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**Author**

Chaudhuri, Joyotpaul

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when she ventures into the history of Indian-English relations, largely because she does not seem to notice the boundary between the two sub-disciplines. Her book reminds us that the history of those relations has to encompass the dimensions of culture, society, economics, and politics on both sides of the ethnic divide, not just the perspectives of a few semi-marginal Englishmen.

Neal Salisbury  
Smith College

**The Yaquis: A Cultural History.** By Edward H. Spicer. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980. 393 pp. pap. \$14.50.

Professor Edward Spicer's work, *The Yaquis: A Cultural History*, is the culmination of over forty years of association with the remarkable Yaquis of Arizona and Mexico, who have endured the challenges of nature, Spanish, Mexican, and American social forces, tourists, governmental hostility or indifference, and the romantic curiosities of readers of Carlos Castaneda's writings. Professor Spicer's status as the foremost university based scholarly authority was well assured even before the publication of *The Yaquis*. The book constitutes a comprehensive summation of his previous work and is destined to be the benchmark of anthropological scholarship on the Yaquis.

Professor Spicer's scholarship and his labor of love on behalf of Yaquis makes him less vulnerable than most other anthropologists to the now common criticism of anthropological predatory curiosities that was best stated by Vine Deloria in *Custer Died for Your Sins*. In his academic career Professor Spicer directed his graduate students to do "useful" research, i.e., research that presumably would be useful to the community involved. Also, Professor Spicer gave of his own time to the Tucson Yaqui community including being a project director of the Pascua Yaqui Association in Tucson in its formative stage.

The book attempts to be a comprehensive "cultured" history. It begins with Yaqui interaction with Jesuits in the 17th century and ends with contemporary Yaqui life in Mexico and in Arizona, where the Yaquis now have an official tribal status.

In the process, there are chapters on Yaqui religion, the Yaqui resistance and forced migration, the Yaqui town, Yaqui bureaucratic battlers, and Yaqui identity. Each of the chapters are full of details of observation, chronology, and references to existing documents and literature.

Facts, however, are insufficient to create realistic wholes and entities. Analysis and insight are also important ingredients in conveying the life of a people. In the analytical context, anthropology, particularly cultural anthropology, shows some of the weakest aspects of the social sciences ranging from a continuum of hyperfactualism to conflicting sets of jargon-ridden ambiguous theories. In that continuum, fortunately, Spicer's work is on the hyperfactual end compared to the theoretical battle ridden end of the spectrum about which Deloria has said:

The slogans become conference themes in the early spring, when the anthropologist expeditions are being planned. The slogans turn into battle cries of opposing groups of anthropologists who chance to meet on the reservations in the following summer.

Thus go the anthropological wars, testing whether this school or that school can endure the longest. And the battlefields, unfortunately, are the lives of Indian people.

The strength of the hyperfactualism of Spicer's work lies in the fact that it overcomes the weakness of method. Early in the preface Spicer describes his analytical scheme to be one of the pursuit of ethnohistory in the manner of geologists who study historically uniform forces at work on the earth's crust. The comparison of ethnic groups to entities in the earth crust is humanistically and scientifically unfortunate and is perhaps the reason why in some areas, even according to otherwise respectful Yaqui leaders, Professor Spicer in spite of many years of association is the outsider looking in. The weakest aspects of the work are in the history of the Yaqui mind, an important clue to thought and intentional human activity. The strongest parts of the work deal with documentary history and the careful observation of ritualistic details, the dress and style of dancers, including the deer dancers, the Pascolas, the Chayayekas and the Matachinis. Yaqui elders can provide even further details of observation missed by the anthropologist. However, the detailed observations would be of help to non-Yaquis as well as Yaquis who may not have grown up in a

Yaqui family environment and who are interested in the external observables of Yaqui culture.

The internal dimensions of Yaqui life prove to be much more elusive. Thus the discussion of early Jesuit influence tends to emphasise their role in concentrating the Yaquis in towns. Some Yaqui elders may well argue that the Jesuits merely helped formalize the earlier decentralized concentrations of Yaqui population that always came together at precise places on precise occasions. In any case, the exploration of Yaqui oral traditions for exploring history is underdeveloped in Spicer's work.

The failure to capture the workings of the Yaqui mind carries over into several other areas as well, including the working of Yaqui systems of authority. The discussion is clearest in describing the overlay of Spanish structure. Professor Spicer himself acknowledges the absence of a Yaqui analysis of authority but decides to speculate about it by comparing different Yaqui communities. Speaking of the authority structure he says:

Unfortunately a full Yaqui analysis has not been obtained, but a strong indication with regard to what is and what is not essential in the system comes from comparison of communities in Sonora and Arizona in the 20th century.

Arguing inferentially from fact to theory is fraught with the danger of underestimating one—many relationships where several explanations are possible. Thus, according to Spicer, the Sonora Yaqui communities have "revived" the five "*Ya'uram*" or spheres of authority: civil affairs, military, church, annual ceremonies, and Lenten/Holy week ceremonials. In contrast, in Arizona supposedly only the customs and church authority functions are extant. Presumably, the latter two are the important functions. However, if one looks at the successful survival of Yaqui life in New Pascua outside of Tucson, Arizona, a different inference could easily be made; that the civil and military functions are alive and well to a greater degree than is acknowledged though the labels of roles involved may read chairman or director rather than capitan or governor or military leader.

Professor Spicer refers to his own role as project director for OEO programs in New Pascua in the third person. In describing his withdrawal from administrative work he mentions two fac-

tors, the dwindling support of the Yaqui board for the administration and the Washington, D.C. OEO's emphasis on a measurable program product: housing. However, in this case there also might be an alternative explanation. While appreciative of Spicer's work and while quite proud of their religious rituals, which intrigues anthropologists and tourists, Yaquis may have indeed regarded it as being quite traditional to seek shelter against the elements—in other words, housing was an important cornerstone of subsequent cultural survival in Arizona.

To go beyond the externals of Yaqui culture so well described in detail in Spicer's work, we need to supplement it with solid work on the Yaqui oral tradition. The literature on the oral tradition is yet quite weak. Works like Rosalio Moisés, June Holden Kelley, and William Currey Holden's *A Yaqui Life* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971) remain essentially ghost writing by non-Yaquis, particularly since Moisés died before the book was published.

There is some evidence that a Yaqui rendering of their history is around the corner. Already published is Mini Valenzuela Kaczurkin's *Yoeme: Lore of the Arizona Yaqui People* (Sun Tracks: University of Arizona). Also the current leader of the Pascua Yaqui association, a descendant of Moisés, who led the battle for Yaqui recognition by the U.S. Government, is planning to write a cultural history from the Yaqui point of view.

Mini Kaczurkin tells us:

The first Yaquis were Surems, and they worshipped the sun. The most important event was death. After death, the spirit would travel to Achai Ta-Ah, Father Sun, enter the sun and become a part of it. After three days, the soul would become a star and the people would see a new star in heaven.

Years before Kaczurkin's little book was written, another sun worshipper, a Taos "governador," had told C. G. Jung (*The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*) that one must "help the sun, our Father to cross the sky" and avoid outsiders meddling with religion or (in Jung's words) night will fall and the light of consciousness will be extinguished.

While Spicer's work will remain a landmark and other anthropologists will continue to invade Yaqui land—in Sonora and Arizona—Yaqui life flourishes because the inner life of the

Yaquis continue to help Father Sun cross the sky to the best of their abilities. The inside story of that effort is yet to be written.

Joyotpaul Chaudhuri  
New Mexico State University

**Wasi'chu: The Continuing Indian Wars.** By Bruce Johansen and Roberto Maestas. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1979. 268 pp. pap. \$6.50.

Following a thirty page history of United States-Indian relations, the authors present a synopsis of the Indian struggles in the United States during the 1970s. They focus principally on repression of Indian leaders and communities and attribute the repression to the lustful thirst of the "Wasi'chu" for Indian resources and land. The term, "wasi'chu," is a Dakota (Sioux) word meaning "takes the fat," but is also the term used by the Sioux to refer to white people. The authors explain that "wasi'chu does not describe a race; it describes a state of mind" (p. 5). However, John Redhouse, Navajo activist, in his introduction to the book, states that the word refers to "a strange race that not only took what it thought it needed, but also took the rest . . . used to describe the white race."

The book is an update of an earlier similar work by William Meyer, *Native Americans: The New Indian Resistance*, published in 1971 by International Publishers. The authors rely heavily on the Meyer book. Other resources include numerous newspaper articles, United States Civil Rights reports, FBI files secured under the "Freedom of Information Act," and the American Indian Policy Review Commission Report of 1977. Many arguments that sound familiar are presented without references. For instance, there is no reference nor mention of the voluminous work of Vine Deloria, Jr. Since the citations in the notes are sparse and incomplete, a bibliography would have been called for.

Though there are serious problems with the book as it is, the main problem is what it is not. From Monthly Review Press we have come to expect rigorous studies in Third World political-