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The Yaquis: A Cultural History by Edward H. Spicer  
Review by: William L. Merrill  
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sistencies appear: compare the relative paucity of footnotes in T.J. Brassers' "Early Indian European Contacts" with the profuse documentation in the articles by Fenton, Trigger, and Washburn.

While the volume's success lies partly in its synthesis of a vast amount of information, it also proves useful because it points to areas of future investigation. What follows is only a sampling. Some areas are suggested outright, such as Ives Goddard's comment that "the diffusion of words or other linguistic features into Eastern Algonquian has been little examined, though it could be very useful to the study of cultural conflict" (p. 76). Other topics, such as the Iroquois in the first half of the eighteenth century, native groups in the Ohio Valley during the same period, New England peoples after King Philip's War, and the nativistic origins of the so-called Virginia Massacre of 1622, are hinted at by the limited treatment of the subject matter which tends to reflect the dearth of information when the articles were written (some as early as 1972). Still others emerge in spite of a wealth of information. As indicated earlier, we need to examine more closely the ecological factors (in addition to those related to the fur trade) underlying Indian-white relations. The ethnohistorical chapters suggest, by the relative absence of the analytical use of archaeological evidence to confirm or dispute the written record, that here is another area for study.

Despite the caveats this reference work is a welcome addition, not only because it adds to our understanding of the Native American of the Northeast, but also because it points to the benefits that are possible through the cooperative efforts of archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians.

Richard L. Haan

Hartwick College

*The Yaquis: A Cultural History.* By Edward H. Spicer. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1980. 393 pp., bibliography and index. \$28.50 cloth, \$14.50 paper.)

Edward Spicer's latest book represents the culmination of forty years of scholarly interest in the Yaqui Indians. In this well-written, 250,000-word tome, Spicer examines in considerable detail the major events of Yaqui history: their initial contacts with Europeans in the 16th century; their enthusiastic acceptance in the 17th century of the Jesuit mission program, and their creation of a unique mission culture synthesized from Indian and European elements; their subsequent commitment to and defense of the basic features of this culture in the face of two centuries of almost unrelenting harassment and oppression from Spaniards and Mexicans; and, finally, their lives in the 1970s on a portion of their former territory in Sonora and in several Arizona settlements, where many fled around the turn of the 20th century to avoid deportation to distant parts of Mexico.

Spicer argues that to understand Yaqui history one must comprehend the ideas and values that have motivated the Yaquis to act during the course of that history. Identifying these ideas and values and tracing their evolution over a four hundred year span is no mean undertaking when most relevant documents were written by non-Yaquis who were ill-informed, naive, ethnocentric, or racist. Spicer provides insightful and stimulating interpretations of Yaqui history by evaluating available accounts of events in light of his extensive

familiarity with Yaqui ethnography and broad knowledge of general cultural processes. The result, which he labels a cultural history, often challenges previously well-established views.

Six of the seven chapters are alternatively chronological and ethnographic. This approach leads to some overlap between chapters, perhaps more than required to document the mutually influential interaction of event and culture that has characterized the Yaqui experience. Much to his credit, Spicer eschews simplistic analyses to reveal patterns in complexity, insisting that "messy" things like individual variation, factionalism, and cultural contradiction are intrinsic to historical and cultural process. The book concludes with an interesting comparison between the Yaqui and nine other groups of people who have survived the assimilationist onslaught of emerging and expanding nation-states. Spicer proposes that in the case of each of these "enduring peoples" what persists is not necessarily homeland or language or even genes, but a common identity, an identity that rests upon shared understandings and sentiments regarding their history as a people. He devotes an entire chapter to examining the nature of Yaqui identity and the major symbols which underlie it, indicating how the meanings attached to these symbols have shifted at different points in Yaqui history.

Despite the book's breadth and the impressive scholarship behind it, a great deal remains to be done on Yaqui ethnohistory, as Spicer notes at several junctures. The Yaquis' view of their history, conveyed in their own words, would complement Spicer's more detached perspective; autobiographies like Rosalio Moises's *A Yaqui Life* (University of Nebraska Press, 1971) are useful but insufficient in this regard. In a related vein, the Yaquis' theory of history and the notions of time and causality in which this theory is grounded have yet to be explored in any depth. A wealth of archival materials also awaits exploitation. This task will be much less arduous now because of the Arizona State Museum's Documentary Relations of the Southwest Project, which has identified and annotated many unpublished historical documents important to the history of the American Southwest and northern Mexico. In addition, much more comparative work on the Yaquis and other northern Mexican groups needs to be undertaken and general explanations sought for phenomena distributed across the region. Spicer's failure to distinguish conscientiously between what Yaqui people told him and his own interpretations and analyses will hamper cross-cultural comparisons, but in general his is a model of the kind of study that must be completed for the Yaquis' neighbors before such regional studies can proceed very far.

Much of what appears here comes from Spicer's earlier monographs and articles, but this does not detract from what, in the final analysis, the book represents: a splendid example of ethnohistorical technique, an important contribution to northern Mexican ethnography and anthropological thinking on identity and culture change, a credit to Spicer as an anthropologist, and a monument to the Yaquis as a people.

William L. Merrill

Smithsonian Institute