When the Sun God Turns His Face:

The Early Years of the Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona, 1921-1939

Amy Jo Williams

Submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts from Prescott College
in Humanities: History of the U.S. Southwest

December, 2014

Dereka Rushbrook, Ph.D	Ross Frank, Ph.D	Jared Aldern, Ph.D
Advisor	Second Reader	Third Reader

UMI Number: 1583863

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI 1583863

Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.
All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

Copyright © 2014 by Amy Jo Williams

All rights reserved.

No part of this thesis may be used, reproduced, stored, recorded, or transmitted in any form or manner whatsoever without written permission from the copyright holder or her agent(s), except in the case of brief quotations embodied in the papers of students, and in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews.

Requests for such permissions should be sent to:

1865 N. Higley Rd. #2102
Mesa, AZ 85205

Dedicated to the most beautiful and brightest star of a dog, infinitely cherished and beloved,
Dante Demetrius Williams
May 10, 2001-August 4, 2013

Acknowledgements

I'd like to acknowledge the generous and loving support of my family and friends, without whom this project wouldn't have been possible. I'd like to thank Cindy Gresser, director of the Smoki Museum, of Prescott, Arizona, as well as the entire Smoki Museum board of directors for allowing me the opportunity to work with the archival materials. Thank you, to Cindy, and to the Smoki volunteers for their assistance in my undertakings, and for welcoming me into the museum "family" if but for only a brief, yet significant time. In particular, thank you to Joan Gilcrease for always providing the best company and for being a friend. Thank you, to the Smoki members, who were particularly gracious and generous in their invaluable contributions of time, narratives and insight. Thank you, also, to my graduate advisor and thesis committee for your time, patience, and support. I'm very grateful and indebted to you all.

Abstract

This thesis examines the early years (1921-1939) of the Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona. The Smoki were a civic organization predicated upon a perceived imperative to act within the capacity of guardians and authorities of regional and cultural heritage. This work seeks to examine the social and political dynamics that shaped the mission of the Smoki, and to evaluate the historical context that facilitated and sustained the organization's ability to engage in the politics of indigenous cultural appropriation, representation and display.

Regionalism and the U.S. Southwest, Fraternalism and Civic Engagement, Cultural Appropriation and Representation, Social Memory and Narrative

Table of Contents

Chapter 1-When the Sun God Turns His Face
Introduction……………………………………………………………………1

Chapter 2- A Lonely and Outcast Tribe
The Genesis of the Smoki, 1921-1925…………………………………………35

Chapter 3-No One God Away From its Enchantment
Invoking a Dreamscape, 1926-1931……………………………………….....66

Chapter 4-The Authenticity in the Narrative
The Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona, 1932-1939……………………………83

Chapter 5-Back to This, His Chosen Place
Conclusion………………………………………………………………..107

References……………………………………………………………………..115

Chapter One

-Introduction-

When the Sun God Turns His Face[1]

When the Sun God turns his face
Back to this, his chosen place;
Dearest spot of earth that lies
On his trail across the skies;
When the moon, his chieftainess,
Nightly weaves her silver dress
And sets Guardian stars to show,
That the things of earth may know
Life now into New Life stirs-
Then the Smoki worshippers
Dance, that rain come soft and soon,
In the sun-lit days of June.[2]

In the summer of 1922, poet and essayist Sharlot Hall had taken a respite from her usual literary pursuits, only to find her interest renewed by an unusual request. At some point between May of 1921 and June of 1922, Hall was approached by what she characterized as “a small group of business and professional men”[3]--residents of her own Prescott, Arizona, who, familiar with the former territorial historian’s interest in local lore and legend, requested of her a narrative descriptive of their nascent group’s purposes of developing yearly pageants drawn from regional Native American themes. She would later recall her efforts to fulfill the request of the Smoki:

Dropping my ranch home work where it happened to be at the moment, I hurried out

[1] Sharlot Hall, “When the Smokis Dance” in *The Story of the Smoki People* (Prescott, AZ: Prescott Courier Inc., 1922), 2.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Sharlot Hall, *Cactus and Pine: Songs of the Southwest,* 1924. Rev. ed. (Prescott, Arizona: Sharlot Hall Museum, 2006), 2.

some verse and a legend which was equally hurried through the press of the *Prescott Courier* –but with results so artistic and pleasing that it awoke a very old dream of mine to write again and to have everything that I might write printed in Arizona.[4]

The resulting 1922 publication of the booklet entitled, "The Story of the Smoki People", consisted of several poems including, "When the Smokis Dance", and an origin myth that related the fictitious history of a self-professed "tribe"-the Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona.

The Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona, were a civic and fraternal organization established from an inauspicious beginning as a spontaneous cohort formed in May, 1921, for the purpose of raising funds for that year's community annual Frontier Days Rodeo. The audience's enthusiastic response to the Smoki dancers' tongue-in-cheek, burlesque performance of the sacred Hopi Snake Dance led to subsequent annual productions of the "Smoki Snake Dance", and, ultimately, to the decision to form a semi-secretive fraternal society based on the interpretation and perpetuation of Native American ceremonials. Formally organized by 1923, the Smoki organization came to be recognized primarily for the annual productions of the "Smoki Snake Dance". While each annual Smoki production included performances of appropriated elements of various Native American ceremonials, the Smoki Snake Dance was presented each year as the highlight of the Smoki *ceremonials*[5].

The occasion of each annual Smoki *ceremonial* presented an opportunity for the creation and propagation of an array of textual material that served as a means of shaping and expressing the group's self-conceptualization and perceived purpose within the community. Brochures,

---

[4] Ibid.

[5] The term "Smoki Ceremonials" was used in print, and by the Smoki themselves, to refer to the annual production presented by the organization. Throughout this thesis, in an attempt to mark the distinction between sacred, religious Native American ceremonies, and the Smoki interpretation of such religious ceremonies, I italicize the word *ceremonial* as it relates to the Smoki productions. When I refer to a specific annual Smoki production, I will designate the term "ceremonial" with capitalization, for example: the "Smoki Ceremonials of 1939".

programs, advertisements, scripts, media accounts, and other mediums constituted a textual space wherein the Smoki were able to construct and convey their group's identity as guardians of regional heritage and authorities of cultural representation. The performances were also a means by which this representation was effectually expressed. A Smoki performer, during a performance, would assume the identity of a Smoki "Indian". This was achieved through partial suspension of the performer's actual identity as a White citizen of Prescott. It also represented the culmination of months of concerted efforts of members who created costumes, dance parts and vignette character roles for the Smoki Indian performer. Dance steps, chants and other indigenous ceremonial elements were selected-often from ethnographic texts and second-hand Anglo-American accounts and observations-de-contextualized from their cultural and ceremonial significance, and subsequently altered and incorporated into a single expression identified as "Smoki". The incongruity and anomaly signified by the act of an Anglo-American assuming, through ostensible Native dress and ceremonial dance steps, the identity of an American Indian, rendered the White Smoki performer a fully engaged agent in reinforcing boundaries delineating social and cultural identity. The socially constructed privilege that conferred upon the White Smoki performer the prerogative to cross these boundaries at will also permitted him to perceive himself proprietarily entitled to indigenous cultural property and representation.

The Smoki expression emerged within a regional context in which contestations of cultural representation were at play within a broader national setting. The struggle for socio-political hegemony as enacted among and between Anglo-American actors through efforts to influence or impact issues, policies and ideologies relating to sovereign indigenous groups constituted a cultural battle fought at the expense and to the detriment of Native American sovereignty and identity. The focal point of interest that underlie this struggle also lay at the

heart of what constituted the unique Smoki expression: the identification and affirmation of American identity and citizenship. As this thesis will attempt to show, the Smoki organization constituted an expression of civic engagement predicated upon an assumed guardianship of regional heritage. In their capacity as a civic and fraternal organization, the Smoki created a place for themselves in which they engaged in shaping and contributing to a discourse centered on American citizenship and identity within a regionally-oriented framework of reference.

The cultural landscape wherein the Smoki would engage in these processes had, historically, represented a contested geopolitical peripheral frontier. Prior to the establishment of Arizona as a separate territory by order of President Lincoln in 1863, the region had constituted part of the territory of New Mexico, as acquired by the United States following the Mexican-American War and the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848. While the territory had maintained a regional orientation as a northern frontier during the Spanish and Mexican eras, it gradually took on a designation as a southwestern frontier as American interest in the area increased. At the time of President Lincoln's order to designate Arizona as a distinct territory, recent discoveries of gold in the areas of Wickenburg and Lynx Creek-environs to what would become the town of Prescott-were quickly attracting the attention and interest of prospectors and other White settlers to the region. Concurrently, the area surrounding and including the city of Tucson presented a concern as it maintained a sizable demographic with ties to the southern Confederacy. In an effort, then, to establish a fortified federal presence in the area, Lincoln selected a group of men to direct and oversee the development of the newly designated territory.[6]

When John Noble Goodwin, the first acting territorial Governor of Arizona, established

[6] Kate Ruland-Thorne, *Gold Greed and Glory: The Territorial History of Prescott and the Verde Valley, 1864-1912* (Baltimore, MD: Publish America, 2007), 83.

the town of Prescott as the territorial capital on May 30, 1864, the region was fraught with frequent and costly confrontations between White settlers and Native American groups, particularly Apache and Yavapai. A diminished military presence in the area as a result of the exigencies of the Civil War created an environment in which Anglo settlers were actively engaged in "pushing back" or, essentially, dispossessing local indigenous groups of territory formerly under their influence and control. This direct involvement of White citizens in maintaining the delineation of geo-political borders was, at the time, pursued within a conceptualization of a particular imperative to do what the federal government, seemingly, could not.[7]

On July 4th, 1864, territorial Secretary Richard C. McCormick delivered an Independence Day commemorative oration to an assembly of approximately four-hundred gathered in the Prescott town plaza. These "patriot citizens", who had gathered from the "placer and the lode, from the camp and the cabin"[8], were largely comprised of miners, soldiers, legislators, merchants and tradesmen, in addition to families who had either arrived with any of the former, or had relocated from the war-torn eastern or southern states. [9] Less than a week had passed since the territorial capital had been christened by Secretary McCormick in homage to historian William Hinckley Prescott, author of "The History of the Conquest of Mexico". Prescott's work would also inspire the designation of the town's streets, including "Montezuma" and "Cortez". Subsequent street names with the names of explorers and military commanders,[10] would further

---

[7] Ibid., 42.

[8] Richard C. McCormick, "Independence and Progress: An Oration Delivered at Prescott, Arizona, July 4th, 1864" (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010), 2.

[9] Ruland-Thorne, *Gold, Greed and Glory,* 114.

[10] Ibid.

inscribe upon Prescott's cultural landscape its emerging identity as a pioneering frontier town.

In addressing his "fellow citizens"[11], McCormick spoke of his aspirations for the role the White settler/citizen would assume within the region. In doing so, he rhetorically engaged boundaries of socio-political and cultural delineation wherein meaning was ascribed to the tropes of settler and Native. Within his address, an implied rhetorical confrontation between settler and Native reflected a conceptual dichotomization of the American Indian as passive and meek, or contentious and hostile. The advancement of White settlement was portrayed as historically predestined and necessary. Arizona, McCormick suggested, would become the stage upon which this historical inevitability was destined to unfold:

> Arizona, youngest of the territories, organized under manifold disadvantages and depreciated by many, is to be the theatre of marked and surprising progress. The red man disposed to accept civilization…as an inevitable consequence of the age, will be spared to witness…but where determined…to oppose it by rude force, he will be swept away as a straw.[12]

In elaborating upon the means by which such progress would manifest, McCormick stated:

> We have the precious metals in unbounded profusion. By their unearthing we may keep the national treasury from depletion…dispel the national debt…We may afford the Republic a support even more valuable. By an elevated and unflinching patriotism, by an exalted integrity, by a cordial encouragement of the institutions of education, of law, and of religion, we may here erect a state whose influence for good shall be wide and

---

[11]McCormick, "Independence and Progress", 3.

[12] Ibid., 7.

enduring.[13]

Implicit within McCormick's oration was an envisioning of the White Arizonan as an active participant in preserving and elevating American social and political institutions. Within McCormick's narrative, the male Anglo-American settler in Arizona was portrayed as a pioneer-visionary, with an ability to foresee the invaluable asset the territory promised to afford the entire nation. While others may have held the territory and region in "depreciation"[14], the faith in the progression of settlement and prosperity in Arizona, McCormick related, could be attributed to the "American of the far west…For, to his sight, it is "but a natural advance, a proper progression".[15] Reflecting on the place of the Arizona settler in relation to the landscape, McCormick noted that:

> Although the smile of woman may not cheer our daily toil and sweeten our mountain homes, we have in the dainty works of nature much to soften and profitably engage the mind…In passing through the miners' cabins, I have been pleased to see the presence of beautiful flowers culled and arranged with taste. Our hills and valleys abound in them and nothing is more tenderly suggestive of the cultivated homes we left behind.[16]

An implicit conceptualization of nature as feminine allowed for a masculinization of space wherein the White settler assumed the privilege to not only claim and extract from the environment, but to also mark and create within it a symbolic representation of a metaphorical domesticated haven for American civilization, custom and tradition.

---

[13] Ibid., 9.

[14] Ibid., 7.

[15] Ibid., 6.

[16] Ibid., 10.

In addition to its lucrative natural resources, Arizona's potential is further identified within the trope of the settler, through whose efforts American civilization is preserved and extended into a new frontier. In asserting his faith in the fruition of this enterprise, McCormick expressed his confidence in the "American will-restless and resolute" that declared "nothing is impossible".[17] It was within this new place, that the Anglo-American settler, McCormick stated, would create, through the toil and "free labor"[18], a new world predicated upon national foundations. In highlighting what he perceived to be the exceptional perspicuity of the white, western pioneer in relation to the short-sighted neglect of the Spanish and the Aztecs, McCormick referenced William Hinckley Prescott's "The Conquest of Mexico", stating that:

> When Hernando Cortez and his little band sought the great Aztec monarch, Montezuma, and found him in the height of his grandeur, they were not bold enough…to look for the early decay of that glory, and the ultimate extinction of the race whose attainments were their wonder. They did not realize…the absence of those values and mental qualities which alone insure national as well as individual life: those elements of character which have given the Anglo-Saxon his long and controlling prominence.[19]

McCormick also criticized what he referred to as "the folly of founding institutions other than those which shall improve and strengthen with the lapse of ages; which based upon sound principles, correct morals, and liberal intelligence shall rightly appropriate the wealth of these everlasting hills." [20]

In his address, McCormick called upon the Arizonan to uphold and support the union

---

[17] Ibid., 6.

[18] Ibid., 18.

[19] Ibid., 12.

[20] Ibid.

in the midst of the Civil War, and, as a free soil territory, to value free labor and individual initiative. He envisioned the White American settler as an intrepid pioneer and visionary citizen vested with the task of creating a new world wherein the values and traditions of the nation-state could be rooted within new ground, and yield in perpetuity. Within this paradigm, McCormick drew upon a faith in progress as the driving force behind the historical trajectory. Further implied was a definition of progress as measured by the advancement of American exceptionalism and the nation's "Manifest Destiny" to colonize and expand. Casting a shadow over this confidence, however, was a specter of cultural and social decline, as indicated by McCormick's reference to William Hinckley's depiction of the "decay" of Aztec "grandeur". McCormick's portrayal of the resolute, free and independent White settler, was positively defined against that of the Native American, who was thus rendered "deficient" for lack of those traits ascribed to the Anglo-settler. Where the Anglo-American was portrayed as a visionary, foreseeing the value in the ostensibly barren landscape in which he traversed, the Indian was culturally blind-unable to assess and salvage what remained of his own declining social institutions.

In their envisioning of the relationship between the Anglo-American and the assessment of the organic and evolutionary processes of social development, McCormick and William Hinckley Prescott drew upon a tradition that had occupied the thoughts and influenced the works of early American statesmen, particularly Thomas Jefferson, up to, and during the Federalist Era (1789-1801)[21] following American independence. This paradigm of the American pastorale conceived of the political state as an organic entity, the vitality and virtue of which could be found in the earliest stages of development. The historical processes that would eventually transform the agrarian world of the self-sufficient yeoman into a state of urban maturation and

[21] Drew R. McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 167.

eventual decline, were perceived to be ineluctable in consequence, and yet not impervious to delay afforded through the acquisition of land and resources that might maintain these agrarian conditions for a time. To this extent, time and space became inextricably connected, their connection deemed crucial to the careful socio-political and economic development of the nascent United States. The acquisition of land and the subsequent creation of "available" space, became a means by which the effects of time may be temporarily eluded, and by which the United States could remain, if only for awhile, the model antithesis of the apex of development and imminent decline-the manifestation of which were presumably reflected within the ailing political and social institutions found within the courts and cities of Western Europe. It was within these countries, from which the United States wished to extricate itself, that the zenith of social development was perceived to lend itself to political corruption and cultural decay. Drew R. McCoy asserts that Jefferson and similarly minded contemporaries conceived of an inextricable connection between patterns of social development and the vitality and sustainment of the republic.[22] The topic of the vitality of American democracy and the institutions and conditions upon which that vitality was contingent, would be further developed almost thirty years from the date in which Secretary McCormick gave his oration, in historian Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis in 1893. It would continue to be a theme that shaped public discourse up to, and at the time of the founding of the Smoki organization.

The Smoki organization emerged within a context wherein efforts to define and assert what it meant to be an American in Arizona, coincided with a broader quest to identify an organic, transcendent American character, or "ethos". Intellectual and popular interests, in the wake of World War I, tended to focus this endeavor on the American "region"- a construction

---

[22] Ibid., 65.

that embodied a conceptualization of geographical and cultural entities bound by the sustainment of tradition and unique cultural and social patterns. As such, the region represented a perceived bastion and containment of authentic American expression, reflecting a freedom from an inheritance of European cultural antecedents, and impermeable to the social tensions and divisions reflected in the urban milieu. In establishing a link between the sustainability of American political institutions and social patterns, some social critics and intellectuals, including American writer Mary Austin, argued that the success of American democracy was contingent upon an organic coherence, wherein all members shared a commonality of meaning, purpose and spirit.[23] Correlating with this paradigm was the conceptualization of the Native American as a symbolic figure signifying "regional authority and authenticity".[24] Prolific in works concerning Native American cultures and the U.S. Southwest, Austin and similarly minded contemporaries looked to the aesthetic elements of Native American cultures as a means of forming an "integration of utility, beauty, and…thought".[25] "Dance drama", she argued, was the most effective means of bringing about the coalescence of individual minds."[26] The burgeoning interest in shaping a *gestalt* or organic cohesion through a shared and encompassing experience such as Austin's "dance drama", was an integral component to an emergent contemporary cultural interest in identifying an essential American character.

Following the First World War, amid contemporary concerns regarding the pace of change and the nature of modernity, the effort to define and identify that which was essentially

---

[23] Dorman, *Revolt of the Provinces,* 66.

[24] Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest,* 187.

[25] Dorman, *Revolt of the Provinces*, 66.

[26]Ibid.

“American” found particular relevance in relation to a construction of a Native “mystique”. The Native “mystique”, as it was conceptualized, was perceived as constituting a unique and indigenous knowledge and application of deterministic and transcendent truths affecting social cohesion and cultural stability. The organic cohesion that Native societies presumably possessed was perceived as being inextricably linked to the natural environment. Correlating with the notion that the American region constituted an organic construct that bound tradition, cohesion and stability within distinct cultural and social patterns, the notion of a “Native mystique” facilitated a conflation of cultural identity and the physical environment. This conflation allowed for a Euro-American conceptualization of indigenous cultural property as part and parcel of the landscape-to be marked, appropriated and claimed.

The tendency of the Smoki to engage in the re-signification of indigenous historical identity as “regional” heritage, situated within a construction of the state of Arizona, effectively subsumed tribal and indigenous identity within that of the American nation-state, further dispossessing sovereign groups of peoples of their historical and cultural identity. Appropriated rituals, dress, and ceremonial elements were de-contextualized, altered, and presented as an authentic “Smoki” expression of regional heritage. Once perpetuated as “Smoki” tradition, it became more facile for the Smoki to justify their actions and to defer and diminish the significance of protest from those dispossessed. In claiming a space wherein they could assume to appropriate, alter and display selected ceremonial elements of regional indigenous cultures, the Smoki displaced those sovereign groups of people they purported to represent. The imposition of state and regional identity on indigenous cultures and cultural property also functioned as a means of excluding other Anglo-Americans. Defined by Barbara Kirshenblatt-

Gimblett as a "mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past[27], heritage, David Lowenthal notes, is diminished by dissemination, while history is enlarged by the same means.[28] While history is presented to a broad audience heritage "passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose"[29]

Central to their common purpose and collective Smoki identity, was the "Smoki Snake Dance", an altered version of the sacred Snake Dance of the Hopi. It was the performance of this dance that initiated the formation of the Smoki, and it would remain a focal point within a frame of reference that defined the collective identity of the organization throughout its existence.
As Leah Dilworth states, the Hopi Snake Dance-a focus of ethnographic and touristic interest emergent within the last few decades of the nineteenth century- had became emblematic of cultural difference, as well as illustrative of a broader concern of how to incorporate that difference.[30] What the Smoki built around and in conjunction to the "Smoki Snake Dance" further reinforced and extended signifiers of social and cultural difference, allowing the group to construct a distinct and privileged place for their organization that set them apart from mainstream Anglo-American culture as a unique regional anomaly. At the same time, the performers' identities as Anglo-Americans were ardently maintained through the accentuation affected by highly exaggerated makeup and stereotypical indigenous dress. In embodying these differences, the Smoki were actively navigating between the boundaries that defined the White

---

[27] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ed. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 7.

[28] David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 128.

[29] Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 62.

[30] Ibid.,64.

settler from the Indian, the region and state within the nation, and the marginal from the integrated and subsumed.

These delineations were among those that defined and shaped the contours of public discourse in the wake of the First World War, up to the date marking the formation of the Smoki. Many of the concerns regarding the state of American culture at the turn of the twentieth century would again be highlighted with new significance within the historical context of Post World War I. The social divisions and class tensions that had been revealed during times of unprecedented immigration and urbanization at the turn of the twentieth century, had engendered fear centered on a perceived inevitable decline of social order and moral codes. [31] Cities had become conceptual bastions of cultural tension and sensationalism. Faith in the nation's capacity to absorb difference and assimilate the 'other' was further diminished as Nativism and fear of dissent and subversion became heightened during, and following the First World War. Collective certainty in the sustainment of American democratic institutions was diminished as those conditions on which the exceptionalism of American democracy was perceived to be contingent, seemed to be disappearing. At the same time, the efforts of the U.S. government to degrade and subjugate American Indians were seen to have reached profound conclusion with the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890.[32] Three years later, Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis would serve to further confirm that those processes and institutions that defined and shaped American tradition and character may be approaching inevitable demise along with the frontier. The frontier, and what it signified in relation to Native-settler relations, was integral to Anglo-American identity.

---

[31] Patricia Bradley, *Making American Culture: A Social History, 1900-1920* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 6.

[32] Lynn Dumenil, *The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920's* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1995), 5.

Attempts to define, reaffirm and implement notions of what constituted American culture and citizenship prior to and following the First World War found greatest expression within the reservation system. Richard Clemmer refers to the period between 1911 and 1924 as an "era of repression", in which the reservation context was used by missionaries, reformers, and bureaucrats as a means of altering Native social structure.[33] Reforms during the Progressive Era had expanded the role of the government in the economy, and through the establishment of regulatory boards and commissions, created the space and impetus for more groups to influence public policy through lobbying. Social reformers who focused their sights on addressing the perceived federal mismanagement of Indian affairs, formed loose coalitions of activists who conceived of their efforts as enacted on behalf of Native Americans and Native interests. In 1913, after having observed the sacred Hopi Snake Dance, Teddy Roosevelt, entreated upon by the pro-assimilationist reformist Indian Rights Association, declared the Snake Dance to be "barbaric" and in direct opposition to conditions favorable to assimilation.[34] While groups including the Indian Rights Association were proponents of assimilation, other reform groups lauded cultural pluralism and integration over acculturation. One such proponent was John Collier, future commissioner of Indian Affairs under the administration of Franklin Roosevelt, (1933-1945). In 1923, Collier, in response to legislation lobbied by the Indian Rights Association formed the American Indian Defense Association.[35] The early efforts of Collier and other counter-reformers[36] during the 1920's helped shape a paradigm of a White man's burden of

---

[33] Richard O. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky: The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), 129.

[34] Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 132.

[35] Ibid.

[36] William Y. Adams, *Indian Policies in the Americas: From Columbus to Collier and Beyond.* (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2014), 213.

protecting the Indian from federal interference of indigenous community life and religious expression. This sensibility became entwined with a salvage allegory that comprised the canon of ethnographical and anthropological works on Native cultures in Arizona and New Mexico during the late nineteenth, and into the twentieth century.

The struggle for White socio-political hegemony over the representation of Native interests and cultures had been manifest in earlier efforts to define geo-political boundaries for the purpose of excluding competing White interests in Native affairs. In 1881, JH Fleming, the appointed agent over the Hopi, petitioned the U.S. government to establish a Hopi reservation. Fleming hoped to acquire greater geographic jurisdiction over which he would have the authority to "arrest and punish mischief-makers"[37]among such "unprincipled whites" and former Indian agents who were "stirring up Hopis against the government and the idea of sending their children to boarding school".[38] Fleming's efforts attained fruition in 1882, at which time title was vested to the Hopi in the lands they occupied, under U.S. protection. Fleming was permitted legal authority to evict those whose presence he perceived to be a potential hindrance to the implementation of government policy. The authority to shape the parameters-geographically and conceptually-of White involvement and interest in Indian affairs, is illustrative of a broader struggle of hegemony enacted among and between Anglo-Americans over the right and capacity to define and shape the contours of Native-settler relations as an inherently contested space and conceptual frontier.

As the government implemented repressive policies of assimilation, including boarding

---

[37] Ibid.

[38]Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 90.

school mandates for Native children and the repression of religious rites and ceremonials, ethnographers and railroad promoters were focusing their interests on that which the government sought to eradicate. Ethnographic and anthropologic interest in the Hopi as "living ruins" affected the construction of an early paradigm of salvage. Ethnographic reports, beginning with John Wesley Powell's visit to Hopi in 1870, were instrumental in shaping discourse around White-Native relationships within a context in which cultural property was becoming a source of contention. While policies such as the Religious Crimes Code forbid Native Americans from engaging in traditional religious expression, White interest in ceremonials such as the Hopi Snake Dance, spurred the propagation and commoditization of photographic images and other representations of Native religious ceremony. While ethnographers would attempt to study and "salvage" Native traditions, tourist promoters sought to commoditize and promote them to an increasingly interested White American public. The privilege, therefore, socially conferred upon the Anglo-American to evaluate, select, and then salvage, contain and commoditize particular elements of indigenous cultures, existed alongside efforts to dispossess Native Americans of their own collective identity and cultural property. It was within this context that drew upon a long colonial tradition of conquest, containment, and dispossession that the Smoki People of Arizona emerged.

From their origins as a group of performers in mimicry of the sacred Hopi Snake Dance to a semi-secretive fraternal and civic organization, the Smoki eventually became so intricately woven into the social fabric of Prescott, Arizona, that one would become almost inconceivable apart from the other. Thus, sustainment of social cohesion within the community was conceptually linked to the efficacy and continuance of the Smoki organization. While Hopi protest and Anglo and Native criticism of Smoki activities had been present since the

organization's inception, concerted efforts to voice opposition steadily gained greater momentum, increasing in intensity and frequency up to the last production of the Smoki *ceremonials*. The process of formal dissolution of the organization was complete by 2002, though the last Smoki *ceremonials* were presented on August 11, 1990. Following the Smoki Ceremonials of 1990, Smoki members, concerned that the quality of dance precision and execution had declined, petitioned the acting *chief* at the time to discontinue future productions. Formed as a non-profit the following year[39], the Smoki Museum (completed in 1935) would eventually receive all financial assets formerly retained by the Smoki organization. Today, the museum is regarded by former Smoki members as the legacy of their years of commitment to the organization-a permanent and tangible marker of their group's involvement in the community.

My own interest and involvement with the Smoki began in 2010. As a student in Prescott College's Master's of Arts Limited Residency Program, I attended an on-campus colloquium each semester. During my stay in Prescott that spring, I decided to visit the museum so prevalently advertised throughout town by large signs resembling Hopi *Katsinam*, or spirit beings. Initially, I was unaware as to the significance of the museum's name; upon learning that the Smoki organization had been comprised of Anglo-Americans who, over a course of seventy years, had annually produced performances in mimicry of Native American ceremonials, I was fascinated. While the museum collections themselves reflected the fruition of the latter part of the Smoki mission to "perpetuate and preserve", the means by which the Smoki attempted to "perpetuate" were partially elucidated within a continuously running copy of "Borrowed Dances"-a short documentary concerning the controversial nature of the organization's involvement in cultural representation. In recognizing the complexity of the issues surrounding

---

[39] Bruce Fee and Danny Freeman, *The Smoki People, 1921-1991*, 3rd ed. (Prescott, AZ: Smoki Museum Press, 2005), 28.

the organization and its historical place in the community, I became interested in gaining a better understanding of the contexts in which they emerged and developed.

I chose to fulfill my practicum requirement at the Smoki Museum in Fall, 2010. With previous archival experience, I assumed the task of arranging, describing, and cataloguing the organization's archival records and manuscripts. Early in the process, it became evident that there had been various attempts throughout the years to collect and preserve documents relating to the image and public perception of the organization. External and internal correspondence, along with newspaper clippings and advertisements seemed to have frequently been acquired and maintained separately from other documents. During my time in the archives, I discovered that speaking informally with former Smoki members helped me attain insight into how they structured and perceived their organization's history. In an effort to attain a better understanding of this, I initiated a small oral history project. Within the course of the first week, I became aware of recent and considerable efforts to foster a sense of common purpose and inclusion between members of the former Smoki organization and the Smoki Museum. My hope was to enhance my own understanding of the organization, while encouraging members' interest in contributing to the archival collections. A small oral history project, I had hoped, might support the museum's efforts, as well as provide me with a greater understanding of the context and framework within which materials had been collected over the years.

What became apparent as I began to conduct the interviews was a concurrence in assertion that at some point, very early in the organization's history, a shift in intent had transformed a group of playful performers into a serious semi-secretive fraternal society. One

narrator, recounting the early formation of the Smoki around a burlesque performance of the Hopi Snake Dance, declared, "Yes, it started that way! Then people [the Smoki] got serious!" [40] It was the context in which this transformation took place, however, that seemed to be more shrouded in uncertainty. Some participants expressed a desire to better understand the origins of the group's traditions. One narrator conveyed regret towards what he perceived as a lost opportunity to have learned more about the organization's traditions and practices from charter member Gail Gardner: "I had quite a bit of contact with Gail Gardner, and yet it has come to my mind that there are questions now that I *wished* I had asked him…"[41]

The curiosity expressed in the origins of Smokis' practices inspired my own interest in the early history of the organization. Furthermore, as I became more involved in working with the documents and oral histories, I noticed the prevalence of what Eviatar Zerubavel refers to as "periodization", defined as a socio-mnemonic process that relies upon the use of 'watershed' events to delineate conceptualized periods in time.[42] The timelines that emerged from the oral histories reflected a conceptualization of specific events as particularly significant points of reference. Sometimes, these events were linked to broader themes that further facilitated and emphasized the delineation of conceptualized periods. For instance, the organization's proffer of membership to President Calvin Coolidge in 1924 was referenced as a watershed event indicative of a concerted effort of the organization to publicly portray themselves as a defined and purposeful collective. One narrator reflected on the event within a conceptualized timeline in

[40] Interview with Smoki member, Nov. 29, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 83.

which the Smoki organization "helped the rodeo, and then, it created its own entity because it was so popular. And then I think they went back--to the President"[43] The trip to Philadelphia to represent the Arizona chapter of the American Legion in October, 1926, marked the delineation of an awareness of the significance of place and context. It would also mark the beginning of a period in which the Smoki became, through conscious effort, increasingly visible to an audience beyond Prescott. The stock market crash of 1929, and the ensuing Great Depression, along with an emerging increase in the participation of women, served as a markers of greater community inclusion. One narrator made an unexpected and indirect association between the larger incorporation of the family unit with a shift in the conceptualization of the Smoki *ceremonial* from a spiritual, semi-religious experience to the perception of the performances as a "show":

> Prescott, even as isolated as it was, when the Depression hit… it was reflected in this community. So you're looking for, uh, cheap entertainment-- I mean for the family's activity. In fact I've always taken issue what annoys me is when they refer to it as a…show! And I identify shows as being like freak shows or dancing people, … it's a ceremonial, and it is a ceremonial, and it's a religious ceremonial.[44]

The same narrator made a distinction between the "old" Smoki tradition of perpetuating dances, and the preservation of artifacts in the Museum as a significant transitioning event: "What…the old Smoki maintained…[were] the ceremonial practices. When the museum was first constructed… it's [it was] sort of like a transition."[45]

[43] Interview with Smoki member, Dec. 3, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[44] Interview with Smoki member, Nov. 29, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[45] Ibid.

Another oral history participant and Prescott native who remembered growing up with an early awareness of the Smoki organization, spoke of watching from his home as the nearby Smoki Museum was constructed during the years of 1931 to 1935. He recalled the organization during this time period as being particularly family and community-oriented, and identified this focus as a necessary means of survival during the Great Depression:

> It was a family organization. If you needed… a doctor, well, we had physicians in Smoki. You needed a repair on your house…you'd call a…Smoki. We had people from every walk of life that you can think of…and they took care of each other. If somebody was sick and needed help, there was somebody from Smoki who would be right there and help you out…[because] in the '30's and 40's…things were pretty tough in Prescott…[46]

Underlying many participants' conceptualizations of the Smoki timeline was a pre-supposition of decline and deterioration, providing a structural plotline and framework for members' recollections of events. A correlation between a perceived decline in the social cohesion of Prescott and the demise of the Smoki organization was often expressed within the Smoki narratives. One participant, when commenting on the demise of the organization, stated:

> When I came to Prescott, Prescott was a community of about eight-thousand people. It was a small community in the sense that you basically knew everybody. Most of the people I knew in the community were Smoki. But of course, it [Prescott] got diluted with population. Smoki, at the end, was kind of like the demise of the minstrel show. The changing mores no longer appreciated that type of presentation. And frankly, the

---

[46] Interview with Smoki member Nov. 10, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

ceremonials got worse. I mean, we weren't putting on the show that we should have been putting on, and that deteriorated, and we said, 'Okay, king's X'[47]

Another narrator, in recalling the organization's decline, noted that he and others had realized "The time was come. We didn't have any control at the time."[48] Throughout the existence of the organization, the Smoki had established and maintained a place within the community as interpreters and trustees of cultural heritage and tradition. Their control over representation and display was crucial to maintaining that place within the community. This was the social and cultural capital to which the Smoki lay claim; once these constructions and absolutes became increasingly challenged and pervious to criticism, the commodity that the Smoki purportedly possessed became considerably less valuable.

In relation to the organization's demise, the protests led by Native Americans were downplayed, almost to the point of effacement. One narrator maintained the perception of the Smoki as intermediaries up to the very end, by stating that at the time of the last performance in 1990, "The young men-Indians-were beginning to pick up their own history of doing their own dances, so I think that helped tremendously that we bridged the gap, I guess."[49] Another participant attributed the decline of Smoki to the natural process of the maturation of the members, observing that:

Some of the tribes actually lost some of their history and background. We danced until 1990, and it wasn't because everybody was bitching and complaining about us. It was

[47] Interview with Smoki member, Dec. 1, 2010, Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[48] Interview with Smoki member Jan. 22, 2011. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[49] Interview with Smoki member, Nov. 21, 2010, Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

because of the age of the dancers. The last show that was put on, the average age of the dancers was fifty-five…and we were not putting on a quality show.[50]

One Smoki member attributed the decline to an increase in non civic organizations: “I think that’s what killed it more than anything. It wasn’t the Indians that stopped it…we couldn’t get people to join.”[51]

The effacement or avoidance of recognizing the participation of Native Americans in the protests is arguably indicative of a tendency to conceive of cultural representation, display, and exhibition as a primarily White space. However, as Justin Richland points out, Hopi agency was acting within and upon the limits established by the Smoki. Richland suggests that the final Smoki Ceremonials of 1990 were an integral point upon which initiative to repatriate cultural property and representation was enacted.[52] The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office or HCPO was established in 1990, as a part of the Hopi Tribal Government. It directed, and continues to place limits, upon the representation of Hopi culture. Working with researchers, the U.S. government, and private institutions, the HCPO’s constitutes an effort to establish what Richland refers to as a “third space of sovereignty”, or a site of indigenous politics situated against a landscape of U.S settler politics. As such, it operates reflexively within, and on, the boundaries of Hopi sovereignty and the American political system.[53] Prior to 1990, however, and prior to the Smokis’ founding, the Hopi had historically been actively engaged in establishing coalitions based upon mutual interests with other indigenous nations as well as Anglo-Americans. These

---

[50] Interview with Smoki member, Nov. 10, 2010, Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[51] Interview with Smoki member Nov. 20, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[52] Justin Richland, “Hopi Tradition as Jurisdiction,” *Law and Social Inquiry* 36, no. 1 (2011): 202.

[53] Ibid., 210.

contours of Hopi sovereignty were constantly shaped by exigencies that necessitated alliances and cooperation with Anglo- American reformers and politicians, including, initially, John Collier. Collier, prior to becoming commissioner of Indian Affairs, had played an active role in reversing legislation that threatened the dispossession and tribal sovereignty of the Hopi. The capacity of the Hopi to maintain tradition by constantly reshaping the contours of sovereignty and history, was a factor overlooked within a Euro-American-centric framework that conceived of Native American cultures as static and primitive, and, therefore, voiceless and subject to inevitable effacement by the forces of modernity.

It was within this framework that conceived of indigenous cultures as voiceless victims of history that the Smoki were able to continue their practices even in the face of contention and protest. Another mechanism that would facilitate this was the emergence of a conceptualization of a unique "Smoki tradition", the construction of which deflected the issue of appropriation, and focused instead on the Smoki as a group with a tradition in their own right. As they became further integrated within the community, this construction of a unique Smoki "tradition" allowed for the Smoki to emerge from a "tribe", to the "Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona"-a solitary distinction that would emerge as the prevalent description of the group within the late nineteen-twenties into the present. As protests and challenge became more strident, and as the value of the organization was diminished, the decision to discontinue the performances that were such an integral to Smoki identity, may have, to some extent, been indicative of an increased realization that those whose traditions and culture the Smoki purported to represent and voice, were not, in actuality, silent after all.

Initially bound together by “a wild idea” that “just mushroomed”[54], the Smoki dancers went on to, as one narrator stated, form “their own entity”[55] **.** In creating their own society, the Smoki relied upon disguise, partial anonymity, and esoteric symbols and discourse as inclusion markers. Among these symbols was an altered representation of the Hopi Sun-Shield that became the most prominently used symbol of the Smoki. Sharlot Hall would refer to the Sun-Shield as the “Smoki symbol…a very old symbol among the Indian peoples of Arizona…”[56] and would again reference it within “When the Smoki Dance”, metaphorically referring to the Smoki as “guardian stars”, perpetuating a ritual before the Sun-God, so that “life into new life stirs[57]”-the divine favor and promise of restoral, renewal, fulfillment and abundance. The appropriation of the Sun Shield was consistent with how the Smoki would consistently utilize the seemingly old and/or esoteric in an effort to breathe “life into new life”[58], or create something new and distinct that claimed recourse to the past. The name, “Smoki”, had been chosen for its resemblance in pronunciation to the word *Moqui*-a term used within nineteenth century ethnographic works to refer to the Hopi.

Through the very act of assuming the outward identity of an ethnocentric image of an American Indian, the Smoki were essentially drawing upon a very well-established precedent that claimed recourse to a past replete with what Philip Deloria refers to as “historical

---

[54] Interview with Smoki member, Nov. 21, 2010, Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[55] Interview with Smoki member, Dec. 3, 2010, Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona

[56] Sharlot Hall, *Cactus and Pine: Songs of the Southwest* 1924 (Prescott, AZ: Sharlot Hall Museum, 2006), 2.

[57] Sharlot Hall, “When the Smokis Dance” from *The Story of the Smoki People* (Prescott, AZ: Prescott Courier Inc., 1922), 2.

[58] Ibid.

paradigmatic moments" of "playing Indian".[59] The first, he asserts, correlated with the American Revolution, in which the assumption of an Indian identity through dress and pageantry was utilized as a means of creating a national identity. [60] The second paradigmatic moment, he argues, was centered on the assumed historical processes of modernity, in which the Anglo conceptualization of the Indian as a regional figure was used as a means of "encountering the authentic amid the anxiety of urban industrial and postindustrial life. [61] Deloria further states that prior to and during the American Revolution, disguising oneself as an Indian "was used as a form of protest and to act out political and economic discontent"[62]. He traces this precedent to the European traditions of Carnival and Misrule, festivities, during which displays of dress and disguise, reflected an engagement with an inversion of "social distinctions and the questioning of authority"[63]. The European tradition of Carnival, in particular, had originated as a festive season during the Middle Ages; activities and expressions during this time emphasized, among other themes, abundance, humor, disguise, and regeneration[64] Fraternities, Deloria notes, were often the sponsors of Carnival festivities. Because of its emphasis on regeneration and inversion of social distinction, Carnival presented a two-sided cultural approach-the possibility of an anarchic order, as well as an affirmation of social convention. [65]

As will be addressed with greater attention in the following chapter, the Smoki initially

---

[59] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale Historical Publications, 1998), 7.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., 12

[63] Ibid., 14

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

drew upon constructions of the esoteric in an attempt to define their newly established fraternal society as a separate entity apart from the mainstream. They established what Carol Patricia Leone refers to as a "Smoki mystique", an "array of Smoki traditions and myths"[66] that were heavily codified markers of inclusion-fully intelligible among members. Accentuated physical disguise also highlighted an exercise in role play and inversion, while also maintaining-through that very accentuation-conventional social and cultural boundaries. As they became well-established, the Smoki became increasingly invested in maintaining tradition and the status quo. Unifying the entire Smoki expression, throughout their years as an organization, was an effort to utilize the image of the Indian as a figure of authentic regional expression. Both a stabilizing and elusive figure, the Smoki Indian embodied the dilemma of integration of the individual, as well as the 'other', into American culture and society.

During the oral history interviews, participants discussed the mechanisms by which the Smoki organization facilitated such cohesion. One narrator stated that:

> Smoki made Prescott work, because there were all professions, and different people socially involved and when you worked in Smoki…whatever you were doing, the people you were working with turned out to be your friends. It made it so much easier to handle affairs. So Smoki was probably the most important organization in Prescott…It had a solidifying effect on Prescott…[67]

The narrator's assertion that Smoki was integral to the preservation of social cohesion within the community reflects an acknowledgement of the potential problems that internal social borders and differences may have presented, but which were properly and seamlessly contained and

---

[66] Carol Patricia Leone, "When the Dancing Stopped: The Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona." (Thesis, M.A., Arizona State University, 1995), 47.

[67] Interview with Smoki member, Jan. 21, 2011, Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

utilized within the organization. A consistently well-articulated mission of preservation and perpetuation predicated upon a moral imperative to serve the community in such a capacity as guardians of regional heritage and indigenous cultural representation was likely another effective mechanism by which the group achieved absolute dedication from members. However, as Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine have noted, in the inherently contentious nature of representation, someone or something is empowered at the expense of something else.[68] Amid ostensible efforts to represent and give a voice to indigenous traditions, the expressions of existing and sovereign groups of people went unheard**.**

A conceptualization of the regional construct of the region of the Southwest as such a space of cultural contention as it related to the themes of belonging, dispossession, and the right of the settler to claim that of the dispossessed, was expressed in one narrator's observation of a personal desire to attain a sense of place-based belonging through capacity of acting in "trust" of cultural property and regional heritage. In stating why he felt the Smoki had chosen to "preserve and perpetuate" elements of Native American ceremonials, the participant explained:

> I saw it more as honoring a people, whom we had a great deal of admiration for. And, in our little way, attempting to be part of that culture of the Southwest. You know, some of us were born and raised in Arizona…There were some archaeological digs going around Yavapai county. And they were finding, you know, the artifacts that are over there and there was no place to put them, and the Smoki became the custodians and the trustees of that heritage.[69]

[68] Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, "Multiculturalism and Museums,".in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display,* ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 1991), 7.

[69] Interview with Smoki member, Dec. 1, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona

The desire to, as the narrator stated, "be a part of that culture of the Southwest" was arguably a considerable driving force of Smoki intent. As D.H. Lawrence has asserted, "no place exerts its full influence upon a newcomer until the old inhabitant is dead or absorbed."[70] When asked specifically to comment on why he felt the Smoki particularly wanted to preserve aspects of Native American cultures, one narrator stated that it was a matter of place: "We're here right in the pit of it. I mean, this is Indian country. And we're here. We're the newcomers. It's a matter of geography to me…" [71]

In expressing her expectations for the future of the nascent Smoki organization, Sharlot Hall had defined the "Smoki object [objective]" as instilling a "love of the homeland by animating its points of interest with a humanizing spirit, to mark and preserve…"[72] The process of marking and preserving the points of interest of the homeland reflects an effort to establish what Dylan Rodriguez refers to as a sort of fabricated White indigeneity-a claim derived from a construction of a common and shared heritage tied to the conceptualization of the land as home.[73] Throughout the history of their organization, the Smoki attempted to construct, through ethnographic detachment, appropriation, and performance, a sense of place and stabilized indigeneity by nature of an assumed identity predicated upon an integration and absorption of mystique and tradition. In examining the nature and history of Western mainstream and scientific interest in Native American ceremony and ritual, Lomayumtewa Ishii states that "The mystique

---

[70] Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale Historical Publications, 1998), 4.

[71] Interview with Smoki member, Nov. 29, 2010.Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection,Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[72] "Life Work of the Smoki Laid Out," *Prescott Journal Miner*, July 29, 1922, Newspaper Clipping, Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[73] Dylan Rodriguez, "Goldwater's Left Hand: Post-Raciality and the Roots of the Post-Racial Racist State," *Cultural Dynamics* 26, no. 1 (2014): 40.

of secrecy lay in its presumed lack of change through generations, for in its insight and instruction lay its power to regulate society and the source of Indian sacredness."[74] The desire to identify and achieve such a culturally stabilizing force provided considerable impetus and momentum for what would come to constitute the Smoki expression over generations.

It was an uneasy and early collective cognizance of the White settler's place within "Indian country"[75] that helped shape discourse at the time of Arizona's admittance as a state within the union. When the Smoki were forming, Arizona was approaching only its second decade of statehood. Sharlot Hall, among other prominent figures, had been a staunch and active proponent of Arizona's incorporation into the union as a state. In examining the political debate at the time prior to Arizona's admittance into the union, Erik Meeks asserts that "Euro-Americans in Arizona struggled to project an image of themselves as progressive, educated, and fully American"[76] Senator Albert Breveridge, who had introduced legislation that would join New Mexico and Arizona in statehood, compared the region to "the negro section of the south".[77] Those who supported joint statehood between Arizona and New Mexico argued that Arizona's population was comprised of Mexicans and Native Americans in majority, precluding it from attaining separate statehood. Proponents of separate statehood, then, relied upon the argument that, in fact, Arizona had a sizeable population of Anglo settlers from the eastern states, and if admitted separately, the representation of the Native and Mexican demographic would be diminished, its influence negligible. Congressional delegate Mark Smith, addressed his

---

[74] Lomayumtewa C. Ishii, "Western Science Comes to the Hopis: Deconstructing the Origins of an Imperialist Canon," *Wicazo Sa Review* 25 no. 2 (2010): 78.

[75] Interview with Smoki member, Nov. 29, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[76] Eric V. Meeks, *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans and Anglos in Arizona* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007), 10.

[77] Ibid., 39.

colleagues in 1902, with the argument that the majority of Arizona territory's population:

> …came …from the different states of the union. They know the duties of citizenship as well as members of this house and they have attended to those duties with a modesty and propriety which I am justified in commending as an example for the emulation of eastern states.[78]

As Eric Meeks notes, then, efforts to attain statehood led to the development of a clearer conceptualization of the "ideal Arizona citizen in cultural, historical and racial terms", and became wrought into Arizona's identity as a state.[79] The attainment of statehood, then, led to a clearer demarcation of who had the power to shape the political environment and the politics of representation.

The chronological divisions that I have employed to structure this thesis reflect the periodization expressed first within the oral history narratives, and later reinforced by the research I conducted with archival record and non-record textual material. The dates that mark this periodization indicate the occurrence of turning points, or significant events. I chose these specific dates, 1921-1939, in an attempt to examine the origin and establishment of the organization within a time frame in which its reputation was still largely confined regionally. Integral to the Smoki identity were the performances or Smoki *ceremonials* which were staged annually on the second weekend of June. In 1939, this was changed to the first Saturday in August in an effort to accommodate summer tourism. By this time, tourists from around the country were attending the Smoki Ceremonials, and media sources from around the country were starting to take considerable notice of the organization. In the chapters that follow, then, I've

---

[78] Ibid., 38.

[79] Ibid., 37.

explored these turning points and how the themes associated with each were conveyed as integral to the Smoki identity and to the role they intended to assume within the community. In the chapters to follow, I've examined the ways in which particular themes were reflected in major turning points within the Smoki historical narrative.

In Chapter Two, I've delineated the period between 1921 through 1925 by focusing on the emergence of the Smoki organization and three events that defined and shaped their identity, beginning with the first performance of the Smoki Snake Dance at the Prescott "Way Out West" production on May, 26, 1921, followed by the gradual establishment of a fraternal organization with a stated mission and purpose, to the group's offer of membership to Calvin Coolidge in 1924, and again, in 1925. Chapter Three examines the diminishment of a distinct "Smoki mystique"[80] that correlated with a decline in anonymity, and the group's trip to represent the Arizona chapter of the American Legion at the Legion's sesquicentennial celebration in Philadelphia in October, 1926. The organization's integration into the community coincided with the emergence of a conflation of the organization's identity and mission and that of Prescott, Arizona. It was during this time that the community began to promote itself as a "dreamscape", portraying the town and the region as a fertile space for the American tourist to experience the extraordinary and authentic in an almost utopian dreamscape wherein the traditional, the folkloric, transcended the inherent contention of socio-historical processes. During this period, the Smoki organization would be integrated within this promotion of Prescott as intermediaries and guardians of what Prescott had to offer to the American tourist. The construction of the Smoki *pueblo*, or clubhouse, during this period, along with the development of plans for the construction of the Smoki Museum would serve as a tangible marker on the social landscape of

[80] Carol Patricia Leone, "When the Dancing Stopped: The Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona." (Thesis, M.A., Arizona State University, 1995), 47.

Prescott, Arizona. The "acknowledgement" of women in the organization as an auxiliary unit would begin the process of a slight shift from a fraternal organization to one with a greater focus on the community and generational continuity.

Chapter Four will focus on the emergence of a distinct "Smoki" tradition, and the extension of the Smokis' role in "perpetuation and preservation" to artifacts and museum display. It will attempt to show how the construction of the Smoki Museum correlated with a renewed interest among the Smoki in civic engagement, and how the extension of preservation of artifacts through the politics of museum representation further incorporated and engaged the Smoki within the mission of securing a "trusteeship" over all aspects of local heritage and representation.

Chapter Two

A Lonely and Outcast Tribe[81]

-The Genesis of the Smoki-

1921-1925

> When we first started Smoki in 1921, why all of us, or most of us, had just come out of the service from World War One. We were a hard-playin', hard-drinkin' bunch of men, and we had a lot of fun, and when we had this first Snake Dance, as you remember, it was to furnish money for the Frontier Days… and we had this one day show, and that was the origin of Smoki-- Gail Gardner, 1976.[82]

In 1976, Gail Gardner, the oldest living charter member of the Smoki organization, was the featured speaker at a Smoki gathering. Before an audience of fellow members, Gardner reminisced about the early days of an organization approaching its imminent demise. After half a century of dedicating their efforts to the preservation and perpetuation of "traditional" aspects of local indigenous cultures, the group found itself increasingly vulnerable to the inexorable changes shaping Prescott. The playful conviviality Gardner ascribed to the collective spirit of the charter members would manifest into an *esprit-de-corps* that characterized the earlier years of

[81] "Smoki Thrill Watchers By Dancing in Rude Garb with Hissing Snakes as Partners" *Prescott Daily Courier,* June 9, 1922. Newspaper Clipping, Alma Jo Stevens Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[82] Gail Gardner, "The Smoki Temperance Lecture," *Territorial Times: Prescott Arizona Corral of Westerners International* 4, no.1 (2010): 13.

the Smoki. In implying transference of military service to a newly established dedication to their community, Gardner conferred upon the Smoki a patriotic sensibility of service and voluntarism. It was within this assumed capacity as an organization predicated upon an ethos of civic engagement that the Smoki would conceive of their group's role within the town of Prescott, Arizona.

From an inauspicious inception as the "Smoki Snake Dancers"[83] on May 26, 1921, the cohort began the formal process of incorporation as an organization the following year. Within the next few years, the Smoki would evolve from a separate and distinct fraternal society to a civic organization with a clear vision of its desired role and place within the community of Prescott and the state of Arizona. Illustrative of an early recognition of this emergent collective identity is a statement made in reference to the organization in a *Prescott Daily Courier* article from June, 1924: "If the true aristocrats of a land are those who are the heirs to and preservers of its noblest traditions and customs (and this is, of course, in large measure the case), then the Smoki people are the real, dignified, distinctive Arizona."[84] The distinction of the Smoki as "heirs" effectively denied the right of cultural ownership to indigenous groups who did not necessarily collectively identify with a construct of region or state. Further implied is a presupposition of an inevitable effacement and supplanting of "traditional" indigenous cultures by the dominant culture through the advancement of White settlement. This expectation of an inexorable and historically predetermined displacement of Native cultures was attributed, to some extent, to what Secretary McCormick had identified sixty years earlier as an "inevitable

[83] "The Smoki Snake Dancers" would be the original moniker of this newly formed group, whose initial appearance in the Way Out West show on May, 26, 1921, would mark the beginning of their formation as a unique collective.

[84] "Smoki Rituals Charm Throng of Spectators," Source Unknown, June 14, 1924. Newspaper Clipping, Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

consequence of the age".[85] Within this paradigm, sovereign indigenous groups are rendered culturally impotent and irrelevant, occupying a limbo between a present in which they are defined by their ultimate effacement, and a future into which they have ultimately vanished. As displaced and dispossessed specters or "living ruins" their cultural legacy becomes a foundation upon which the Anglo is wont to claim and build upon.

When the "Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona" gave their first performance on May 26, 1921, they did so as a feature in the "Way Out West" show-the culmination of a local fundraising effort chaired by the "Way Out West Committee" of the Yavapai Chamber of Commerce. The purpose of the production was to raise the funds needed to maintain that year's community annual "Frontier Days" rodeo. The "Smoki[86] Snake Dance", as it was billed in the program, was a tongue-in-cheek burlesque on the sacred Hopi Snake Dance. As previously noted, for almost half a century, the Hopi Snake Dance had held particular interest for ethnographers and anthropologists who perceived it as a stark remnant of a primitive and vanishing culture. Since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Hopi and other Puebloan groups in the U.S Southwest had been at the center of considerable ethnographic focus. Prior to the proliferation of works this interest spurred, literature concerning the region had consisted primarily of surveying and military reconnaissance reports[87]. Scientific and popular interest in the Southwest had intensified at the turn of the century, as industrialization and urbanization engendered concerns regarding socio-political order and stability. As efforts to assimilate the American Indian dominated U.S. Indian policies, the image of the demoralized reservation Indian,

---

[85] McCormick. "Independence and Progress", 7.

[86] The word "Smoki" was initially used to mimic the pronunciation of the word "*Moqui*"-a term used in reference to the Hopi-and was pronounced as the word "Smoky".

[87] Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest,* 24.

degraded by the misguided and mismanaged federal bureaucracy, found relevancy in juxtaposition with a romanticized trope of the Indian figure as emblematic of liberty and autonomy. Both constructs found relevance within a framework that conceived of a dichotomization of "authentic" or "traditional" indigenous cultures, and those which had been essentially "tainted" by the effects of assimilation and modernity. An interest in capturing or witnessing the cultural practices of indigenous groups perceived to be representative of an "authentic culture to be rapidly and inevitably disappearing"[88], engendered the application of a salvage ethnography that dominated anthropological and scientific research at the turn of the twentieth century.

This myth of a "vanishing race" had more to do with tenets of cultural and social evolution than it did with expectation of a literal impending disappearance of individuals. As Philip Deloria notes, the assumption was that while "Indian people (in the form of individuals) may not be physically vanishing…their traditional culture was."[89] Because aspects of contemporary Native American cultures did not necessarily conform to a conceptualization of tradition as isolated and impermeable to change, they were often perceived as "inauthentic".[90] Following from this internal logic that identified that which was perceived "traditional" to be analogous with "authentic", was the fallacious conclusion that "real" Indians were, indeed, vanishing. For the Smoki, then, the Snake Dance constituted a true "authentic" expression of a vanishing race; the *Smoki* Snake Dance, rather, was an expression of representation-the result of

[88] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale Historical Publications., 1998), 90.

[89] Ibid., 91

[90] Ibid.

the process of "capturing" the practice to be displayed as a continuous and perpetual expression of the delicate interplay between the containment of difference and incorporation of the 'other'. Informing the myth of the "vanishing race" was a theory of cultural evolution that had been developed by anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan. Morgan's theory posited that all cultures were representative of one of three stages of development along a unilineal progression from Savagery to Barbarism to Civilization.[91] As the apex of development, the Civilization stage was ethnocentrically identified within European cultures. Morgan and proponents of his theory argued that it was possible to attain a better understanding of the nature of progress through the systematic study of cultures representative of earlier stages of evolution. In an effort to advance such studies, the Bureau of American Ethnology was established in 1879[92], under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. Under the direction of John Wesley Powell, who had been the first anthropologist to ascend upon the Hopi in 1870, the BAE instituted systematic studies of indigenous groups.

Government and ethnographic interest in the U.S. Southwest correlated with a commercialization of the region by railroad promoters, particularly those associated with the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, which had arrived in New Mexico by 1885. [93]In cooperation with the Fred Harvey Company, the ATSF propagated promotional materials that drew upon the work of ethnographers and artists alike to shape the representation of local indigenous cultures and to promote and portray the Southwest as a place removed from the effects of modernity and the progression of time. As such, it constituted a remaining frontier to be "discovered" by the "modern" Anglo-American pioneer/tourist.

---

[91] Lomayumtewa C. Ishii, "Western Science Comes to the Hopis: Deconstructing the Origins of an Imperialist Canon," *Wicazo Sa Review* 25 no. 2 (2010): 68.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest*, 17.

Images and rhetoric used to promote the Southwest often fit within the contours shaped by a primitivist discourse that drew upon a conceptualization of a primitive utopia-a seemingly seamless and organic integration of individuals and community. A symbolic embodiment of this process, featured prevalently in promoting the Southwest, was the iconic figure of the Indian craftsman-an icon analogous to what Leah Dilworth refers to as the "artisan of the republic", a cultural construction that emerged at the time of the American Revolution. This iconography, she argues, was emblematic of the ideal American citizen as operating within a circumscribed context in which he had space to "think independently", but acted "in concert with his fellow citizens."[94] The construction of the Indian craftsman fit within a larger conceptualization that envisioned the exceptionalism of the United States as embodied within the vitality of citizens' direct participation in shaping the contours of American democracy and society.

Fred Harvey's promotion of the region as a locus of small, cooperative units of Indian craftsmen and folk included hiring Puebloan artisans to demonstrate their crafts at expositions and in hotels owned and operated by Harvey, himself.[95] This practice contributed to the construction of a paradigm that affected a space wherein social and cultural hegemony could be enacted. Within this context, the White tourist was positioned to be a "witness" to an ostensibly authentic process and creation. What was portrayed as a commonplace or quotidian task for the 'other' became a spectacle for the Anglo-American tourist-an effect that tended to reinforce clear social and cultural parameters that re-signified the value of the Indian's work as a product of cultural tourism and curiosity. While the iconography of the Indian craftsman of the Southwest

[94] Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest*, 146.

[95] Ibid.

served as a regional adaptation and orientation of a symbolic embodiment of the individual American citizen's role within society, it also effectually managed to reinforce and convey the conflicting desire to domesticate and contain the Indian, while simultaneously creating a delineated space wherein cultural difference could be enjoyed as an attraction.

Touristic spectacle coincided with another orientation by which evocations of hegemony enacted through visual mastery and "witnessing" contributed to shaping the Anglo perception of Native-settler relations. By the early twentieth century, the promotion and commoditization of the Southwest, in convergence with ethnographic accounts, allowed for sacred Native American rituals such as the Hopi Snake Dance to be portrayed as spectacles, discoveries and commodities. John G. Bourke's *The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona,* published in 1884, was an ethnographic work that presented indigenous ceremonial rituals as embodiments of secretive and elusive knowledge waiting to be "witnessed" and "discovered". In his accounts, Bourke related detailed observations of Hopi ceremonials, from notes on mannerisms to ceremonial attire and dance elements. In his narrative, Bourke portrayed himself as a stealthy explorer/narrator, surreptitiously observing a sacred ceremony that plays out before him seemingly unbeknownst to the subjects who are rendered objects of interest.[96] Bourke's observations reflected a contemporary tendency to conceptualize the Euro-American observer as inhabiting an epistemological frontier, in which the "right to know" was conferred upon the trope of the pioneer and explorer along with a vested authority of scientific objectivity, unencumbered by any imposed limits of tribal sovereignty.

As previously noted, while the Religious Crimes Code was enacted to suppress Native

---

[96]John G. Bourke, *The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona: Being a Narrative of a Journey from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Villages of the Moqui Indians of Arizona* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona, 1984), 3.

perpetuation of traditional and religious practices, exceptions were sometimes applied for the sake of encouraging White interest and tourism. Effectively, therefore, through such selective application of policies determined by ethnographic, touristic promotion and popular interest, sacred ceremonies including the Snake Dance were essentially portrayed to the white observer as stripped of their cultural and contextual meaning. Rather, their significance and value were determined by the interest they inspired in Whites who regarded such ceremonies and rituals as objects of curiosity, difference, and spectacle.

It was within this context of highly developed and articulated assertions of hegemony enacted within the parameters of a contested space of representation wherein the Smoki were able to appropriate the Hopi Snake Dance in an effort to assume a place of privilege and authority within the community of Prescott, Arizona. What they would draw upon to do so consisted largely of the influence of what Lomayumtewa C. Ishii refers to as a "cultural archive", or canon of Anglo-American ethnographical studies on Hopi culture[97] that had been well-established by the time the Smoki organization emerged. Conversant with contemporary ethnographic conceptualizations of regional indigenous cultures, were two early Smoki associates and advisors: historian and essayist Sharlot Hall and artist Kate Cory, renowned for her artistic renderings of what Sharlot Hall referred to as "Indian life and Arizona landscape"[98] One of Hall's particular goals for the Smoki organization was that they should attempt to salvage, "from change and decay the…ceremonial rites of the original inhabitants of this land of

---

[97] Lomayumtewa C. Ishii. "Western Science Comes to the Hopis: Deconstructing the Origins of an Imperialist Canon," *Wiscazo Sa Review* 25, no. 2 (2010): 65.

[98] Sharlot M. Hall, "Some of the Hopes and Purposes of the Smoki" *The Yavapai Magazine* XXI, no.4 (1924): 1. Smoki Collection, Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

mystery."[99] Underlying Hall's perception of the regional landscape as a land of "mystery", is a tacit impression of the cultural landscape as a dense palimpsest of meaning- invisible, shrouded, waiting to be discovered and revealed. Implicit within this characterization is an envisioning of the landscape as a place haunted by the voiceless presence of the original and displaced inhabitants.

As former territorial historian from 1909 to 1912, Sharlot Hall was familiar with traversing the "land of mystery" that would enter the union as the state of Arizona less than a decade prior to the formation of the Smoki organization. Within her capacity as historian, Hall had become an avid collector of anecdotes and oral histories from Anglo-American settlers.[100] During this time, she also amassed a considerable array of artifacts-a collection the *Prescott Courier* would refer to, in 1922, as "one of the most important collections of Arizona relics…[she] proposes to donate to the Smoki…"[101] In addition to artifacts, Hall's collection included "invaluable manuscripts on Indian life and legend."[102] Hall and Kate Cory had both indulged their curiosity in regional Native American culture by traveling to the Hopi reservation- Hall, at least once, in 1910, to Oraibi.[103] Cory, as Hall would state, had "lived for several years in the villages of the Hopi Indians, with the definite purpose of studying their life,

[99] "Life Work of the Smoki Laid Out," *Prescott Journal Miner*, July 29, 1922. Newspaper Clipping, Charles Elrod Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[100] Nancy Kirkpatrick-Wright, ed. *Sharlot Herself: Selected Writings of Sharlot Hall* (Prescott, AZ: Sharlot Hall Museum, 2013), xx-xxi.

[101] "Life Work of the Smoki Laid Out," *Prescott Journal Miner*, July 29, 1922. Newspaper Clipping, Charles Elrod Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[102] "Artist Colony Near Prescott Proposed Plan," *Prescott Daily Courier,* July 16, 1922, Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[103] Kirkpatrick-Wright, ed. *Sharlot Herself,* 2.

traditions and ceremonial dances and festivals."[104] Hall and Cory both provided-from their own observations-notes and sources, information from which the Smoki derived their plans for their *ceremonials*. Eventually, the Smoki would acquire a large collection of ethnographical works, amassing numerous volumes from the Smithsonian Institution's *Bureau of American Ethnology Reports* that the Smoki Museum retains to this day. The date, at which this collection began, however, is not well-documented[105]

In print, Sharlot Hall tended to guard the sources from which she and the Smoki derived their information, reinforcing the Smoki "mystique", by often simply suggesting that they were Smoki secrets, in one article, stating that:

> Those who think that these beautiful ceremonies…"just happen"…would be interested to know the deep and careful study that goes into the smallest details of every part of each performance. The legends and story-traditions which inspire these dances, and which are woven through every act and scene in them…have grown slowly for unknown generations,…passing from lip to lip in the Kivas…The best ethnologists can only guess how old these stories and symbols really are…[106]

In the same article, Hall strengthens a Smoki claim on such "secrets", by portraying the organization as intermediaries between a "lost" past, and the present, stating that the "…Smokis are links in the chain between that far-away, wonderful lost civilization and the present

[104] Sharlot M. Hall, "Some of the Hopes and Purposes of the Smoki" *The Yavapai Magazine* XXI, no.4 (1924): 1. Smoki Collection, Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[105] While it's unknown exactly when the Smoki began to amass their present-day collection of Bureau of Ethnology Reports, a letter dated April 2, 1931, from a young Smoki member, Bill Bork, suggests that at this date, the Smoki may not have yet begun their collection. Bork's letter to acknowledges the tribe's need for "material for songs and dances". He recommends "reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology…[which] have a whole lot of material on the Indians". Letter from Bill Bork to "Most High Chief of the Smoki People" April 2, 1931. External Correspondence, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[106] Sharlot M. Hall, "Some of the Hopes and Purposes of the Smoki" *The Yavapai Magazine* XXI, no.4 (1924): 1. Smoki Collection, Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

day."[107] Hall also notes, however, that "part of the Smoki ceremonials are selected and planned with the assistance of Miss Kate Cory, the gifted artist…"[108] In the same article, Hall indicates a familiarity with ethnographical studies, when she refers to the work of anthropologist Adolph Bandelier, when describing the use of "Indian clowns" or "merrymakers" in a Smoki *ceremonial*: "These clowns or merrymakers are an age-old part of the Pueblo Indian dances and festivals, and Bandelier, who uses their name as the title of one of his novels, ascribes to them a close connection with the priestly clans."[109]

References to the Smoki mystique and Smoki secrecy were often expressed in such a way so as to identify perceived sacred indigenous knowledge as deriving from a unifying and stabilizing force, uniting past and present and inextricably tied to the physical place and environment. Text from a program from the Smoki Ceremonials of 1924, reflects a perception of this mystique as it related to performance within the *ceremonials*: "That our white brothers may know something of their inner and sacred meaning, we offer here a brief outline of those things upon which dance is based, some little hint of the secret and revered lore of the Ancients of our People."[110] These rhetorical constructs signify the Smoki as separate from their "white brothers", for whom, through spirit of goodwill, the Smoki were willing to "share" their sacred knowledge. Within this symbolic context, then, the Smoki Indian gladly gives of his historical and cultural identity so that his "White brother" may benefit.

---

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid.

[110] "Fourth Annual Way Out West Programme" (1924), 2. Alma Jo Stevens Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Outside of their performed identity as Smoki "Indians", delineations between the organization, the audience and the mainstream were also maintained through the group's self-conceptualization as authorities on indigenous ceremonies and cultures. Their position to "share", with their "White brothers"-within a capacity of authority on interpretation and representation of indigenous cultures-was attained through what will further be discussed as a withdrawal from the mainstream. Through an early construction of their group as a separate society, the Smoki initially relied heavily upon esoteric language and symbology that allowed them to construct a new space wherein they could disengage, and then, in a sense, reemerge and reengage within a capacity of having attained and created a means by which mainstream culture could be rejuvenated and reaffirmed.

The notion of affecting retreat and withdrawal from the mainstream as a means of ultimately revitalizing American culture, was present within one of Sharlot Hall's goals for the Smoki: to establish an artists' colony in Prescott. Her desire, however, to found "a retreat where the quiet and beauty of the Yavapai hills may be an inspiration to writers…"[111] never attained fruition. While there is no evidence to suggest why this goal was never achieved, the almost immediate formation of a separate semi-secret society based upon fraternal ties may have precluded any potential interest in the organization's cooperation in the venture.

Hall's plans for an artists' colony in Prescott may have been influenced by those already in existence in Santa Fe and Taos, New Mexico, where Mabel Dodge Luhan's vision for a place of retreat for artists and intellectuals had been realized with considerable success. The intent

[111] "Artist Colony Near Prescott Proposed Plan," *Prescott Daily Courier,* July 16, 1922, Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

behind this conceptual extension of the "home as a haven"[112] ideal was to withdraw from mainstream American culture and engage in deconstructing conventions as a means of arriving at what Lois Palkin Rudnick refers to as "an essential, non-contingent and trans-historical truth that would substitute for the anxiety of temporality and subjectivity"[113]. The purpose in doing so was to reconstruct and rejuvenate American culture in such a way so as to render it adaptable to the exigencies of modernity. Following World War I, Roderick Nash argues, concepts of "salvage, adaptation, and reconstruction"[114] were prevalent themes of exploration and discussion.

The Smoki formed their society at a time in which anxiety concerning the nature of American democracy and historical processes was expressed among American intellectuals and reflected within mainstream American culture. According to Roderick Nash, the decade following World War I was a time of "heightened anxiety" and ambivalence in which traditional mores, traditions and customs were lauded, even as other means of constructing meaning and understanding were explored.[115] Modernity and the cosmopolitan were juxtaposed against tradition and constructions of the region as a locus of true and authentic American custom and expression. Smoki civic engagement was shaped by what Amy Levin refers to as a "nostalgic modernism", which "…conceived of past and present as distinct worlds which could be juxtaposed in self-conscious ways to judge the relative merits of tradition and progress."[116] Within a modernist paradigm that conceived of the past and present as two distinct and separate

---

[112] Lois Palken Rudnick, *Utopian Vistas: The Mabel Dodge Luhan Home and the American Counterculture (*Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 7.

[113] Ibid., 5.

[114] Roderick Nash, *The Nervous Generation: American Thought, 1917-1930,* (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 1990), 56

[115] Ibid., 2.

[116] Amy K. Levin, Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007), 110.

entities, lamentation for an elusive past, is defined by Renato Rosaldo as "imperialist nostalgia", or a regret for that which is perceived as "lost", by a group who are themselves responsible for the eradication of that which they lament. [117] Ethnography and tenets of social evolution facilitated the proliferation of a perception of lost tradition, and allowed for the conceptualization of indigenous cultures as sources of trans-historical and transcendent truths-valuable in their potential application to the rejuvenation and reconstruction of dominant and mainstream American culture.

Increased urbanization and modernization that had begun prior to the turn of the twentieth century generated concern and interest that allowed for the emergence of what Robert Dorman refers to as the "regionalist movement."[118] Following the First World War, there was a heightened interest in seeking out the local and regional as a source of tradition and continuity. Dorman further asserts that essential to regionalism was the concept of place as a unique entity born out of particular historical and cultural contexts.[119] This burgeoning interest in regionalism became a form of nationalism as it encompassed "the belief that the materials for cultural reconstruction must be found at home, where time and nature had taught an appropriate wisdom." [120]

It was arguably by this sort of reasoning that the Smoki consciously created a space within which the goal of cultural reconstruction could be achieved. By the second annual Smoki

---

[117] Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* 26, *Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory* (1998): 108.

[118] Robert L. Dorman, *Revolt of the Provinces: The Regionalist Movement in America, 1920-1945* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1993), 19.

[119] Ibid., 23

[120] Ibid.

Ceremonials of June 9, 1922, the *Prescott Daily Courier* was referring to the Smoki as the "smoke-eye…long on the i."[121] The change in pronunciation correlated with the beginning of an intent to establish a distinction as a unique and separate entity. This would further be achieved with the group's decision to become officially incorporated as an organization in 1923. Identified within the organization's Articles of Incorporation from 1923, the Smoki mission was to:

> act as trustee and custodian of any historical, literary, scientific or other books, documents or property entrusted to its keeping…to reproduce at such times as the members of this society may deem fit, and as faithfully as may be possible, the ceremonies, rituals, rights [sic], dances and festivals of the Indians of this state and county and otherwise perpetuate and preserve the customs, traditions, and lores [sic] of the Indians of the Southwest[122]

In 1923, when the Smoki People of Prescott Arizona became officially incorporated, conferring upon their organization the right to: "reproduce…the ceremonies, rituals, rights [sic], dances and festivals of the Indians of this state…"[123], the ceremonies and "rights" [sic] over which they claimed right and authority over representation, had been the focus of federal legislation referred to as Circular 1665. This piece of legislation, under the direction of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles H. Burke, authorized agency superintendants to forbid any Native dances or ceremonials that they found to be offensive.[124] The Circular was largely influenced through the lobbying of the reformist and pro-assimilationist group The Indian Rights

---

[121] "Smoki Thrill Watchers By Dancing in Rude Garb with Hissing Snakes as Partners", *Prescott Daily Courier*, June 9, 1922. Newspaper Clipping, Alma Jo Stevens Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[122] Articles of Incorporation, 1923, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Richard O. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*: *The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), 133.

Association.[125] Around the same time, another piece of legislation, the Bursum Bill, was introduced. The bill, which would have effectually given primacy and preference to the claims of land ownership asserted by White settlers over that of Puebloan groups in New Mexico, became a focal point of contention and discussion. Both pieces of legislation reflected a continuing effort by the government to dispossess indigenous groups of cultural resources as well as land. While the circular, in particular, conferred upon U.S. government agents the authority to determine what was offensive, it highlighted a context in which representation and cultural expression was vested solidly in White hands and was entirely contingent upon White discretion. Within their newly articulated mission and intentions, the Smoki began, in earnest, to assume this place of privilege for their group, and to cull, and salvage those indigenous cultural elements that the Smoki "deemed fit". Through the formation of an initially distinct and semi-secretive society, the Smoki began what would become an intergenerational endeavor for almost seventy years.

For the Smoki, withdrawal from the mainstream was a means of constructing something new on the foundation of something seemingly enduring and traditional. Initially, Smoki civic engagement was characterized by what T.J. Jackson Lears refers to as "patterns of ambivalence"[126]. In examining social patterns of ambivalence by applying them to cultural and social conflicts that emerged in the late nineteenth century, Lears argues that these patterns reflected an acknowledgement of a seemingly inherent confliction between autonomous individualism and social responsibility. Lears suggests that to be engaged in the bourgeois culture of the nineteenth century, was to be involved in a conceptualized masculine space that highlighted autonomy and control. Inversely, to withdraw completely was to succumb to a desire

[125] Ibid.

[126] T.J. Jackson Lears. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1930*. 1981. Reprint (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 1994), 218.

to abandon autonomous selfhood and be absorbed into an organic and seamless union.[127] In becoming a member of Smoki, an individual could assume and examine himself in a role apart from society-one that was enhanced by disguise, and role inversion. The basis of their withdrawal into a fraternal society characterized by ritual and symbols would be centered on an identity that the Smoki created for themselves as a biblical "lost tribe" of displaced mavericks. Use of esoteric language, highly intricate and symbolic initiation rites, and biblical references, effectively identified the Smoki as distinct.

The ritual that characterized fraternal organizations, including the Smoki, served as a symbolic process encompassing successive stages of liminality, rebirth, and re-aggregation[128]In examining the role and use of secret ritual and symbolism, Mark Carnes refers to the work of sociologist Victor Turner. Carnes notes that in his examination of the symbolic in rituals, Turner found that the types of ritual instituted in fraternal organizations were most commonly prevalent in societies that were in the midst of experiencing significant cultural change.[129] Carnes further states that conscientious of their role in creating a new society, fraternal members might emplot themselves within a metaphorical journey or pilgrimage towards the attainment of "emotional and intellectual sustenance".[130] An internal correspondence to fellow "Faithful Smoki", dated July 12, 1922 reveals a collective conceptualization of the Smoki members as a metaphorical lost biblical tribe. Urging members to attend a council meeting, the text states:

> Revelations of great moment have been made unto the prophets of the tribe, and these with many other things will be revealed unto you…Also remember that into the future

---

[127] Ibid.

[128] Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 32.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Ibid., 31.

lead many strange and unknown trails, one which it is prophesied, will take us to the promised land of Smoki, rich in harvests and contentment; to choose the right one we need the wisdom and counsel of all the priests of the tribe."[131]

This text suggests an almost apocalyptic revelation-an implied reference to being on the verge of change. Inclusivity is marked by implied references to a promise of fulfillment for the few and chosen. The "liminal realm" of secret ritual, Carnes argues, provided a space for creative fantasy.[132] The distance that the Smoki created allowed for space in which they could construct assume control over cultural representation. The "sustenance" that Carnes refers to, for the Smoki, constituted the construction of a heritage that was distinctly new, even while it built upon that perceived as old or esoteric. An article in *The Prescott Daily Courier* described the Smoki performances as "something old as the oldest thing Arizona has; new in its recent discovery as a spectacle…the world's attention is being drawn to the land of a new culture."[133] By nature of their ethnographic detachment and appropriation, the "old" elements that the Smoki had incorporated into their performances became "new" through their alteration and through inscription of new meaning that identified them as "Smoki". Through their "discovery" of these elements, and through their interpretation and absorption, the article portrays the efforts of the Smoki as having produced a "new culture". The ability of the Smoki "tribe" as a small and cohesive social unit, to create and shape a new world, or "culture", fit within a broader contemporary interest in the vestment in the locality of socio-political power and influence.

---

[131] "Faithful Smoki!" Memo, July 12, 1922. Alma Jo Elrod Stevens Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[132] Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood*, 158.

[133] "Smoki People Startle Multitude with Weird Rain-Prayer Ceremony," *Arizona Journal*-Miner, June 13, 1925, Newspaper Clipping, Alma Jo Stevens Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Roderick Nash discusses how the nature of American democracy as it was brought to the forefront of discussion following the post war years. He refers to Walter Lippman, who had argued that democratic theory had developed during a time when political communities were small and self-contained.[134] If, as historian Frederick Jackson Turner and proponents of his theory believed, American institutions had been the result of primitive frontier conditions, the diminishment of those conditions may ultimately prove to be deleterious to the state of American democracy.[135] The results of the census of 1920 seemed to confirm Turner's assertion, as it was revealed that for the first time in history, more Americans resided in towns than in rural areas. Concerns regarding urbanization, immigration and bureaucratization were reflected in the reemergence of an appreciation for the community as a source of traditional democratic processes and ideals. The ability of the individual to engage and participate at the local and national level was deemed crucial for the state of American "participant civic culture"[136]

During the nineteen-twenties, the vitality of American "participant civic culture" was manifest in a significant increase in membership in fraternities and other social organizations.[137] Lynn Dumenil attributes this trend to the emergence of a "get-ahead mentality" that placed considerable value on establishing cohesive social networks.[138]Additionally, she notes, the emergence of a romanticized conceptualization of brotherhood, idealism, and the notion of contributing to a larger purpose may also have been considerable factors contributing to this

---

[134] Roderick Nash, *The Nervous Generation: American Thought, 1917-1930* (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 1990), 58.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Theda Skocpol and Morris P. Fiorina, eds. *Civic Engagement in American Democracy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), 60.

[137] Dumenil, *The Modern Temper*, 197.

[138] Ibid.

trend.[139]A demand on individual initiative and resolve as a means of strengthening the collective is illustrated in an internal memo, emphasizing the contingency of the groups' mission and purpose upon the absolute dedication of individual efforts and talents. Dated June 3, 1922, a memo from "Smoki Mesa" calls for absolute devotion and commitment to "perfection", stating,

> At least thirty Smokis are well trained in the intricacies of the Snake Dance Ceremony. Because of the great amount of time and faithful work done by a majority of the clans, do not spoil the work of many by neglecting to properly prepare and perfect yourself. Only a few days remain. Do not worry about giving too much of your time. It can't be done.[140]

The memo is illustrative of the early establishment of an emphasis on individual devotion and initiative as essential to the vitality and purposes of the group. This was indicative of the means by which a heightened sensibility of individualism was incorporated within the collective. The incorporation of individual efforts translated into an *esprit-de-corps* that transferred the free and voluntary efforts of mutually vested individuals into the formation of fraternal bonds.

From the beginning, the Smoki demonstrated a heightened awareness of their place within the cultural landscape, as well as a desire to claim a place of irrefutable belonging. To these ends, they identified themselves as "lost" in relation to the landscape-a process by which achieving place-based belonging became a metaphorical search for meaning and sustenance. Their conceptualization as a "lonely and outcast tribe" allowed for them to occupy a liminal space wherein new identities could be constructed. Contemporary references to the "lost generation" expressed a cynicism and rootlessness, as Lynn Dumenil points out, which allowed

---

[139] Ibid.

[140] "Greetings, Smoki" memo, June 3, 1922. Internal Correspondence, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

for room in which a metaphorical search for identity and meaning could take place.[141]In relation to their audience, the Smoki performers conveyed a place of privilege by which their liminal state enchanted or transferred the audience to a place of witnessing authenticity and the process of creation:

> The memory of…the wild chant of a lonely and outcast tribe such as the Smoki, will linger long in the minds of the thousands… With the background …a perfect replica of the homes of the tribes of the Painted Desert, it required no imagination for the great crowd to lose itself for a half hour in the witchery of the savage music and dancing by about forty *braves* of the Smoki [142]

The depiction of the landscape as an apropos setting for the Smoki spectacle, reflects a conceptualization of the Southwest as a temporal and spatial anomaly-a place of liminality where a temporary suspension of reality could occur. At the turn of the twentieth century, declarations proclaiming the decline of frontier conditions provided fertile ground upon which a fantasy of the frontier proliferated.[143] Patricia Price argues that constructions of the Western and Southwestern landscapes as void and "empty" established a "spatial and temporal indeterminacy"[144], and a "productively liminal space" that allowed for new identities to emerge.[145] David Teague likewise notes that prior to the 1880's, the U.S. Southwest had been perceived as a marginal and desolate region-a perception reinforced by a Judeo-Christian

---

[141] Ibid., 150.

[142] "Smoki Thrill Watchers By Dancing in Rude Garb with Hissing Snakes as Partners" *Prescott Daily Courier,* June 9, 1922. Alma Jo Stevens Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[143] Price, *Dry Place: Landscapes of Belonging and Exclusion*, 55.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Ibid. 90

envisioning of the desert as a "desert wilderness…a place of punishment and atonement" [146] Seemingly antithetical to the promise of manifest destiny, the American desert ran "counter to the nation's natural impulse toward abundance"[147] By the close of the nineteenth century, an increased familiarity with the region through the propagation of promotional materials, photography and scientific accounts, contributed to the emergence of a "desert literacy"[148] that influenced the construction of the American desert as a new frontier-a place to challenge the archetypes of the American pioneer, or cowboy/maverick. Teague argues that in contemporary artwork, including that of Frederick Remington, for example, the archetype of the cowboy was extolled as a figure who consciously resisted the constraints of civilization and modernity, in search of a place in which he would find a "regenerative challenge"[149]and new life.

The conceptualization of the Smoki as a separate tribe alone in a "desert wilderness" allowed for them to convey their distinction as a separate fraternal society, but it also firmly stated their claim on the landscape. Early correspondences from the Smoki council to Smoki members are illustrative indication of this process. In a memo addressed to "Faithful Smoki", a memo from "Smoki Mesa" implores the presence of all "faithful tribesmen" at a location the memo identifies as the "Cave of the Owls" on the evening of Monday, the 16th day of April"[150] The convergence of fabricated place names referred to for their relation to the activities of the

---

[146] David W. Teague, *The Southwest in American Art and Literature* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 14.

[147] Ibid., 16.

[148]Ibid., 18.

[149] Ibid., 59.

[150] "GREETINGS, OH! FAITHFUL SMOKI" Memo, April, 1923, Alma Jo Elrod Stevens Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

"tribe", is further illustrated in a *Prescott Daily Courier* article from 1924, which describes the tourists as "thousands of eager and enthused pilgrims…to Smokiland…"[151] On the process of naming a place, Patricia Price observes that the process constitutes an effort to imbue a space with particular meaning.[152] Naming, she argues, is to "situate places within narratives" and to "mark the beginning of narratives".[153]

Present within early Smoki narratives promoting and describing the Smoki and their *ceremonials*, was an acknowledgement of the Smoki as a "tribe" not only inhabiting an empty space, but animating it, giving it new life and new expression. It was during this period that descriptions of the Smoki correlated with descriptions of the landscape through use of vivid description of color. As an artist might mark with color a blank canvas, the Smoki are portrayed as imbuing the landscape with color, animation, and "spirit". A *Prescott Daily Courier* article portrayed the performance of the "lonely and outcast tribe" in 1922's Ceremonials as "striking" with "copper shields and copper bands…gleaming in the sunlight with dazzling brilliancy"[154] Another account from 1924 described that year's *ceremonials* as featuring a "kaleidoscope" of color , a "soul-stirring" atmosphere, leaving behind in its wake, a "spirit" "that will remain in the interim with the 5000 that witnessed the performance…".[155]

---

[151] Connors, John W. "Smokis' Dances, Chants, Costumes, Beyond Expectations" *Prescott Daily Courier*, June 14, 1924. Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[152] Price, *Dry Place,* 47.

[153] Ibid.

[154] "Smoki Thrill Watchers By Dancing in Rude Garb with Hissing Snakes as Partners" *Prescott Daily Courier,* June 9, 1922. Newspaper Clipping, Alma Jo Stevens Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[155] "Spirit of Ceremony Gets Across to Spectators as Dancers Turn Aborigine" *Prescott Daily Courier*, June 6,1924. Newspaper Clipping, Charles C. Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Another account of the 1924 ceremonials described the:

> opal gates of morning …the great light …along the Turquoise Trail…tireless Smokis set out through the dry and somber hills in patient determination to beseech from a barren sky copious moisture… seeds and roots in the earth…awaiting the summons to spring into new life…it will be shown how the Sky-God infuses sunshine into their tiny veins and starts them to abundant fruitage. The powers of the Fire-God will be invoked further that the earth fires may be kindled for the ensuing year, and in this supplication keenest interest of the Smoki people will be centered. [156]

The invocation of "new life" and abundance is further alluded to in a description of the Smoki Ceremonials of 1925, of the "Smoki tribesmen's Fire Ceremony", a performance that "gave a great thrill when the mystic man emerged from the depths of a spring, bringing gourds filled with the life giving fluid that is the savior of the desert." [157] The portrayal of the Smoki as metaphorically invoking "new life" and "abundance", within an otherwise barren place, is particularly striking in convergence with their conceptualized identity as a metaphorical desert tribe. The use of color imbues the Smoki expression with a form of visual mastery, in which the space they have claimed as a place of difference and representation is colored in relation to their Whiteness. Sylvia Rodriguez argues that Whiteness, is a construction that is, by its definition, invisible. Its invisibility is a product of White privilege, and imbues Whites with the collective power to mark others who are non-White.[158] In this context, the Whiteness of the Smoki

---

[156] "Way Out West Dancers Ready for Great Ceremonial; Parade" *Prescott Daily Courier*, June 13, 1924. Newspaper Clipping, Charles C. Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[157] J.A. Billingsley, "Fifth Dance of People Attains Great Success" *Arizona Republican*, June 12, 1925. Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[158] Sylvia Rodriguez. "Tourism, Whiteness and the Vanishing Anglo" *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*. ed. David Wrobel and Patrick Long. (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2001) 195.

performers is starkly represented in relation to the "colorful" cultural landscape they inhabit. It is their presence that imbues the landscape as colored. Rodriguez also argues that Whiteness is central to constructions of romantic representations of ethnicity and exoticism.[159]

The early portrayal of the Smoki as a distinct and separate desert tribe on a metaphorical journey for sustenance was presented alongside more generalized Western tropes in a Wild West Pageant included in Prescott's second annual "Way Out West" program in June, 1922. In addition to the Smoki Snake Dance and other features, a pageant listed simply as "Emigrant Train Attacked by Indians", consisted of an enactment of a covered wagon of Anglo-American settlers besieged by Indians upon arriving in "Indian Country". [160] Successful in deflecting the attack and displacing the Indians in their own "country", the victorious wagon party-their progress unimpeded-continue on their way to claim a new place for themselves on the frontier. Implicit in the Anglo-American pioneers' victory were similar themes of deliverance, and renewal through the progression of expansion and territorial claim, as well as the dispossession of the "hostile" Indian. In this symbolic interaction, the "hostile" Indian is displaced, and left behind is the safe and "tamed" figure of the Indian, as embodied by the Smoki. Underlying this dichotomization was a means of exploring what "Indianness" was acceptable and what wasn't. The "outbreak" of Indians within the implied acceptable socio-political boundaries was presented through the interaction of contention between the pioneers and the group of Indians.

In October, 1924, Grace Sparkes, secretary of the Yavapai Chamber of Commerce, attended the dedication of the new United States Chamber of Commerce headquarters building in Washington, DC. Also in attendance were chamber of commerce officials from all over the

---

[159] Ibid.

[160] "Way Out West Programme" June 9, 1922. Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

nation, eager to represent the interests of their respective states. The formal dedication was to take place on October 23, and Grace Sparkes, accompanied by H.B. Watkins, general manager of the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce, found herself in a position to meet with President-elect, Calvin Coolidge, a day prior to the dedication. On the lawn of the White House on October 22, Grace Sparkes and H.B. Watkins presented the president with gifts they had brought from Arizona. H.B. Watkins presented Coolidge with a *cholla* cactus cane, adorned with an inscribed plate of Native Arizona copper. Grace Sparkes, upon proffering the president with a red and blue "Smoki sombrero" bedecked with a "huge rattlesnake rattle" and a small copper plate, further bestowed upon him an honorary membership in the Smoki. Along with the hat was a "Smoki Message" dated October 14, 1924, addressed to "His Excellency Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States, Executive Mansion, Washington D.C.". The note of address to the president introduced the Smoki in descriptive text that identified the group as a distinct group characterized by their desire to represent a vanishing people:

> Dear Mr. President: In Presenting you a hat of the Smoki tribesmen of Prescott, Arizona, we, the members of that organization, desire to explain that our purpose is to make enduring through annual ceremonials the rituals of the Indians of the Great Southwest…each year we execute the rain dances of the dwindling residents of the Painted Desert, and…we have been able to reproduce the age-old appeals for rain, as they have been carried out in our arid climate for unnumbered centuries…The hat is worn by those in our organization preceding our ritual, and in our community it distinguishes us from others, and gives us a feeling of added responsibility for the solemn task we soon are to perform. We trust you will accept our gift and the proffer of honorary membership in our tribe,

not so much in token of consideration for us, but in regard for the simple folk of our state whose ceremonials in their sincerity and beauty would perish without the interest in them that we, the White Brothers of the dwellers of the desert, have taken to make lasting in the ken of man. With utmost consideration and in faithful fellowship, we are, Yours, respectfully, THE PRESCOTT SMOKI[161]

The "adoption" of Calvin Coolidge into the Smoki was indicative of the organization's self conceptualization as an embodiment of an organically evolved cohesive society predicated upon a heightened sensibility of civic engagement and patriotism. Civic engagement through brotherhood and fraternalism as applied within a descriptive regional setting, conveyed a sense of vested authority and primacy in the community as the locus of American democratic institutions. Also implicit is a form of role inversion, wherein the Smoki and the state they represent, are incorporating Coolidge in symbolic integration of the union; where, only twelve years prior, White proponents of statehood for the territory of Arizona had actively sought incorporation into the nation by consciously constructing a state identity based around racial and cultural lines. Here, then, arguably, is a possible assertion indicative of a notion of the primacy of the state and communities as containers of political influence, authority, and representation. Delineations signifying privilege are maintained through racial designation, conveyed within the message to Coolidge through a notable emphasis on identifying the Smoki as "White Brothers of the dwellers of the desert". In portraying themselves as "White Brothers" vested with the "solemn task" and "responsibility" to represent and take interest in, their indigenous "brothers", the Smoki effectually maintain their White privilege, while also conveying a sense of common marginality with the Hopi by referring to themselves as their brothers, by nature of their regional

[161] "Smoki People Adopt Calvin Coolidge; Ceremony Takes Place on White House Lawn" Source Unknown October, 1924, Newspaer Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

locality. Here, the desert is established as marginal, as are the desert's "dwellers"-indigenous and their White "brothers". The very nature of the establishment of this common marginality the Smoki claim to share with the region's "simple folk", is constructed by means of maintaining White privilege through the conscious deferment of race as indicated by the word "brother". Arguably, here, is a claim to a fabricated indigeneity as claimed by the Smoki, wherein race is deferred for as long as this common marginality is beneficial in establishing their group as unique and different in relation to other Anglo-Americans.

Additionally, the message conveying a proffer of honorary membership to Calvin Coolidge was composed during a time of increased interest in what constituted an American citizen. In 1924, Congress had passed the Indian Citizenship Act, granting citizenship to all American Indians, regardless of their allotment status. Prior to this date, the General Allotment act of 1887 had initiated the assimilation and incorporation of Native Americans into larger political and economic structures. Through allotment, Indians could become land-holders of allotted sections of what had been tribal land; and through land ownership, were granted citizenship.[162] Despite the reversal affected by the Citizenship Act, as Eric Meeks notes, the state of Arizona continued to apply the state constitution's "guardianship clause", which stipulated that persons under "guardianship" would not be permitted to vote.[163] According to Meeks, until the late nineteen-forties, the state's courts would continue to apply this clause to Native Americans, thereby refusing to acknowledge the federally recognized citizenship of American Indians.[164]

---

[162] Stephen Cornell, *The Return of the Native: American Indian Political Resurgence* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), 59.

[163] Meeks, *Border Citizens*, 42.

[164] Ibid.

The Smokis' reference to their essential duty of guardianship in relation to the "simple folk" was apposite in consideration to the image that Calvin Coolidge had adopted for his campaign. His slogan, "Coolidge or Chaos"[165], addressed the underlying current in contemporary public discourse centered on concerns of a disintegration of social order, and stability. Referred to as the "Puritan in Babylon", Coolidge's moniker reflected a conscious effort to portray the President as a personal embodiment of American simplicity, purity, and stability. The choice of occasion-the celebration of the National Chamber of Commerce- to offer fellowship and brotherhood to the new President-elect, was auspicious of the development of a new role the Smoki would assume within the community. During and preceding the war, business efforts towards the war effort helped elevate what, during the Progressive Era, had been a diminished reputation.[166] Business, in its regulation and repression of dissent and unrest during a time of fear of radicalism, came to be perceived more as a bastion of American democracy than as a hindrance. A mounting consumerism and secularism gave rise to the use of the word "service" within the business community, and denoted a devotion to the public welfare.[167]

In February of 1925, the Smoki issued yet another invitation to Calvin Coolidge, encouraging him to attend that year's Smoki Ceremonials in June. This time, the invitation, a decorated and inscribed deer-skin, was presented to the president by Sharlot Hall. In a message to the Smoki, Hall noted the fortuity of the date she was scheduled to present the president with the invitation, stating that "It seems especially fitting that the date for presenting the buckskin

---

[165] Dumenil, *Modern Temper*, 34.

[166] Ibid., 32.

[167] Ibid.

should have been set for early morning of St. Valentine's Day…[168] The significance in the date – the anniversary of Arizona's admittance as a state into the union-lay in the parallel of inclusion and representation. The state of Arizona had been incorporated into the union thirteen years earlier to the date, and now, the Smoki as self-appointed representatives of the state, were admitting the nation's father into their fraternal fold.

As the Smoki garnered more attention for their annual performances they would increasingly be forced to examine what they were conveying to a broader audience from beyond the community of Prescott and the region. Fraternal mutual assistance and exclusivity would transfer into a form of boosterism that would rely on further incorporation of the organization into the larger community, and foster a concerted effort in presenting Prescott and the surrounding region as a destination of patriotic tourism. A regionalist sensibility would be strongly emphasized as a means of presenting the Smoki and Prescott as possessors of a desirable heritage that could serve as a palladium to the perceived social ills and contemporary concerns regarding mainstream American culture. The mystique that the Smoki had created and portrayed as uniquely Smoki became further integrated into a broader regional mystique that conceived of the U.S. Southwest as a dreamland or place of enchantment. The suggested liminal or suspended state of being that defined the separate break of the organization from the rest of mainstream society began to give way to the emergence of a consciousness of a role and a place more heavily embedded in the social fabric of Prescott. For the Smoki, the next five years would be characterized by a gradual integration with the community of Prescott, as well as through a conscious navigation the lines delineating regional and national identity-an expression of a group

[168] "Smoki Ask Big Brother to Prescott," *Prescott Daily Courier* , Feb. 1925. Newspaper Clipping. Smoki People Historical Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

cognizant of recent statehood, and eager to construct and claim legacy to a heritage based upon an identity of the state of Arizona and its place in the nation.

Chapter Three

No One God Away From Its Enchantment[169]

-Invoking a Dreamscape-

1926-1931

> Prescott…is the cynosure of all eyes today. Thousands of visitors and other thousands of home-folk this morning will prepare to wend their way to the Northern Arizona State Fair grounds to see in the only civilized setting that has ever been prepared for it the gorgeous and barbaric rites of the Smoki People…the devout ceremonies which are the treasures of uncounted ages of culture on Smoki mesa.[170]

The Smoki Ceremonial season of 1926 opened amid a great deal of anticipation. The previous year, having marked the fifth annual Smoki Ceremonials, had received the largest attendance to date.[171] Within five years, the Smoki had procured a place of distinction within the community and had attracted attention and curiosity from beyond the community of Prescott and the state of Arizona. The display of difference that the Smoki presented in their performances had come to elicit a somewhat culturally conditioned response of appreciation that was reflected in local sources not often presented in commentary from outside observers. In describing the

---

[169] "Legends Cling to Fabled River Name From Indian Times," *Prescott Journal-Miner Hassayampa Inn Edition,* Nov. 20, 1927, Don Ogden Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[170] "Sixth Yearly Ceremonial of Southwest's Own People Opens At 2 This Afternoon" *Prescott Daily Courier*, June 12, 1926, Newspaper Clipping. Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[171] Billingsley, J.A. "Fifth Dance of People Attains Great Success" *Arizona Republican* June 12, 1925. Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Ceremonials of 1926, a *Prescott Daily Courier* article portrayed the Smoki and their *ceremonies* as "treasures"[172]- a valuable proffer of hospitality and insight to the rest of the world:

> The five years during which the world has been afforded yearly opportunity to see the spectacles of the Smoki have taught Prescott the role of one-day host to large appreciative crowds….securing for Prescott the right to be sole and alone the scene of Smoki pageantry… has added a date to the official calendar of the entire state[173]

Sources outside of Prescott, particularly The *L.A. Times*, had previously portrayed the organization as a bizarre regional anomaly; following the performance of 1926, *L.A. Times* contributor Harry Carr referred to the Smoki as "A collection of Babbitts from an Arizona hill town", noting that, "every year they peel off their store clothes, catch some tame snakes, and cavort around in an imitation of the sacred dances of the Hopi Indians."[174]

As the *Times* article suggests, the source of amusement for the *L.A. Times* commentator- the notion of a modern "babbitt", or middle-class Anglo-American playing Indian- presented an anomaly defying expectations. For the Smoki, in their own milieu of Prescott, this dissonance, starkly enhanced with exaggerated makeup and disguise, had served as a means of conveying a regional mystique, a construction that drew upon associations between indigenous cultural traditions and the physical landscape. The Smokis' sense of civic engagement during this time was characterized by a sense of greater inclusion within the community. In establishing their organization as an embodiment and expression of regional identity, the Smoki became

---

[172] "Sixth Yearly Ceremonial of Southwest's Own People Opens At 2 This Afternoon" Prescott Daily Courier, June 12, 1926. Newspaper Clipping. Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Carr, Harry, Editorial, *Los Angeles Times,* Oct. 20, 1926. Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

increasingly engaged in promoting Prescott as a conceptual corridor between the expected and the extraordinary, the mundane and the mystical; and themselves, as guardians and intermediaries. A separate and distinct "Smoki mystique"[175] as it had served as a means of withdrawal from the mainstream, diminished with a correlating wane in emphasis on anonymity and esotericism. Rather, it became conflated alongside a portrayal of Prescott as a liminal dreamscape and place of enchantment.

In the Fall of 1926, selected members of the Smoki organization accompanied the Arizona chapter of the American Legion to the Legion's sesquicentennial celebration in Philadelphia. An article in the September 25, 1926 edition of the *Prescott Journal-Miner* featured the names of the seventeen members of Smoki who were to participate in the event. Acknowledging the Smokis' previous "policy of strict anonymity"[176] , the article identified the community's interest in the event as the reason for divulging the names of the performers. The *Journal-Miner* had recently chronicled the efforts of "Arizona's American Legion chief, Val DeCamp" in acquiring the funds necessary for the Smokis' trip, as well as his efforts to "…call to all the hinterland for donations of bull snakes, which will be taken with the Smoki party."[177] An article concerning Val DeCamp's latter efforts implored readers for further contributions, stating that: "All Arizona should rise to the occasion and send in representative snakes…"[178] With the un-shrouding of the majority of the Smoki participants' identities, the trip to

---

[175] Carol Patricia Leone, "When the Dancing Stopped: The Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona." (Thesis, M.A., Arizona State University, 1995), 47.

[176] "Smoki Line-up for East Tour,." *Prescott Journal Miner,* Sept.25, 1926. Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona

[177] Ibid.

[178] "Smoki Journey East Arranged," *Prescott Journal-Miner* Sept. 16, 1926. Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Philadelphia signaled the beginning of a period characterized by the development of a greater conflation of Smoki identity and the community of Prescott.

Featured in the Smoki Ceremonials of 1928 was a vignette illustrative of what the Smoki had come to conceptualize as their place within the region and community. A more place-based conceptualization of the American frontier as it played out within a regional setting, the skit featured moderations on the tropes of pioneer and Indian that had been presented in the pioneer vignette in the "Way Out West" show in 1922. In the vignette featured in 1928, the familiar pioneer archetype assumed a more regional identity as a prospector accompanied by a "burro laden with items betokening civilization".[179] The dramatized narrative, the *Prescott Daily Courier* related, "portrayed the first friendly relations between the grizzled old prospector and the Smoki". While preparing to set up camp, the prospector notices approaching: "two Smoki astride ponies…the Smoki made friendly signs, then approached to ask for food, which the prospector freely gave." Their departure was followed by "a group of unfriendly Indians, bent on scalping the prospector", when "back raced the two friendly Smoki, who had just enough time to put the prospector on one of the ponies and make their escape." [180]

Consistent with what was presented in the first vignette produced for "Way Out West", the conceptualized Indian is dichotomized-his "noble" or "friendly" nature as represented through the identity of the Smoki, his "savage" nature presented in the characters of the "hostile or "unfriendly" Indians. It is only through the intervention of the Smoki, who are able to mediate between the "unfriendly Indians" and the Anglo prospector, that the prospector is free to

---

[179] "3500 Persons In Attendance At Eighth Annual Pageant of Smoki," *Prescott Daily Courier* June 9, 1928. Newspaper Clipping. Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[180] Ibid.

continue, unimpeded. It is through the voluntary efforts of the Smoki that the prospector finds refuge, escape, and ultimately, fulfillment of his intentions.[181] Through their ability to mediate between the world of the prospector and that which could either hinder or advance his mission, the Smoki are invaluable to this plot of progression. As "friendly" Indians, they are able to deflect the hostile hindrance of the "other"-the "unfriendly" Indians. As Whites who have gone Native, they are in a position to offer the prospector a further exchange-deliverance and fulfillment. To this extent, they act as cultural brokers. The exchange between the Smoki and the prospector is an exchange of transvaluation of difference, with the Smoki signifying and embodying a containment and transformation of inimical difference to a more "acceptable" difference that delivers the White settler from impediment and hindrance to his intentions. Also within this narrative is the implied displacement of the "other" as signified by the "hostile" Indians, by the Smoki themselves.

This narrative is significant for its symbolic representation of a collective Smoki self-conceptualization as a White collective in possession of a social capital valuable in its singular and ostensible authenticity and in its potential to revitalize and enhance dominant American culture. The setting wherein this would unfold,was portrayed as a place of enchantment-a place of liminality wherein the suspension of the expected delivers the individual to an experience of witnessing the authentic and unusual. The rhetorical emplotment of the Smoki as a distinct group within a familiar national narrative of the frontier as both contentious process and place, reflected an interweaving of regional associations situated within a broader conceptualization of the American western frontier. Implicit in the outcome is a metaphorical leveling of rough and hostile terrain through the efforts of the Smoki.

---

[181] Ibid.

It was a contemporary modernist interest in region that had evoked an interest within the mainstream in identifying authentic expressions of an American spirit. The assumption that such an organic construct existed was reflected in an article in the *L.A. Times*, which referred to the Smoki as "a small group of businessmen, who… saw manifestations of a truly native American art rapidly slipping into oblivion, under their very noses, because Prescott is at the center of the Red Man's land".[182] Here, the Smoki are portrayed as visionary businessmen, able to perceive the value in that which others may depreciate; to this extent, the article draws upon a depiction of the visionary and intrepid Arizona pioneer, while highlighting contemporary associations between business and service to the community.

The success[183] of the Smoki *ceremonials* was a significant factor in contributing to Prescott's image as a unique destination and mecca for tourism. As attendance increased each year, it became apparent to the chamber of commerce that the town would have to address the need for better accommodation. A special Sunday morning edition of the *Prescott Journal-Miner* featured articles covering the subject of the recently constructed Hassayampa Inn, the sight of which struck a "note of beauty in pioneer country"[184]. An article bearing the secondary heading of "While Men Came to Its Headwaters and No One God Away from Its Enchantment; That Was How They Came to Name It 'Hassayampa'" covered the legends and lore associated with the new hotel's namesake-the Hassayampa river[185] The reference to the fabled river was

---

[182] Oren Arnold, "Strangest Chamber of Commerce in the World," *Los Angeles Times ,*June, 1930. Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[183] For the Smoki, ticket sales and audience attendance were among the standards used to measure the "success" of a particular *ceremonial*.

[184] "Hassayampa Hotel Is Note of Beauty in Pioneer Country," *Prescott Journal-Miner Hassayampa Inn* E*dition,* Nov. 20, 1927. Don Ogden Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[185] "Legends Cling to Fabled River Name From Indian Times" *Prescott Journal-Miner Hassayampa Inn Edition,* Nov. 20, 1927, Don Ogden Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

metaphorically illustrative of a conceptualization of Prescott as a place removed from the confluence of homogeneity-remote, yet replenishing in its contribution to the fluidity of American culture. Its enchantment lay within the ability to transport the tourist to a place where the ordinary became the extraordinary and where expectation was deferred. Additional articles in the special Hassayampa edition of the *Courier* contained descriptions of the hotel's décor, portraying the hotel as a marker of place, noting the aesthetic use of "cornices of Arizona copper", and that "here and there may be seen a Smoki symbol, reminiscent of the June pageant of which Prescott is justly proud." [186]

Their place increasingly tied to the identity and context of Prescott, the promotion and portrayal of the group during this time period also revealed an increased cognizance of developing a broader narrative that situated the Smoki within a rhetorical space astride constructions of region and nation-state. In addition to their sojourn to Philadelphia in 1926, the Smoki prepared to give a second performance outside of Prescott in 1928. An advertisement featured in the *Arizona Republican*, announcing a prospective Smoki performance to be given in Phoenix, on "Washington's birthday",[187] reflects a portrayal of the Smoki that draws upon a configuration of symbols, indicating an effort to navigate between a broader national rhetoric and a regionally oriented symbolism. Dominating the imagery are images of the appropriated and altered Hopi Sun-Shield, which Sharlot Hall had designated and referred to early on as the "Smoki symbol…a very old symbol among the Indian peoples of Arizona…"[188] Referenced as

---

[186] "Hassayampa Hotel Is Note of Beauty in Pioneer Country" *Prescott Journal-Miner Hassayampa Inn Edition*, Nov. 20, 1927, Don Ogden Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[187] "America's Premier Indian Pageant in the Land of Romance" Print Advertisement, *Arizona Republican*, Feb. 14, 1924. Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[188] Sharlot Hall, *Cactus and Pine: Songs of the Southwest* 1924 (Prescott, AZ: Sharlot Hall Museum, 2006), 2

"America's Premier Indian Pageant in the Land of Romance", the advertisement confers upon "Arizona's Thrilling Mystical Ritual"[189], the ability to captivate and enchant-to inscribe itself upon the collective memory, promising that "Once seen", it is "never forgotten"[190]. In placing it within constructions of region and state, the audience is implicitly invited to engage in a shared experience of witnessing an ostensibly unique and authentic expression of regional tradition.

Concerning the use of patriotic rhetoric and symbolism, John Bodnar asserts that, "The symbolic language of patriotism is central to public memory because it has the capacity to mediate both vernacular loyalties to local and familiar places and official loyalties to national and imagined structures" [191] While the Smokis' conceptual "Indianness" had initially allowed them to function apart from society and locate themselves outside of a national meta-narrative, it was during this time period wherein the efforts of the organization shifted towards greater incorporation within the community, as well as towards increased navigation between regional vernacular and national discourse.

---

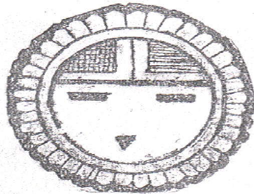
[189] "America's Premier Indian Pageant in the Land of Romance" Print Advertisement, *Arizona Republican*, Feb. 14, 1924. Smoki Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[190] Ibid.

[191] John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1992), 14

America's Premier Indian Pageant

In the Land of Romance!



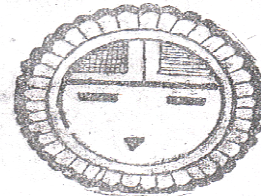
Washington's Birthday
WEDNESDAY, FEB. 22

Smoki Dancers

IN
The Katcina Dance
The Flute Ceremony
The Snake Dance

PHOENIX
HIGH SCHOOL
STADIUM

AFTERNOON - EVENING
2 P. M. 7 P. M.

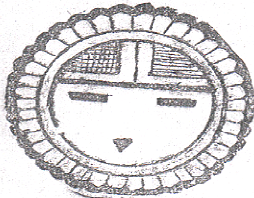


ARIZONA'S
THRILLING
MYSTICAL
RITUAL

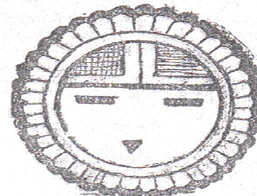
First Showing
Outside of
Prescott—Its
Home

THE
Southwest's
GREATEST
SPECTACLE

ONCE
SEEN
NEVER
Forgotten



Weird!
Fascinating!!
Spectacular!!!
Dramatic Rites



Perpetuating the Ceremonies of a Vanished Race

SEATS---$1 and $1.25

RESERVED SEATS AT
ARIZONA TOURS OFFICE, HOTEL ADAMS LOBBY

92

[192] "America's Premier Indian Pageant in the Land of Romance" Print Advertisement, *Arizona Republican*, Feb. 14, 1924. Smoki Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

References to liminality were particularly prevalent during this time period of the organization's history. Allusions to the hypnotic and the subconscious helped reinforce a portrayal of the Smoki performers as interpreters of indigenous cultural property. Featured within a Smoki ceremonial souvenir program from 1929 is a portrayal of the Smoki as intermediaries-offering that which, were it not for their voluntary efforts, would be inaccessible to White observers:

> Since 1921, the Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona, have been bringing from the dim realms of the past, and from the inaccessible fastness of mountain and desert, a lore that expresses the Great Southwest because it IS the Southwest, done in form and color and in the weird symphonies of the Primitive People"[193]

Here, then, is a depiction of the Smoki performers as possessors of an inherently organic and esoteric form of knowledge or expression, that, were it not for their efforts, would be "lost", enshrouded within the "dim realms of the past".

In anticipating a large crowd for that day's ceremonials, a *Prescott Journal-Miner* article emphasized and lauded the efforts of the entire community for its willingness to "exert itself" in preparation for the Smoki performances. The article commended the work of boy scouts involved in directing traffic, as well "numberless agencies, and organizations that have been boosting the Smoki show".[194] To the prospective audience, the article promised of the Smoki performances a presentation of "haunting, weird dances, of the…ceremonials, customs, beauty…of a race that once knew the Great Southwest when it was untouched by the white man

[193] Smoki *Ceremonial* Program, June, 1929, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[194] "Ancient Wisdom of Smoki People to be depicted in 9th Annual Ceremony", *Prescott Journal Miner,* June 6, 1929. Newspaper Clipping, Smoki Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

and in its supreme beauty."[195] In referring to the "haunting" characteristic of the dances, there is an implicit suggestion of a specter of the dispossessed, the vestiges of a "vanishing race of the Southwest,"[196] An article from the Arizona Journal Miner describes the Smoki Ceremonials of 1929 as having a captive audience "spell-bound" with their "awe-inspiring, mystical, religious dances of the slowly vanishing Indians of the Great Southwest, when they came down from the Enchanted Mesa"[197]

By 1930, the Smoki organization had attained a broader audience and had garnered attention far beyond their "enchanted mesa" -a fact proudly acknowledged within an issue of *Yavapai Magazine*, who related the success of the *ceremonials* by asserting that, "National recognition has been given to this unique organization, whose studies are given without thought of remuneration, all funds going toward the purpose for which they were organized…"[198] The implication that the mission of the Smoki transcended any consideration to remuneration is significant as it reflects an emergent Smoki identity as a group committed to voluntary service to the community. This expression of the organization's intent to serve the community through efforts to actively help promoting the town of Prescott, coincided with the emergence of "boosterism"-a conscious promotion of a community as a means of "boosting" its economy, as well as its public perception.[199] A concept that emerged in the mid nineteen-twenties[200],

---

[195] Ibid.

[196] Ibid.

[197] "Snake Dance Proves Most Exciting Feature of Day in 9 Annual Ceremonial" *Prescott Daily Courier*, June 9, 1929. Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[198] "Arizona's Great Romantic Spectacle.," *Yavapai Magazine* 21 no. 5 (1931): 6
Don Ogden Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona .

[199] Marguerite Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2001), 11.

[200] Ibid., 12.

boosterism originated from a collective acknowledgement of the development of an increasingly complex economy in which family ties and status were no longer definitive guarantees of success.[201]

Boosterism in Prescott at this time correlated with a peak in an effort across the nation to promote patriotic or "scenic" patriotism.[202] The "See America First" campaign, initiated in the late nineteenth century, had increased in momentum following the First World War, coinciding with an interest in experiencing and identifying that which was essentially "American". Margarite Shaffer states that the ideology of experiencing America "encompassed a notion that through experiencing the nation first hand was to position oneself closer to an appreciation and greater awareness of the land itself; ultimately becoming a better citizen"[203] Tourism was conceptualized as a "ritual of citizenship"[204], through which an authentic and individual experience was incorporated within a larger narrative of pioneering discovery.[205] Robert Dorman observes that post World War American culture, over the course of the decade, came to regard the "discovery of region" as a "basis for wholesale personal and cultural rejuvenation"[206]. As Shaffer points out, tourism became entwined with a therapeutic ethos that re-conceptualized tourism as a means of defining collective and republican virtue in terms of individual fulfillment.[207] To this extent, the act of tourism became a mechanism by which the American

---

[201] Ibid., 11.

[202] Ibid., 166.

[203]Ibid.

[204] Ibid., 4.

[205] Ibid., 233.

[206] Dorman, *Revolt of the Provinces*, 32.

[207] Shaffer, *See America First*, 18.

frontier could be experienced anew in perpetuity through individual participation of a collective journey. It was within this broader context that the Smoki were able to portray their group as a civic-minded group engaged in presenting the region as a valuable asset-an offering-to the rest of the nation as a natural source of rejuvenation through individual fulfillment and a common, shared experience. Illustrative of this conceptualization of the role of the Smoki is found within a 1931 edition of Yavapai Magazine, which observed that, "Dances which have been given by the Smoki would require years of travel to witness on the reservations. They are adapted to the mood of the White man and given in a manner which leaves no offense whatsoever from the viewpoint of the Indian."[208] Implicit within this description is an effacement or deferral of the cultural significance of the original rites and ceremonies appropriated. Here, is the beginning of a narrative that defines the Smoki ceremonies as embodiment of a new folk tradition that is perceived as uniquely "Smoki". The differences appropriated are conveyed as having been absorbed, White-washed, so to speak-effacing all Indigenous meaning. Prescott, in this article, is depicted as "the mecca of romance so vivified…There,[Prescott], in the glory of a new culture that is genuine…"[209]

In the years following the onset of the Great Depression, the ties between the community and the Smoki organization were portrayed as particularly strong, and indicative of an emergent sense of social cohesion predicated upon a perceived shared commitment to voluntarism and civic involvement. In a Prescott Courier article from May, 1931, the public were entreated to contribute help towards the annual acquisition of bull snakes for that year's Smoki *ceremonials*. The article related the need for donations by stating that "… In this hunt the Smoki People must

---

[208] "Arizona's Great Romantic Spectacle", *Yavapai Magazine* 21 no. 5 (1931): 6
Don Ogden Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[209] Ibid.

call upon the generosity of their friends in Prescott and Yavapai County… The Smoki People are not charity asking…but they do need co-operation. They are generous in doing a great thing for this city."[210]

During this period, the Smokis' place of intent within the community would be inscribed upon the cultural landscape of the community through the process of erecting a tangible marker of permanence. In 1931, the Smoki goal of establishing a meeting house reached fruition with the construction of the Smoki *pueblo*. In early January 1931, the Prescott city council deeded a tract of land to the Smoki People for the specific purpose of erecting a "club house and museum."[211] Having been presented with a considerable amount of land through the will of a Mrs. Ada M. Joslen, the City of Prescott-having been made aware of the Prescott citizen's "intention to give land to the tribe"- deeded five lots of land to the Smoki organization.[212] The construction of the *pueblo* was portrayed as a fortuitous event for the community, since, as a *Prescott Daily Courier* article stated, "As a means of aiding unemployment in Prescott, the Smoki tribe plans to start work immediately."[213] An article a week later would add that "The Indian chief will confer with representatives of the unemployment committee today to decide what should be done to aid the city's jobless to the fullest extent."[214] Rapid progress was made on the construction of the *pueblo.* In an internal correspondence to Smoki members dated April,

---

[210] "Here, There, and Everywhere," *Prescott Daily Courier,* May 29, 1931, Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[211] "Tract of Land in Park Given Smoki People: Club House and Museum Will Be Erected By Tribe," Source Unknown, Jan. 6, 1931, Newspaper Clipping, Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona

[212] Ibid.

[213] Ibid.

[214] "Smoki People Approve Plans For Club House" *Prescott Daily Courier*, Jan. 13, 1931, Newspaper Clipping, Charles Elrod Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona

8, 1931, the council urged the contribution of members towards the completion of the project, assuring them that "One more days work will complete the Pueblo and many hands will make short work of it." [215]

The Smoki Ceremonials of 1931 marked a period of gradual transition. For the first time in the history of the Smoki, a featured *"squaw* rite" was incorporated into the program. This "Dance of the War Maidens" was the culmination of what constituted a shift in the organization of and roles assumed by the women in the organization. Prior to this date, women had assisted with the myriad tasks relating to the preparation of each annual performance, but had not been sufficiently organized so as to constitute a recognized auxiliary unit. By 1928, the roles assumed by women associated with Smoki, comprised a population significant enough so as to warrant the appointment of a "head *squaw*" by the Smoki *chief* of that year. The first to be invested with this title, Leone Elrod oversaw the direction of the tasks undertaken by the "women of the Smoki *braves*". In 1931, the tribe conferred upon her the task of preparing for a major "ceremony" that would feature the women of Smoki. The appointment of a female leader, however, was not indicative of a broader effort to officially incorporate women into the "tribe"; they would continue to constitute an unofficial auxiliary, the members of which were elected not by the women themselves, but rather through a process undertaken by the Smoki council. Membership remained exclusive to wives, daughters and sisters of male Smoki members. While a prospective male initiate, then, was admitted by merit of what he could contribute to the organization, policy dictated that a woman essentially inherit her place in Smoki, thereby incorporating actual familial ties into the conception of a distinct Smoki heritage.

---

[215] Memo, April 8, 1931, Internal Correspondence, Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

In a May, 1931 "Smoki Number" edition of *Yavapai Magazine,* the little anonymity that the Smoki had maintained was further diminished through the publication of a featured "Smoki Roster". Following the publication of the names of the Smoki performers who had traveled to Philadelphia in 1926, this most recent disclosure correlated with, and further reinforced, a diminishment in a distinct Smoki "mystique" that had facilitated the sustainment of the group's distinction as a separate society. Rather, the promotion and portrayal of the Smoki merged within a depiction of Prescott as a unique and picturesque regional dreamscape. The same edition of Yavapai Magazine also featured an article containing description of the faux "Smoki village"[216], observing that within the scenery, " the activity of a village is shown clearly, through the splendid dramatization of the squaws and children. It is all as should be, prepared for the ceremonial day."[217] The mention of women and children reinforces an emerging trend towards depicting the Smoki as an organic community comprised of familial ties. In describing the setting further, the article describes a Southwestern utopia:

> the glow of an Arizona sunset fades into the West, its scintillating rays of myriad hues, running rampant with each breath of the glorious mountain breezes, the chanting of the Smoki-that romantic… people-in their magical incantations of the days agone…No other place in the world is the mecca of romance so vivified as at Prescott, the Jewel of Arizona's Mountains.[218]

---

[216] The "Smoki village" the article refers to was a set built upon the Yavapai Fairgrounds, where the Smoki *ceremonials* took place. The faux adobe structure that comprised the set was designed to resemble a Puebloan structure.

[217] "Smoki Ceremonials and Snake Dance," Yavapai Magazine XXI, no. 5 (1931): 2. Don Ogden Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[218] "Arizona's Great Romantic Spectacle, " Yavapai Magazine XXI, no. 5 (1931): 6. Don Ogden Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

The use of colorful imagery, vivid, yet soft in tone, evokes a sense of a dream-like setting; and the Smoki, with "their magical incantations of the days agone", are portrayed as holding the key to the transformation of the landscape into a "mecca of romance".

As they celebrated their tenth anniversary as an organization, the Smoki had become more fully and seamlessly integrated within the social fabric of the community. A diminishment in mystique and disguise coincided with an increased sensibility of civic engagement and emphasis on dedication to voluntarism. The "Smoki mystique"[219], embodied within esoteric references, symbols, and language became less austere. An internal correspondence from 1931, encouraging "Brother Smoki" to help finalize the construction of the Smoki *Pueblo*, reflects a shift in language from the earlier correspondences. Esoteric and codified language is supplanted by everyday colloquialisms and vernacular: "Those of you who have not seen the pueblo recently are in for a surprise. The roof is on, doors and windows hung, fireplace finished, the floor-well, just see it. We will knock off at 11:30…"[220] This shift in the language utilized within textual communication correlated with a broader shift in orientation of inclusion within the larger community. Perhaps most notably indicative of this reorientation of purpose was the completion of the Smoki Pueblo and subsequent plans for the construction of a museum-developments that would inscribe into the cultural landscape with tangible permanence the Smoki mission and intent to "preserve and perpetuate".

---

[219] Carol Patricia Leone, "When the Dancing Stopped: The Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona." (Thesis, M.A., Arizona State University, 1995), 47

[220] "Brother Smoki" Memo, April 8, 1931, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Chapter Four

Authenticity in the Narrative

-The Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona-

1932-1939

> And so now we come to a thought of what the Smoki People must do to carry on the traditions of their gods. They exist in a world of change, where many people are impatient at old customs…For generations the dances have served to unite the people…To make people realize and understand these things of the past, the Smoki not only dance the old ceremonies, but they preserve the old relics in the museum. There, the passerby of this busy world may see with what implements the old ones worked by what laws and customs they lived …[221]

By 1932, the Smoki had become integrated into the social fabric of the community of Prescott, and the depiction of their singularity as an organization became an integral component to the promotion of the city as a premiere tourist destination. The completion of the Smoki *pueblo* brought to fruition Sharlot Hall's expectations that the Smoki should establish a "Smoki house" as a tangible marker signifying the "center of a new culture and a place where older ones can find a congenial home."[222] During this period, the Smoki would strengthen their claim to the place they had established within the community through the use of rhetoric portraying the

[221] Smoki *Ceremonial* Souvenir Program, (1937), 33. Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[222] "Life Work of the Smoki Laid Out," *Prescott Journal Miner*, July 29, 1922, Newspaper Clipping, Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

organization as an organic and cohesive community dedicated to the preservation of tradition for the sake of cultural and social stability. In drawing upon contemporary concerns regarding the vitality and stability of American identity, the Smoki portrayed their collective as a valuable and relevant expression of American folk culture.

From the time of their inception, the Smoki identified their collective role as guardians of regional heritage. This was partially achieved through a rhetorical reliance upon a conceptualization of the "real" or "authentic" American Indian as a victim of historical progression and the effects of modernity. This perception was predicated upon an ethno-centric perception of "real" or "authentic" Indians as figures relegated to a distant past. This supposition facilitated the justification of cultural appropriation through the assertion that the "real" Indian had been rendered voiceless and impotent. Furthermore, a conceptualization of indigenous cultures as inhabiting a conceptual space subsumed under an imposition of a construction of the state and nation-state, facilitated a White claim of guardianship over indigenous cultural property in trust. Their self-construction as a unique collective with the acumen to identify the value in those aspects of American Indian cultures that the federal government had seemingly depreciated was constructed within a broader paradigm wherein the trope of the western White settler was a pioneering visionary. As such, the Smoki vested their group with the ability to create within the cultural landscape a new world shaped within parameters that maintained the preservation of ostensible American social institutions and tradition.

Initially, the Smoki were portrayed as an allegorical lost "tribe" in search of place, sustenance and meaning. In the wake of the Depression, the Smoki had emerged from this distinction and began to identify as idealists dedicated to the preservation of social and cultural stability through adherence to tradition. Their performances were increasingly presented as

distinctly and uniquely "Smoki", as the tourist became a witness to an authentic regional expression. The *ceremonials* became more of a performance for the sake of Smoki tradition than as a means of expressing and highlighting difference. The emphasis on performance and elements of show and production supplanted a prior focus on the Smoki as interpreters of possessors of esoteric knowledge. During this period, a time in which, as Miles Orvell argues, the social and cultural impact of the Depression had revealed the stark contrast between the idyllic and reality[223]**,** the Smoki portrayed themselves as a community devoted to the preservation of tradition, social stability, and American ideals. A tangible place marker of their intention of permanence in Prescott was achieved during this period through the completion of the Smoki *pueblo* and museum.

The construction of the Smoki museum had been initiated at the same time as the Smoki *pueblo*, and was complete by 1935. As has already been noted in reference to D.H. Lawrence's assertion that "no place exerts its full influence upon a newcomer until the old inhabitant is dead or absorbed", the Smoki effort to "animate…with humanizing spirit…"[224] acquired greater significance through a literal extension of extracting indigenous claim to the land and inscribing it with meaning of relevance to the Smoki. Through the efforts and cooperation of the Yavapai archaeological society, the Smoki acquired artifacts from local project sites under excavation. The acquisition and subsequent display of artifacts reflected an extension and continuation of a process of ethnographic detachment, appropriation, and absorption. Susan Stewart notes that the

[223] Miles Orvell. *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 226.

[224]"Life Work of the Smoki Laid Out," *Prescott Journal Miner*, July 29, 1922, Newspaper Clipping, Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

collection marks the space of nexus for all narratives; the place where history is transformed into space and property.[225] The acquisition of excavated indigenous artifacts was arguably an extension of efforts to further excise indigenous history from its contemporary cultural and social context, and to ascribe meaning to the artifacts that fit within a narrative wherein such acquisitions were re-signified as "regional heritage", falling under the trust and guardianship of the Smoki as designated cultural "heirs"[226].

The rhetorical dispossession of local indigenous groups had rendered a conceptual space for the Smoki; the appropriation and alteration of indigenous cultural property provided a foundation upon which, over time, came to constitute a unique "Smoki tradition" or conceptualized regional "folk culture" could be constructed. Though initially a semi-secretive fraternal society, women had been involved in various functional aspects of the organization, including occasional participation in the annual *ceremonials*. Sporadic acknowledgement of their efforts was reflected in descriptions of the Smoki prior to the early 1930's, but a shift in the extent of this acknowledgement is indicated within the text of a souvenir program from the Smoki Ceremonials of 1932, wherein the Smoki are portrayed as "all White citizens of Prescott, business men and women, who have dedicated themselves to the task of perpetuating the ritual, rites and folk-lore of the Indians of the Southwest"[227] The inclusion of women in the descriptive coincided with a slight shift in the organization's self-perception as an organic and inter-generational entity, a construction that correlated with an increased emphasis on posterity

---

[225] Susan Stewart *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), xii.

[226] "Smoki Rituals Charm Throng of Spectators," Source Unknown, June 14, 1924. Newspaper Clipping, Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[227] Smoki *Ceremonial* Program (1932). Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

and tradition.

The term “folk-lore”, while used previously, may have also attained particular relevance in relation to Smoki identity and conceptualization of the organization’s role in relation to the representation of indigenous cultures. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett notes that the very term “folklore” “marks a transformation of errors into archaisms and their transvaluation once they are safe for collection, preservation, exhibition, study, and even nostalgia and revival.”[228] That which had become detached, excised from its indigenous historical and contemporary significance, became altered and incorporated within a framework that affected a re-signification of indigenous cultural property as subsumed within a state and regional identity and heritage. The Smoki, here, then, are depicted as an organic community of folk, engaged in the ostensibly noble task of helping to preserve the folk culture of another collective. The emphasis on “folk” or organic cohesion, may have served to defer any potential for socio-political or cultural confrontation.

The disguise and anonymity adopted by the Smoki earlier in the organization’s history had been presented in association with rhetoric that elicited the application of anomalies and expectations, emphasizing and therefore enhancing, an embodiment of difference. During this period, however, the Smoki *ceremonials* were increasingly portrayed as drama and art form for the sake of tradition. To this extent, then, racial coding was presented with less frequency, possibly in an effort to defer potential criticism and confrontation. Performance of the Smoki Snake Dance became a means of presenting to the audience a unification of product and process-a seamless integration of epistemology and experience.

---

[228]Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 161.

In examining American culture and social history at the time of the Great Depression, Terry Cooney notes that Americans in the 1930's began to conceptualize cultures in terms of patterns of behavior, shared values and beliefs, and shared symbols[229] Concurrently, Cooney notes, by the end of the nineteen-twenties, tenets of cultural relativism as theorized by anthropologist Franz Boas began to influence mainstream culture and parlance. [230] Boas' "cultural relativism" challenged the predominating views on cultural development, particularly those of Lewis Henry Morgan, whose theories of social evolution were based upon a classification of cultures within a single unilineal model of societal development. By the mid-1930's, Cooney asserts, Americans began to conceive of cultures as integrated units embodying different structures of meaning, and developing variably in response to unique historical conditions. Complex, and encompassing all aspects of an individual's experience, cultures were perceived as being comprised of shared patterns of behavior, values, beliefs, and symbols that both constructed and were reflected within all aspects of life.[231] As the effects of the Great Depression had revealed incongruity and disparity in the circumstances and conditions experienced by different groups, they also revealed a disparity between reality and long established American axioms and ideals. This awareness, correlating with a renewed interest in unifying and strengthening American culture, and restoring faith in established institutions and beliefs, rendered constructions of regional folk cultures the focus of popular and intellectual

---

[229] Cooney, Terry A. *Balancing Acts: American Thought and Culture in the 1930's* (Woodbridge, CT: Twayne Publishers, 1995), 107.

[230] Ibid., 106.

[231] Ibid.

interest and relevance in a collective quest to identify and affirm the "unity and value of American tradition".[232]

By 1932, the Smoki had begun to conceive of their organization as inextricably connected to the *gestalt* and community spirit that unified the town of Prescott. In a 1933 edition of a local insurance magazine entitled *The Local Agent*, insurance agent and Smoki member, Kenneth Aitken, authored a featured article concerning his organization. In adapting elements of indigenous ceremonials "to the White man's mode of thought"[233], the Smoki People, Aitken asserted, were:

> …Composed entirely of White citizens of the community; business men and women, who have dedicated and obligated themselves to the study and presentation, in all seriousness, of the traditions, ceremonies and chants of the 'Vanishing American'. By their sincere and conscientious application to their task, dramatizing the rites of the American Indian has become an art with them.[234]

The Smoki, here, are portrayed as justified in their actions by merit of their "sincerity" and "conscientious application"; their performances are reduced to a process of study and aesthetic dramatization. Cultural and religious significance is thus effaced and deferred. It was through the efforts of the Smoki, Aitken suggested, that other Whites can witness that which would otherwise be inaccessible to them:

> Dances as they have been given by the Smoki People would require years of travel to witness on the reservations. They call for unusual beauty, rhythmic movement and

[232] Ibid., 108

[233] Kenneth Aitken, "The Smoki People: Arizona's Most Unusual Organization" *The Local Agent: A Monthly Magazine For Selling Casualty and Surety Insurance,* July, 1933. Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[234] Ibid.

perfection of physique and yearly bring back to the Indians much of the mystic charm and ritualistic splendor attached to their early history.[235]

In detaching the "early history" from the contemporary indigenous experience, the Indian is as dependent upon the visionary and conscientious Smoki, as other Whites. The Indian, it is implied, relied upon the efforts and acumen of the Smoki to "bring back" what had been lost to time; the White man relied upon the Smoki to render accessible to him what would otherwise be lost to geographic distance. Here, then, is a reflection of the organization's identity as civically engaged intermediaries, cultural translators and guardians of "heritage". The notion that what the Smoki had to offer to the White tourist could and should be "accessible" to other Whites, fits within a "right to know" colonialist paradigm wherein geographic limits and confrontation by "hostile" or inhospitable Indians represented the only obstacles to appropriation. Here, that symbolic confrontation is deferred, through the reliance and dependency of the Indian upon the White Smoki for cultural sustainment.

The portrayal of the Smoki as advocates and concerned guardians of what had been lost to the American Indian, is also illustrative of what has already been referenced as "imperialist nostalgia", or a lamentation for an elusive past among a group who are themselves indicated, to some extent, in the eradication of that which they lament as lost. [236] What had been lamented by the Smoki and other Whites, however, was not linked to a concern of the cultural dispossession of sovereign groups of people, but rather what implications this seemed to hold for the dominant culture. What was perceived to be the plight of the Indian in his loss of tradition, was reflective of concerns that pervaded contemporary American society; a perceived loss of

---

[235] Ibid.

[236] Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* 26, *Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory* (1998): 108.

faith in progress, as well as in the ability of the individual to create and shape his environment, correlated with perhaps the biggest underlying concern of a perceived diminishment in the collective faith in the infallibility of American progress and exceptionalism.

In introducing Aitken's observations, the *Local Agent* article referred to the Smoki member as one among a group of "business folk, who have dedicated themselves to the task of perpetuating the ritual, rites and folklore of the Indians of the Southwest".[237]Aitken himself identified the Smoki as a group, who, for thirteen years, had been perpetuating and performing "interpretation of the ritual, rites and folklore of the Indians of the Southwest." Ostensible Native interest in the Smoki ceremonials is perceived and interpreted as approval. In relating this observation, Aitken asserted that "they have stated that the interpretations as presented by the Smoki excel their own performances and they have returned to their people with the urge to perfect themselves in their own rites and traditions."[238] The interpretation of this gesture as a form of acceptance from the Hopi conveyed an effort to provide further justification for the continued appropriation of Hopi and other indigenous ceremonies. It also portrayed the Smoki as a community justified in the perpetuation of their own traditions, downplaying the issue of appropriation, criticism and protest to the point of effacement. This serves to preclude the relevance of any criticism from those groups from whom the Smoki interpretation appropriated, while simultaneously marking and identifying the Smoki as a unique embodiment of folk expression-a traditional community in their own right. Furthermore, the emphasis on dramatization and art effectually linked product and process, lending authenticity to what the audience experienced. The authenticity of the experience was inherent in what was constructed

---

[237] Kenneth Aitken, "The Smoki People: Arizona's Most Unusual Organization" *The Local Agent: A Monthly Magazine For Selling Casualty and Surety Insurance,* July, 1933, Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[238] Ibid.

as a “transformation” to which the audience witnessed. In a brochure depicting the Smoki Ceremonials of 1939, the performance is portrayed as an enacted process of authentic experience: “So seriously do the Smoki People enter into these ceremonies that it becomes a part of their very being. That is why the dances are so stirring…the whole ceremonial so breath-taking.”[239]Such description implies a stirring of a transcendent community “spirit”- an organic construction that served not only to bind the Smoki together, but to include the audience as active participants and witnesses.

In describing the Smoki Ceremonials of 1932, Aitken highlights the performance of the Eagle Dance, identifying it as an allegory of adaptation through the application of tradition. “The young eagles” he states, “…in order to accustom themselves to the difficulties of gaining a livelihood and of defending themselves from their enemies, they call upon the old eagles to instruct them in these arts…[240] Here, a belief in the sanctity of tradition and community as a palliative recourse against adversity is implied. In 1935, the Smoki performed the Eagle Dance again; their interpretation of the dance’s symbolic significance was presented in the text of that year’s souvenir program:

> …the Eagle dance rhythms…convey the cunning, versatility, power and stamina of those noble birds…symbolic to a great nation…also held in reverence and awe by all Indian tribes and especially by the Smoki people, whose homes among the mountains and pines, the Eagle is a common, but ever-awe-inspiring sight flying out of vision”[241]

---

[239] “Smoki Ceremonials” 1939, Promotional Brochure. Smoki People Historical Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[240] Aitken,“The Smoki People” *The Local Agent,* 20. Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[241] “The Smoki Eagle Dance”, “15th Annual Smoki Dance Ceremonial Program” June 9, 1935. Smoki People Historical Collection , Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

As a harmonious expression embodying the "versatility, power and stamina" of the eagle, themes of adaptability and endurance are conveyed. While the eagle might arguably bear metaphorical reference to elusive ideals-evading the visual field, and therefore the control of the observer, the text also arguably suggests that the spirit and nature of the eagle- or "eagle rhythms"- can be seamlessly integrated through unification of performance. The faith attributed to this embodiment of the eagle further suggests a continued belief in established social institutions. The Indian becomes both national and regional figure in this text; the Smoki is portrayed as a figure emblematic of patriotic sensibility.

As the Smoki were engaged in portraying their group and community as a cohesive and unified organic entity, the government's policy towards the conceptualization of integrating Native Americans was shifting. U.S. Indian policy under Franklin D. Roosevelt's commissioner of Indian affairs, John Collier, was characterized by a restructuring of indigenous societies, focused on the collective level. Richard Clemmer notes that in place of assimilation policies that focused on the acculturation of individuals through their separation from the community, the "New Deal for Indians" focused on the collective. Reflecting a re-assertion of the basic assumption that assimilation would and should be inevitable[242], the institution of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934 conceived of American Indian communities as integrative units that could be collectively incorporated economically and politically as a means of effecting ultimate assimilation at the collective level.[243] As a social reformer, John Collier had been a part of a counter-reforming tradition during the 1920's. He conceived of indigenous groups as seamless and organic cohesive societies, the integrative functions of which should be preserved not only

[242] Cornell, *Return of the Native*, 93.

[243] Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 125.

for the perceived sake of the cultures themselves, but for their potential value in application to dominant American culture. [244] The Indian Reorganization Act, or IRA, marked an end to the period of allotment and initiated efforts to stabilize and develop reservation economies.[245] Though the arena was small, it allowed for a modicum of Native representation within the federal government, and lifted bans that had previously been implemented to suppress religious practices and ceremonials. While the notion that Native Americans needed to be reunited with what truly made them "Indian" was always fundamentally flawed, it became particularly untenable once federal policies that had been overtly inimical to Native societies were supplanted with new. By this time, however, the Smoki had "filled in", so to speak, the space rendered by what had been effaced through appropriation and detachment; the historical and cultural significance of artifacts and ceremonial elements masked with a veneer of a fabricated indigeneity-imbued with meaning that was simply, yet specifically, Smoki.

A souvenir program from 1937 portrays the Smoki dances in terms of a fabricated Smoki intergenerational tradition: "For generations, the dances have served to unite the people and fill out their lives, and even today the Smoki will tell you what a swelling of the heart they feel when they dance".[246] Here, the implicit value of the "dances" lays not in their religious or cultural meaning, but rather in aesthetic form and tradition. Adherence to tradition for its own sake is suggested as being of particular significance in preserving for the Smoki a sense of shared purpose and communal spirit, conveyed through performance. When they dance, Aitken

---

[244] Cornell, *Return of the Native,* 91.

[245] Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky,* 125.

[246] Smoki Ceremonials Souvenir Program (1937) 33, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

observes, their hearts "swell". [247] Further references to the value of tradition are reflected within narratives featured in the 1937 Smoki *Ceremonials* souvenir program:

> And so now we come to a thought of what the Smoki People must do to carry on the traditions of their gods. They exist in a world of change where many people are impatient at old customs and cry for new ones. But among the Smoki it is known that many old things are best, especially if they have lived long and been tested by time…To make people realize and understand these things of the past, the Smoki not only dance the old ceremonies, but they preserve the old relics in the museum.[248]

This description of Smoki tradition portrays social change as ephemeral and deleterious to social cohesion and tradition. The implied relevance and cohesion embodied within the Smoki performances, and therefore, their implicit value in presentation, reflects an attempt to embody what Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett refers to as the "inseparability of process and product", effectually evoking a sense of the authentic in immediate experience.[249] Terry Cooney asserts that, while during the 1930's Americans began to think of culture in terms of patterns of "behavior and belief"[250], there was also the expectation that the expression of this should be unified around particular principles and modes of thought.[251] The notion of streamlining, for example, as it applied to architecture, art, technology, and even social reform, was ultimately an acknowledgement and awareness of a need to effectively adapt integrative functions of social

---

[247] Kenneth Aitken, "The Smoki People: Arizona's Most Unusual Organization" *The Local Agent: A Monthly Magazine For Selling Casualty and Surety Insurance,* July, 1933, Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[248] Smoki *Ceremonials* Souvenir Program (1937) 33, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[249] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, 64.

[250] Cooney, *Balancing Acts*, 107.

[251] Ibid., 195.

and economic institutions in an effort to achieve cohesion between ideology and its systemic implementation. Long-established concepts and paradigms, including, for instance, axioms such as America as the "land of opportunity" were prevalent in a collective effort to reaffirm and re-signify them within a contemporary framework.[252] They functioned as ideological benchmarks, the recognition and affirmation of which, served as a means of affirming cultural cohesion amid change. Tradition, then, for the sake of posterity, served a socio-cultural purpose that the Smoki drew upon. Unification through the reaffirmation and re-signification of time-honored assumptions and paradigms was further enhanced through the erasure of cultural confrontation and social inequity-achieved through an emphasis on aesthetics.

A brochure advertising the Smoki Dance from 1935 recounted the history of the Smoki Snake Dance, stating that the first performance, while given with "little seriousness", "immediately, those of more serious mind and artistic temperament realized that there is a deep significance, inherent rhythm, and rare beauty in Indian Dance that most White men fail to understand and appreciate". Implicit in this rendition of Smoki "history", is a conceptualization of "rhythm" and "aesthetics" as inherent, organic, and essentially non-political. In a description of the organization featured in a Smoki *ceremonial* souvenir program from 1937, the Smoki People are credited for establishing a means by which a public expression of community spirit achieves to equally convey the value of tradition and preservation:

> Pageants have come to be one of the most popular expressions of community spirit,many, such as the Mardi Gras, taking the form of carnivals, but the Smoki People have chosen

[252] Ibid., 21.

> an enduring theme, that of preserving to posterity the Indian lore of the great southwest through the ceremonials depicted each year in Prescott.[253]

Within this narrative is a reflection of the perceived purpose of the Smoki as it had shifted from the early days of the organization's inception. The implied levity and sporadic whim described in this portrayal of the community Pageant, or carnival, is juxtaposed against that of the Smoki, who are portrayed as visionaries with the acumen to foresee the value in presenting for posterity, rather than for any vagaries of the times.

While Smoki pageantry had initially been reflective of an experiment and expression in navigating between social and cultural boundaries, the purpose of Smoki performances had shifted considerably by this time, towards an emphasis on tradition and continuity. As has already been noted, as observed by Philip Deloria, the historical tradition of pageantry and Carnival, through an emphasis on regeneration and social inversion, presented a two-sided cultural approach-the possibility of an anarchic order, as well as an affirmation of social convention. [254] In their perception of the purpose of pageantry as presented in the souvenir program, a sensibility of community is conceived apart from historical context. Rather, this is deferred by a conceptualization of "community spirit" as an organic and transcendent essence that presupposes contemporary cultural and social concerns or contention. The souvenir program for the Smoki ceremonials of 1937 recounts a fictional history and allegorical tale of the Smoki people that describes the mission and goals of the Smoki as reflected within efforts "to preserve

[253] "Smoki Ceremonials" Souvenir Program (1937) 16, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[254] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 7.

an idea and to labor to attain an ideal."[255] It further notes that "…the men and women of the Smoki today are idealists."[256] The organization's focus on tradition and community cohesion that emerged during this period, and their portrayal of their group as ardent preservationists of cultural traditions correlated with a conceptualization of their group as an organic entity. In an *L.A. Times* article, in the dances are described as, "all superb in fantasy, linked intimately with the occasions and emotions that are dominant in red men's lives-the hunt, the harvest, puberty and marriage, sickness, death, conquest."[257] Reflected within this description is an emphasis on rhythmic, cyclical, and repetitive social patterns and rituals that evoke associations with generational continuity.

While the performances were indicative of an effort to symbolically construct and conceive of community spirit and heritage as detached from socio-historical and political concerns, dedication to establishing the museum became another means by which ethnographic detachment was manifest. The establishment of a museum to house acquisitions had always been the intention of the organization from its inception; following the completion of the construction of the Smoki *pueblo*, the latter part of 1931 was dedicated to the process of planning for the museum.[258] In anticipation of the fruition of those plans, a special edition of the *Prescott Evening Courier* featured articles dedicated to local archaeological endeavors. Collectively, they reflected concerns relating to heritage and posterity, as well as an intent to foster a communal sense of

---

[255] "Smoki Ceremonials" Souvenir Program (1937) 16, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[256] Ibid.

[257] "Paleface Snake Dance," *Los Angeles Times* Oct. 6, 1938. Newspaper Clipping, Alma Jo Stevens Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[258] "Smoki to haul in logs Sunday," *Prescott Evening Courier*, Nov. 6, 1931, Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

responsibility in facilitating the work of the Smoki. In doing so, they illustrate the inextricable bond that had been formed between the organization and the community of Prescott. In an article entitled “Indian Ruin Plunderers”, the *Prescott Courier* denounces the assumed activities of “marauders who pilfer the old ruins before trained archaeologists get around to exploring them…wrenching from them every iota of historical data…dissipating a heritage of the present generation that should not be tolerated.”[259] It continues by lamenting that,

> to the plunderers an Indian ruin is just a pile of old stone or crumbling adobe, a few bits of pottery…fragments…that have no apparent value other than the few dollars they will bring to collectors –and nine times out of ten collectors are from out of the state, which means the relics are lost forever to Arizona.[260]

The concern regarding the loss of heritage to the “present generation” reflects an awareness of the purpose of heritage as the “…production of something new that has recourse to the past”[261] Underlying concern over “loss of heritage” is fear for a social amnesia, an effacement of a common sense of shared history and purpose. Additionally, it identifies this heritage within a geo-political designation and orientation, symbolically conferring ownership of prehistoric and indigenous artifacts to the state of Arizona. This not only dispossesses indigenous groups of their own historical record and identity, but also effectually identifies the representation and ownership of this record as property of Arizona. Again, this is illustrative of a continuing struggle for socio-political hegemony fraught among Anglo-Americans at the expense of Native

---

[259] “Indian Ruin Plunderers,” *Prescott Courier* Jan., 22, 1932, Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[260] Ibid.

[261] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 149.

American identity. The concern over the extraction of historical "data" from ancient artifacts is reflective of a deferment of consideration of the artifacts' cultural and historical significance to Native American groups. Rather, it reduces their value to a process of scientific application. In highlighting the urgency in establishing custodianship over the artifacts, the article effectively relates the mission of the Smoki to the issue of "plundering", conferring responsibility of trusteeship upon the Smoki organization, stating that,

> Prescott's Smoki People have plans for a great museum. They are about ready to go ahead with a wing to their City Park pueblo for housing it. If they are wise they will take steps at once to obtain authority for gathering material or else there will be nothing left.[262]

The article continues by emphasizing the importance of the "fragment" to the "whole" in relation to the historical record: "Every remnant of the former people of Arizona is a fragment of a complete picture and therefore necessary to the whole."[263] The value of the individual fragment or artifact is defined not by its historical, and cultural significance, but rather for its potential to contribute to a construction of the "complete picture" to become a part of a metaphorical tableau or panorama to be studied, viewed, and visually mastered. To this extent, objects of indigenous history become souvenirs. As Susan Stewart argues, "the souvenir seeks distance (the exotic in time and space), but it does so in order to transform and collapse distance into proximity to, or approximation with, the self"[264] By extension, then, the meaning and significance of the artifact-souvenir is found within its place contained within the collection. "The collection", Stewart argues, "marks the space of nexus for all narratives, the place where history is transformed into

---

[262] Ibid.

[263] Indian Ruin Plunderers" *Prescott Daily Courier.* Jan. 22, 1932, Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[264] Stewart, *On Longing*, xii.

space, into property."[265] The historical record is metaphorically transposed, collapsed, and contained within the collection as a narrative would be contained within a book. Inherently problematic, however, was the fact that the "book" so to speak, was not authored or authorized by those whose cultural lineage rendered them the rightful heirs to the archaeological acquisitions. Instead, custodianship is conferred upon the Smoki, rhetorically negating any potential indigenous claims to the artifacts by referring to them as "remnants of a former people"[266]-ruins belonging to a group of people lost to the past. The article confers upon the Smoki organization authority to acquire and preserve, while additionally calling upon the entire community to aid in the Smokis' the efforts to preserve regional and state heritage.

The preliminary planning of the Smoki Museum was a process that involved considerable concerted effort in the community. As a means of enlisting help from the Works Project Administration, the Smoki deeded a portion of the land to the city of Prescott, for a period of time during which under public auspices federal funds could be secured.[267] Smoki member Charles Elrod's committee garnered support and endorsement from the University of Arizona's Dean of archaeology, Byron Cummings, and secured the placement of two graduate archaeology students from the institution: Edward Spicer and Louis Caywood. As head of the university's archaeological department, Byron Cummings had been instrumental in starting the process of legislation that would eventually result in the Arizona Antiquities Act[268] the culmination of

---

[265] Ibid.

[266] Indian Ruin Plunderers" *Prescott Daily Courier* Jan. 22, 1932, Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[267] Jennifer Ann Dewitt, "When They Are Gone" (Thesis, M.A, Arizona State University, 1996), 61

[268] David R.Wilcox, "Seizing the Moment: Collaboration and Cooperation in the Founding and Growth of the Museum of Northern Arizona, 1928-2008," *Journal of the Southwest* 52 no. 4 (2010): 463.

which resulted from efforts to which would seek to place limits on federal claim to state and regional “heritage”. In addition to his support of the Smoki mission and the Arizona Antiquities Act, Byron Cummings had also been a board member of the fledgling Museum of Northern Arizona- a project overseen by an intellectual community in the Flagstaff area whose intent was to achieve a “unified civic consciousness and pride of place”[269] Established as a precedent within the region, then, was a notion of establishing civic pride through museum exhibition and display. Completed in 1935, Grace M. Sparkes, later referred to the Smoki Museum project as “one of the most outstanding work relief projects not only in the Southwest, but of the entire United States…”[270]

By 1939, attendance each summer led to the decision to accommodate the peak of seasonal tourism by changing the time and date of the Smoki ceremonials from June at dusk to the month of August, in the evening. These exigencies placed new demands on logistics and execution of lighting, makeup and performance. After nineteen years of performances in June, this relatively and seemingly minor change in custom nevertheless evoked a display of nostalgia as evinced within the souvenir program for that year’s *ceremonials*. The Smoki Snake Dance was a prevalent topic of focus, as were Sharlot Hall’s various poems and narratives concerning the organization. The featured vignette for that year’s *ceremonials* focused on a story of the Navajo, “those silent, nomadic wanderers of the plains…”[271] The accompanying narrative to the vignette depicted the story of a Navajo youth, who, having evaded capture, embarks on a journey to return home. Along the way, he is aided by divine forces, and acquires secretive

[269] Ibid., 456.

[270] Grace Sparkes, “Smoki Museum History is Told,” Source unknown, circa 1937, Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[271] “Smoki Ceremonials” Souvenir Program, (1939) 3, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

knowledge which, upon reaching home, he interprets and applies to improve the lives and daily existence of his people, and to cure his own malaise and discontent. These themes of acquisition and exchange, transvaluation and rejuvenation are fitting to the story of how the Smoki organization conceived of their history and place within Prescott and the region.

Within a period of twenty years, the Smoki organization had evolved from a small group with a limited focus and intent, to a semi-secretive fraternal organization to a community dedicated to a frequently articulated and clear mission of civic engagement predicated upon a sense of guardianship of regional heritage. As they attained greater renown during the height of the Great Depression, an increased interest in the preservation of artifacts coincided with a burgeoning interest in portraying themselves as traditional idealists. The effort to acquire the fragment so that the whole may be revealed[272]correlated with a focus on portraying themes of tradition and social patterns within a context wherein the regional was situated within a broader national narrative.

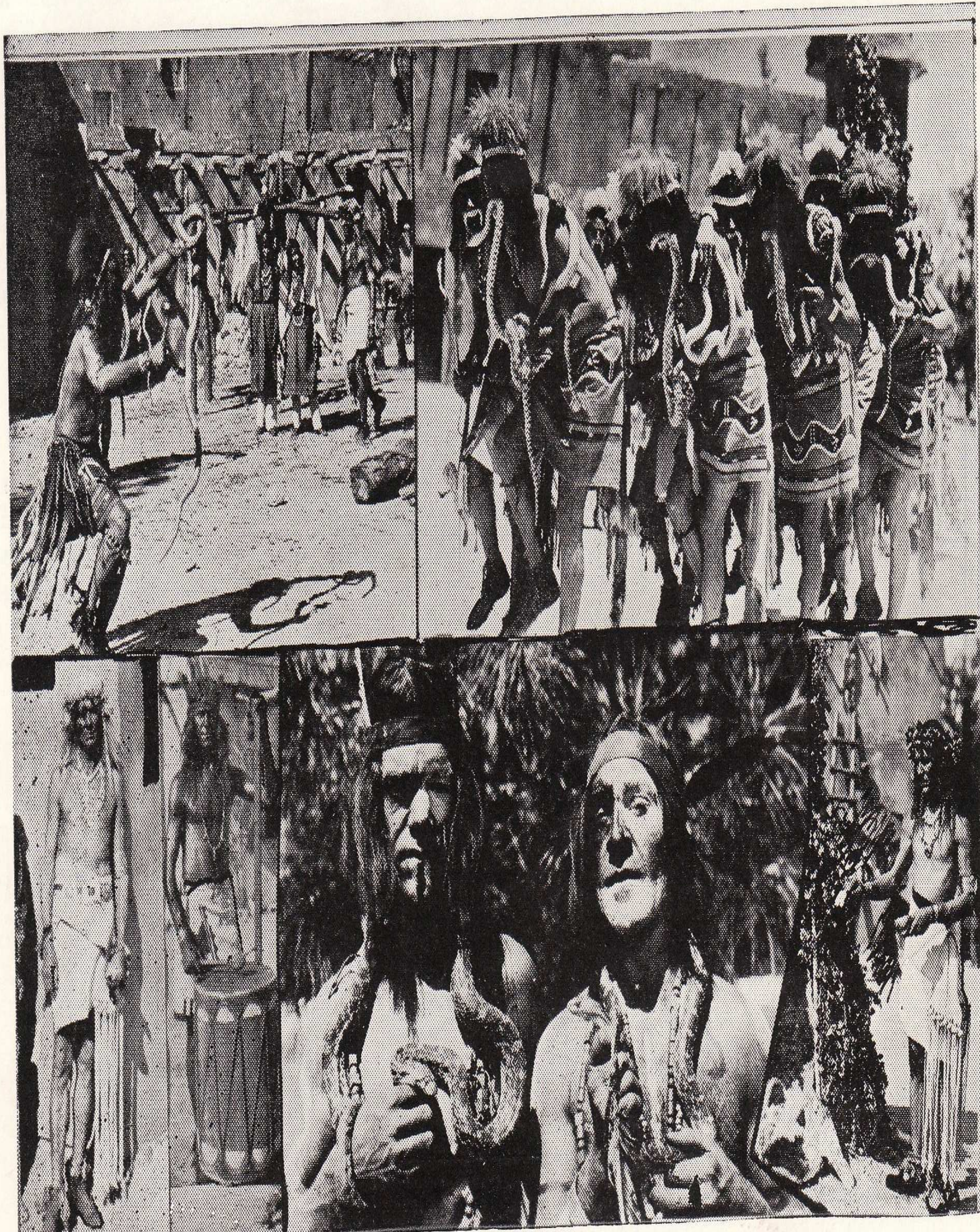
Featured in the souvenir program from the 1939 Smoki *ceremonials*, is a two-page collage of various photographs of the Smoki dancers and performances throughout the years. The images are noteworthy, as they resemble a textured palimpsest depicting a Smoki timeline. Outside the perimeters framing the Smoki collages are two small images depicting Indian men, facing the images of the Smoki, looking on in presumed interest and approval. Another image of a Native woman, appears, wrapped in a blanket, face-on and gazing expressionless into the distance between the page and the observer, presumably seeing nothing. The metaphors that arise in these configurations of Smoki images are arguably illustrative of what Susan Stewart

---

[272] "Indian Ruin Plunderers," *Prescott Courier* Jan., 22, 1932, Newspaper Clipping, Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

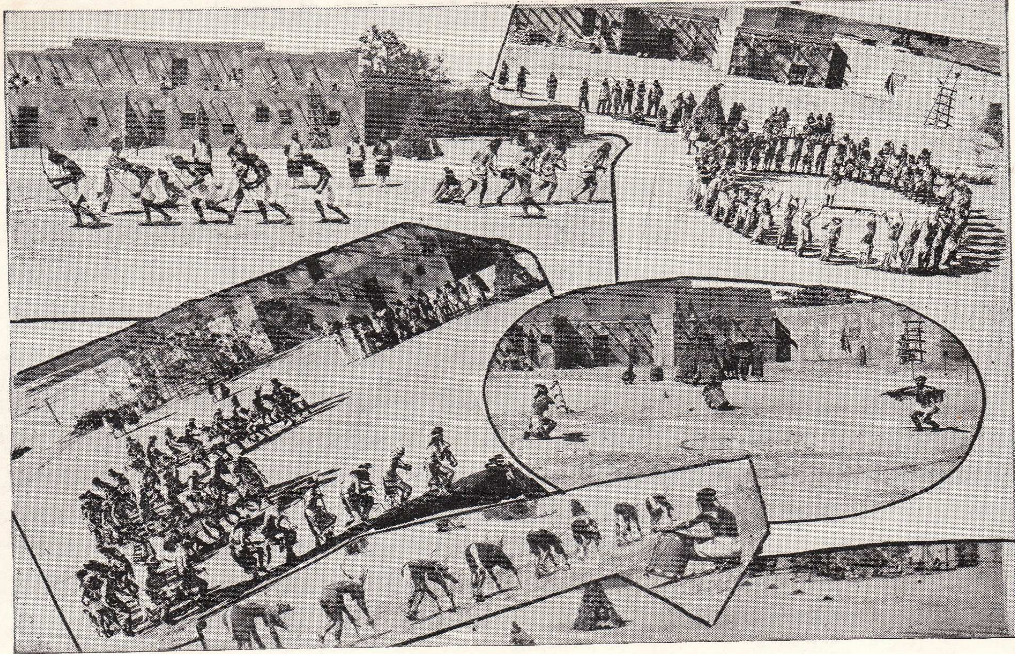
refers to as a “structure of desire”, a structure that both invents and distances its object and thereby inscribes again and again the gap between signifier and signified that is the place of generation for the symbolic.[273] Evoking associations of the center and periphery, of perspective and transcendence, historical process and stasis, these images, transposed and tightly condensed upon one another, portray a symbolic representation of a very complex narrative-that of the Smoki.

[273] Stewart, On Longing, ix.

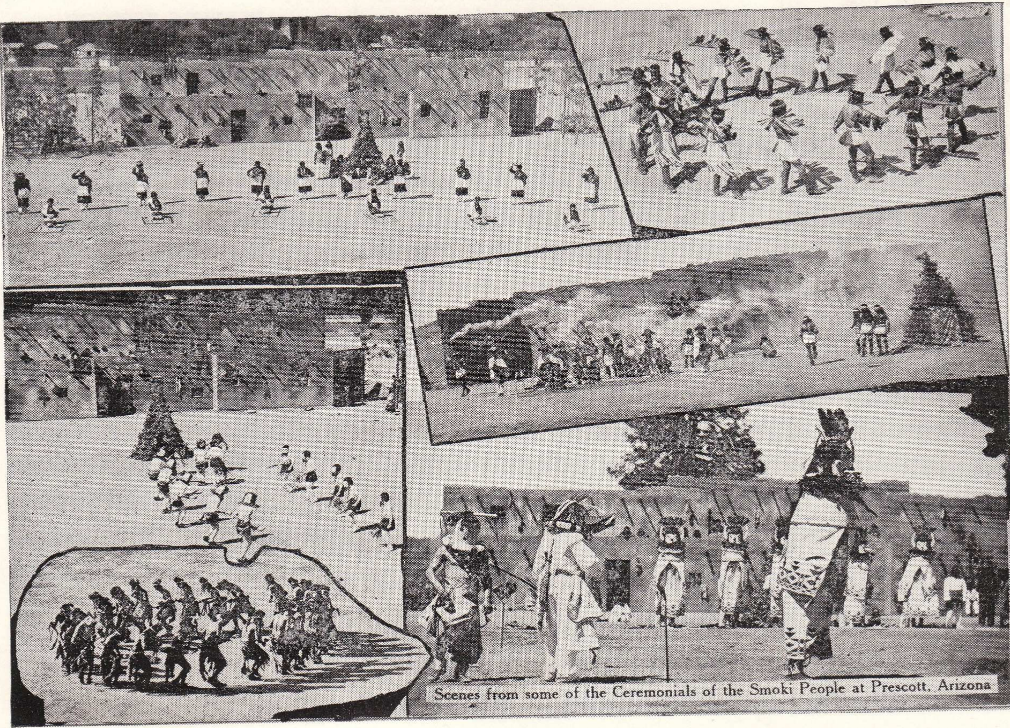


[274]

[274] "Smoki Ceremonials" Souvenir Program, 1939, 8. Smoki People Historical Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.



Sacred Rites of a Vanishing Race



Scenes from some of the Ceremonials of the Smoki People at Prescott, Arizona

[275]

[275] "Smoki Ceremonials" Souvenir Program, 1939, 9. Smoki People Historical Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Chapter Five

-Conclusion-

Back to This, His Chosen Place[276]

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to relate the history of the early years of the Smoki organization as it constituted a unique expression of civic engagement predicated upon an assumed guardianship of regional heritage and a transcendent American ethos. In doing so, I have tried to outline socio-political aspects of the historical context in which the organization was able to establish and sustain a place of privilege within the community wherein they could engage in the politics of cultural appropriation and representation. The construction of a the group's self-perception as authorities on local indigenous cultural representation was a means by which the organization claimed possession of a contextual social capital- portrayed and promoted as a foundation upon which to reconstruct and rejuvenate mainstream American culture. This particular construction of Smoki identity emerged at a time of counter-cultural efforts to identify and define a less Euro-centric, unique American identity. At the same time, recent attainment of statehood had established firm delineations concerning what it meant to be an Arizonan citizen vested with the authority of political and cultural representation.

The first performance of the "Smoki Snake Dance" on May 26, 1921, initiated the establishment of an array of textual space within which the Smoki could construct and convey an identity based on the authority and guardianship of heritage. A paradigm of the Indian as the "vanishing American", as well as an ethnographic discourse that had been established prior to the organization's establishment, helped contributed to a conceptualization of indigenous cultural

---

[276] Hall, "When the Smokis Dance" in *The Story of the Smoki People,* 2.

property as available to White examination and consumption. An appropriation of ritual and ceremony, as it constituted a perceived "mystique", became identified as a "Smoki mystique"[277] that allowed the group to function as a relatively separate society, and would "transform" a group of "Way Out West" performers into a semi-secretive fraternal society by 1923.

An early perception and portrayal of their group as a "lonely and outcast tribe" allowed for the Smoki to occupy a conceptual liminal space, wherein a new identity could be constructed in an attempt to establish what Dylan Rodriguez refers to as a sort of fabricated White indigeneity or claim to the land derived from a construction of a common and shared heritage tied to the conceptualization of the land as home.[278] Throughout the history of their organization, the Smoki attempted to construct, through ethnographic detachment, appropriation, and performance, a stabilized sense of place and identity. These processes and endeavors coincided with an emergent interest in the wake of the First World War, in actively seeking out and identifying an "authentic" American character.

A conceptualization of the vitality of American democratic institutions as contained locally, within small communities, became intertwined with contemporary concerns relating to urbanization, immigration, and political bureaucratization. The individual's ability to directly contribute was envisioned as best achieved within a small community of like-minded individuals. Within this paradigm, the American region was conceptualized as an organic representation of unique traditions containing authentic representations and expressions of national ideals. The conceptual Native American, frequently utilized as a symbol of national pride and independence, became a figure of "regional authority and authenticity" [279]

---

[277] Leone, "When the Dancing Stopped", 47.

[278] Rodriguez, "Goldwater's Left Hand" 40.

[279] Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest,* 187.

Though initially the organization's form of civic engagement would manifest in "patterns of ambivalence"[280] between withdrawing and engaging in society, a conflation between Smoki identity and the community of Prescott would gradually emerge by the late nineteen-twenties, at which time Smoki and community efforts to promote Prescott correlated with a peak in an effort across the nation to promote "scenic" patriotism. [281]

As the Smoki attained greater renown during the height of the Great Depression, an increased interest in the preservation of artifacts coincided with a burgeoning interest in portraying themselves as American idealists, dedicated to the preservation of social and cultural stability through adherence to tradition. The rhetorical inclusion of women, and by extension, families, helped to further a self-conceptualization of the organization as an organic community, a fabricated "folk culture" that had become intricately woven into the social fabric of Prescott, Arizona.

[280] T.J. Jackson Lears. *No Place of Grace:* 218.

[281] Shaffer, *See America First*, 18.

What Time Can Not Erase[282]

> We went through initiation, and then after initiation… they'd have the guy doing the tattooing for you. There are a lot of people who say,"Why would you want to do that to yourself?" And I say, "Well it's small, but it represents--it represented so much to us. You can't change it. It's a completion of something, and it became a part of your life. You can't wipe it away. And I think that that's a good thing. Because there might have been a time where you'd deny that you'd had a part of it…[283]

In the previous chapters of this thesis, I have attempted to address the ways in which the Smoki, as an organization, conceived of their place in the community within a regional and national context and narrative. However, the documents and textual evidence I often relied upon to do so, couldn't reveal the most personal perceptions and recollections of what Smoki membership meant to those who dedicated themselves to the organization. During the interview process, I often noticed the unique and pronounced tattoos that marked the left hands of the participants. As the above narrative from one Smoki member's oral history suggests, the process of receiving the tattoo, along with the tattoo itself, was a permanent inscription of inclusion within a particular time and place. During the interviews, mention of the tattoos seemed to evoke expression of an awareness of the ways in which the passing of time altered the meaning and

---

[282] Sub-title taken from a line from, "Smoki Ceremonials" Promotional Brochure, 1939. Smoki People Historical Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[283] Interview with Smoki Member, Nov. 20, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

significance of the tattoos, to the bearer as well as to others. Despite the physical permanence of the signifier, the signified was neither fixed nor stabilized.

One participant lamented the diminishment of power and prestige that others' recognition of the tattoo used to confer upon its bearer:

> Because…local people were a lot more aware of Smoki than they are now, and years ago, if you were a Smoki member, people would say, 'Oh! You're a Smoki!' But that's kind of faded in the last five or ten or twenty years, but originally to be a part of Smoki was quite an honor![284]

Similarly, one narrator observed that in Prescott, the recognition of a Smoki tattoo marked the observer as a local. The recognition of the significance of the tattoo, he noted, was similar, in his opinion, to an awareness of the correct pronunciation of "Prescott":

> I equate that to--and we still joke about it--as I grew up, everyone pronounced Prescott, Pres-*KIT*, if in fact it was [spelled] P-R-E-S-K-I-T, like "biscuit". And we still do this now, and so when you hear someone say "Pres-*CAHT"*, it's weird.[285]

Themes of social cohesion, privilege and influence were interwoven within many of the anecdotes concerning the tattoos. For many, the tattoos served as a tangible and intimate marker of meaning, purpose, inclusion, and individual fulfillment. One participant observed that despite any shifts in relation to public perception or what the tattoo signified to non-Smoki members, in the tattoo itself remained a permanent and stable marker of their experience in Smoki; it wasn't

---

[284] Interview with Smoki member, Dec. 3, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[285] Interview with Smoki member, Nov. 29, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

possible, she observed, to simply "wipe it away".[286] A concern over effacement of the Smoki presence and influence is illustrative of a broader underlying awareness of dispossession—a resonating theme throughout the history of the organization.

For some members, the notion of being incorporated, as an adult, into an encompassing and communal effort was to claim to be a part of, what one narrator identified, as "quite a heritage"[287], and to contribute individually, to this "heritage", was a means of, as one participant expressed, to experience the "feeling of being a part of an important thing, you know, being able to express yourself…a tremendous sense of accomplishment.[288]The "accomplishment" of participating in Smoki, was made to be an achievement in and of itself, as it constituted a statement as to how an individual was perceived within the community, and how this could be incorporated into Smoki. As one narrator stated, "they looked for people they thought were community oriented, that were team players, and that would be good workers, in other words, they could contribute something to the organization. A lot of us--we could contribute.[289]Another participant reinforced this point by stating that, "You had to contribute to the organization in some way. You had to have a skill that we needed. It wasn't just because you had lived here a long time, it was "*what can you do for the Smoki?"* [290]

Individual contribution and accomplishment were set within prescribed parameters of the

---

[286] Interview with Smoki member, Nov. 20, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[287] Interview with Smoki member, Nov. 21, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[288] Interview with Smoki member Jan. 21, 2011. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[289] Interview with Smoki member Dec. 3, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

[290] Interview with Smoki member Nov.10, 2010. Smoki Museum Oral History Initiative Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

group. Sense of ownership was contingent upon the perceived successful contribution to the organization, as one participant observed, that **"[**From] early on, if you wanted to be accepted by this group, and earn your way, then you could take pride in it. It's sort of a pride in ownership, is the term that comes to my mind right now. It's pride in your heritage, um, pride in ownership." This sense of individual contribution and expression was strengthened by the notion that the individual was contributing to a larger purpose within set parameters defined by an understanding of "heritage". As noted earlier in this thesis, David Lowenthal states that heritage "passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose"[291]For some, that "common purpose", as one narrator had stated, was a chance to "be and to be part of that, rather, culture of the Southwest.[292]

In asserting his dedication to the organization, one participant referred back to the initial intent of the Smoki, which was, he stated, "the fact of the Native Indians-keeping their culture. And, in order to keep their culture—why, this is how we became involved in this."[293] In referring to purpose and prestige inherent in the "Smoki heritage", one Smoki member referred to "the camaraderie that you develop and…being a part of something that was *well- appreciated* by the community. See that was the key-*well-appreciated* by the community"[294]As has been noted previously, a perceived diminishment in this appreciation was associated with the diminishment in social cohesion of Prescott, and ultimately, to the decline of the Smoki organization, and the loss of what they perceived of as their "place".

---

[291] David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 128

[292] Interview with Smoki member, Dec. 1, 2010.

[293] Interview with Smoki member, Nov. 21, 2010.

[294] Interview with Smoki member Dec. 3, 2010.

As reflected within the narratives of some oral history participants, the place the Smoki inhabited was an elusive and nostalgic construct, situated within conceptually contested space, one where within the voices of contemporary and sovereign tribes were often silenced before the strident expression of appropriation and the politics of representation. The Smoki emerged during a time of increased collective anxiety and a sense of dislocation wherein the "home" that was actively sought consisted of stabilizing and reinforcing shared national values, axioms and beliefs. A conceptualization of the region and community as constituting a natural and organic embodiment of national democratic principles was interwoven within discussions on how to incorporate the individual within society. Themes inherent within the Smoki expression retain contemporary relevance. Conceptualizations of the "other" as a reflection of society's ills and tensions continue to manifest in the inequitable treatment of individuals or groups. Aspects of the socio-political dynamics that fostered the organization's ability to flourish for generations, continue to reflect institutionalized hegemonic structures that recognize and reinforce White privilege. It is contingent upon those who benefit from such systems to reflect on how power can be reallocated to foster a greater inclusive participation in constructing the historical record. It is equally imperative to recognize how expressions of culture often reflect values and relationships formed by the very socio-cultural hegemony that shape the parameters of our individual and collective experiences and identity. As such an expression, the history of the Smoki should not be dismissed as an embarrassing blight upon the historical record, but should be regarded as an imperfect legacy of a community of individuals whose personal narratives were constructed not only within the same socio-historical parameters that shaped the contentious activities of the organization itself, but also by perceptions of commitment to a perceived larger purpose, and adherence to the notion that, as one narrator expressed, "Once a Smoki, always a Smoki". [295]

[295] "Once a Smoki, always a Smoki", was an axiom used by the Smoki in informal discussions.

WORKS CITED

Adams, William Y. *Indian Policies in the Americas: From Columbus to Collier and Beyond.* Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2014.

Allan, Frederick Lewis. *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the 1920's*. New York, NY: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2000.

Bodnar, John. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Bourke, John G. *The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona: Being a Narrative of a Journey from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Villages of the Moqui Indians of Arizona*, 1884. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1984.

Bradley, Patricia. *Making American Culture: A Social History,1900-1920*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009.

Burke, Flannery. *From Greenwich Village to Taos: Primitivism and Place at Mabel Dodge Luhan's.* Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2008.

Berkhofer, Robert F. Jr. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1978.

Carnes, Mark. C. *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989.

Clemmer, Richard O. *Roads in the Sky: The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995.

Cooney, Terry A. *Balancing Acts: American Thought and Culture in the 1930's.* Woodbridge, CT: Twayne Publishers, 1995.

Cornell, Stephen. *Return of the Native: American Indian Political Resurgence*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Deloria, Philip J. *Playing Indian*. New Haven, CT: Yale Historical Publications, 1998.

Diamond, Stanley. *In Search of the Primitive*: *A Critique of Civilization*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1981.

Dewitt, Jennifer Ann. “When They Are Gone: The Smoki People of Prescott, and the Preservation of Indian Culture” Thesis, M.A., Arizona State University, 1996.

Dilworth, Leah. *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1996.

Dilworth, Leah. “Tourists and Indians in Fred Harvey’s Southwest” *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West.* Ed. David Wrobel and Patrick Long. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2001. 142-164

Dorman, Robert L. *Revolt of the Provinces: The Regionalist Movement in America, 1920-1945*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Dumenil, Lynn. *The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920’s.* New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1995.

Fee, Bruce and Danny Freeman. *The Smoki People, 1921-1991*. 3rd ed. Prescott, AZ: Smoki Museum Press, 2005.

F.W.H “Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier” *American Anthropologist* 16 no. 2 (1914): 349-358.

Gardner, Gail. “The Smoki Temperance Lecture” *Territorial Times: Prescott, Arizona Corral of Westerners, International* 4 no. 1 (2010): 13.

Hall, Sharlot. *Cactus and Pine: Songs of the Southwest.* 1924. Rev.ed. Prescott, Arizona: Sharlot Hall Museum, 2006.

Hall, Sharlot. *The Story of the Smoki People*. Prescott, AZ: Prescott Courier Inc., 1922.

Ishii. Lomayumtewa C. “Western Science Comes to the Hopis: Deconstructing the Origins of an Imperialist Canon” *Wicazo Sa Review* 25, no. 2 (2010): 65-89.

Karp, Ivan and Steven D. Lavine, eds. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 1991.

Kirkpatrick-Wright, Nancy, ed. *Sharlot, Herself: Selected Writings of Sharlot Hall.* Prescott, AZ: Sharlot Hall Museum, 2013

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage.* Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1998.

Lears, T.J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1930*. 1981. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 1994.

Leone, Carol Patricia. "When the Dancing Stopped: The Smoki People of Prescott, Arizona." Thesis, M.A., Arizona State University, 1995.

Lowenthal, David. *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History.* New York, NY: Free Press, 1996.

Maxwell, Margaret F. *A Passion For Freedom: The Life of Sharlot Hall.* Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1982.

McCormick, Richard C. "Independence and Progress: An Oration Delivered at Prescott, Arizona, July 4th, 1864" Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2010.

McCoy, Drew R. *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Meeks, Eric V. *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans and Anglos in Arizona* . Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007.

Miller, Nathan. *New World Coming: The 1920's and the Making of Modern America*. DaCapo Press, 2004.

Nash, Roderick. *The Nervous Generation: American Thought, 1917-1930*. Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee Publishing, 1990.

Orvell, Miles. *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

Pack, Sam. "The Best of Both Worlds: Otherness, Appropriation, and Identity in Thunderheart," *Wicazo Sa Review* 16, no. 2 (2001): 97-114.

Price, Patricia L. *Dry Place: Landscapes of Belonging and Exclusion*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2004.

Richland, Justin. "Hopi Sovereignty as Epistemological Limit," *Wicazo Sa Review* 24, no. 1 (2009): 89-112.

"Hopi Tradition as Jurisdiction," *Law and Social Inquiry* 36, no. 1(2011): 201-234.

Rodriguez, Dylan. "Goldwater's Left Hand: Post-Raciality and the Roots of the Post-Racial Racist State," *Cultural Dynamics* 26, no. 1 (2014): 29-51.

Rodriguez, Sylvia. "Tourism, Whiteness and the Vanishing Anglo" *Seeing and Being Seen*. Ed David Wrobel and Patrick Long. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2001. 194-221.

Rosaldo, Renato. "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* 26, *Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory* (1989): 107-122.

Rudnick, Lois Palken. *Utopian Vistas: The Mabel Dodge Luhan Home and the American Counterculture*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

Shaffer, Marguerite. *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2001.

Skocpol, Theda and Morris P. Fiorina, eds. *Civic Engagement in American Democracy.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1999.

Stewart, Susan. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.

Teague, David W. *The Southwest in American Art and Literature*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997.

Thorne, Kate Ruland. *Gold Greed and Glory: The Territorial History of Prescott and the Verde Valley, 1864-1912.* Baltimore, MD: PublishAmerica, 2007.

Van Dyke, Ruth M. *The Chaco Experience: Landscape and Ideology at the Center Place*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008.

Zerubavel, Eviatar. *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Archival Sources

Williams, Amy Jo. Nov. 29, 2010. Interview with Smoki member. Transcript. SMOHI 2011.4 Smoki Oral History Initiative. Box 7 Folder 4 Smoki Museum Archival Records Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Williams, Amy Jo. Dec. 3, 2010. Interview with Smoki member. Transcript. SMOHI 2011.6 Smoki Oral History Initiative. Box 8 Folder 2 Smoki Museum Archival Records Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Williams, Amy Jo. Nov. 10, 2010. Interview with Smoki member. Transcript. SMOHI 2011.1Smoki Oral History Initiative. Box 7 Folder 1. Smoki Museum Archival Records Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Williams, Amy Jo. Dec. 1, 2010. Interview with Smoki member. Transcript. SMOHI 2011.5 Smoki Oral History Initiative. Box 8 Folder 1. Smoki Museum Archival Records Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Williams, Amy Jo. Jan. 22, 2011. Interview with Smoki Member. Transcript. SMOHI 2011.8 Smoki Oral History Initiative. Box 8 Folder 4 Smoki Museum Archival Records Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Williams, Amy Jo. Nov. 21, 2010. Interview with Smoki member. Transcript. SMOHI 2011.3 Smoki Oral History Initiative. Box 7 Folder 3. Smoki Museum Archival Records. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Williams, Amy Jo. Nov. 20, 2010. Interview with Smoki member. Transcript. SMOHI 2011.2 Smoki Oral History Initiative. Box 7, Folder 2. Smoki Museum Archival Records. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Williams, Amy Jo. Jan. 21, 2011. Interview with Smoki member. Transcript. SMOHI 2011.7 Smoki Oral History Initiative. Box 8, Folder 3. Smoki Museum Archival Records. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Elrod, Charles. "Life Work of the Smoki Laid Out," *Prescott Journal Miner*, July 29, 1922, Newspaper Clipping, Box 1, Folder 5. Charles Elrod Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Elrod, Charles. “Smoki Rituals Charm Throng of Spectators,” Source Unknown, June 14, 1924. Newspaper Clipping, Box 1, Folder 5 Charles Elrod Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Artist Colony Near Prescott Proposed Plan,” *Prescott Daily Courier,* July 16, 1922, Newspaper Clipping, Box 1, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Sharlot M. Hall, “Some of the Hopes and Purposes of the Smoki” *The Yavapai Magazine* XXI, no.4 (1924): 1. Smoki Collection, Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization**.** Letter from Bill Bork to the “Most High Chief of the Smoki People”, April 2, 1931. Box 2, Folder 5. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Stevens, Alma Jo Elrod. “Fourth Annual Way Out West Programme” (1924), 2. Box 2, Folder 1. Alma Jo Elrod Stevens Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. Articles of Incorporation, 1923. Box 12, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Legal Documents. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Stevens, Alma Jo Elrod. Memo to “Faithful Smoki!”, July 12, 1922. Box 2, Folder 8. Alma Jo Elrod Stevens Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Stevens, Alma Jo Elrod. “Smoki People Startle Multitude with Weird Rain-Prayer Ceremony,” *Arizona Journal*-Miner, June 13, 1925. Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 1. Alma Jo Elrod Stevens Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Stevens, Alma Jo Elrod. “Greetings, Smoki” Memo, June 3, 1922. Box 2, Folder 8. Alma Jo Elrod Stevens Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. Connors, John W. “Smokis’ Dances, Chants, Costumes, Beyond Expectations” *Prescott Daily Courier*, June 14, 1924. Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Stevens, Alma Jo Elrod. “Smoki Thrill Watchers By Dancing in Rude Garb with Hissing Snakes as Partners” *Prescott Daily Courier,* June 9, 1922. Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 1. Alma Jo Elrod Stevens Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Elrod, Charles. “Spirit of Ceremony Gets Across to Spectators as Dancers Turn Aborigine” *Prescott Daily Courier*, June 6, 1924. Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 5. Charles Elrod Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Elrod, Charles. “Way Out West Dancers Ready for Great Ceremonial; Parade” *Prescott Daily Courier*, June 13, 1924. Newspaper Clipping, Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. J.A. Billingsley, “Fifth Dance of People Attains Great Success” *Arizona Republican*, June 12, 1925. Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Way Out West Programme” June 9, 1922. Box 9, Folder 2. Smoki People Historical Collection. Ceremonials. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Smoki People Adopt Calvin Coolidge; Ceremony Takes Place on White House Lawn” Source Unknown October, 1924, Newspaer Clipping, Box 1, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Smoki Ask Big Brother to Prescott,” *Prescott Daily Courier* , Feb. 1925. Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations.Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Ogden, Don. “Legends Cling to Fabled River Name From Indian Times,” *Prescott Journal-Miner Hassayampa Inn Edition,* Nov. 20, 1927, Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 1. Don Ogden Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organzation. “Sixth Yearly Ceremonial of Southwest’s Own People Opens At 2 This Afternoon” *Prescott Daily Courier*, June 12, 1926, Newspaper Clipping. Smoki People Historical Collection, Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. Billingsley, J.A. “Fifth Dance of People Attains Great Success” *Arizona Republican* June 12, 1925 Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. Carr, Harry, Editorial, *Los Angeles Times,* Oct. 20, 1926. Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Smoki Line-up for East Tour,.” *Prescott Journal Miner,* Sept. 25, 1926. Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Smoki Journey East Arranged,” *Prescott Journal-Miner,* Sept. 16, 1926. Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “3500 Persons In Attendance At Eighth Annual Pageant of Smoki,” *Prescott Daily Courier*. June 9, 1928. Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 2. Smoki People Historical Collection, Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. Oren Arnold, “Strangest Chamber of Commerce in the World,” *Los Angeles Times* ,June, 1930. Newspaper Clipping, Box 2, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Ogden, Don. “Hassayampa Hotel Is Note of Beauty in Pioneer Country,” *Prescott Journal-Miner Hassayampa Inn* Edition, Nov. 20, 1927. Box 1, Folder 1. Don Ogden Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “America’s Premier Indian Pageant in the Land of Romance” Print Advertisement, *Arizona Republican*, Feb. 14, 1924. Box 1, Folder 1.Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. June, 1929. Souvenir Program. Box 9, Folder 2. Smoki People Historical Collection. Ceremonials. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Ancient Wisdom of Smoki People to be depicted in 9th Annual Ceremony”, *Prescott Journal Miner,* June 6, 1929. Newspaper Clipping, Box 1, Folder 2.Smoki Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Snake Dance Proves Most Exciting Feature of Day in 9 Annual Ceremonial” *Prescott Daily Courier*, June 9, 1929. Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 2. Smoki People Historical Collection, Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Ogden, Don. “Arizona’s Great Romantic Spectacle.,” *Yavapai Magazine* 21 no. 5 (1931): 6 Box1, Folder 3. Don Ogden Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Here, There, and Everywhere,” *Prescott Daily Courier,* May 29, 1931, Newspaper Clipping, Box 2, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Elrod, Charles. “Tract of Land in Park Given Smoki People: Club House and Museum Will Be Erected By Tribe,” Source Unknown, Jan. 6, 1931, Newspaper Clipping, Box 2, Folder 2. Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Elrod, Charles. “Smoki People Approve Plans For Club House” *Prescott Daily Courier*, Jan. 13, 1931, Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 6. Charles Elrod Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Elrod, Charles. “Brother Smoki”, April 8, 1931. Memo. Box 1, Folder 8. Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Ogden, Don. “Smoki Ceremonials and Snake Dance,” Yavapai Magazine XXI, no. 5 (1931): 2. Box 1, Folder 3. Don Ogden Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Ogden, Don. “Arizona’s Great Romantic Spectacle, ” Yavapai Magazine XXI, no. 5 (1931): 6. Box 1, Folder 3. Don Ogden Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Smoki Ceremonials", 1937. Souvenir Program. Box 9, Folder 7. Smoki People Historical Collection. Ceremonials. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. Souvenir Program. 1932. Souvenir Program. Box 9, Folder 6. Smoki People Historical Collection. Ceremonials. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Elrod, Charles. Kenneth Aitken, “The Smoki People: Arizona’s Most Unusual Organization” *The Local Agent: A Monthly Magazine For Selling Casualty and Surety Insurance,* July, 1933. Box 1, Folder 7. Charles Elrod Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Smoki Ceremonials”, 1939. Promotional Brochure. Box 9, folder 7. Smoki People Historical Collection. Ceremonials. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Ogden, Don. “The Smoki Eagle Dance”, “15th Annual Smoki Dance Ceremonial Program” June 9, 1935. Souvenir Program. Box 1, Folder 3. Don Ogden Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Ogden, Don. “Smoki Ceremonials” June 9, 1935. Souvenir Program, Box 1, Folder 3. Don Ogden Smoki Collection. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Smoki Ceremonials” 1937. Souvenir Program. Box 9, Folder 7. Smoki People Historical Collection, Ceremonials. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Smoki to Haul in Logs Sunday,” *Prescott Evening Courier*, Nov. 6, 1931, Newspaper Clipping, Box 2, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Indian Ruin Plunderers,” *Prescott Courier* Jan., 22, 1932, Newspaper Clipping, Box 2, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. Grace Sparkes, “Smoki Museum History is Told,” Source unknown, circa 1937, Newspaper Clipping, Box 2, Folder 1. Smoki People Historical Collection. Historical Compilations. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Stevens, Alma Jo Elrod. “Paleface Snake Dance,” *Los Angeles Times* Oct. 6, 1938. Newspaper Clipping. Box 1, Folder 3. Alma Jo Stevens Smoki Collection, Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.

Smoki Organization. “Smoki Ceremonials” Souvenir Program, 1939. Smoki People Historical Collection, Ceremonials. Smoki Museum, Prescott, Arizona.