). Sacmussa was the head of Mishongnovi’s Corn clan and was part of the Second Mesa village council; Peter M. Whiteley, *The Orayvi Split: A Hopi Transformation: Part I, Structure and History*, American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers, no. 87 (2008); Peter M. Whiteley, *The Orayvi Split: A Hopi Transformation: Part II, The Documentary Record*, American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers, no. 87 (2008); “Ernest Naquayouma” [obituary], *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, Arizona) October 13, 1985, 14; “Indian Brave teaches Hopi Dance Steps,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, Illinois), July 13, 1958; “Son of a Hopi Chief,” *Arlington Heights Herald* (Arlington Heights, Illinois), June 19, 1958; “Indian Silversmith,” *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (St. Louis, Missouri), January 2, 1950; Mischa Titiev, *Old Oraibi: A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa* (Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, 1944); letter from Mishongnovi Village Council (including Sacmussa) to John Collier, May 23, 1938, in NARA Washington DC, RG75, Commissioner John Collier, 1933–1945, box 7, “Hopi” folder; “Hartford Scholar Expert in Study of Aztec Masters Difficult Language of Hopi Indians,” *The Hartford Daily Times*, May 15, 1936; US Government Census, 1938, 1937, 1934, 1931, 1930, 1920, 1910.

16. Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas*, 52, 60–61; Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 7, 13, 22, 32, 90, 103–5, 193–94, 196, 203; Edmund Nequatewa, *Truth of a Hopi* (Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, [1936], 2013), 62; “Original Office Report of the ‘Scrap’ with the Rebellious Hopis at Second Mesa,” Manuscript, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, Los Angeles (April 20, 1906).

17. Naquayouma was taught Katsina wood carving and silversmithing as a youth. See Clemmer’s discussion of the historical link between Hopi traditionalists and silversmithing, Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 137; “Indian Chief to Teach Ancient Rites,” *Arlington Heights Herald* (Arlington Heights, IL), June 19, 1958; “Indian Artist Speaks Sunday at Art League,” *Oak Park Oak Leaves* (Chicago, ILs), November 18, 1954; “Group to Hear Hopi Indian in Talk on Tribal Activities,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), November 1, 1952; “Indian Dreams Take the Shape of Art Works,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), November 3, 1949.

18. Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas*, xxi; David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (University Press of Kansas, 1995), ix–xi, 155, 162–63.

19. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 171, 262–63; Udall, *Me and Mine*, 132–43.

20. Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute’s Outing Program, 1900–1945* (University of Washington Press, 2016), 5–9.

21. Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas*, xviii–xxxii.

22. NARA Riverside, RG75, Sherman Institute: 1921–33, “Superintendents’ Annual Narrative and Statistical Reports” folder; NARA Riverside, RG75, Sherman Institute, “Student Case Files, 1921–1922.”

23. Although reformers framed such regulations and bans in moral terms, suppression of traditionalist ceremonies represented colonial anxieties about traditionalist resistance movements: cf. US response to the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and Peyote ceremonies. Reformers’ special concern with the Hopi Snake Dance should be seen in the same light. Suppression of traditionalist ceremonies also represented settler and state political-economic interests, insofar as assimilating tribal peoples was a means to allotting and privatizing tribal land and gaining access to tribal resources: cf. New Mexico’s Bursum Bill, 1922–24; Medley and Ellis, “Enterprising Hopi,” 349–50; Tisa Wenger, *We Have a Religion: The 1920s Pueblo Indian Dance Controversy and American Religious Freedom* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 1–16, 39–40, 164–68; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 133–35; Rushforth and Upham, *A Hopi Social History*, 146.

24. Medley and Ellis, “Enterprising Hopi,” 349; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 138; “Old Timer to Sell Indian Collection,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 27, 1976; M. W. Billingsley, *Behind the Scenes in Hopi Land: 51 Years with the Hopi People*, author published (Mesa, AZ, 1971), 1–36; M. W. Billingsley, *A Brief Story of the Hopi Snake Dancers*, author published (Mesa, AZ, 197?), 1–12.

25. Medley and Ellis, “Enterprising Hopi,” 348; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 340–41; Yava and Courlander, *Big Falling Snow*, 20; Kabotie, *Fred Kabotie*, 15; “Transcription of Stenographic Report of Meeting Held at Toreva Day School, May 17, 1931, of Indians from Polacca and the Three Villages on the Second Mesa with M. W. Billingsley,” in NARA Washington DC, RG75, Commissioner John Collier, 1933–1945, box 7, “Hopi” folder.

26. Medley and Ellis, “Enterprising Hopi,” 347–51; Billingsley, *Behind the Scenes in Hopi Land*, 29–45.

27. Concurrently, the All-Pueblo Council, the Federation of Women’s Clubs, and social activist John Collier organized a large-scale campaign to protect the religious ceremonies of the Rio Grande Pueblos in New Mexico. That campaign had much in common with the Hopi-Billingsley-Shriner campaign (e.g., liberal-progressive politics of cultural pluralism and American Indian rights), but they had significant differences as well. They do not appear to have had any direct connection; Billingsley’s and the Shriner’s dealings with the Hopi also had parallels to a group of white businessmen from Prescott, Arizona, who called themselves the “Smokies.” From 1921 to 1990 they performed Hopi ceremonial dances for white audiences to promote Hopi cultural preservation.

28. It is unclear the extent to which the Second Mesa cohort contributed to Billingsley’s three-part play on Hopi legends. The Hopi-language dialog is one obvious contribution. Billingsley was also influenced by published Hopi ethnographies.

29. Medley and Ellis, "Enterprising Hopi," 341, 352–53, 372; Billingsley, *Behind the Scenes in Hopi Land*, 37–48.

30. "Welfare Work Large Part of El Zaribah Temples Activities During Year," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 13, 1924.

31. Medley and Ellis, "Enterprising Hopi," 352–54; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 138–39; Billingsley, *Behind the Scenes in Hopi Land*, 47–48; "Special Act at Walnut," *The Courier-Journal* (Louisville, Kentucky), May 26, 1924.

32. Medley and Ellis, "Enterprising Hopi," 352–75; Billingsley, *Behind the Scenes in Hopi Land*, 48–49; "Hopi Indians Arrive to Give Exhibitions," *The Tampa Tribune* (Tampa, FL), January 4, 1938; "Fort Wayne Questors Will Celebrate," *Steuben Republican* (Angola, IN) October 9, 1929; "Hopi Indians on Way to Washington, Stop Over Here for one Performance" *Rushville Republican* (Rushville, IN), October 27, 1925; "Welfare Work Large part of El Zaribah Temple's Activities During Year," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 13, 1924; "A Novel Performance" *The Kansas City Times* (Kansas City, MO), June 3, 1924.

33. "Native Hopi Indian Dancers to Give Program in Lansing Oct. 24," *Lansing State Journal* (Lansing, MI), October 14, 1929; "Hopi Circuit is Campaign of Education," *The Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), February 26, 1929; "Indian Dancers from Hopi Tribe to Appear Here," *The Daily Tar Heel* (Chapel Hill, NC), January 14, 1928; "Hopi Indian Snake Dance Big Feature of Widely Diversified Program at Victoria Theatre," *Shamokin News-Dispatch* (Shamokin, PA), March 3, 1927; "Hopi Indians at Feely Theatre," *The Plain Speaker* (Hazleton, PA), August 31, 1926; "Thousands of Persons See Hopi Snake Dances," *The Morning Call* (Allentown, PA), August 16, 1926.

34. "Hopi Indians Coming," *The York Dispatch* (York, PA), June 22, 1926.

35. Medley and Ellis note that in 1925 Billingsley started a Shriner's club called the "Adopted Hopi of Arizona" as a way of recognizing and encouraging Shriners who helped the Hopi cause. The ethical questions went beyond cultural appropriation. There were also business interests at work: e.g., Arizona boosterism and use of the Hopi's public image as a marketing device. See Medley and Ellis, "Enterprising Hopi," 351–352, 59–62; Billingsley, *Behind the Scenes in Hopi Land*, 48–49; "Potentate Strohm Christened 'Fleet Wolf' in Joining Hopis," *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, NY), November 3, 1932; "Hopi Tribe Adopts Three White Men," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), February 7, 1931; "5 Hopi Chiefs Here on Way to Capital," *The Baltimore Sun* (Baltimore, MD), April 10, 1929; "Perry Adopted by Hopi Tribe," *The Brattleboro Reformer* (Brattleboro, VT), July 13, 1928; "Hopi Indians Perform in Auditorium," *The Raleigh Student* (Raleigh, NC), January 13, 1928; "Lykens Valley Trail Officially Opened Here Wednesday; Hopi Indians Join Celebration, Adopt Two Residents Into Tribe," *The Standard* (Lykens, PA), July 1, 1927; "Hopi Indians Greet Mayor Heller and Hutchinson on Arrival for Dance tonight: Five Chiefs Express Pleasure at Meeting City's Executive and School Official—To Give Ceremony in Southside High School," *Star-Gazette* (Elmira, NY), September 18, 1926; "Hopi In-

dians will Visit Scene of Sullivan's Victory over the Iroquois when they Arrive Here," *Star-Gazette* (Elmira, NY), September 17, 1926; "Hopi Indians to Present Program of Snake Dances in High School Saturday," *Star-Gazette* (Elmira, NY), September 13, 1926; "Indians Adopt Haines: Five of Hopi Tribe and Other Arizona Guests of Local Merchant-Stage Parade," *The York Dispatch* (York, PA), July 6, 1926; "The Cherry Tree," *Twin City Review* (Champaign, IL), June 18, 1926; "Hopi Indian Dancers and Snakes Arrive," *The Evening Sun* (Baltimore, MD), May 17, 1926.

36. Medley and Ellis, "Enterprising Hopi," 352, 357; "Hopi Indians on Way to Washington Stop Over Here for One Performance," *Rushville Republican* (Rushville, IN), October 27, 1925; "Real Indians will be at Rolling Green Park June 30 to July 6," *Miltonian* (Milton, PA), June 27, 1929; "Hopi Indian Snake Dancers to Appear at Celebration at Lykens," *The Evening News* (Harrisburg, PA), June 25, 1927; "Hopi Snake Dance on Capital Plaza," *Chattanooga Daily Times* (Chattanooga, TN) May 16, 1926.

37. The contemporaneous campaign led by the All-Pueblo Council (et al.) to defend the ceremonies of the Rio Grande Pueblos surely influenced the Hopis' reception in Washington; Andrew Glass, "Hopi Tribesmen Perform Sacred Dances at US Capitol, May 15, 1926," *Politico*, May 14, 2016; Billingsley, *Behind the Scenes in Hopi Land*, 47–50, 126; "5 Hopi Chiefs Here on Way to Capital," *The Baltimore Sun* (Baltimore, MD), April 10, 1929; "Indians to Show Religious Dances," *The News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC), December 25, 1927.

38. In 1928, Naquayouma registered to vote in Arizona as a Democrat. Winslow (AZ) voting register, 1928.

39. Billingsley, *Behind the Scenes in Hopi Land*, 52; Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, US Senate, Seventy Second Congress, Boundary, Navajo-Hopi Indian Reservation, December 7, 1932; "Transcription of Stenographic Report of Meeting Held at Toreva Day School," this document includes sixty-two signatures from traditionalist village leaders from multiple Hopi villages; "Hopi Tom-toms Beat in Celebration as Tribe Wins US Approval of Mystic Snake Dance," *The Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), January 29, 1930; "Hopis Plan Feast to Celebrate Return of Indian Show," *Arizona Republic*, January 5, 1930; George Amos Dorsey and Henry R. Voth, "The Mishongnovi Ceremonies of the Snake and Antelope Fraternities," Field Columbian Museum Publication 66, Anthropological Series vol. 3, no. 3 (Chicago Field Columbian Museum, 1902), 165–70; University of Arizona Libraries, Special Collections, Hopi Traditionalist Movement papers, 1949–1972, AZ 374; NARA Washington DC, RG75, Commissioner John Collier, 1933–1945, box 7, "Hopi" folder.

40. "Five Hopi Chiefs on Way to See Vice President Stop Here," *The Baltimore Sun* (Baltimore, MD), April 10, 1929; "Indian Delegation Which Saw Vice-President Today," *The Evening Sun* (Baltimore, MD), April 10, 1929; "Indians to Give Exhibitions of Old Tribal Rites," *The Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), February 25, 1929; Petition sent from M. W. Billingsley to Vice President Charles Curtis, April 23, 1929. Billingsley drafted the petition, which raises questions about authorship. The opening line of the petition reads: "Dear Sir, as per your gracious request, permit me

to humbly set down in writing the Hopi plea in English words as spoken by them, using their construction of sentences when possible, and adhering strictly to their thoughts entirely,” in NARA Washington DC, RG75, Commissioner John Collier, 1933–1945, box 7, “Hopi” folder.

41. Letter from Vice President Charles Curtis to Secretary of the Interior Ray L. Wilbur, April 24, 1929. Return letter from Ray L. Wilbur to Charles Curtis, May 3, 1929, in NARA Washington DC, RG75, Commissioner John Collier, 1933–1945, box 7, “Hopi” folder.

42. Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, US Senate, Seventy Second Congress, Boundary, Navajo-Hopi Indian Reservation, December 7, 1932.

43. Congressional debates were influenced by the Meriam Report (1926): a critical survey into the social and economic conditions of American Indian reservations that was highly critical of government policies; Medley and Ellis, “Enterprising Hopi,” 364–70; Billingsley, *A Brief Story of the Hopi Snake Dancers*, 1–12.

44. Medley and Ellis, “Enterprising Hopi,” 359–64; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 132; NARA Washington DC, RG75, Commissioner John Collier, 1933–1945, box 7, “Hopi” folder.

45. Hopi progressive and author Albert Yava later recalled talking with an unnamed member of the Second Mesa cohort. In their exchange, Yava argued that they should not be sharing ceremonial knowledge with Billingsley and other Shriners. In response, his interlocuter said “Well, we tell them these things because when the time comes maybe they’ll help us to get our land back,” Yava and Courlander, *Big Falling Snow*, 79; The ethical dilemmas went beyond the “Legends of the Hopi” tour. For example, after returning to Arizona after the 1926 performance at the Capital Plaza in Washington, DC, the Snake priest Naseyumptewa allegedly initiated Billingsley into Second Mesa’s Snake society. The same year, with the help of Second Mesa conservatives, Billingsley opened a trading post and motel near the Hopi reservation which he called “Hopi House,” and Second Mesa Hopis used the venue to sell handmade goods to tourists. In 1933, the Second Mesa cohort of Snake society members built a traditional kiva on Billingsley’s ranch and used it to adopt additional Shriners.

46. Nicolas G. Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration & Identity in Twentieth Century Los Angeles* (University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 35.

47. Medley and Ellis, “Enterprising Hopi,” 348; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 106–8, 144; Rushforth and Upham, *A Hopi Social History*, 149–76; “Sos-Ne-Wah Young Hopi Chief Says King Tut is Modern Guy Compared to Southwestern Indians,” *El Paso Times* (El Paso, Texas), March 13, 1924.

48. For the oral history of the Snake dance, see Yava and Courlander, *Big Falling Snow*, 55–61, and Dorsey, 255–61; In his book, *Education Beyond the Mesas*, Gilbert writes that Hopi students leaving home to attend the Sherman Institute reflected the early clan migrations of Hopi oral history. Like the ancestral clans, Gilbert ar-

gues, Hopi students left home to expand their understanding of the world and share their culture with others. When they returned home, they brought back new ideas and traditions which strengthened Hopi society and informed Hopi identity. Thus, although the boarding school experience was problematic in many ways, Hopi students' education at Sherman also represented the agency and continuity of Hopi culture. The logic of Gilbert's argument informs my point that the Snake dance tradition may have resonated with the Second Mesa cohort's motives and actions.

49. Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas*, 52, 60–61; Whiteley, *Rethinking Hopi Ethnography*, 167–169; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, x-xi, 1–3, 22–24, 122–23, 179–202, 304–7; Armin W. Geertz, *The Invention of Prophecy: Continuity and Meaning in Hopi Indian Religion* (University of California Press, 1994), 117–65; Rushforth and Upham, *A Hopi Social History*, 146; Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, 25, 106, 111, 269–72; Yava and Courlander, *Big Falling Snow*, 53; Kabotie, *Fred Kabotie*, 1; Udall, *Me and Mine*, 67–76; Qoyawayma, *No Turning Back*, 17–20, 27–30; Nequatewa, *Born a Chief*, 89, 96–105, 167, 247–48.

50. Whitely argues that Hopi cultural logic has culturally distinct understandings of “subjectivity” and “praxis” that are grounded in Hopi cosmology and intellectual categories. Angela Cavender Wilson argues that tribal oral traditions offer insight into the motivations and decision-making processes of Native peoples. They also shed light on how “non-material, non-physical circumstances” shape Native historical experiences and tribal consciousness. Whiteley, *Rethinking Hopi Ethnography*, 29–48; Donald L. Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge* (Routledge, 2003), xi–xvi; Wilson, *The Earth Shall Weep*, 4.

51. It is significant that the Snake dance had a politics within Hopi society rooted in the Orayvi split and village/clan-based notions of ceremonial ownership. There were also complex economic issues shaping how Hopi traditionalists and progressives performed it, respectively. According to Whiteley, after the Orayvi split, Hopi traditionalists were the only group performing the Snake dance as a traditional ceremony. And Second Mesa traditionalists were the only group to continue performing the Snake dance in its traditional context throughout the twentieth century: i.e., on Hopi land with the Antelope society. Moreover, both Whiteley and Wegner point out that, after the Orayvi split, Christian Hopi progressives performed a more secular version of the Snake dance in Hopi villages curated for white tourists; Wegner, *We Have a Religion*, 164–66; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 138–39; Whitely, *Deliberate Acts*, 107, 116; NARA Washington DC, RG75, Commissioner John Collier, 1933–1945, box 7, “Hopi” folder.

52. Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 33, 85.

53. Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Post-Indian Survivance* (University of Nebraska Press, [1994], 1999), vii–x, 3, 10–17. Herman J. Viola addresses this topic as well; Herman J. Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskins: A History of Delegations in Washington D.C.* (Rivolo Books, 1995), 190–99.

54. In conversation with scholars like Dylan Robinson and Mark Rifkin, Bold also questions ideological assumptions in the western concept of “modernity” (Christine Bold, “Vaudeville Indians” on *Global Circuits, 1880s to 1930s* [Yale University Press, 2022]), 1–12. See also L. G. Moses, “Performative Traditions in Indian History,” in *A Companion to American Indian History*, ed. Philip Deloria and Salisbury; and Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (University Press of Kansas, 2004).

55. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, x–xi, 2, 22–24, 122–23, 179–202, 304–7; “Hopi Request Tribal Rule,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 16, 1934; “Hopis Cite Pact of 1848 in Land Plea; Navajos for New Deal, Collier Said,” *Albuquerque Journal* (Albuquerque, NM), March 15, 1934; “Hopi Indians in Appeal for Land Rights,” *The San Bernardino County Sun* (San Bernardino, California), March 13, 1934; University of Arizona Libraries, Special Collections, Hopi Traditionalist Movement papers, 1949–1972, AZ 374; NARA Washington DC, RG75, Records Relating to the Hopi-Navajo Land Dispute, 1969–1972, “Hopi Indian Reservation” folder.

56. “Boro Pals Mourne Indian Boy, Victim of Car Accident,” *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn, NY), July 3, 1937.

57. Lillian and Alvina were the daughters of Red Wing’s sister, Minnie St. Cyr, whose husband was Benjamin Lowery, a Ho Chunk Carlisle school graduate. Lillian Lowery (Red Wing’s niece; Naquayouma’s wife) was named after Red Wing (aka Lillian Margaret St. Cyr); Linda M. Waggoner, *Starring Red Wing: The Incredible Career of Lillian M. St. Cyr, the First Native American Film Star* (University of Nebraska Press, 2019), xvi, xx, xxi, 1, 6, 16, 21, 25, 51–52, 84, 248.

58. Waggoner, *Starring Red Wing*, xvi, 269, 274, 84–85; Mofsie marriage license, 1929; Government census, 1930, 1934; Naquayouma marriage license, 1930.

59. Charlotte Brooks, “Asian American History in NYC: Finding the Asian American Past in the Five Boroughs,” *Blogs@Baruch*, CUNY, December 9, 2013, accessed June 25, 2024. <https://blogs.baruch.cuny.edu/asianamericanhistorynyc/?paged=3>.

60. Waggoner, *Starring Red Wing*, xxi, 6–10, 30, 93, 275–96; Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 31–48.

61. Standing Bear adopted Lillian St. Cyr as his niece and gave her name “Red Wing” around 1907; Waggoner, *Starring Red Wing*, 86; Bold, “Vaudeville Indians,” 42.

62. Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 1–9; Donald L. Fixico, *The Urban Indian Experience in America* (University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 1–7.

63. The Indian Unity Alliance appears to be the same group as the “Universal Indian Alliance of America”; Waggoner, *Starring Red Wing*, 85–88, 274, 280–86; Joy Porter, “Native American Indian Freemasonry and Its Relation to the Performative Turn within Contemporary American Scholarship,” *Journal of American Studies* 47, no. 2 (2013): 439–58; “Indian Colony Lives in Heart of Brooklyn,” *Press and Sun-Bulletin* (Binghamton, NY), September 10, 1940; “Representatives of 17 tribes Hold Indian Charity Pageant,” *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn, NY), February 10, 1940; “Mohawk Indians Dance Sing for Old Brooklynites Society,” *The Brook-*

lyn *Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn, NY), February 2, 1940; “Boro Indians Ready for Annual Trek North,” *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn, NY), June 25, 1939; “Indians,” *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn, NY), November 28, 1937; “Indians at Rites Mark Birthday of Auto Victim,” *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn, New York), November 15, 1937; “5,000 See Paleface Mayor Made Chief Great River at Powwow,” *Herald Statesman* (Yonkers, NY), October 30, 1933; “Alliance of Indians to Gather for Pow Wow at Nodine Field,” *The Herald Statesman* (Yonkers, NY), October 24, 1933; “Two Receive Indian Masonic Honors,” *Times Union* (Brooklyn, NY), November 28, 1932; “Unification to Preserve Identity of Indian Race Urged at Park Conclave,” *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn, NY), September 30, 1929; “Greatest Parade Marks Inaugural,” *Times Union* (Brooklyn, NY), March 4, 1929.

64. See David Weitzman, *Skywalkers: Mohawk Iron Workers Build the City* (Roaring Book Press, 2010).

65. In 1937 Naquayouma tried to find employment with the Department of Interior (“teaching Indian art and craft work”). He gave Whorf’s name as a reference. He was apparently unsuccessful in attaining this job. In 1939 Naquayouma tried to find employment with the US Travel Bureau’s New York Office doing performance work. The issue came across the desk of OIA Commissioner, John Collier. Collier advised the Travel Bureau not to hire Naquayouma because “a delegation of the Hopi tribe consisting of members of the tribal council” had just visited his office to complain about the Second Mesa cohort’s activities; Waggoner, *Starring Red Wing*, 276, 281; Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 19, 33; James B. LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis: Native Americans in Chicago, 1945–75* (University of Illinois Press, 2002), 102–4; Yale University, Helen Heffron Roberts papers, Series I, “Indians” folder; Yale University, Benjamin Lee Whorf papers, Series I, “Correspondence, 1926–1954” folder; NARA Washington DC, RG75, Commissioner John Collier, 1933–1945, box 7, “Hopi” folder.

66. Charlotte J. Frisbie, “Helen Heffron Roberts (1888–1985): A Tribute,” *Ethnomusicology* 33, no. 1 (1989): 97–111.

67. For background on the New School for Social Research at this time, see Sally Bick, “In the Tradition of Dissent: Music at the New School for Social Research, 1926–33,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 1 (2013): 129–90.

68. Red Wing’s sister, Julia St. Cyr, also joined them. Julia had recently moved to the city. Waggoner, *Starring Red Wing*, 274; The story of how Naquayouma met Roberts is circuitous. In the early 1930s, the New School for Social Research was a base for the New York Musicological Society. The group included Henry Cowell and Charles Seeger. Roberts was involved but not a member. Seager and Cowell wanted Native singers to perform (sing) in their course, “Musical Systems of the World.” In March 1931, they asked Roberts if she knew any Native singers in New York City. Roberts referred them to Red Wing, whom Roberts must have been acquainted with. Concurrently, Seager and Cowell asked Roberts to guest lecture for their course on the topic of American Indian music. The search for Native singers and Roberts’s guest lecture were originally two separate agendas. Moving forward,

in January 1932, Cowell visited Red Wing at the apartment she shared with Naquayouma and the rest of the family unit. Cowell hired Red Wing, Red Wing's sister Julia, Naquayouma, and Mofsie to perform at Roberts lecture (without Roberts in the loop). Roberts was thus obliged to work with the Red Wing cohort. Yale University, Helen Heffron Roberts papers, Series I, "Indians" folder and "New School for Social Research" folder.

69. In her research into the Roberts-Naquayouma relationship, Tamara Levitz notes that Edward Sapir (Roberts's then supervisor) documented Roberts's work with Naquayouma in his "Report on the Department of Anthropology of the Institute of Human Relations 1931-1932." According to Levitz, Sapir wrote that Roberts "obtained a considerable number of Hopi Indian songs from a Hopi informant." Tamara Levitz, "Hungry Listening in the Archive: The Correspondence between Ernest Naquayouma and Helen Heffron Roberts" (unpublished manuscript, last modified June 11, 2024), Microsoft Word file; Yale University, Helen Heffron Roberts papers, Series I, "Indians" folder; "Helen Heffron Roberts collection of Hopi Pueblo cylinder recordings," Library of Congress, accessed June 25, 2024, <https://www.loc.gov/audio/?fa=subject%3Aroberts%2C+helen+h.%7Csubject%3Aheffron%7Csubject%3Aethnomusicological+collections%7Coriginal-format%3Acollection&c=50&all=true>.

70. John B. Carroll, *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf* (Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, [1956], 2012), 1-44.

71. The sequence of Naquayouma's contact with this circle of academics appears to be: Cowell, Roberts, Sapir, Whorf, Beaglehole, Herzog, Weltfish; Penny Lee, "The Facts of Whorf's Hopi Research," History and Philosophy of the Language Sciences (blog), February 7, 2021, accessed June 25, 2024, <https://hiphilangsci.net/2021/02/07/the-facts-of-whorfs-hopi-research>.

72. Yale University, Benjamin Lee Whorf papers, Series I, "Correspondence, 1926-1954" folder. And Series II, Writings on Linguistics, 1924-1971, Unpublished Writings, "First Report on Hopi, 1933" folder. And Series II, Research Notes, "Notes on Hopi, 1932-1937" folder.

73. Cornell University, Native American Biography Vertical File, "Naquayouma, Ernest"; in 1933, Roberts and Cowell used the "Musical Systems of the World" course as the basis for a collaborative article on "Music" in the 1933 edition of the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.

74. Yale University, Helen Heffron Roberts papers, Series I, "New School for Social Research," folder.

75. The songs Roberts recorded are held at the Library of Congress. In the Library of Congress Collection, Naquayouma is mentioned as the source of Roberts's recordings. The date and location of the recordings is listed as unknown, with speculation that they may have been recorded during Roberts's fieldwork trip to the Rio Grande Pueblos in the summers of 1929 and 1930. However, there is no record of Roberts's visiting Hopi at that time, and Cowell's January 1932 letter to Roberts

makes it clear that Roberts did not know Naquayouma previously. The Roberts recordings are also documented in Emory Sekaquaptewa, Kenneth C. Hill, and

Dorothy K. Washburn, *Hopi Katsina Songs* (University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 13, 121–43. The book does not name the source behind Roberts's recordings as that information was unknown in the archives the authors consulted. Altogether, the collated evidence suggests that Naquayouma was the sole source of Robert's recordings of Hopi songs; Between 1935 and 1936, Roberts helped Naquayouma find buyers for his hand carved kachina dolls. She also found buyers for Red Wing's and her sister's (Julia St. Cyr) handmade beadwork and jewelry. Doing favors of this sort was a way Roberts ingratiated herself to her American Indian colleagues; Yale University, Helen Heffron Roberts papers, Series I, "Indians" folder.

76. Yale University, Benjamin Lee Whorf papers, Series I, Correspondence, 1926–1954.

77. Alexander M. Stephens and Elsie Clews Parsons, eds., *Hopi Journal* (Columbia University Press, 1936).

78. The following list is a selection of literature on the history of linguistic relativity, as it pertains to Whorf. John Leavitt, *Linguistic Relativities: Language Diversity and Modern Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2011); Alexander King, "Reading Whorf," *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 7, no. 1 (2017): 461–88; Carroll, *Language, Thought, and Reality*; John Lucy, "Linguistic Relativity," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1997): 291–312; Penny Lee, *The Whorf Theory Complex: A Critical Reconstruction* (John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1996); E. F. Konrad Koerner, "The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis: A Preliminary History and a Bibliographical Essay," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 2, no. 2 (1992): 173–98; James H. Stam, "The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis in Historical Perspective," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 291, no. 1 (1977): 306–16.

79. Whorf also took a short fieldwork trip to the Hopi reservation in the summer of 1938. Naquayouma arranged for his brothers to host Whorf during his visit. By this time, however, Whorf had already developed much of his theoretical stance on Hopi language and culture. Thus, insofar as Whorf's ideas were rooted in ethnography, Naquayouma was his main source.

80. In Roberts's return letter, she says the man from Michigan University could not have been Leslie White as she knew him "fairly well." This leaves Julian Steward as the next best guess of who this person was.

81. Yale University, Helen Heffron Roberts papers, Series I, "Indians" folder.

82. Yale University, Benjamin Lee Whorf papers, Series I, Correspondence, 1926–1954.

83. Lee, "The Facts of Whorf's Hopi Research."

84. Naquayouma's brother and father facilitated the Beagleholes' ethnographic work as hosts and consultants. Around this time, the Beagleholes recorded a number Hopi songs of unknown origin. The contextual evidence suggests that Naquayouma was the source, and that the songs were recorded at Yale. The Beagleholes'

recordings are also documented in Sekaquaptewa, *Hopi Katsina Songs*, 32, 34, 144–47; Ernest Beaglehole, *Notes of Hopi Economic Life*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 15 (Yale University Press, 1937); Ernest Beaglehole, *Hopi Hunting and Hunting Ritual*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 4 (Yale University Press, 1936), 3–26; Ernest Beaglehole and Pearl Beaglehole, *Hopi of the Second Mesa*, American Anthropology Association, no. 44 (American Anthropological Association, 1935), 5, 11, 15, 25.

85. George Herzog papers, courtesy of Indiana University Libraries' Archives of Traditional Music; for context, see Israel J. Katz, "Letters from George Herzog," *Musica Judaica* 20 (2013–14): 199–248; Bruno Nettl, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist: A Miscellany of Influences* (The Scarecrow Press, 2013), 27–84; Daniel Reed, "The Innovator and the Primitives: George Herzog in Historical Perspective," *Folklore Forum* 26, no. 112 (1993): 69–92; George Herzog, *Music in the Thinking of the American Indian* (Peabody Conservatory of Music, 1938), 1–5.

86. For the history of salvage anthropology in the US, see Samuel J. Redman, *Prophets and Ghosts: The Story of Salvage Anthropology* (Harvard University Press, 2021); An overlapping historical topic is the work relationship between US ethnographers and Indigenous consultants. More recent studies on this topic include Dylan Robinson, *Hungry Listening: Resonant Theory for Indigenous Sound Studies* (University of Minnesota Press, 2020); Vine Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins* ([1969], 2018); Ned Blackhawk and Isaiah Wilner, eds., *Indigenous Visions: Rediscovering the World of Franz Boas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018); Margaret M. Bruchac, *Savage Kin: Indigenous Informants and American Anthropologists* (University of Arizona Press, 2018); Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Ojibwe Stories from the Upper Berens River: A. Irving Hallowell and Adam Bigmouth in Conversation* (University of Nebraska Press, 2018); Rosalyn R. LaPier, *Invisible Reality: Storytellers, Storytakers, and the Supernatural World of the Blackfeet* (University of Nebraska Press, 2017); Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, *The Relative Native: Essays on Indigenous Conceptual Worlds* (HAU Books, 2015); Peter Nabakov, *How the World Moves: The Odyssey of an American Indian Family* (Viking, 2015); Douglas Cazaux Sackman, *Wild Men: Ishi and Kroeber in the Wilderness of Modern America* (Oxford University Press, 2010); James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (University of California Press, [1986], 2010); Michael Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing* (University of Chicago Press, [1987], 2008); Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth Century Northwest Coast* (Duke University Press, 2005); Thomas Biolsi and Larry J. Zimmerman, eds., *Indians and Anthropologists: Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology* (University of Arizona Press, [1997], 2004); Stephan Palmié, *Wizards and Scientists: Explorations in Afro-Cuban Modernity and Tradition* (Duke University Press, 2002); Rachel Bonney and J. Anthony Paredes, eds., *Anthropologists and Indians in the New South* (University of Alabama Press, 2001); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's work also informs my thinking

on this topic. See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Harvard University Press, 1999), and Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?”

87. Gilbert notes that an improper sharing of Hopi cultural patrimony can bring secular and non-secular harm to the Hopi community (Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas*, x–xvi). On the other hand, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office presently supports Hopis’ constructive cooperation with the fields of anthropology, archeology, and history as a means to correct past misrepresentations and develop new collaborative insights. See Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma, T. J. Ferguson, and Chip Powell, *Footprints of Hopi History: Hopihiniwtiput Kukveni’at* (University of Arizona Press, 2018), ix–xiv. The question, then, rests on what knowledge Naquayouma shared with ethnographers and how his actions squared with the contemporary values of the Hopi community. This question is complicated by the political divisions within the Hopi community at the time: i.e., values differed. The question is also complicated by the limited archive documenting Naquayouma’s work with ethnographers. McElgunn’s research (ND) offers some insight. Reading Naquayouma through Benjamin Lee Whorf’s unpublished writings (the “Yale Report,” work diary, and ethnographic notes), McElgunn shows that Naquayouma was selective about what he was and was not willing to discuss with Whorf, especially regarding ceremonial knowledge. This suggests Naquayouma adhered to community norms and values. See Hannah McElgunn, “Benjamin Lee Whorf and Ernest Naquayouma’s Working Relationship: A Perspective on Linguistic Fieldwork in the 1930s” (unpublished manuscript, last modified May 7, 2024), Microsoft Word file. It should also be noted that Naquayouma’s song recordings with Roberts (and apparently with Beaglehole and Herzog) are part of a historical record linked to Hopi cultural preservation and revitalization initiatives. See Sekaquaptewa, 13, 26–27, 29–35, 121–47.

88. Yale University, Helen Heffron Roberts papers, Series I, “Indians” folder.

89. Yale University, Benjamin Lee Whorf papers, Series I, Correspondence, 1926–1954.

90. Davida Fernández-Barkan and Phillippa Pitts, “Naming Naquayouma: A Collaborative Approach to American Murals and Indigeneity at the 1937 International Exposition.” The main archive that Fernández-Barkan and Pitts consulted was at the University of Oregon, Paul Lester Wiener papers, Projects, “United States Government Pavilion. International Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life. Paris, France, 1936–1937” folder.

91. At the 1939 New York World’s Fair, the Second Mesa cohort (representing Hopi traditionalists) were negotiating around the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). John Collier publicly supported the Hopi exhibit insofar as it reflected the philosophy of the Indian New Deal to international audiences. He visited the exhibit and took photos with Billingsley and the Second Mesa cohort. Behind the scenes, however, Collier had been receiving a steady stream of letters from Hopi progressives from the Hopi reservation. They complained about the Second Mesa cohort and

the World's Fair exhibit, criticizing the public display of Hopi culture. Concurrently, Collier was investigating Billingsley as a mischievous usurper in Hopi affairs. In the midst of all this, Naquayouma traveled to Washington, DC, to meet with Collier and Hopi progressives at Collier's office. This appears to be a bit of diplomacy on Naquayouma's part. The debate about Hopi cultural patrimony was a serious issue, but beneath the debate was the political dispute between Hopi factions. Context: back on the Hopi reservation, Collier's Office of Indian Affairs supported a tribal government organized by Hopi progressives who followed IRA directives. Through this US recognized tribal council, progressive leaders advocated for an economic development model that would have dissolved the Hopi land boundaries. This threatened Hopis' exclusive rights to grazing lands in and around the shrinking Hopi reservation. Progressive leaders also signed off on corporate oil and coal leases in a controversial way. Thus, using a similar strategy as the one used in the "Legends of the Hopi" tour, the traditionalist coalition used the New York World's Fair to advance their own political agenda. They welcomed government aid and economic development, but they wanted to strengthen Hopi political sovereignty based on traditional forms of government. Altogether, the traditionalist coalition did not reject the IRA outright. They used diplomacy to try and bend it to their interests; Medley and Ellis, "Enterprising Hopi," 59, 368–72; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 144nn166–202; Rushforth and Upham, *A Hopi Social History*, 153–76; New York State Library, "Welcome to the Fair! The 1939 and 1964 New York World's Fairs," July–August 2014, last updated November 2, 2021, accessed June 25, 2024, <https://www.nysl.nysed.gov/collections/worldsfair>; Alan Taylor, "The 1939 New York World's Fair," *The Atlantic*, November 1, 2013, accessed June 25, 2024, <https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2013/11/the-1939-new-york-worlds-fair/100620>; New York Public Library Digital Collections, New York World's Fair 1939–1940 Records, accessed June 25, 2024; Billingsley, *Behind the Scenes in Hopi Land*, 55, 104, 115; Billingsley, *A Brief Story of the Hopi Snake Dancers*, 1–11; *Indians at Work*, 7, no. 11, United States Office of Indian Affairs (July 1940): 5; "Fair Exhibit to Aid State," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), October 14, 1938; "Snake Dancers to State Fair," *The Hutchinson News* (Hutchinson, KS), August 23, 1939; Hearing Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, US Senate, Seventy Second Congress, Boundary, Navajo-Hopi Indian Reservation, December 7, 1932; NARA Washington DC, RG75, Commissioner John Collier, 1933–1945, box 7, "Hopi" folder; NARA Washington DC, RG75, Records Relating to the Hopi-Navajo Land Dispute, 1969–1972, "Hopi Indian Reservation" folder; "Commissioner John Collier's Meeting with the Hopi Indians at Oraibi Arizona, April 7th 1936," in NARA Riverside, RG75, Subject Files, 1907–, box 10, "Community Meetings" folder; University of Arizona Libraries, Special Collections, Hopi Traditionalist Movement papers, 1949–1972, AZ 374.

92. "Thousands Greet Indian Family on Arrival at Zoo," *Columbus Dispatch* (Columbus, OH), May 6, 1940; "Indian Family Coming to Zoo Sunday," *Columbus Dispatch* (Columbus, OH), May 5, 1940.

93. Naquayouma and Lillian had been to Ohio several times in the 1930s to do performances and cultural education. For example, in 1937 they performed in Circleville (near Columbus) with Lakota performer, White Cow Killer. The event was Ohio History Day. At the event, White Cow Killer made a speech advocating for American Indian rights and tribal sovereignty. His speech also criticized the history of US empire; Robert K. Thomas, "Pan-Indianism," *Midcontinent American Studies Journal* 6, no. 2 (1965): 76–79; "Ceremonies at Jones Home," *Chillicothe Gazette* (Chillicothe, OH), October 4, 1937; "Many to Visit State Park for Sunday Service," *The Circleville Herald* (Circleville, OH), October 2, 1937; "Many See Indians at Annual Event," *Washington C.H. Record-Herald* (Washington Court House, OH), October 4, 1937; "Rain Prevents Outdoor Ritual for First Time," *The Circleville Herald* (Circleville, Ohio), October 4, 1937; "Papoose to Get New Moccasins at Ohio Program," *The Circleville Herald* (Circleville, OH), September [?], 1937.

94. "Thousands Greet Indian Family on Arrival at Zoo," *Columbus Dispatch* (Columbus, OH), May 6, 1940.

95. Ernest Naquayouma draft card, 1940.

96. Andrew Clayman, "Signode Steel Strapping co., est. 1913," *Made in Chicago Museum*, accessed June 25, 2024, <https://www.madeinchicagomuseum.com/single-post/signode>; *Indians at Work* 11, no. 3, United States Office of Indian Affairs (September–October 1943): 27; "War Demands Boost Use of Steel Strapping," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), April 12, 1942; "Week's Events of Chicago's Women's Clubs," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), December 7, 1941; "Gala Week in Store for Pen Women of City," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), May 4, 1941.

97. John J. Laukaitis, *Community Self-Determination: American Indian Education in Chicago, 1952–2006* (SUNY Press, 2015), 7; Anne Terry Straus and Debra Valentino, "Gender and Community Organization Leadership in the Chicago Indian Community," *American Indian Quarterly* 27, nos. 3–4 (2003): 523–24; Fixico, *The Urban Indian Experience in America*, 1–7; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 19–28, 98–122; David R. M. Beck, "Developing a Voice: The Evolution of Self-Determination in an Urban Indian Community," *Wicazo Sa Review* 17, no. 2 (Autumn 2002): 117–30; Grant Arndt, "Contrary to Our Way of Thinking': The Struggle for an American Indian Center in Chicago," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 22, no. 4 (1998): 117–34; Janusz Mucha, "From Prairie to the City: Transformation of Chicago's American Indian Community," *Polish Ethnographers and Sociologists* 12, nos. 3–4 (1983): 337–42.

98. Laukaitis, *Community Self-Determination*, 10–14; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 98; Mucha, "From Prairie to the City," 342–45.

99. Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (Syracuse University Press, 1971), 231–33.

100. The other well-known Native Chicagoans included Eli Powless (Oneida), Anita Sky Eyes (Cherokee), and Johnson Robinson (aka Whirling Thunder, Ho Chunk-Lakota); Terry Straus, ed., *Native Chicago* (Albatross Press, 2002), 523–24;

Rosalyn R. LaPier and David R. M. Beck, *City Indian: Native American Activism in Chicago, 1893–1934* (University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 113–34; Beck, “Developing a Voice,” 121–30; “Indian Council Fire to Select ‘50 Award Dinner,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), August 27, 1950; “Injun Summer Symbol,” *The Dixon Telegraph* (Dixon, IL), August 17, 1950; “Indian Council Fire to Close Season Today,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), May 7, 1950; “Indian Jewelry Exhibit Open at Public Library,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), October 13, 1949; “Pillsbury Mill Gives Flour, Feed to Navajo Relief,” *Albuquerque Journal* (Albuquerque, NM), June 24 1948; “Council Fire will Back Haas as Indians’ Official,” *Green Bay Press-Gazette* (Green Bay, WI), April 1, 1948; “Indians to Dance for High Twelve,” *Oak Park Oak Leaves* (Cook County, IL) October 9, 1947; “Indian Council will Meet Here Next Sunday,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), October 27, 1946; see Marion E. Gridley, *Indians of Today* (The Lakeside Press, 1936; Newberry Library, Indian Council Fire Records).

101. “Indian Artist Speaks Sunday at Art League,” *Oak Park Oak Leaves* (Cook County, IL), November 18, 1954; “Group to Hear Hopi Indian in Talk on Tribal Activities,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), November 1, 1952; “Exhibition of Indian Art to be Viewed Here,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), July 11, 1948.

102. Rosalyn R. LaPier and David R. M. Beck, *City Indian: Native American Activism in Chicago, 1893–1934* (University of Nebraska Press, 2015); LaPier, *Invisible Reality*, 159–72.

103. Laukaitis, *Community Self-Determination*, 13; Arndt, “Contrary to Our Way of Thinking,” 120; Ed Goodvoice, “Relocation: Indian Life on Skid Row,” in *Native Chicago*, ed. Straus, 173–90; Mucha, “From Prairie to the City,” 345.

104. Arndt, “Contrary to Our Way of Thinking,” 118–19; Mucha, “From Prairie to the City,” 342.

105. The complicated impact of the Indian Reorganization Act, which had its own colonial and assimilationist bent, cannot be taken up in depth here.

106. Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 51; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 45–68; Fixico, *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945–1960* (University of New Mexico Press, 1990), ix–xiv.

107. Laukaitis, *Community Self-Determination*, 8–10; Arndt, “Contrary to Our Way of Thinking,” 122.

108. Douglas K. Miller, *Indians on the Move: Native American Mobility and Urbanization in the Twentieth Century* (University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 138–39; Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 49–74; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 98–154; Mucha, “From Prairie to the City,” 346–49; NARA Chicago, RG75, Chicago Field Office Employment Assistance Case Files, 1952–1960.

109. Kurt Dreifuss, “Field office report, February 1955,” in NARA Chicago, RG75, Chicago Field Office Employment Assistance Case Files, 1952–1960; Miller, *Indians on the Move*, 1–7.

110. Miller, *Indians on the Move*, 4; Renya K. Ramirez, *Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond* (Duke University Press, 2007), 2.

111. Historically, American Indian populations in urban areas are hard to estimate. In this instance, the *Chicago Tribune* claimed the American Indian population in Chicago was around 1,200 people. Such articles boosting the relocation program were part of a PR campaign organized by the Chicago field office (there is evidence for this in the NARA archive). Hence, the newspaper's estimate is likely drawn from government data. However, that data may have been limited. In retrospect, the number seems low for the second largest city in the country, with one of the largest Indigenous populations in the US. Mucha states there were forty-two tribes in the mid-1950s; Miller, *Indians on the Move*, 1–7; Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 49–74; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 134–35; Mucha, “From Prairie to the City,” 350; “1200 Indians from 35 Tribes Live in Chicago,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), January 3, 1954; NARA Chicago, RG75, Chicago Field Office Employment Assistance Case Files, 1952–1960.

112. Arndt, “Contrary to Our Way of Thinking,” 123, 126; Mucha, “From Prairie to the City,” 349–50; NARA Chicago, RG75, Chicago Field Office Employment Assistance Case Files, 1952–1960.

113. LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 138; Arndt, “Contrary to Our Way of Thinking,” 125–26; Mucha, “From Prairie to the City,” 349; “Indians Adjust Easily to Life Off Reservation,” *Corpus Christi Times* (Corpus Christi, TX), April 12, 1953; “Indians Finding Life in Big City Not Too Bad,” *The Akron Beacon Journal* (Akron, OH), April 12, 1953; “What Happened to the Indians? Here's Answer,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), March 1, 1953; NARA Chicago, RG75, Chicago Field Office Employment Assistance Case Files, 1952–1960.

114. LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 98–154; “Round Up Day Camp Activities,” *Clearing and Garfield Ridge Reporter* (Chicago, IL) June 25, 1953; “Meet on Sunday,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, Illinois), February 23, 1953; NARA Chicago, RG75, Chicago Field Office Employment Assistance Case Files, 1952–1960.

115. Native community leaders on the board, including many recent relocatees, were Powless, Naquayouma, Hiawatha Hood (Yavapai), Babe Begay (Diné; artist), Daniel Gloyne (Cherokee), Thomas Segundo (Papago; University of Chicago graduate and Lawyer), Felix Chico (Papago; Korean War Veteran), and Joan Schmitz (Lakota). Toni Omen (Lakota) was not on the board, but she was instrumental in getting the project off the ground.

116. ATAIC organizers were in part inspired by a center that was recently opened in Los Angeles, connected to the OIA relocation office there. There were also earlier unsuccessful attempts to develop a Native run community center in Chicago. Theresa Robins (Lakota) petitioned the Welfare Council of Chicago to fund a Native run center in 1949. Albert Cobe (Ojibwe) of the Indians' Service League (c. 1950s) made such an attempt in 1952; Laukaitis, *Community Self-Determination*, 17–20; Arndt, “Contrary to Our Way of Thinking,” 122–28; Beck, “Developing a Voice,” 130; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 137–40; Mucha, “From Prairie to the City,” 350–53.

117. All-Tribes American Indian Center charter, January 1955.

118. Laukaitis, *Community Self-Determination*, 17–20; Arndt, “Contrary to Our Way of Thinking,” 129; American Indian Center Archive; NARA Chicago, RG75, Chicago Field Office Employment Assistance Case Files, 1952–1960.

119. Laukaitis, *Community Self-Determination*, 17–20; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 140–41.

120. Arndt, “Contrary to Our Way of Thinking,” 128–29; Mucha, “From Prairie to the City,” 349–51; American Indian Center archive; NARA Chicago, RG75, Chicago Field Office Employment Assistance Case Files, 1952–1960.

121. Mucha, “From Prairie to the City,” 351–53.

122. Bearskin seems to have been especially active on this front. Dorothy VandeMark (non-Native), elected to the ATAIC’s board of directors in 1955, was also a vocal critic of the OIA; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 142–43.

123. Kurt Dreifuss, “Field office report, February 1955,” in NARA Chicago, RG75, Chicago Field Office Employment Assistance Case Files, 1952–1960.

124. Laukaitis, *Community Self-Determination*, 20; Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 117; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 143.

125. AICC organizer, Sol Tax wrote a personal invitation to Naquayouma. Beyond that evidence, I have not been able to find Naquayouma in the AICC material I have studied. If Naquayouma did attend, it was not in an official capacity, as he is not listed among the conference’s American Indian attendees. He was certainly not a delegate. It may be worth noting that the delegates from the Hopi reservation were Hopi “progressives” (that term may no longer fit at this juncture; but they were not from Naquayouma’s circle of Hopi traditionalists). This does not answer the question of why he was not more involved. It merely adds a point of context found in my research. At the age of fifty-five, his life as an activist may have been winding down. There could have been any number of reasons explaining his absence, if in fact he did not attend; Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 117; Straus and Valentino, “Gender and Community Organization,” 523–28; Bradely G. Shreve, *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 12; Daniel M. Cobb, “Asserting a Global Indigenous Identity: Native Activism Before and After the Cold War,” in *Native Diasporas: Indigenous Identities and Settler Colonialism in the Americas*, ed. Gregory D. Smithers and Brooke N. Newman (University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 456–59; Erich Steinman, “Settler Colonial Power and the American Indian Sovereignty Movement: Forms of Domination, Strategies of Transformation,” *American Journal of Sociology* 117, no. 4 (January 2012): 1073–1130; Beck, “Developing a Voice,” 130–31; Daniel M. Cobb, *Native Activism in Cold War America: The Struggle for Sovereignty* (University of Kansas Press, 2008), 30–57; Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.–Indigenous Relations* (University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xi–xxiv; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 138; Larry W. Burt, “Roots of the Native American Urban Experience: Relocation Policy in the 1950s,” *American Indian Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1986): 85; Mucha, “From Prairie to the City,” 353–66; Joan Ablon,

"The American Indian Chicago Conference," *Journal of American Indian Education* 1, no. 2 (January 1962): 17–23; American Indian Center archive; Newberry Library, D'Arcy McNickle papers, "Sol Tax correspondence, 1957–1975" folder; NARA Chicago, RG75, Chicago Field Office Employment Assistance Case Files, 1952–1960.

126. Rosenthal makes a general argument here, but Laukaitis and LaGrand emphasize the same point about the ATAIC specifically. Miller and Ramirez make similar arguments; Miller, *Indians on the Move*, 1–7, 188; Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 6, 8, 9, 51, 70, 74; Ramirez, *Native Hubs*, 1–26; Laukaitis, *Community Self-Determination*, 1–5; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 145–46.

127. Laukaitis, *Community Self-Determination*, 4; Russell Thornton, Gary D. Sandefur, and Harold G. Grasmick, *The Urbanization of American Indians: A Critical Biography* (Indiana University Press, 1982), 14; Alan L. Sorkin, *The Urban Indian* (Lexington Books, 1978), 109–13; Joann Westerman, "The Urban Indian," *Current History* 67, no. 400 (December 1974), 259.

128. Straus and Valentino, "Gender and Community Organization," 523–32; also see Debra Valentino, "The History of the American Indian Center Princess," in *Native Chicago*, ed. Straus, 205–11; see Grant Arndt, "Indigenous Agendas and Activist Genders: Chicago's American Indian Center, Social Welfare, and Native American Women's Urban Leadership," in *Keeping the Campfires Going: Native Women's Activism in Urban Communities*, ed. Susan Applegate Krouse and Heather A. Howard (University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

129. Interview with Naquayouma family; "Ernest Naquayouma" (obituary), *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, Arizona) October 13, 1985, 14; Meskwaki Anthology (website since taken down; Naquayouma performed at a Meskwaki powwow in 1966); "Indians' 'America' Show Set," *The Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), May 18, 1972; "Irate Hopi Indian Dancers Perform Butterfly Dance for State Fair Audience," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), November 4, 1969; "Ernest Naquayouma," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), October 3, 1968; "Rain Dancer Worked a Little too Hard," *The Bridgeport Post* (Bridgeport, CT), July 21, 1963; "Along the Campfire Trail," *Arlington Heights Herald* (Chicago, Illinois), November 13, 1958; "Indian Memorial Service," *Portage Daily Register* (Portage, WI), June 5, 1958; "Daily Program," *The Daily Herald* (Chicago, IL), April 3, 1958; "American Indian Day Fete Planned by Council Fire," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), September 25, 1956; American Indian Center archive.

130. See my footnote 89 for literature discussing the work relationship between ethnographers and Indigenous consultants.

131. Reading the ethnographic record "against the grain" can be understood in a general way and in a specific way. Generally, one can critically interpret the ethnographic record in ways the authors (anthropologists)—or the field (anthropology)—did not intend. Specifically, the phrase "reading against the grain" refers to a special method of text interpretation developed in the Subaltern Studies tradition of scholarship. The method is to close read colonial archives to find evidence of the will or consciousness of subaltern subjects—again, interpreting the ethnographic record in

ways the authors did not intend. Cf. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton University Press, [2000], 2009); Warwick Anderson, "Postcolonial Technoscience," *Social Studies of Science* 32, nos. 5–6 (2002): 643–58; Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Duke University Press, [1983], 1999), 15; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Introduction," in Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Selected Subaltern Studies* (Oxford University Press, 1988).