

"toward extinction" (as he titles his final major chapter), we must ask what transpired internally. From contemporary evidence it would appear that Pecos, like a nut, was not rotten; nor did the pincers force it to crack and spill-out its contents. The nut merely dried-up, turning into seed for a changing community to the west that is far from extinct.

William R. Swagerty
Newberry Library
Chicago, Illinois

Zuni: Selected Writings of Frank Hamilton Cushing. Ed. Jesse Green. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979. 440 pp. \$16.95.

In the first generation of American anthropologists — Bourke, Matthews, Mooney, Fletcher, Powell, and the other pioneers — the most important name is surely that of Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857-1900), a mysterious figure in spite of the flamboyant publicity he generated in his lifetime, a gifted literary artist whose writings have been largely ignored by most students of American literature, and a field-worker whose achievements — however amateurish they may appear to more "scientific" investigators — may provide an object lesson in the limitations and possibilities of research into the culture of "primitive" societies.

Cushing's life as an ethnologist may be understood as a series of inspired, almost mystical leaps of the imagination by which he was able to pierce through conventional perceptions of "savagery" and "civilization" to a vision of the universal wisdom that underlies all societies, whatever their surface differences. He developed his own methods of investigation — indeed his entire education was largely by his own efforts — and even as a child he had begun to seek answers to questions which his elders considered irrelevant. Indeed his neighbors in western New York assumed that his unconventional behavior — wandering in the woods, dressing in an Indian costume of his own manufacture, attempting to communicate with birds — were all evidence of possible lunacy. Even as a boy he was determined to break down the temporal barriers which

separated him and his corner of the country from the prehistoric past. He early developed a passion for fossils and Indian artifacts, and at the age of fifteen he actually discovered, by trial and error, how to chip arrowheads by pressure with a bone tool. This discovery is a typical product of Cushing's mind — the result of powerful imaginative identification with those ancient people who had made the arrowheads which he found in his neighborhood.

At the age of eighteen (in 1875) Cushing submitted a short article on the "antiquities" of his home county to Spencer F. Baird of the Smithsonian, who published it in one of that institution's early collections. This first success led to Cushing's appointment to the Smithsonian staff and in 1879 to his first visit to Zuni as part of a Smithsonian expedition. From the beginning, the more conventional investigators in the team were exasperated by Cushing's methods, particularly his interest in the Zunis first as people, and only secondarily as objects of scientific curiosity and sources of artifacts, and when they moved on to other fields, they more or less dumped him, without provisions, on his Zuni friends. In this predicament Cushing accepted the proposal of the town's "governor": "Now if you . . . will only make up your mind to be a Zuni, you shall be rich, for you shall have fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, and the best food in the world."

Thus began four-and-a-half years of the remarkable relationship — indeed of a kind of symbiosis — of Cushing and the Zunis. He soon learned to speak their language, was formally initiated into the tribe, and eventually became a member of the tribal council and a Bow Priest. In 1882 he accompanied several Zunis on a trip east, where his flair for the theatrical produced favorable publicity for his friends and the good opinion of certain journalists who later assisted him in exposing a land-steal on the Zuni reservation. For his part in this episode he received the undying affection of the Zunis and the enmity of powerful figures in Washington who were able to force the Smithsonian to recall him. But in 1886 he returned to the Southwest as director of the Hemenway Expedition, which conducted "digs" in the Salado and Gila valleys for two years, discovered the culture which later came to be called Hohokam, and strengthened Cushing's belief that the "seven cities of Cibola" were Zuni. In his last years he pursued investigations in Maine, upstate New York, and the Florida

Keys and produced some of the most remarkable writing on the subject of American Indian culture in our literature.

Cushing's writings on the Zunis reveal insights which were far ahead of their time and which would not be seriously suggested until certain more modern assumptions had become commonplace — such as, for three examples, Whorf's conception of the relation of language and world-view, Jung's analysis of myth, and the structuralist interpretation of social structures. As early as 1882 Cushing observed that the "remarkable archaic language" of the Zunis reveals evidence of "the primitive history, especially of the intellectual development of the people by whom it is spoken." His analysis of Zuni creation myths led him to assert that such studies "bear on the history of man the world over . . . , for the Zunis . . . are representative . . . of a phase of culture through which all desert peoples, in the Old World as well as in the New, must sometime have passed." And Claude Levi-Strauss has credited Cushing with directly affecting the development of structuralism by influencing Durkheim and Mauss in their study of social structures. Indeed a strong case can be made for Cushing as a pioneer of structuralism, for having saturated himself in Zuni experience until he could "think Zuni," he developed the thesis that all Zuni concepts — of building design, agricultural methods, ritual observances, clan structures, burial practices, indeed the whole of Zuni life — were organically related and that they originated in the Zuni division of the world into seven parts: the four directions, the zenith, the nadir, and the center of the world.

Furthermore his experience with the Zunis demonstrates his passionate determination to deal with his subjects as real people in meaningful situations, and this passion suggests the difference between his procedures and those of more "scientific" investigators. In 1895 he defended his "personal style" by asserting that "well-nigh all anthropology is personal history; that even the *things* of past man were personal . . ." The student of an "old, lost art" must therefore become the original artisan of it.

I have virtually the same hands he had, the same physique, . . . the same actival and mental faculties, that men had in ages gone by, no matter how remote. If, then, I dominate myself with their needs,

surround myself with their material conditions, aim to do as they did, the chances are that I shall restore their acts and their arts. . . .

In other words, Cushing knew eighty years ago what has since become obvious — that if, as physics since Einstein has made clear, the observer of an experiment is part of the experiment, then it is unlikely that the social sciences, which observe *human* material and events, can be completely scientific.

Cushing made mistakes, of course. He was unaware of the Spanish adhesions in Zuni culture which were later discovered by Elsie Clews Parsons and by Alfred Kroeber, though the conclusion of Franz Boas that this omission proved that Cushing's "psychological explanation" was thus "entirely misleading" did a great disservice to his achievement. (See *American Anthropologist* n.s., 22 (1920): 317.) A more legitimate criticism has been made by Dennis Tedlock of the old-fashioned, "literary" English into which Cushing rendered Zuni folk-tales in his translations.

Fortunately we now have a convenient text which will introduce Cushing to a wider audience and will provide a convenient point of departure for studies of his life and work. Jesse Green has put together a handsome book, with good selections and introductory material informed by valuable and extensive notes and fine maps and illustrations and a splendid bibliography. As a work of scholarship it is a model of what such things should be. And the selections, given the decision to concentrate attention on the Zuni writings (which, of course, represent the bulk of his work) are judicious and representative of Cushing's various concerns. Besides letters, diary material, and excerpts from lectures — all previously unpublished — there are selections from "Origins of Pueblo Pottery" and "Zuni Fetiches," renderings of four Zuni folk-tales, a remarkable article on "A Case of Primitive Surgery," the complete text of *My Adventures in Zuni*, some key passages from *Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths*, and a dozen excerpts from *Zuni Breadstuff*. The last three titles represent Cushing's finest literary and ethnological achievement. *My Adventures in Zuni* (1882-1883) is a grossly neglected work of American literature, indeed a minor masterpiece, a deeply felt account which, as Green points out, records both the rhythm of the Zuni year and the stages of Cushing's own spiritual development during

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

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

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

Robert L. Berner
University of Wisconsin
Oshkosh

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

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