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Big Falling Snow: A Tewa-Hopi Indian's Life and Times and the History and Traditions of His People. By Albert Yava.

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Yet the Cherokee leaders were among those who had considerable numbers of slaves. For instance, John Ross, David Vann, and John Ridge owned nineteen, thirteen, and twenty-one Black slaves respectively. They also, in the early 1830's, had comfortable estates similar to those possessed by prosperous white slaveholders.

Wealthy Cherokees valued their slaves, some of whom had aided their Indian masters during the chaos of removal and settling new lands. During the Civil War, as might be expected, the slavery issue divided the Cherokees as John Ross and other slaveowners attempted to establish a policy of neutrality. As this book shows, the institution of slavery divided the Cherokee people throughout their history after first contacts with whites and Blacks. Traditional Cherokee people have tended to oppose the slaveowners who adopted white values. What emerged was a virulent factionalism largely based upon the slavery controversy. Even today, the author argues, the factions are identified with rivalry over economic inequality and quarrels over traditional cultural values that are identified with Black slavery in Cherokee history. Such is the legacy of slavery among one of our great Indian tribes.

This fine book, heavily documented and backed up by a penetrating bibliographical essay, is one of the most important studies in Indian-Black-white history that this reviewer has examined. It is a model study in ethnohistory involving extensive investigation in several disciplines. At the same time, the clarity of style makes the book inviting to the general reader who has an interest in the history of the American Indians and Black people.

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Big Falling Snow: A Tewa-Hopi Indian's Life and Times and the History and Traditions of His People. By Albert Yava. Edited and Annotated by Harold Courlander. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1978. 178 pp. \$10.00

Albert Yava's *Big Falling Snow* is not, strictly speaking, a Native American autobiography. As editor Harold Courlander carefully notes, it is a per-

sonal and tribal recollection of an American Indian born a Tewa and initiated into Hopi tribal life. Yava is a reluctant narrator of his life story, modest about his accomplishments, but convinced by family and editor that his knowledge of Tewa and Hopi ways is valuable to future generations. His personal narration is primarily a framework for telling of myth and history of the two tribes he has lived in and observed from the late 19th century to the present.

Though Yava was educated in white schools and worked outside the reservation fairly frequently, he is not a marginal member of his society. Born to a Tewa mother, he was raised within Tewa tradition on the Hopi mesas where his people had migrated centuries before to aid the Hopis in defending their isolated mesas from raids by other tribes. As a mature man, he was initiated into the Hopi One Horn kiva society where he learned important teachings of his father's people. He says of himself, "I am a full-fledged Tewa, I am also a Hopi—not because of my father being a Hopi, but because I was initiated into the Kwakwanteu" (p. 2). Thus Yava participates fully in both cultures. This dual perspective enables him to observe and evaluate the correlation of Tewa and Hopi cultures in detail and to relate the mythic and historical relations of these two tribes that maintain separate identities within the intimate relationship imposed by shared landscape and mutual need.

As an elder, Yava views himself as a repository of lore, but personal humility prevents him from making himself a central figure in his narration. For both Tewa and Hopi, the tribe comes first and each member is valued, not for his personal accomplishments, but for his contributions to the community. So Yava is careful to point out that traditions on the mesas vary from place to place and that his versions of myth and history are no more authentic than others, but they are what he has learned from the old people. He speaks for himself but with the authority of the past, often correcting what he sees as misinformation as when he points out that the widely held notion that the home of the kachinas is the San Francisco Peaks is inaccurate, that they live in springs. He says, "In each village the Kachina Clan has a somewhat different story regarding the origin of kachinas. If they ever get together maybe they can agree on a single explanation" (p. 98). This multiplicity of versions does not disturb Yava, however, because, as he clarifies in his detailed telling of Hopi and Tewa emergence and migration myths, the cultures are actually made up of many people who share variant traditions and lore, congruent in world vision but multiple in detail and emphasis. He is, however, extremely critical of several works on Hopi and Tewa cultures which he sees as inaccurate in factual information or too personal or intrusive into sacred materials. He is confident in his own stories because his people came to

know he "had a good understanding of who played what part in the ceremonial scheme of things, which men were the sources of authority and knowledge in the villages" (p. 81). As Courlander points out, Yava "clearly perceives the distinction between history as it is understood to the outside world and the Hopi-Tewa legends, but he believes that many historical truths are contained in traditional tales," and he takes pains to narrate stories of tribal origins, migrations, clans, and history with meticulous attention to detail because "literalness is a preserver of reality and authenticity" (p. xi). Place names are an indicator of Yava's attention to accuracy. He knows the landscape well and places each legend in its proper setting as when he narrates the coming of the Tewas to Hopi and says that the Hopis of Walpi village allowed the Tewas to "settle a little below the mesa on that low ridge on the east side, but wouldn't let them come any closer. The Tewas must have remained there for a while, because they had to build temporary houses again. You can still see broken pottery and the ruined walls of those houses on the ridge" (p. 28). Here he demonstrates the intertwining of oral tradition and his verification of it through familiarity with the landscape.

That Yava acts as an observer-narrator in telling mythic and historic traditions does not result in a detached or impersonal style. There is much commentary woven into the lore. He often uses a personal experience to provide *entré* to legends. At one point he says, "Before I was initiated into the One Horn Society I didn't have a very good picture of how the Hopi village functioned. Afterwards I began to understand who was who in the clans and the villages, and what the main forces of village life were. So I am going to tell briefly about some of the clan traditions that I am familiar with" (p. 49). Along with using personal experience to provide rationale for telling stories, this passage demonstrates a device that works effectively in creating a sense of immediacy in Yava's storytelling. He addresses the reader directly, engaging him in the narration and preserving the oral nature of his participation in compiling the book. The recollections and commentaries that compose the work were delivered orally to Courlander who has edited them into a cohesive collection. His consistent inclusion of the second person technique retains the sense of traditional storytelling. Another device which heightens dramatic effect is the use of dialogue, equally emphasized in personal experiences, myths, and legends, as in the following encounter between the protagonist of a tale and guards of the land of the dead: "They stopped the young man, said to him, 'Where are you going?' He said, 'I'm following my wife.' They said, 'Who is your wife?' He said, 'She just died recently. She's up there, floating on her bridal robe, and I'm following her.' They said, 'Oh, well, but you can't come into this place. Your time hasn't come

yet, so you'd better turn back.'" The turning point is intensified and personalized by Yava's talking the roles rather than describing them. The oral basis of the narrative is also emphasized by the incorporation of songs into the text.

Yava's strength is not just in narration of lore; he not only recollects but also comments on and evaluates his stories, reminding the reader of his control of the narration. Following the story of the young man seeking his dead bride, Yava comments, "There is another idea there too. A person shouldn't go where he is not wanted" (p. 104). He goes on to relate current tribal death customs and to illustrate them with a recollection of his father's burial. This commentary which interprets his stories and leads to current practice bridges past and present. In another example Yava says, "As for religious beliefs, we old timers can see that there has been a steady drift away from our traditional attitude toward nature and the universe. Life is to be valued and preserved. If you see a grain of corn on the ground pick it up and take care of it, because it has life inside" (p. 134). Like the corn, each story is precious, to be nurtured. His tone is one of regret about the steady undermining of old ways, but he is not a chronicler of cultural despair. At the end of his narrative, Yava closes the framework for the work by returning to his life story, bringing the reader up to date on his life since he has become aged, but more important, the closing allows him to assess the past and present and speculate on the future of his peoples. He says they "can never really get back to where we were, and they will never fully understand what the traditions meant to their ancestors who were moving here and there struggling for survival and balance with the land and elements" (p. 133), but he is convinced that the old-timers can help prepare the younger generations for changes and acculturation that will inevitably come.

Yava's recollections are a complexly integrated matrix of personal narrative, traditional storytelling, historical observation, and evaluation, woven into a dramatic structure that is vivid and lively, regretful in tone but not without humor and sympathy for both himself and his peoples.

Without Harold Courlander's solicitation and editing of this work, of course, it would never have taken readable shape. And without his very substantial notes and appendices, the authority of Yava's narrative would have to be taken on the narrator's word alone. However, Courlander provides informational and comparative notes that both make the more technical aspects of ceremonialism clear and substantiate the accuracy and authority of the author. Further, the appendices provide records which clarify Yava's discussion of historical and current political conflict within the Hopi tribe and with the U.S. government. Also, Courlander's introduction, while rather short on information about the methodology

of his work with Yava, gives the reader a fairly objective view of the narrator within his society, makes Yava's recollections comprehensible, and relates them to other such works already in print. The photographs of the author and his family are interesting; however, they are not well placed in the text and thus do not aid the reader in identifying characters in the personal narrative. Perhaps Courlander, with his care in not intruding on Yava's recollections or interrupting the flow of the narrative, has in fact, while contributing scholarly aids, detracted from a unified perception of the narrator.

Albert Yava's *Big Falling Snow* is not a comprehensive record of Hopi-Tewa myth, history, and tradition, nor does it claim to be. It is a very personal recollection, authoritative and vigorous, a record to complement rather than substitute for more comprehensive cultural studies.

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?Atishwin: The Dream Helper in South-Central California. By Richard B. Applegate. Ballena Press Anthropological Papers No. 13. Socorro, NM: Ballena Press, 1978. 98 pp. pap. \$5.95

South Central California Indians, Yokuts, Western Mono, Tübatulabal, Chumash, Kitanemuk, and Salinan, display in many aspects of their cultures certain broad similarities. Yet, as is true here as well as in other regions of native California, there are considerable differences of detail obtaining between the groups on any given theme. Applegate here examines the ramifications of the Dream Helper complex among peoples representing three different linguistic phyla. He has brought together probably as much as will ever be known on the subject, and from these data emerge a clear picture of the significance of the concept of the dream helper, or guardian spirit, in the lives of these neighboring peoples.

In most of the groups considered, the totem concept is related to that of the dream helper, and often the totem animal, for example, becomes the helper itself, although in any group which has a totem, thoughts concerning the dream helper are less formalized and more subject to individual variation than is the case with beliefs connected with the totem. No