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### The Pentecostal Move at Sia Pueblo: Individual Deviation and Group Reintergration as a Result of Peer Pressure

Jennifer Chatfield

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JENNIFER CHATFIELD

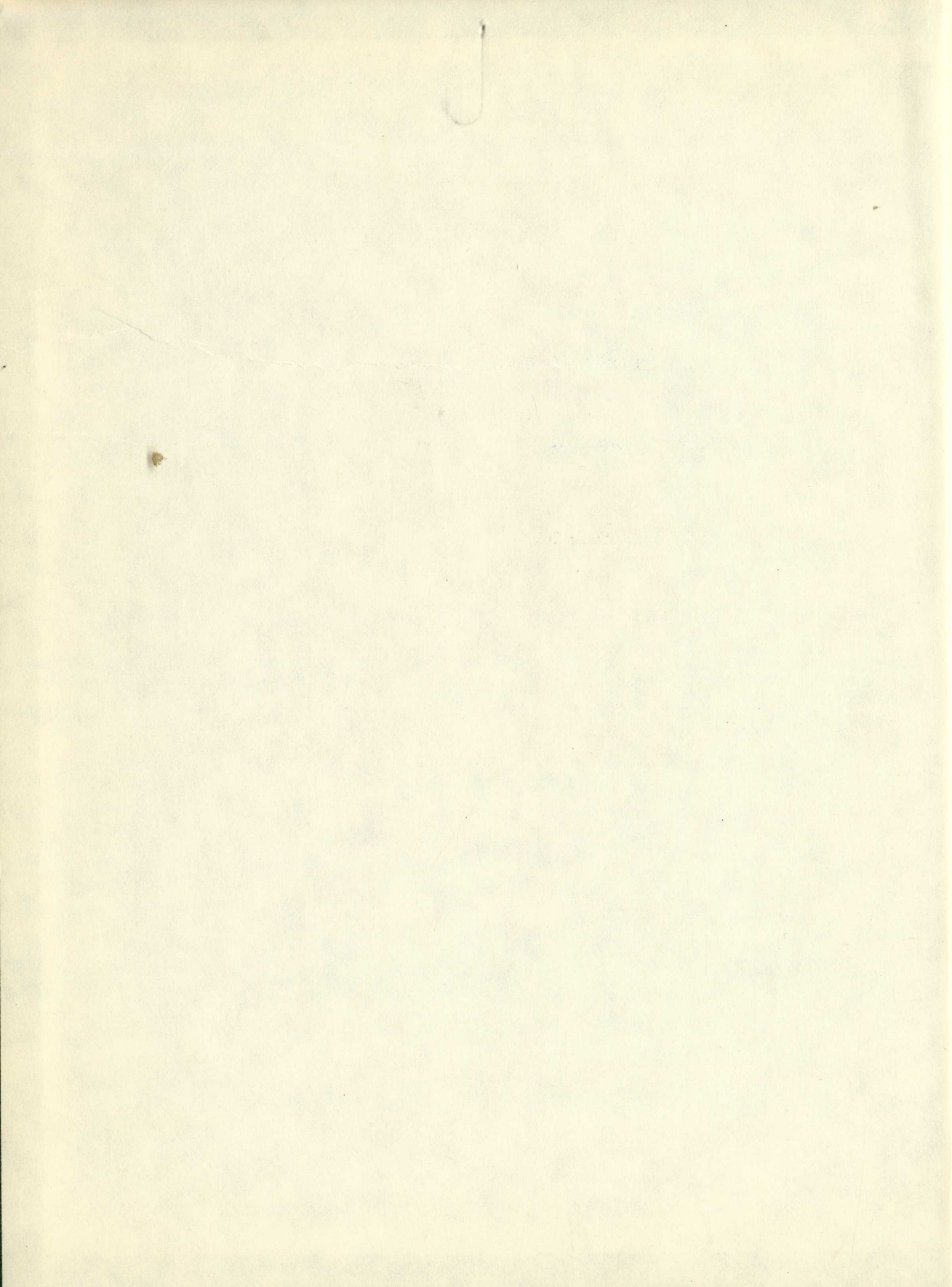
THE PENTECOSTAL MOVE AT SIA PUEBLO:  
INDIVIDUAL DEVIATION AND GROUP  
REINTEGRATION AS A RESULT OF  
GROUP PRESSURE

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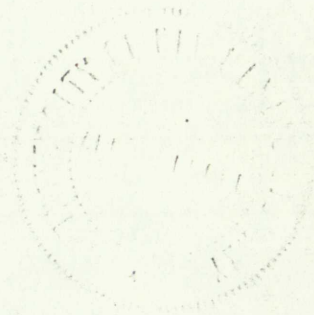


This thesis directed and approved by the candidate's committee has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the

THE PENTECOSTAL MOVE AT SIA PUEBLO: INDIVIDUAL DEVIATION  
AND GROUP REINTEGRATION AS A RESULT OF CONTACT PRESSURE

MASTER OF ARTS

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*June 4 - 1948*

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The University of New Mexico

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Thesis committee

In Partial Fulfillment

*Plus* of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

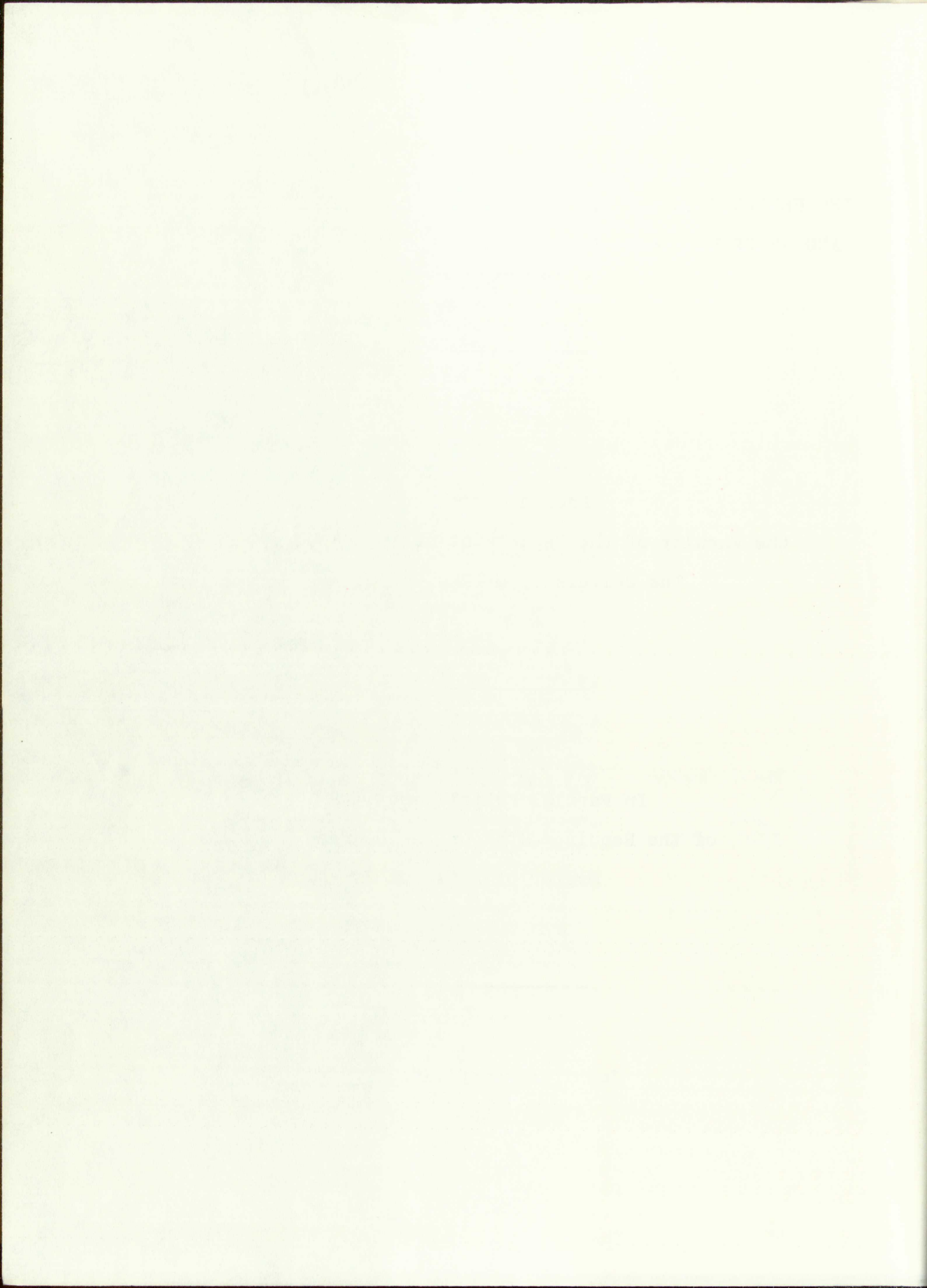
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by

Jennifer Chatfield

May 1948



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MASTER OF ARTS

Rand V. Stohr  
DEAN

June 4 - 1948  
DATE

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Katherine Hawley  
CHAIRMAN

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CHAPTER 11

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The present study concerns itself with the attempt of certain peoples to live individually as compared to the accepted plan of life in this people, and to change portions of their native culture to suit their newly acquired value concepts.

The processes of culture change are of fundamental interest to the anthropologist. And as knowledge concerning these processes has increased, interest in them has branched out and new methods of approach to their study have been realized. These methods are not essentially one better than the other, nor even one more fruitful than another, but they vary in their specificity to particular aspects of the whole problem. Their success is not measured by the immediate and practical value of the user's findings to society as a whole, but by the light thrown upon the peoples attacked. It is then for others to do what they will with the knowledge revealed.

In this paper it is our intention to view the relationship between the individual and culture in a particular situation, and to observe what happens when the action of an individual goes beyond the acceptable range of deviation.





## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM

The present study concerns itself with the attempt of certain persons to live individualistically in contrast to the accepted plan of life in Sia pueblo, and to change portions of their native culture to suit their newly acquired value concepts.

The processes of culture change are of fundamental interest to the anthropologist. And as knowledge concerning these processes has increased, interest in them has branched out and new methods of approach to their study have been realized. These methods are not essentially one better than the other, nor even one more fruitful than another, but they vary in their specificity to particular aspects of the whole problem. Their success is not measured by the immediate and practical value of the user's findings to society as a whole, but by the light thrown upon the problem attacked. It is then for others to do what they will with the knowledge revealed.

In this paper it is our intention to view the relationship between the individual and culture in a particular situation, and to observe what happens when the action of an individual go beyond the acceptable range of deviation



The first question which arises in the mind of the reader is, what is the meaning of the word "problem"? In the ordinary use of the word, it signifies a question or a difficulty which presents itself to the mind, and which requires to be solved. In the technical sense, it signifies a question or a difficulty which presents itself to the mind, and which requires to be solved.

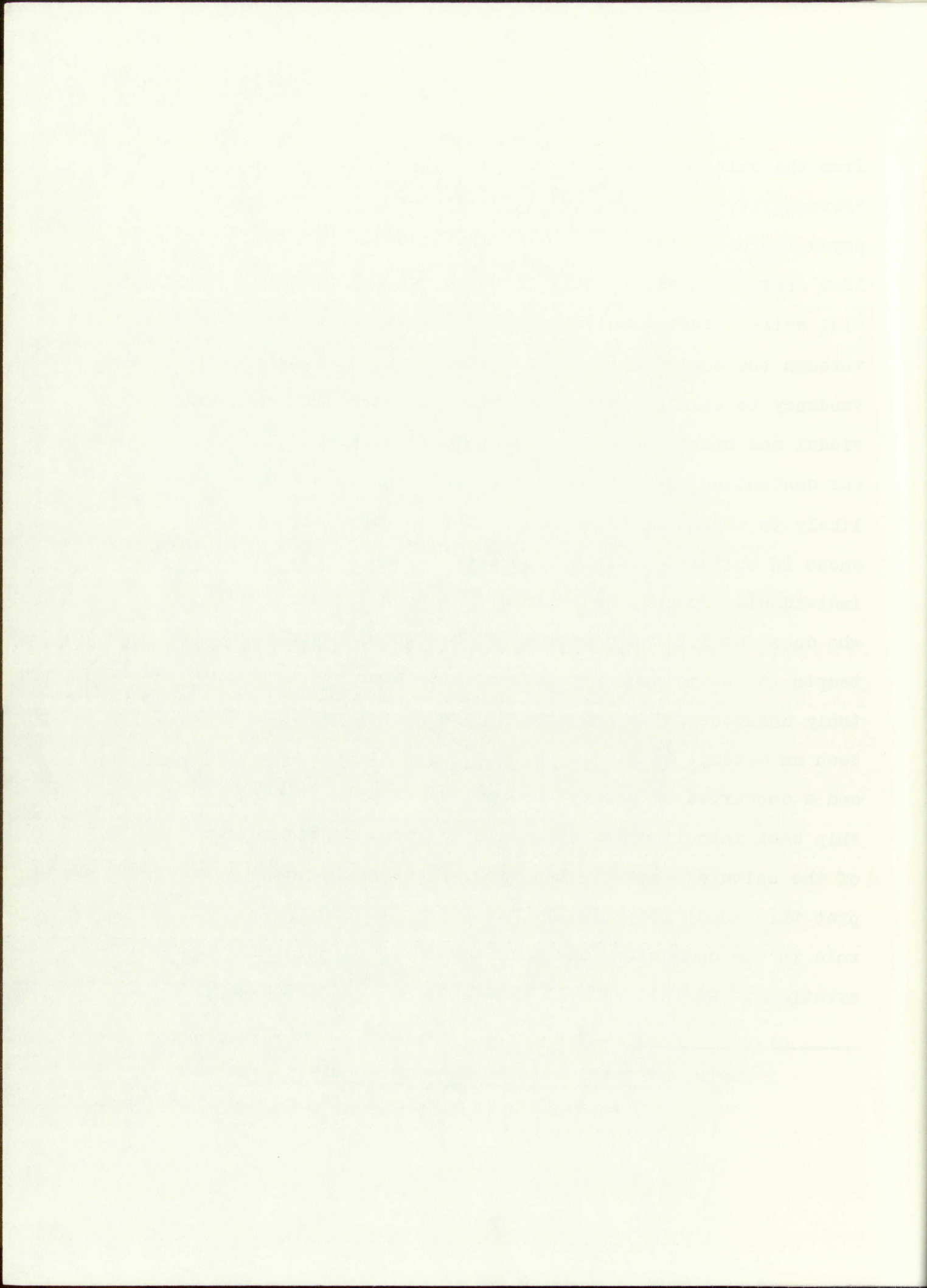
The importance of the problem, and the interest which it presents to the anthropologist, and to the student of human nature, is self-evident. It is a question which has interested the mind of man from the earliest times, and which has led to the development of the sciences of physics, chemistry, and biology. It is a question which has led to the discovery of the laws of nature, and to the development of the human mind. It is a question which has led to the discovery of the laws of human nature, and to the development of the human mind.

The second question which arises in the mind of the reader is, what is the meaning of the word "problem"? In the ordinary use of the word, it signifies a question or a difficulty which presents itself to the mind, and which requires to be solved. In the technical sense, it signifies a question or a difficulty which presents itself to the mind, and which requires to be solved.

from the cultural norms of his group. As noted by Sapir, "Personality organizations, which at last analysis are psychologically comparable with the greatest cultures or idea systems, have as their first law of being their essential self-preservation."<sup>1</sup> And, on the other hand, cultures, through the societies which manifest them, show a similar tendency to self-preservation. What happens when an individual and his culture are at odds? First of all, it is our contention, that such deviant individuals are more likely to emerge in a contact situation where the differences in cultural goals set up conflicting drives in the individual. Second, we believe that when an individual who does not fit the cultural pattern for leadership attempts to assume such a position, his efforts are predictably unsuccessful. And, third, the social reaction to such an attempt is likely to be a tightening of sanctions and a concerted effort by the society to pull it's membership back into line and once more to force approximation of the cultural ideal in behavior. Each member will interpret this ideal individually, according to his status and role in the community, and will watch his neighbor for aberrations. He in turn will know that his own behavior is

---

<sup>1</sup> Sapir, Cultural Anthropology and Society. p. 242.





being observed by others and will conduct himself with circumspection. Thus by a process of projection and re-projection the behavior of the group becomes something qualitatively different from that of the individuals who comprise it, and approaches what might almost be considered a localized superorganic.

It has been observed that where a group is small and homogeneous the acceptable range of deviation will be proportionately narrow. And without the acceptance of new ideas by its members this range and the culture in general will remain relatively stable. There the role of the aberrant individual as an innovator is minimal, and the introduction of new ideas by him is not likely to be effected unless these ideas are compatible with the personality norms (based on cultural ideals and common background) of the group. In actuality any attempt at innovation by such an individual is apt to result in a negative reaction among the members of a society, causing them to suspect whatever changes that individual has to suggest by the very reason of his deviation from the norm. For leadership in any society is not necessarily dependent upon those attributes of personality which we would consider important in our own. Such traits as, for example, aggressiveness, daring, individualism, which we expect of a leader do not figure in the

being observed to occur and will continue to do so.

Accordingly, the study of the group is not only

possible but also necessary for the group to survive.

It is therefore necessary to study the group in its

own terms and not in terms of the individual.

Individuals are not the same.

It has been shown that there is a great deal of

homogeneity in the group and that the group is not

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Pueblo's choice of such a person. To them a leader can only be one who is mature, knows the ways of his people thoroughly, and does all in his power to preserve those ways. Their customs are their bulwark against the sea of foreign culture which surrounds them and which would the sooner sweep over them and engulf their identity were they not to guard against it. It is not for us to say which would be better for them; we are merely observing their reactions to the situation as it exists.

As a province, as well as one of the most stubborn in its resistance to the Christianizing efforts of the Spanish padres. Throughout their known history the Pueblo have been traditionally conservative and incoercible, and Hackett might have been referring to them more than to any other Pueblo group when he made the statement: "The unanimous opinion was that the Indians were very conscious of their religious and economic customs; and, being associated and rebels at heart, it was imperative that to try and get them to conform to Spanish and Christian ways of living."

<sup>1</sup> Stevenson, *ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Population figures are not known for this area, but since San Jose was the seat of a mission and had an Indian population, it is presumed that it was larger than the other pueblos. Hackett, *ibid.*, p. 202-203.

<sup>3</sup> Hackett, *ibid.*, p. 202-203.





## CHAPTER II

now, though they, as an INTRODUCTION Rio Grande Pueblos,

call themselves Catholics. The term is nominal. For as re-

The group with which we are dealing is such a one as  
we mentioned earlier, a small and homogeneous group, a South-  
western pueblo. The pueblo of Sia is now one of the smallest  
of the eastern Keresan pueblos in the Rio Grande drainage of

New Mexico. Numbering 106 in 1890 when visited by Matilda  
Coxe Stevenson,<sup>2</sup> it now numbers 267. At the time of the  
Pueblo Revolt (1680) it was one of the larger pueblos in the  
Keres province,<sup>3</sup> as well as one of the most stubborn in its  
resistance to the Christianizing efforts of the Spanish  
padres. Throughout their known history the Sians have been  
traditionally conservative and incorrigible, and Hackett  
might have been referring to them more than to any other  
pueblo group when he made the summation: "The unanimous  
opinion was that the Indians were very tenacious of their  
religious and economic customs, and, being apostates and  
rebels at heart, it was hopeless task to try and get them

to conform to Spanish and Christian ways of living."<sup>4</sup> Even

5. This was also evident to Stevenson who remarked:  
"While the religion of the Rio Grande Indians bears evidence  
of contact with Catholicism, they are in fact as non-Cath-  
olic as 2 Stevenson, The Sia, p. 10. Stevenson, ibid.  
p. 14. More recently Leslie White has noted the same thing  
in 3. Population figures are not known for this date, but  
since Sia was the seat of a mission and had for it's visitas  
Santa Ana and Jemez, it is presumed that it was larger than  
these pueblos. Circa 1641 the population was 800. See Hodge,  
Hammond, and Rey, The Benavides Memorial of 1634, 1945,  
pp. 262-263.

4 Hackett, Charles Wilson, Revolt of the Pueblo Indians,  
p. clxxix.





now, though they, as well as the other Rio Grande Pueblos, call themselves Catholics, the term is nominal, for in reality they have simply accepted parts of the Catholic ritual, adding Christ and some of the saints to their pantheon, thus incorporating what they wanted of it into their own religion.<sup>5</sup>

At present the pueblo is experiencing once again the difficulties attendant upon contact with a dominant culture, this time it is that of the Anglo-American whites in the area. One specific problem was first called to the writer's attention by Dr. Florence Hawley. Through personal communication with her and by a reading of two of her publications<sup>6</sup> and an unpublished manuscript on Sia pueblo,<sup>7</sup> the background and outline of the problem were secured. The writer continued an investigation of the situation for a period of over two years, by making the acquaintance of the central figure in the controversy and his family, and visit-

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5 This was also evident to Stevenson who remarked: "While the religion of the Rio Grande Indians bears evidence of contact with Catholicism, they are in fact as non-Catholic as before the Spanish conquest." Stevenson, The Sia, p. 14. More recently Leslie White has noted the same thing in several of his reports on the Rio Grande Indians.

6 Hawley, Keresan Holy Rollers, and The Role of Pueblo Social Organization in the Dissemination of Catholicism.

7 Hawley, Pueblo of the Sun.





ing them at their home in Ia Jola, a village in the sandhills south of Albuquerque. Further information was taken from confidential files which were made available to the writer. The account of the situation was pieced together from statements, both written and verbal, by the individuals concerned and from comments and documents in the files. When there was conflict between the statements of informants and documentary material, or even at times within the documentary material itself, the writer had to choose that statement which accorded with the other evidence.

Names of the principal figures in the controversy have been completely changed. There are no such persons at Sia Pueblo. Names of other individuals less frequently mentioned have been reduced to initials.

In 1928 a third brother, Cardozo, was a "little officer," a fiscal of the Roman Catholic church at Sia. That spring at the colored "Holy Roller" church in Albuquerque, a visiting Pentecostal preacher, Nettie Brown, was conducting revival services and performing miracle healings. Some of the Sia people who heard of it, spread the news in the pueblo, and together a group of them came back to Albuquerque to hear the preacher and be healed. At this first service they attended they were invited to sing some of their Indian songs, and when the people enjoyed the





## BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SITUATION

It was in 1922 or 1923 that Valentino Lujan, who was then about twenty years old, left his home pueblo of Sia to work in Santa Fe. There was land he might have farmed, but he preferred working as an artist. The pueblo council did not approve of his actions, particularly since he was suspected of painting pictures with secret ceremonial content. He was induced to return to the pueblo and to his wife whom he had left there, but in 1925 or 1926 he left again and has not returned for any length of time or participated in any community work since then. His eldest brother, Saturnino, who was a war captain in 1926, presumably was one of the council members who disapproved of his behavior at that time.

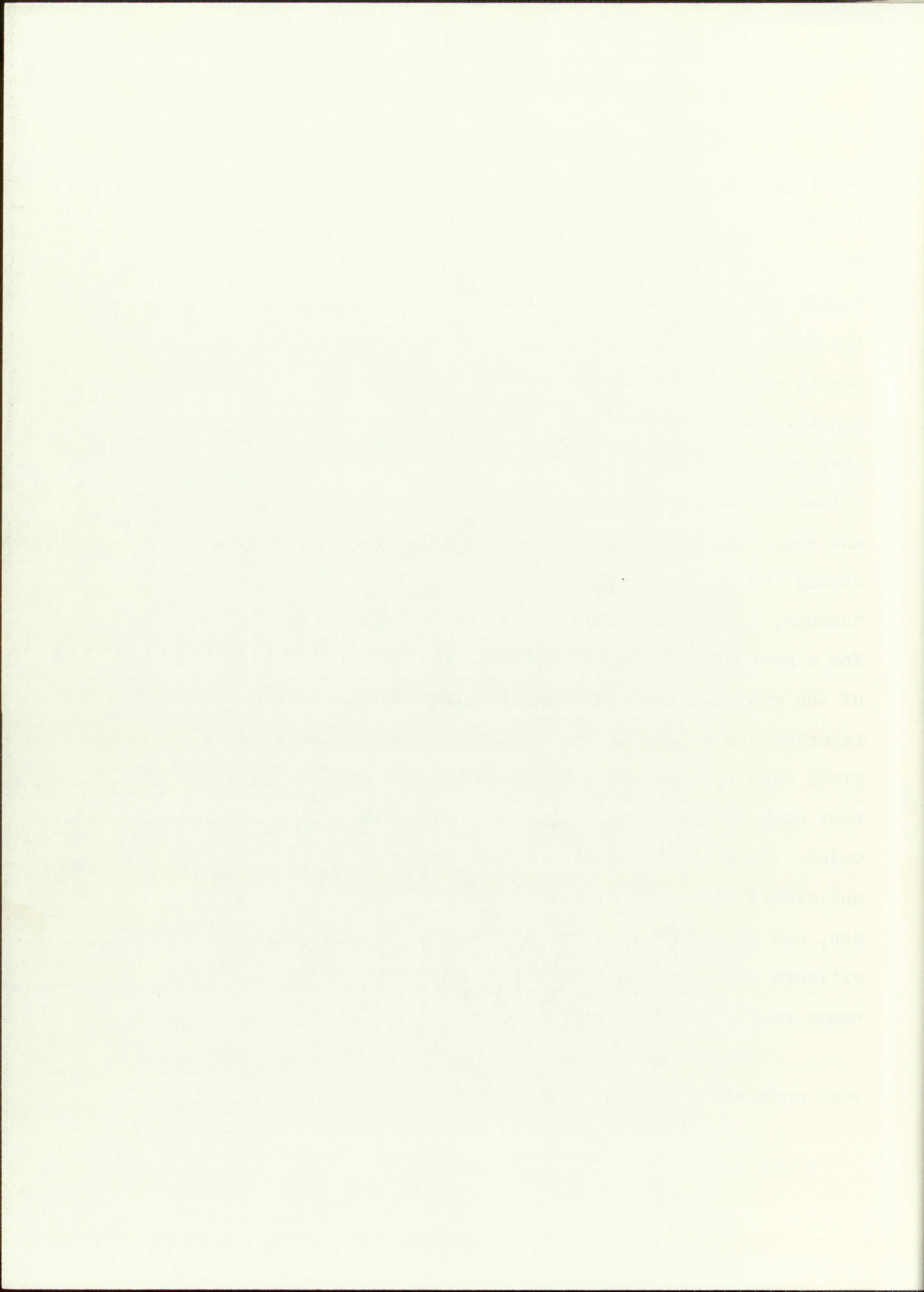
In 1928 a third brother, Candido, was a "little officer," a fiscal of the Roman Catholic church at Sia. That spring at the colored "Holy Roller" church in Albuquerque, a visiting Pentecostal preacher, Nettie Brown, was conducting revival services and performing miracle healing. Some of the Sians shopping in town heard of it, spread the news in the pueblo, and together a group of them came back to Albuquerque to hear the preacher and be healed. At this first service they attended they were invited to sing some of their Indian songs, and they thoroughly enjoyed the pro-





ceedings, but since the church was crowded they decided to invite the preacher to come to Sia and hold services there. The war captain and other officers were notified of their wishes and it was agreed that the woman should preach in the Roman Catholic church. The first service held in the pueblo was attended by most of the adult members of the community. Some may have gone out of curiosity, others because they were accustomed to attend church whenever the Catholic priest visited. Candido, the fiscal, was very enthusiastic and even went to the Day school to tell the children to attend the service. It was the indignation of the Day school teacher, a Roman Catholic woman, at the use of the church for a non-Catholic function, that prompted an investigation of the matter. She upbraided the Pentecostal preacher and reported the affair to the archbishop at Santa Fe. The rival sect was advised not to use the church and the preacher went back to Albuquerque, but the affair was by no means ended. Some of the pueblo members wanted the preacher back and others were against it. There was discussion pro and con, and at Easter time the war captain decided that one of officers should go to Albuquerque and find out whether this woman really was "of God."

It was Candido, the fiscal, who had already shown such enthusiasm for the new religion, who volunteered to go



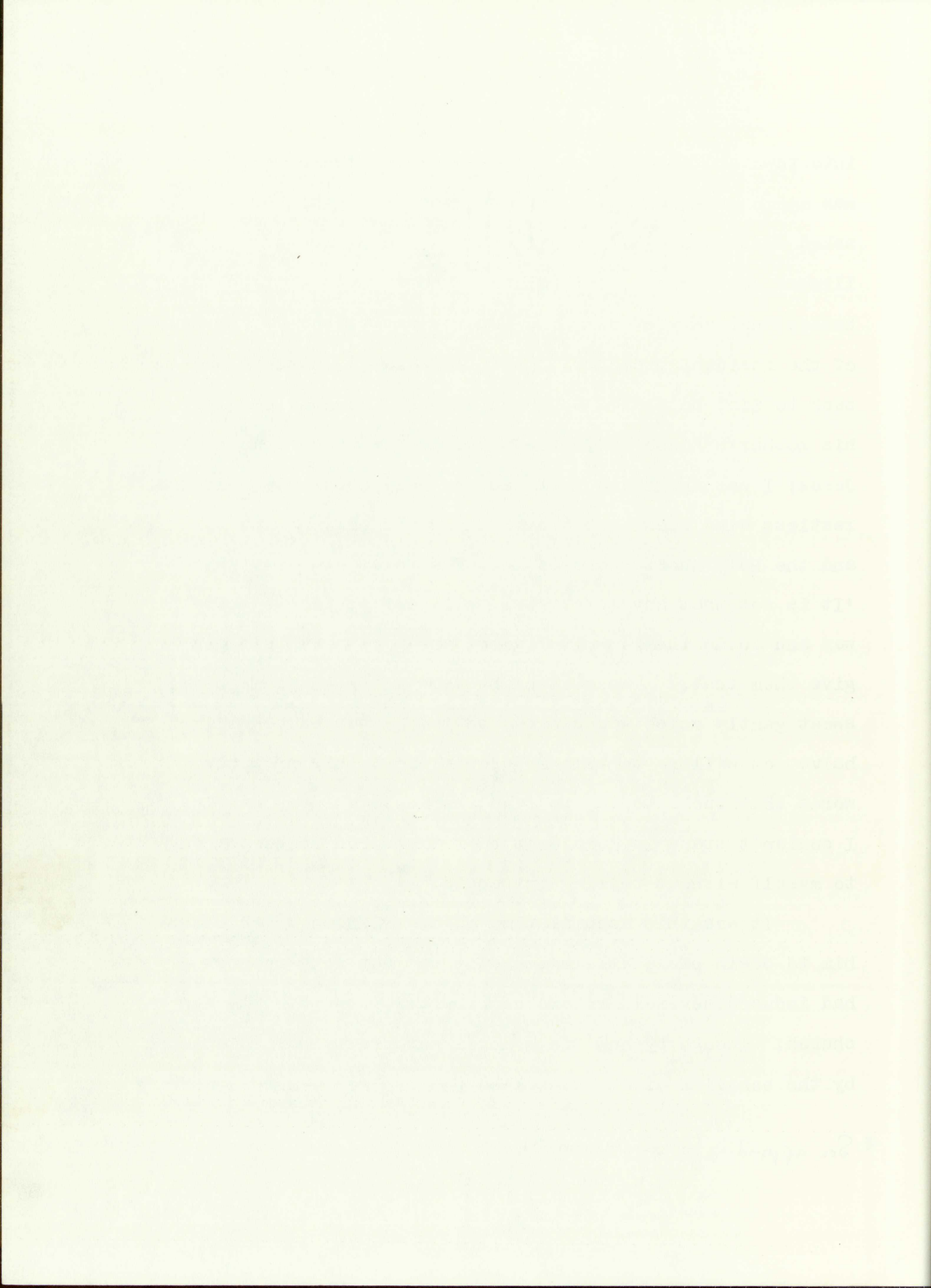


into town and investigate. Attending an evening meeting, he was again much impressed with the woman's preaching and asked to be healed of his illness. (The nature of this illness could not be determined.) He reports that he was healed that very evening and later was baptised at the house of the resident preacher. Three days later, having gone back to Sia, he claims to have received the Holy Ghost in his mother's house. "In the midnight I woke up and thank Jesus; I was shaking and it was the Holy Ghost. I felt the restless wind blowing and hear the sound of the wind blowing and the Holy Ghost spoke to me. The words are like this, 'It is not that any more. Tell all your people to come this way and to do their own religion, and give them this and give them that.' The next night same thing and same nice sweet gently voice was speaking to me. I was halve willing halve not willing to tell my people about this precious words that spoke to me, to take the message to my people. I couldn't stand it, couldn't bear the words to keep them to myself without telling my people." \*

It was this accumulation of experiences which caused him to begin proselytizing, and it was not long before he had induced several members of his family to join the new church. Though by now the council was pretty well disturbed by the behavior of the so-called Holy Rollers--these pros-

\* See appendix for complete written statement.





elytized Sians--they took no action against them so long as they continued to perform their customary pueblo duties. However, as the Roman Catholic priests refused the use of their church, the Pentecostal services were held in Candido's house whenever the preacher came up from Albuquerque. (This was actually the house of his parents whom he had converted.)

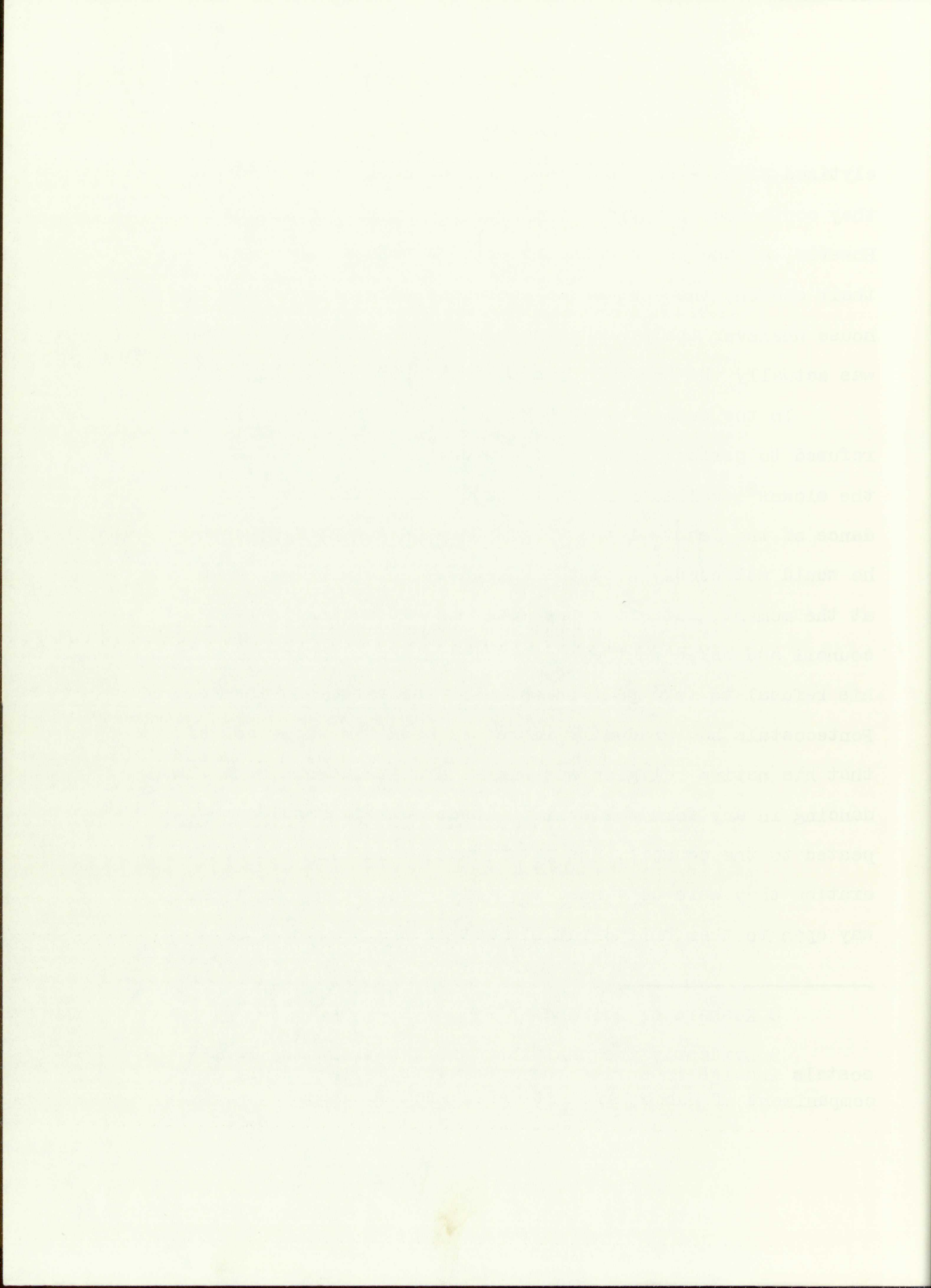
In the summer of 1933 Candido, for the first time, refused to perform certain of his community duties. When the clowns<sup>8</sup> called him out to practice in the kiva for the dance of the feast of the Virgin Mary on August fifteenth, he would not comply with their request. Nothing was said at the moment, but after the feast he was called in by the council and asked whether he really intended to continue in his refusal to take part in community affairs. By then the Pentecostals had gradually impressed upon him their belief that his native religion was wicked and idolatrous, and that dancing in any form was evil.<sup>9</sup> These beliefs Candido repeated to the council, and after much haranguing and deliberation they were convinced that his obdurateness left no way open to them but to put him out of the pueblo. There-

---

In the spring of 1934 Candido went back to his pueblo

to take 8 Koshare or Quirana

9 Evidently the shuffling and gyrations the Pentecostals indulge in during their services, often to the accompaniment of music, are not considered dancing!





fore he was duly informed that he no longer held membership in the community and consequently had none of its privileges such as land use for crops or grazing, wood or earth for building, water for irrigation, etc. and that he should leave the pueblo immediately.

Candido left Sia and went to Albuquerque where he secured work as a silversmith. In the meantime he had converted his parents, his eldest brother (who had formerly been war captain, dance master, and member of the katchina group) his sister, his cousin, his younger brother (who was living in Santa Fe) and all of their respective families. These others, (except for the brother living in Santa Fe) though converted, continued to perform their duties as pueblo members and so were allowed to remain in the pueblo.

After living in Albuquerque for almost a year, Candido returned to Sia to visit his parents and to continue proselytizing. Once more the council interviewed him to discover if he would not give up his new religion and return

to full participation in community life; and once more, on his refusal, they told him to leave.

In the spring of 1936 Candido went back to his pueblo and every morning and night he must pray to the gods to take part in the annual ditch cleaning. He was evidently quite willing to perform his share of such practical work along with the others, but when it came to the ritual obser-





vances which go with the work,<sup>10</sup> he preferred to ignore them. Noticing this, the ditch boss told him that his help was not wanted; he should step out of the ditch. Shortly after this, he and all the other "saints" (as the Pentecostals call themselves) of the village were called before the council. Candido was once again officially told to leave the pueblo, but the others were allowed to remain after signing an agreement to participate in community work.

As the Pentecostal Indians continued to disobey pueblo regulations, in 1940 the council petitioned the United Pueblos Agency to hold a meeting for the purpose of discussing the problems involved in removing some of the members of the pueblo of Sia from their census rolls. Twelve members of the Lujan and related families were cited for breaking pueblo regulations and were officially removed from the rolls.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> While nothing specific concerning this ceremony is known for Sia, it is evident from White's reports on other Keresans that it has religious significance and is under the direction of the ditch boss. For Santa Ana he says: "But the functions of the ditch boss are not wholly secular, they are sacerdotal as well. He must assist in the ritual opening of the ditches (performed by the Koshare), and every morning and night he must pray to the naiyainyi, ckaiwayotyenyi, and to Tsits Crowi (Water Sanke) to ask them to help keep the ditches full of water."

<sup>11</sup> Figure 1 shows a kinship chart for these families with the expelled members indicated.





The expelled members never have accepted the decision of their council as final but have appealed this decision in several instances. At a hearing in 1940 Valentino attempted to be reinstated in pueblo membership, claiming that he would gladly leave his work in Santa Fe to come back and farm his land in the pueblo which he said was his by inheritance.<sup>12</sup> In 1943 Saturnino attempted to get permission to graze his cattle on pueblo land. His petition was denied. In 1947 Vidal and Teresita Trujillo, adult children of Ana Trujillo Perez who was expelled in 1940, petitioned to be recognized as members. They were admitted on probation for a year upon their mother's forfeiture of all jurisdiction over them. In that same year the Sia council codified its laws of membership and clearly defined its attitude toward ex-members and children of ex-members. It also applied for a loan of \$1,000 to purchase use rights and to compensate for improvements of certain tracts of land which had belonged to the expelled members. However, the defendants refused to accept compensation or to sign a waiver of appeal to the Secretary of the Interior.

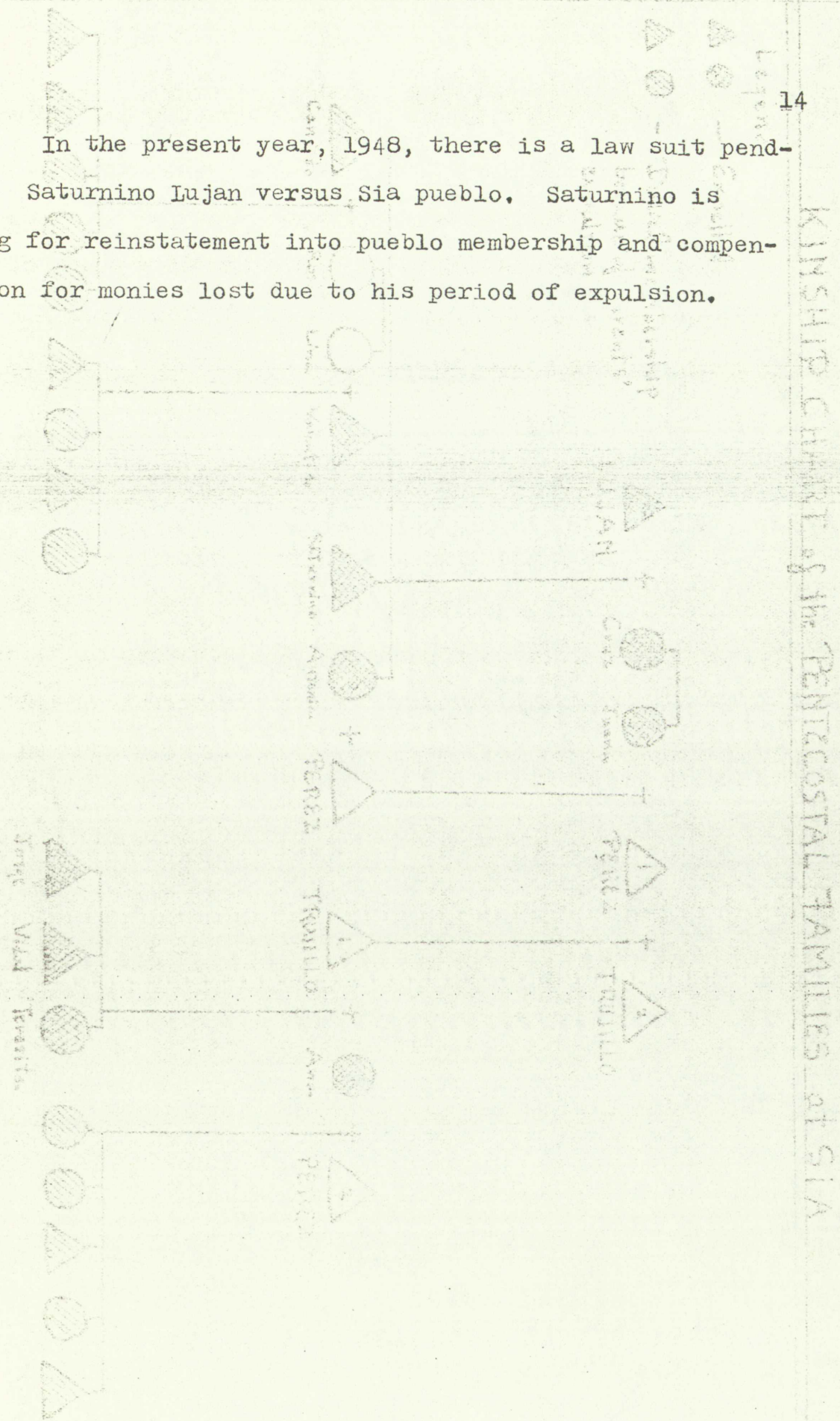
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<sup>12</sup> It is a common misconception that pueblo land being owned by the tribe, is not inheritable. This has frequently led to difficulties in dealing with individual Indians who consider their land rights as inviolable as we do our own. Federal law, to keep pueblo lands intact, does not permit either the pueblo or its individual members to sell the land to outsiders. They can and do sell and exchange land within the bounds of the pueblo membership.





In the present year, 1948, there is a law suit pending: Saturnino Lujan versus Sia pueblo. Saturnino is suing for reinstatement into pueblo membership and compensation for monies lost due to his period of expulsion.





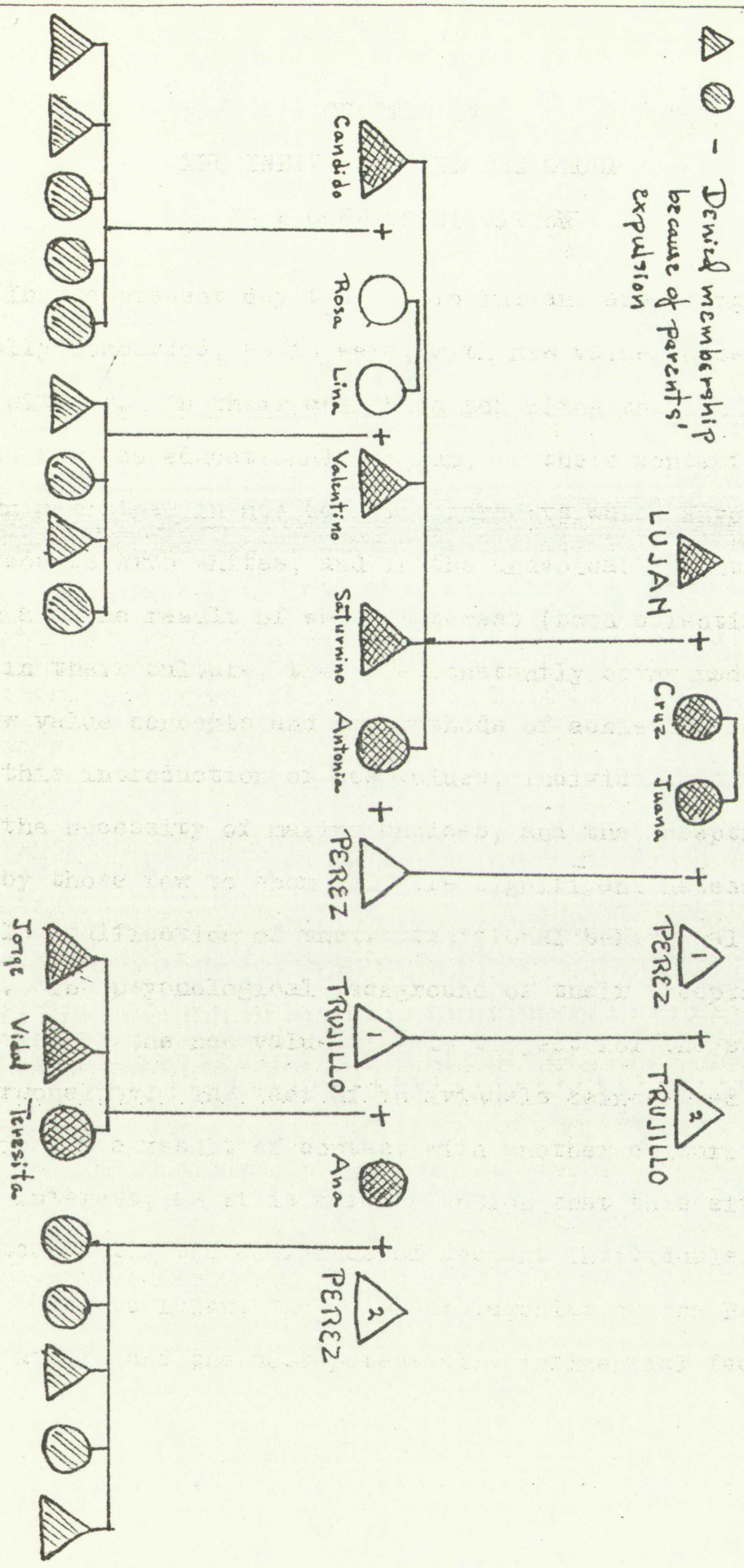


# KINSHIP CHART of the PENTECOSTAL FAMILIES at SIA

Legend

Expelled

- Denied membership because of parents' expulsion







## CHAPTER IV

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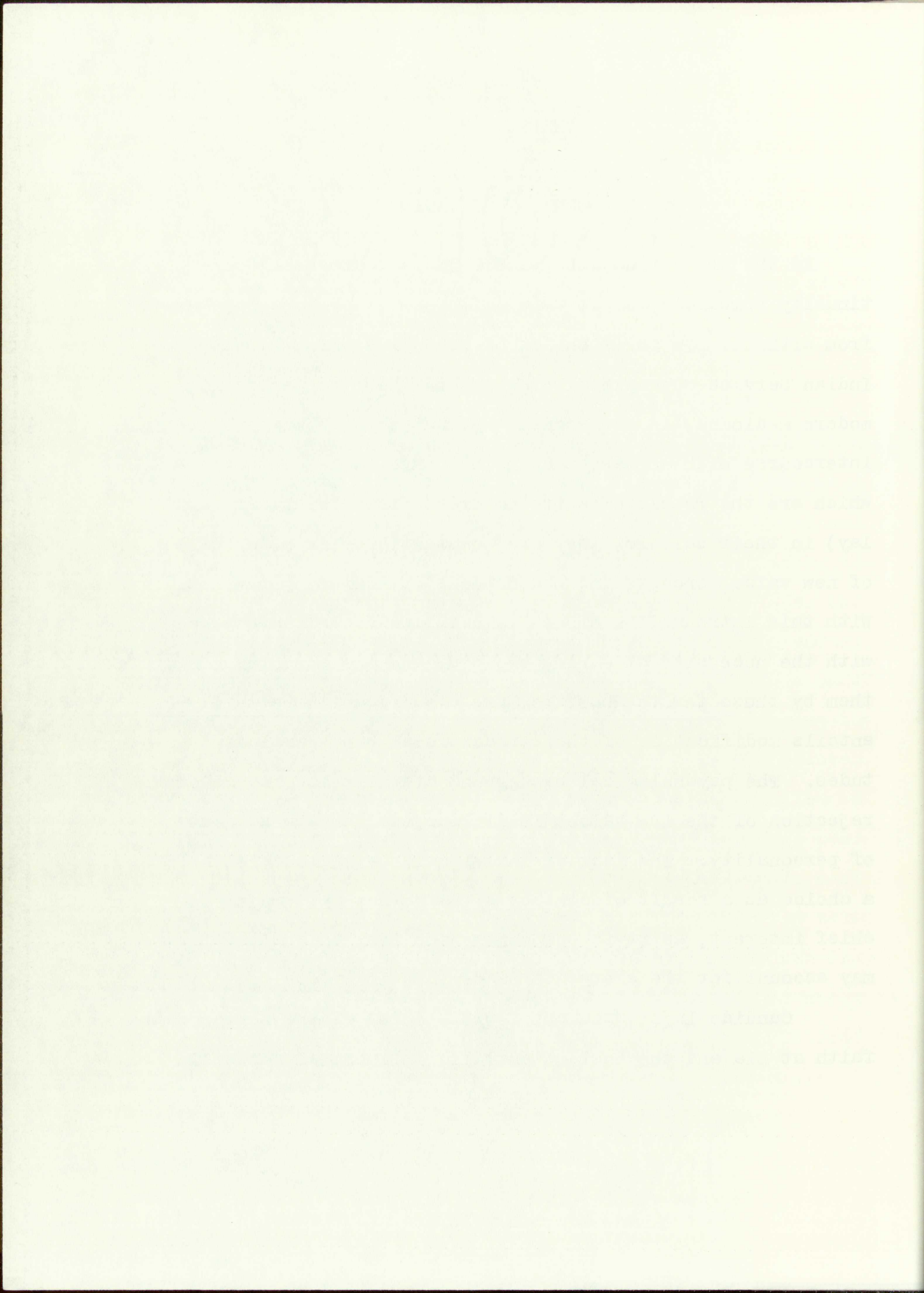
THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE GROUP

IN A CONTACT SITUATION

three Lujan brothers,

In the present day the Pueblo Indians are being continually bombarded, as it were, with new value concepts from without. In their childhood schooling through the Indian Service educational program, in their contacts with modern medicine, in new economic pursuits which involve intercourse with whites, and in the unavoidable contacts with the religious life of the community, being a member of which are the result of white interest (both scientific and lay) in their culture, they are constantly being made aware of new value concepts and new methods of achieving rewards. With this introduction of new values, individuals are faced with the necessity of making choices, and the acceptance of them by those few to whom they are significant necessarily entails modification of their traditional behavioral attitudes. The psychological background of their acceptance or rejection of the new values is fit subject for the student of personality. The fact of individuals being faced with a choice as a result of contact with another culture is our chief interest, as it is our contention that this situation may account for the emergence of deviant individuals.

Candido Lujan, the chief protagonist of the Pentecostal faith at Sia and the most potentially influential factor in





in the disruption of their community life, is the individual with whom we are most concerned. Of the three Lujan brothers, all of whom became dissatisfied with the rewards offered by their own culture at one time or another, he was the logical one to take up the new cult at the time of its introduction in 1928. His younger brother, Valentino, had already given expression to his discontent and rebellion by moving to Santa Fe. Saturnino, the eldest, was fairly well integrated with the religious life of the community, being a member of the Katsina society, a dance master, and onetime war captain. As fiscal that year, it was one of Candido's duties to call the people to church whenever the Catholic priest arrived in the community. It was natural that he should also call them when the Pentecostal preacher came, and that the chore of going into Albuquerque to investigate the matter should devolve upon him. It was the carrying out of these duties, as well as his own enthusiasm, which caused him to be thrown into closer and more frequent contact with the missionaries than otherwise would have happened. His associations with them were pleasant and friendly. He discovered that these colored people, members of the Pentecostal faith, felt no resentment of him as an Indian. They preached the brotherhood of man and they apparently practiced it--at least colored men and Indians were considered brothers. They also





opened up outlets for the expression of individualism, outlets the pueblo does not provide since individualism is not fostered among them. And, finally, they cured him of an illness. This was a familiar pattern to him and one he could follow in good Pueblo manner. The customary method of treating illness among the Pueblos is to enlist the aid of a curing society, and if, after the society has done its best, its efforts are believed to have effected a cure, the patient commonly joins that society, and thereby helps in the curing of others.

It is understood, of course, that Candido's behavior viewed as a whole is not according to good Pueblo pattern. He did not conform to the ideals of conservatism, cooperation, industry, and deep respect for constituted authority. However, there are anxieties and desires in the Pueblo personality which are ordinarily kept in check by the sanctions of the culture. As Goldfrank and others have pointed out,<sup>13</sup> these sanctions are as much coercive as they are permissive, and though the overt level of personality expression appears to be that of voluntary conformity and cooperation, in

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<sup>13</sup> Goldfrank, Socialization, Personality and the Structure of Pueblo Society. For a further discussion of this see John Bennett, The Interpretation of Pueblo Culture.





reality it hides many fears and anxieties. Therefore, in a contact situation where individuals are made aware of new value concepts, to some these value concepts may appear significant as a solution to their dissatisfaction and they will accept them. These then become the deviant individuals who no longer fit with complete ease into their own culture and yet have not the background orientation to fit into the new. They are not accepted in their community, nor do they whole-heartedly accept its cultural precepts. On the other hand, only a limited number of their value concepts have been taken from the foreign culture and, in spite of their conscious attempts at modification, the patterns of behavior acquired in the original group of orientation remain strong and act as a powerful deterrent to their complete assimilation. Their position is one of ambivalence; figuratively they are shifting from one foot to another, unable to walk in either direction. Without this contact with a dominant culture these individuals might never have emerged from the seemingly untroubled surface of pueblo life, and if their anxieties had broken through, they would have taken the more devious, more subtle, and more covert expressions which are the only ones open to them in normal circumstances. Thus we see that it is not by any innate differences or willful efforts alone that the deviant individual emerges, but by





the interaction of the opposing cultural goals which he finds himself striving toward.

As expressed by his frequent efforts to return, Candido had no desire to abandon the known security of pueblo life permanently. He would have preferred to retain his membership in the community, introducing his new religion as a substitute for the old, and enhancing his own prestige by arrogating the position of first priest of the Pentecostal religion. What he failed to appreciate was that the new values which were significant to him in the light of his personal experiences, were not compatible with the modal personality of the group. Of itself the new religion did not fit into the basic social structure of the pueblo and could not serve the function of integration that the old religion did. To Gregorio the new religion was an overwhelming experience; to the others the rewards it offered did not outweigh its distinct disadvantages when judged by the usual Pueblo values. Their reaction to the contact was a further withdrawal into conservatism and insularity.





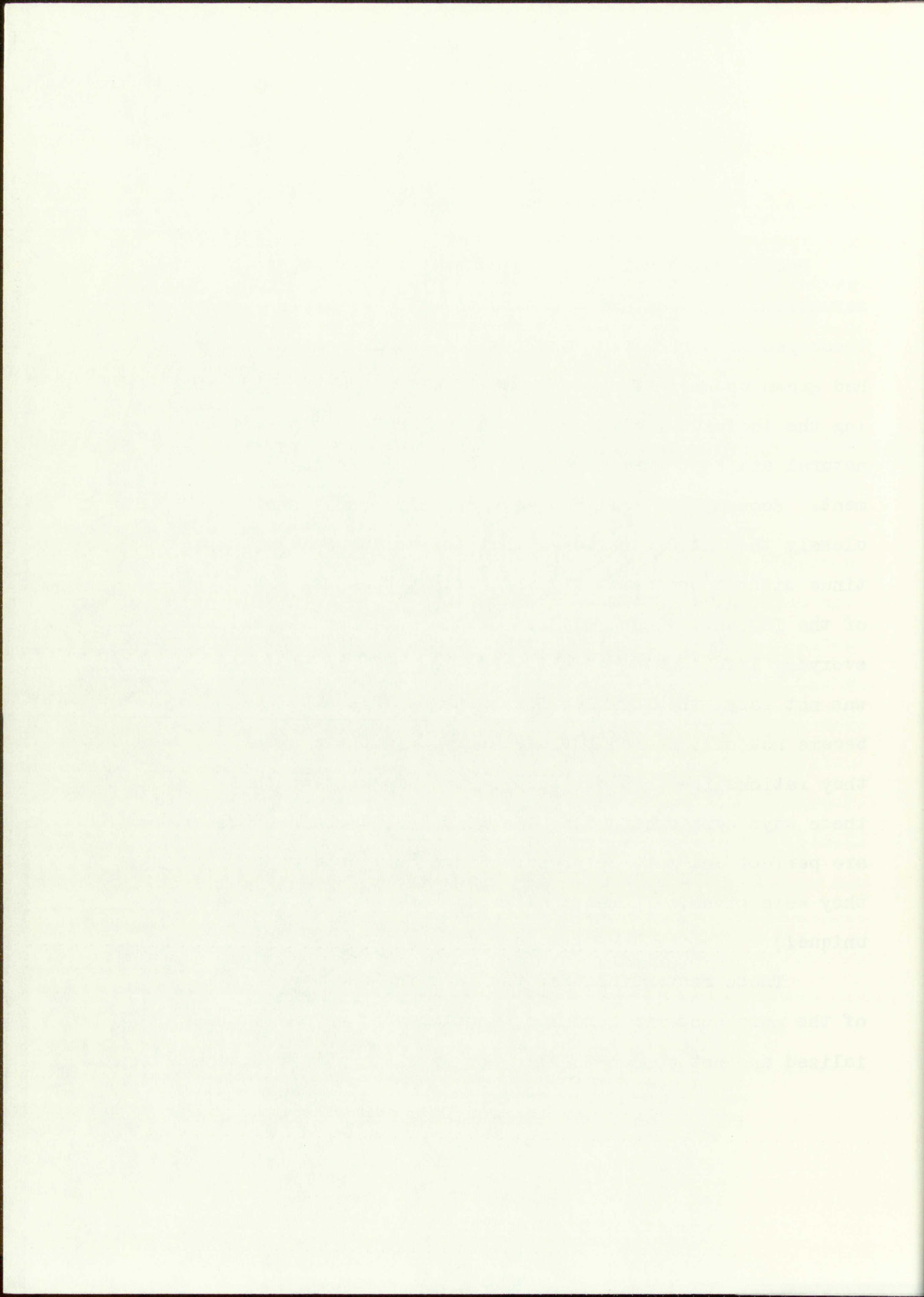
## CHAPTER V

### FAILURE OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO FIT THE

### PUEBLO PATTERN OF LEADERSHIP

Pueblo culture is slow to change; its backbone is conservatism. For centuries before the arrival of the Whites these people were living their lives out in a manner which had grown up among them as a satisfactory means of integrating the individual with the group and the group with the natural and what they conceived as the supernatural environment. Economy and religion were closely bound together, so closely that it was believed that the world could not continue without the carefully regulated ceremonial practices of the Indians. Thus religion became an integral part of everyday life, and since existence in the arid Southwest was not easy, the formulae for insuring this existence became not only sacred but mandatory. In their mythology they rationalize this attitude by the explanation that these ways were ordained by the gods and, therefore, they are perfect and must be preserved and continued exactly as they were given. (A rationalization one could hardly call unique!)

Those responsible for the learning and preservation of the more esoteric formulae, knowledge of which is specialized and not common to all, are carefully selected for





their duties. The ritual knowledge of which they become the repositories then invests them with a measure of authority and leadership; and this authority, far from giving them personal freedom, makes them more than ever responsible to the community. In order to maintain a state of equilibrium within the group they are expected to hew as closely as possible to the Pueblo ideas of correct conduct. Decisions they must make are minimal since their duties are so well defined that choice becomes extremely limited; they are chosen for their assiduity rather than ingenuity. The system is such that, in general, individuals are not chosen for such positions of unique responsibility to the community until they have shown mature judgment and wisdom (in the understanding, appreciation and complete acceptance of Pueblo values). Officials are chosen or appointed by other officials and the most important criteria for selection are the possession of and adherence to ritual and folk knowledge. As Parsons has said,

There is no doubt that in Pueblo Indian opinion it is knowledge, and for the most part ritual knowledge is meant, that is always the basis of leadership, not age, or birth, or wealth, secular wealth, but knowledge. That is why the ashiwanni of Zuni are the dictators of town affairs and why even today at Laguna there is a tendency to theocratic control.<sup>14</sup>

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14 Parsons, Laguna Genealogies, p. 24.





Those who on their own initiative would set themselves up as leaders in any way but the way of the Pueblo are automatically disqualified for such a position in the eyes of the people both by promulgating ideas unhallowed by native custom and by having taken matters into their own hands. Until there are enough other people sufficiently dissatisfied with the existing ways to form a faction, there will be no one for the self-appointed leaders to lead, for in the opinion of the majority they do not conform to the pattern of leadership. And if there are enough dissatisfied members to form a faction, it is more than likely that the pueblo will take measures to curb their activities. An instance of this is noted by White in his Santa Ana report where he says that, "In 1917 (about) a progressive family from Acoma settled at Santa Ana and became the leader of a pro-American party. Considerable dissension arose in the pueblo until the Acomas were ejected."<sup>15</sup> At present a number of the pueblos are experiencing similar difficulties. Candido Iujan, as fiscal at Sia in 1928, was a very minor official. What authority was vested in him was circumscribed by well defined duties. One of these duties, as we have said, was to call the people to church whenever the

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<sup>15</sup> White, Santa Ana, p. 78.





Catholic priest arrived. Having had no experience with that other denominations, the Pentecostal preacher was to him at first simply another priest, and as such was entitled to the respect commonly accorded one of that position. Perhaps he was overstepping his authority somewhat when he asked that the school children be let out of class to attend the service, but at this point the other members of the community did not seem concerned. The new preacher was a temporary diversion and they were prepared to listen and see if she had anything to offer them. They had already heard reports of the miracles she had performed in Albuquerque, and this emphasis on the curing powers of the new religion was no doubt of major interest to them. The parallel in function to their own medicine societies is obvious. These societies are the strongest institutions among the modern Keresan Pueblos, and the customary method of joining, (through being cured by them), is similar to the manner of joining the Pentecostal church.<sup>16</sup> Thus far the new cult appealed to the Sians. It was not until they learned, through investigation and experience, that joining the new church would eventually preclude continuance of or

essentially attractive, or the judgment value of not coming

16 The two other methods of joining a medicine society are (1) by pledging (of one's own accord or at birth by one's parents) and (2) by trespass, I.E. happening accidentally upon the society's secret ceremonies.





participation in their own religion, that they realized that the Pentecostal creed represented a wholly different way of life, and one that was not compatible with their own. It prohibited dancing, religious as well as social, the making of prayer plumes or katchinas (termed "idols" by the Pentecostals), or any other of the many ritual acts of native religion. It gave the individual the right to appeal directly to supernatural power for his own benefit, but it possessed no formulae for insuring the wellbeing of the group. Cooperative, ritual activities, as we have said, are extremely important in Pueblo life, and the people believe that without their performance the seasons will not follow one upon the other in their proper order, the crops will not grow and ripen, and life will not renew itself upon the earth. While the people themselves do not take full responsibility for these matters, they are thoroughly convinced that their cooperation with the supernatural is indispensable. The ceremonies they give are intended as evidence that they are performing their part of the pact with nature. This philosophy is so ingrained in them that except in a case where the reward value of change is made unusually attractive, or the punishment value of not changing is sufficiently intimidating, they cannot see any advantage to substitution.





Beyond the personal gratification through self expression which this religion offers, we cannot say what rewards appealed to Gregorio, nor can we say what the individual background experiences were that made these rewards significant to him. The fact that he was able to convert most of the members of his family is evidence that at least among them there were unresolved dissatisfactions. It is also evident that these dissatisfactions were not strong enough in the community as a whole to result in a blanket conversion. In the first place it was not compatible with Pueblo custom to accept Gregorio as a leader. One who recommends rejection of tradition, which to them represents the security of the known, is not fitted for leadership. Second, in view of the modal personality of the group the reward value of the cult did not outweigh or even balance its obvious threat to the whole fabric of their culture. They might have accepted it as a medicine society to augment the other organizations which function for the well-being of the group, but as a complete substitution for their religion it was not acceptable. Moreover, as a rule the Pueblos feel that a Protestant preacher haranguing the people, without robes, paraphernalia, or ritual, is a thoroughly non-religious, if not amusing, phenomenon.

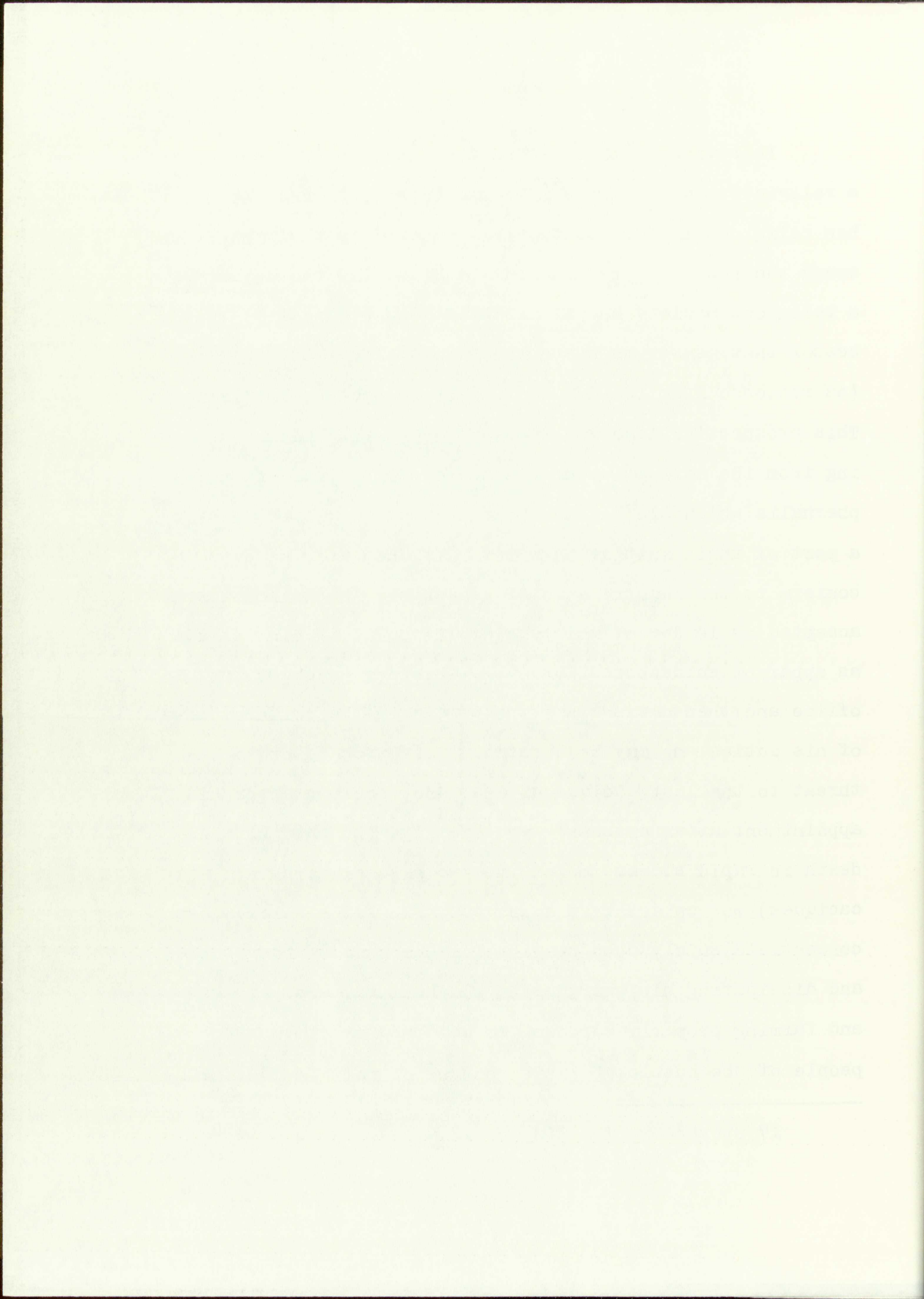
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 people, without reward, gratification, or ritual, is a  
 thoroughly non-religious, if not atheistic, phenomenon.



In reviewing the reasons for Gregorio's rejection as a religious leader at Sia it would be well to understand how religious leaders customarily succeed to their positions among the Pueblos. We know that customarily the leader of a religious society has as assistant and prospective successor that member of his society next oldest to himself (as reckoned from the dates of their respective initiations). This prospective leader serves his apprenticeship in learning from the acting leader the secrets of ritual and paraphernalia which are beyond those learned by all members as a part of their initiation rites. If, however, he does not conform to the requirements of leadership, he will not be accepted as leader of this society in spite of his position as apparent successor. Moreover, should he succeed to office and then not satisfy the people in the performance of his duties, he may be deposed. Stevenson recorded this threat to the last cacique of Sia, who, shortly after his appointment at an unusually youthful age (because of the death in rapid succession of the two preceding, aged caciques) was chided by the war captains for his refusal to concentrate solely upon praying for the good of his people, and dissipating his energies in the hunting, woodgathering, and farming properly supposed to be done for him by the people of the pueblo.<sup>17</sup> This control of religious officers

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<sup>17</sup> Stevenson, The Sia, p. 17.





by the pueblo members, through the threat of deposition and the dishonor consequent upon the disregard of public duties, exists as a reality at all times and is of major importance as a negative sanction.

The best parallel to the position in which Candido presumed to place himself as leader of the Pentecostal religion in the pueblo would be that of the cacique himself. The cacique at Sia attains his position through the customary succession to office, but in this pueblo candidacy for the position presupposes membership in one of three clans. According to the creation legend the first three caciques were appointed from these three clans successively. After the appointment of each leader there had been difficulties, so the creator decided that the position should thenceforth and forever alternate between them. Lacking a detailed account of the rites of induction for a cacique at Sia, we can refer to White's description of the procedure at Santa Ana,<sup>18</sup> the neighboring Keresan pueblo in which societies, rituals, and religion in general closely parallel those of Sia. From the details of this description we can more fully realize that the position of religious leadership depends not only upon the position of presumptive success-

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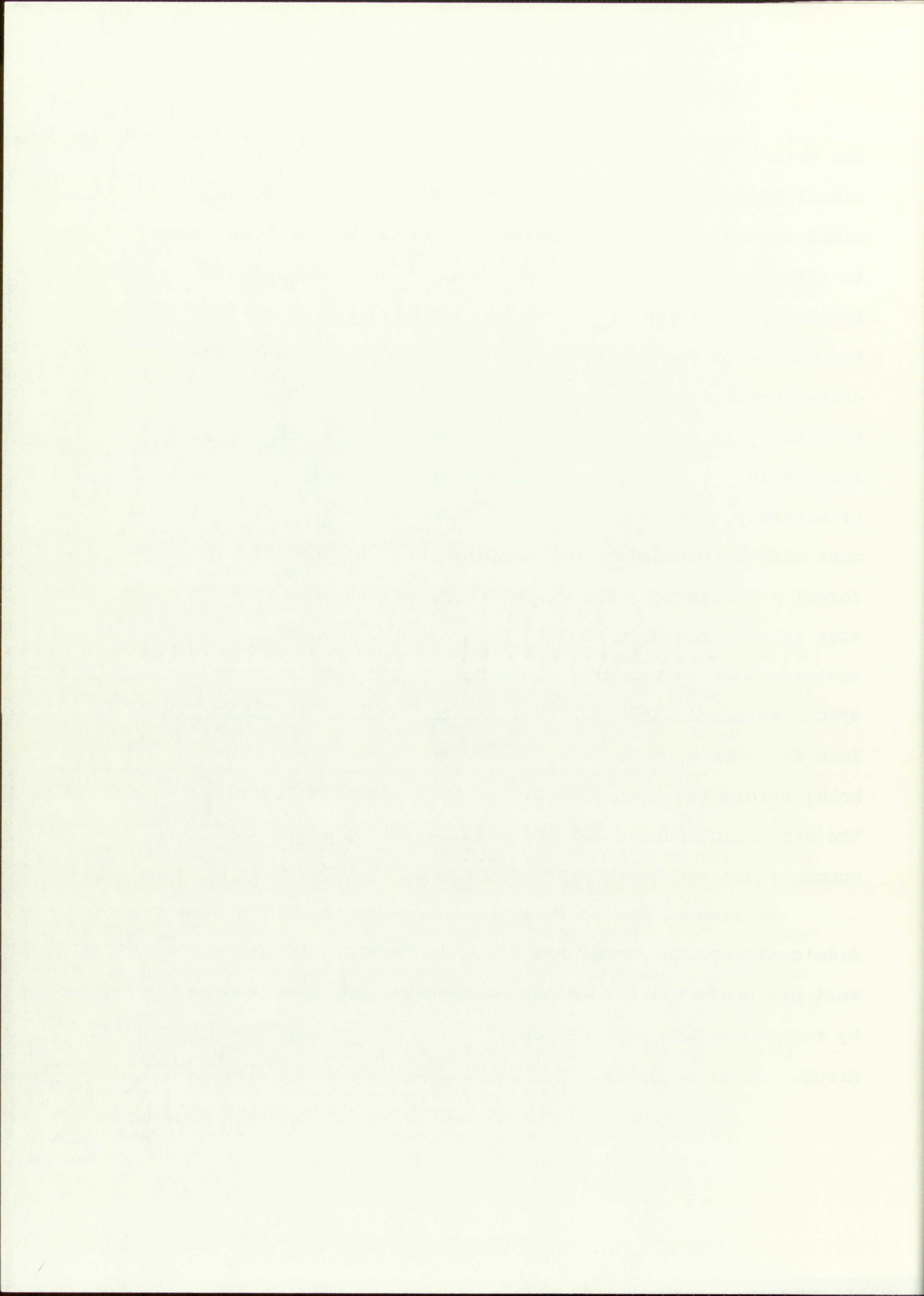
<sup>18</sup> White, Santa Ana, pp. 98-102.





ion held by an individual, his acquisition of the required ritual knowledge, and his sincere acceptance of the responsibilities of his office, but also upon his being acceptable to all of the people concerned, that is, the whole pueblo. Moreover, a reading of the account impresses upon one the importance to the Pueblos of strict adherence to an elaborate ceremonial pattern, repetitious and time-consuming in detail, in the appointment of an individual to religious leadership. The length of periods of deliberation, periods of activity, and even periods of inactivity (e.g. four years must elapse between the appointment of a cacique and his formal installation) are ritually prescribed, and at each step in the procedure where a decision is reached this decision must be formally announced to the people in a specified manner and by ritually designated individuals. Each decision must be accepted by the people (each household) before the next step can be taken, and as four is the ceremonial number for the Pueblos, acceptances are commonly secured four times.

In view of the above it is not surprising that Candido's attempt to assume religious leadership and to convert his whole village to the Pentecostal religion was met by resistance and indignation from the majority of the group. Their objections may be summed up with the follow-





ing remarks. (1) In 1929, when Candido was converted to the Pentecostal faith, he was too young to be seriously considered for a position of religious responsibility.<sup>19</sup> (He was about twenty-nine years old at the time.) (2) He had served no period of apprenticeship, nor held any other important ritual office (a fiscal is a minor official) which might have compensated for his youth in the pueblo's regard for his opinions. (3) The "good Pueblo" character of his family had already been made questionable by his younger brother Valentino, who had incurred serious criticism for "giving away religious secrets" (making water color paintings of masked dances). (4) The interval between the initial advent of the Pentecostal faith into Pueblo knowledge and Candido's attempt to proselytize and establish himself as leader of the cult had been altogether too brief. (In the reference to White's account of the installation of a cacique at Santa Ana we have seen the Pueblo penchant for time-consuming "red tape" in official matters.) (5)

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19 In connection with the question of age and leadership among the Pueblos, it is interesting to note that the United States Indian Service officials frequently experience difficulty in introducing new methods of farming, sheep or cattle raising, etc. unless they first secure the cooperation of the proper individuals. They have remarked that, while it is easier to interest the young men in change, it is only through the old men (the leaders) that change actually can be effected.





He had appropriated a position of leadership without having been placed into it by all--or any--of the other pueblo members. (6) He had shown disrespect for constituted authority by proselytizing after he had been warned not to.<sup>20</sup> On each of these scores he had overreached Pueblo mores and outraged conservatism, points which would have militated against final acceptance of the cult even if, within itself, it had been capable of integration with the dominant pattern of institutions and beliefs.

approach to the conversion of the natives they encountered.

These accounts indicate that the introduction of the new

faith was at first promoted by extraordinary methods, and

the "heathens" were not expected to readily understand or

accept its doctrines. The initial first concern was to

secure the friendship and good-will of these prospective

converts. When this was assured they proceeded with their

ordinary methods of proselytism. A sample of this atti-

tude and approach is reported by Benavides:

After having received them with belief, I saw many Indians, men, women, and children of different colors. For the Catholic king ordered that he be surrounded with things of this kind so that he may convert them peacefully and that they may know the will of our lord God.

20 After his conversion he had asked the war chief for permission to tell his "message of Jesus" to the heads of all the medicine societies. When the war chief refused, he abused his authority as fiscal to make the announcement to the whole pueblo as the members came out of church one day.





## CHAPTER VI

### CATHOLICISM AMONG THE PUEBLOS

In observing the reaction of the Sians to the recent attempted introduction of a Protestant sect, one might well ask how Catholicism made it's first entering wedge and how it managed to remain in spite of the strong opposition it is known to have encountered. The accounts of the early Franciscan missionaries who first entered New Mexico and the Southwest furnish abundant information concerning their approach to the conversion of the natives they encountered. These accounts indicate that the introduction of the new faith was at first promoted by conciliatory methods, and the "heathens" were not expected to wholly understand or accept it's doctrines. The friars' first concern was to secure the friendship and good-will of their prospective converts. When this was assured they proceeded with their customary methods of proselytism. An example of this attitude and approach is reported by Benavides:

...after having regaled them with bells, rattles, feathers, and beads of different colors, for the Catholic king orders that we be furnished with things of this kind so that we may convert them peacefully and that they will gladly hear the word of the Lord from us, I made a cross the length of a lance and set it up in the center of the rancharia. Then, as best I could, I explained to them that if they worshipped this holy symbol with all their hearts they would find therein the aid for all their needs. Falling on my knees, I

THEORY OF THE STATE

In the following chapters of the book we shall

consider the various theories of the state, and shall

try to show how far they are in accordance with

the facts of history and the requirements of

the needs of the community.

It is not necessary to say that the state is

not a thing, but a process, and that it is

not a person, but a power, and that it is

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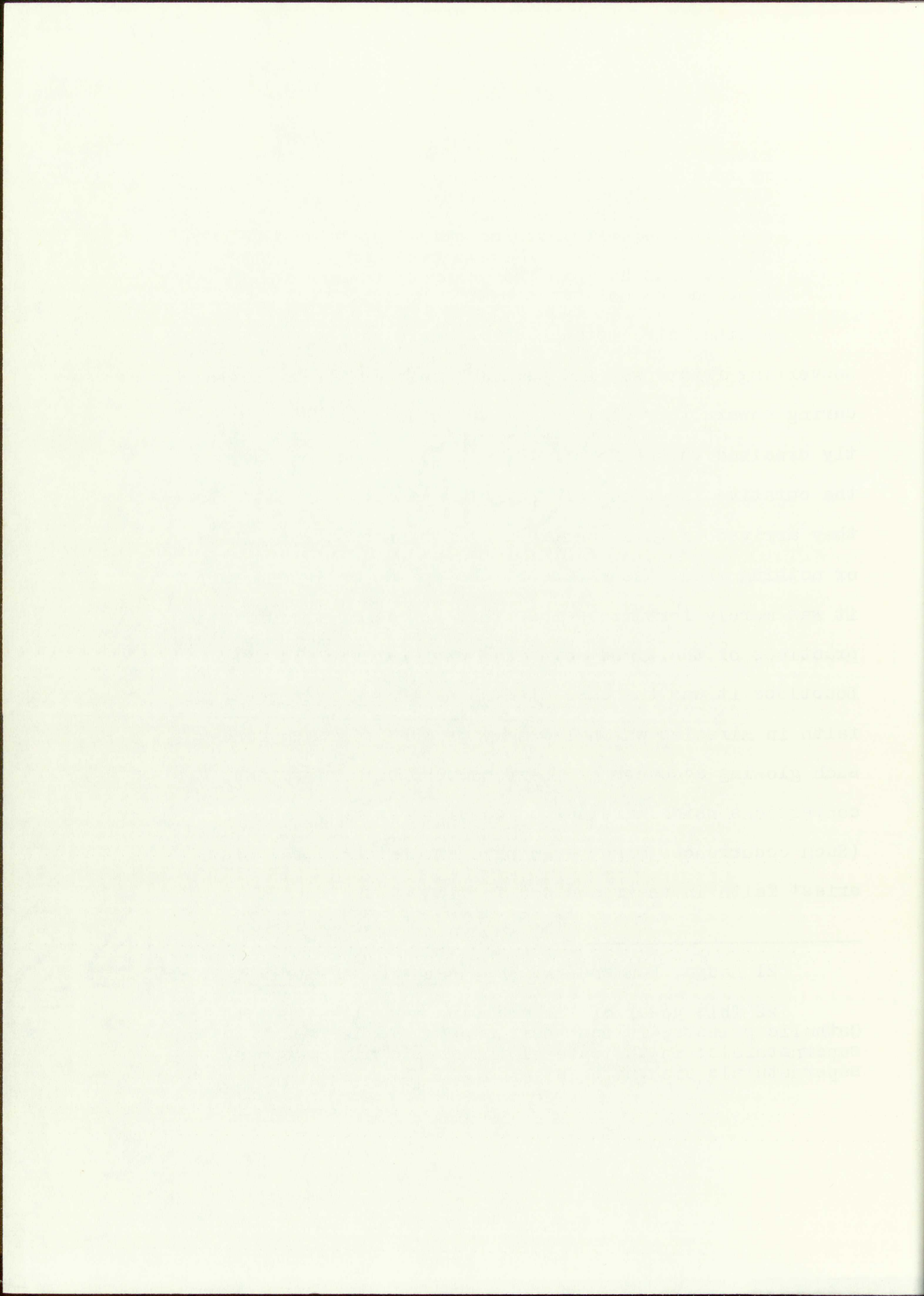
kissed it. They all did the same. With this my soul was comforted greatly, for it was the first cross that they adored in this place. Among others there came an Indian woman with a toothache; with much devotion she held open her mouth and put her teeth close to the holy cross. Another, in the pains of childbirth touched the holy tree with her body.<sup>21</sup>

Another circumstance which operated in favor of the converting friars was the parallel between the miraculous curing powers they claimed for their God, (though frequently credited to the friars themselves by the Indians) and the curative functions of the native medicine men.<sup>22</sup> When they arrived in this country the missionaries knew little or nothing about the nature of the Indian religions, and it was merely fortuitous that this aspect of the Christian practices of the times coincided with native beliefs. Doubtless it was the ease with which the natives accepted faith in miracles which led many of the friars to render such glowing accounts of their successful conversions, conversions which were not so complete as they seemed. (Such occurrences might even have strengthened the missionaries' faith in their own God in view of the fact that

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<sup>21</sup> Hodge, Hammond and Rey, Benavides Memorial, p. 58.

<sup>22</sup> This power of the medicine men, like that of the Catholic priests, is not their own but is derived from the supernaturals; in the case of the Pueblo medicine men these supernaturals are the beast gods.





Still more impressive to the Indians was the friars' extension of their miraculous powers to include control of the elements. This would have been particularly impressive to the Pueblos, who were so concerned with the proper rotation of the seasons and were dependent upon adequate rainfall to insure the ripening of their crops. Any apparent solution to this ever-present problem would have been considered by them to be a signal boon. We quote Benavides again to give an example of these powers which inspired awe among the Pueblos:

While resting there (San Juan) from their past hardships, they suddenly heard an outcry by the whole pueblo, accompanied by such great lamentations that it caused much anxiety and wonder among our people. When we learned the reason, it proved to be that it had not rained for a long time and their crops were drying up on account of the prolonged drought. So the good father commissary told them publicly through the interpreters not to be afflicted, to worship the Lord, God, and Creator of all things, as He was the one, and not the idols, who could give them water, and that he could assure them on behalf of God that He would send them rain. The Indians believed him, and the blessed father commissary and his friars, together with all the Christians, offered prayers and invocations to this end. They asked the divine majesty to perform there His miracles for the conversion of that people, who did not know Him, and for the beginning of the church which they were going to found. It was remarkable, for, while the sky was as clear as a diamond, exactly twenty-four hours after the outcry had gone up, it rained almost throughout the land so abundantly that

Still more suggestive to the Indians was the fact

that the Indians were not only not hostile but

friendly, and that they were not only not hostile but

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the crops recovered in good condition.<sup>23</sup>

After some time had elapsed and the priests were no longer on the march, they found themselves with more time on their hands, time in which to be concerned about the sincerity of their converts. At first they had been anxious only to make Christians of them, but now that they had settled in the area and the dangers of the unknown were lessened they had more opportunity to direct their zeal toward the end of making the Indians good Christians.

It soon became obvious that the natives had no intention of denying their own religion in favor of that offered by the zealous missionaries. They had joined the Roman Catholic church as they would have joined another of their own medicine societies. (It is not uncommon for them to hold membership in several.) They were willing to offer corn meal to Christ and the cross and the saints as they did to their own deities, but when the padres insisted that they should give up their own religion in its entirety they began to chafe under this new allegiance which had been foisted upon them.

Under Spanish direction they were being forced into building churches and visitas so that the villages were

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23 Hodge, Hammond and Rey, Benavides Memorial, p. 58.





served with masses fairly frequently. Benavides reports with some pride on the education provided the Indians in the convents. He mentions that instruction was given in arts and crafts, reading and writing, and choral singing for church masses. According to him the Indians cooperated enthusiastically in all of these undertakings and diligently attended all masses and other Catholic services. But that this report was colored by his desire to impress his superiors (from whom he obtained funds to carry on his labors) is evident from other sections of the work in which he records the martyrdom of some of his fellow workers. At Hopi, for example, one of the Catholic priests was poisoned by the native medicine men.<sup>24</sup> Such incidents made the missionaries painfully aware of the importance and power of the native priests whom we know to have been jealous of them--a situation which undoubtedly increased the zeal on both sides. The friars' retaliation was to accuse the medicine men of witchcraft, and at Hopi one of them (medicine men) was set afire after oil had been poured upon him. Others were whipped, imprisoned, or sentenced to investigation by the civil and military courts. The Indians soon discovered that their innocent concept that being baptised as Christians

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24 Hodge, Hammond and Rey, op. cit., p. 77.



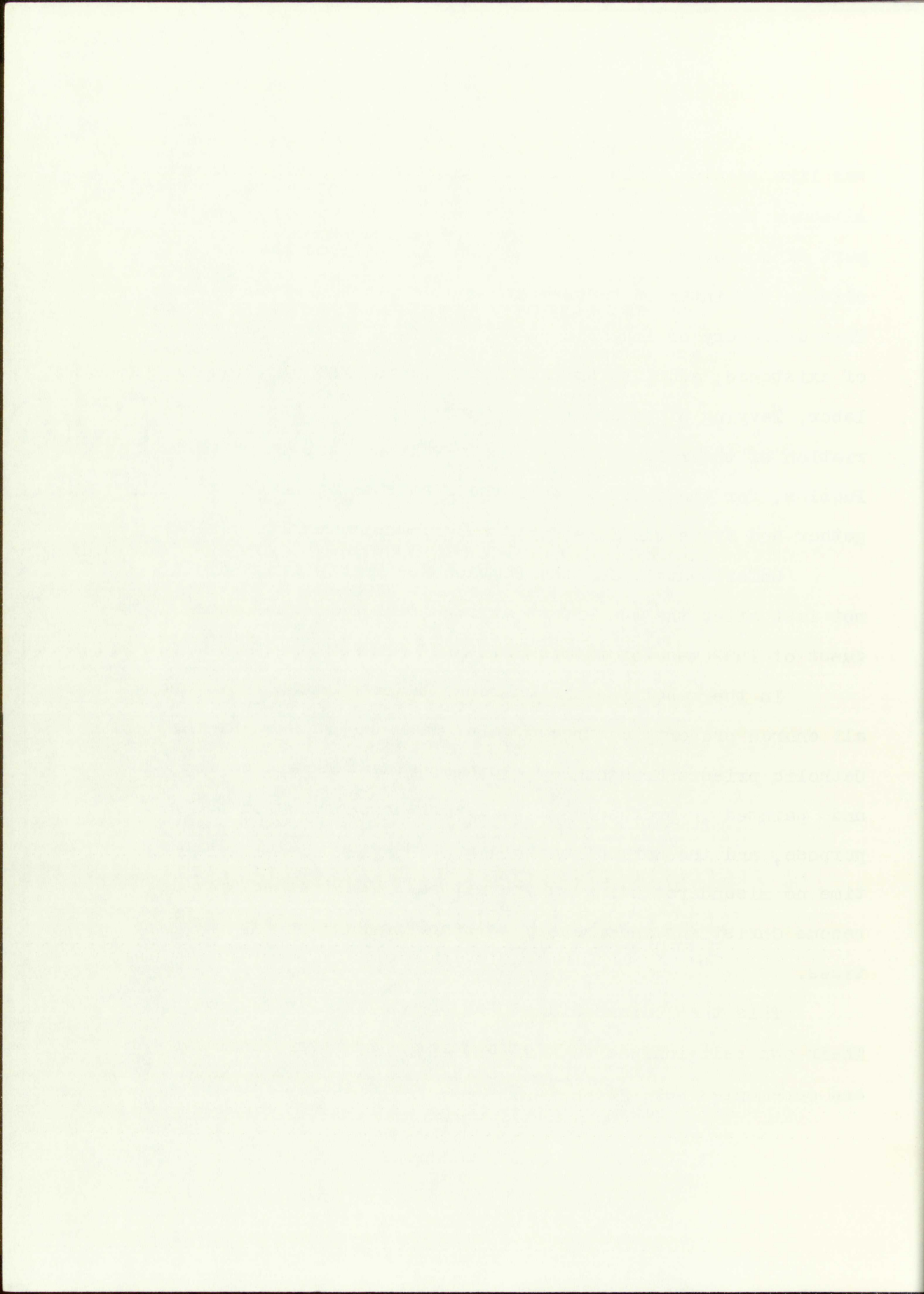


was like joining another medicine society was sadly erroneous. Although they could belong to several medicine societies, as part of one overall religious system, they discovered Catholicism was intended to totally supplant that overall system. This discovery of impending danger to their entire pattern of existence, added to the increased resentment of forced labor, levying of goods or of labor as taxation, and appropriation of their lands led to the revolt of 1680 in which the Pueblos, for the first time in their existence, banded together and drove the foreigners out of their territory.

Unfortunately for the Pueblos the United front did not last after the one effort at expulsion, and the reconquest of 1692 was not difficult.

In the rebellion the churches had been desecrated and all church property destroyed. But with the reconquest the Catholic priests brought new equipment, santos were carved and painted in professional folk workshops dedicated to the purpose, and the work of conversion was begun again. This time no misunderstanding was permitted. The Indians were to become Christians and thereby to renounce "heathen" practices.

This the Indians did as far as the Spaniards knew. Their own religion was carried underground, masked dances and ceremonies were given in secret, while the pueblo was





guarded against all intruders by the war captains and their assistants posted as sentries.

The Spaniards were not entirely unaware of this situation, but there was little they could do about it. In outward appearances most of the Indians settled down, following the ways of the Roman Catholic church, and the padres were clever enough at handling people not only to permit but even to encourage the performance of native unmasked corn dances in celebration of the annual feast for the patron saint of each pueblo. But our problem of the acceptance of a foreign religion into the Pueblo pattern brings up the question of just how much Catholicism actually took root among them. The people had been impressed by the fact that the Catholic priests, like their own, wore special vestments for their ceremonies, manipulated paraphernalia on an altar, and incorporated music into the services. The concept of saints paralleled that of their own individualized katchinas; that of angels paralleled the Pueblo idea that the dead became beneficent cloud spirits who would come to the aid of the people when necessary. Processions, the use of water in religious ritual, fumigation by incense, and the reverence accorded shrines, all were close parallels to Pueblo customs.<sup>25</sup> Conversely, the Catholic dichotomy of

merging  
of  
religions

similar-  
ities in  
religions

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<sup>25</sup> For a fuller discussion of these parallels see Hawley, The Role of Pueblo Social Organization in the Dissemination of Catholicism.





Still, little  
acceptance  
of some  
Catholic  
concepts by the  
Pueblos

good and evil, God and the devil, and heaven and hell was foreign to Pueblo understanding and made little impression upon the natives. To their way of thinking God might be all-powerful, but could not be all-good. In actuality he was identified with their own creator whose position was distant and who was not especially concerned with the specific problems of the people. Christ and the patron saint of a village were considered as specific deific spirits, similar in function to the individualized katchinas, and worthy of receiving prayer sticks upon their own holy days. Life after death had never been more than of moderate interest in Pueblo thought, which, together with the lack of appreciation of the Christian concept of a duality of forces, prevented their being much impressed with orations upon the dangers of purgatory and the inferno. Confession was something entirely new to them. They were accustomed to punishment by their pueblo officers for crimes committed against the good of the village. Their idea of reward for well-doing was the realization of duty well performed and the ever important respect of their neighbors. Individual salvation meant nothing to them because individualism never was emphasized, and they conceived of life as good and nothing from which to be saved.

The priests were not then, and still are not today,

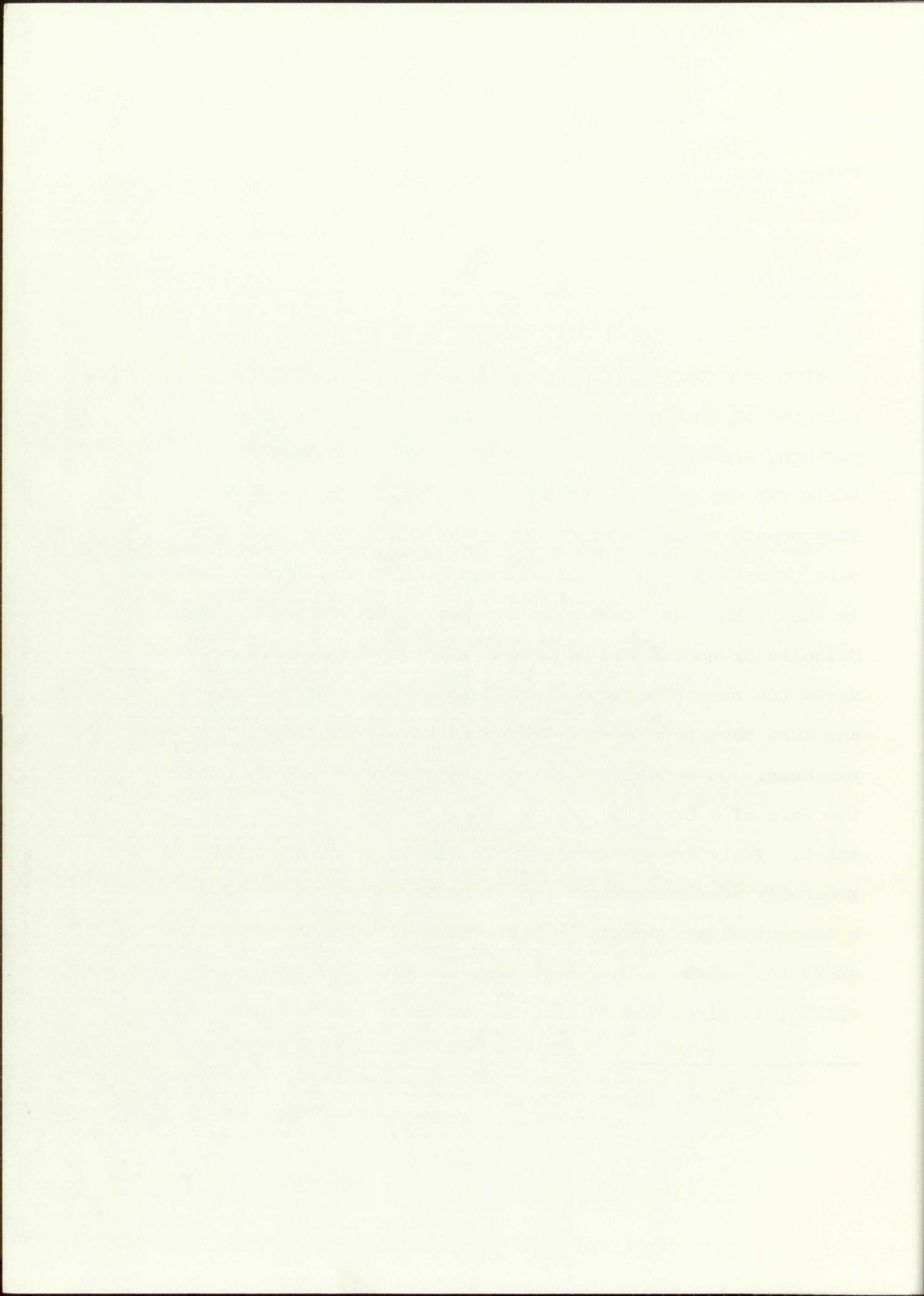




fully aware of this situation, although at present at least they realize that their flock does not follow quite all of the customs of European Catholics. Analysis of the Catholicism which exists in the pueblos today makes it apparent, as White<sup>26</sup> has pointed out, that instead of accepting Catholicism as such, the Indians took what they chose from the religion of that name, rejected what did not fit into their pattern, and thus actually earned the right to refer to their variety of Catholicism as the "Indian religion." They consider the churches their own and used by the Catholic priests only by their express permission. The santos in those churches are theirs and not to be handled by whites, Catholic or not, if so decided by the Pueblos. In some cases the saints depicted in old paintings hung in the churches have been re-identified as beings of the Pueblo pantheon. On certain occasions prayer plumes are made in the form of a cross to be put out for Christ and the patron saint. It is interesting to note that the patron saint is generally considered more important than Christ. This is a characteristic common to most Catholic peasant communities, where the patron saint, as a more knowable and familiar spirit, is given the role of intermediary between the people

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<sup>26</sup> White, Santa Ana, p. 61.





and the higher deity.

The parallel to the situation of the initial acceptance of Catholicism and its later rejection in 1680 to the initial acceptance of the Pentecostal preacher and the later rejection of this woman and of Candido, who was proselytizing for her group, lay in the misconception of each as a cult which could become a part of the general Pueblo religious structure. In the first case when the people began to realize that retention of Catholicism and its priests threatened a complete loss of the native religion, the priests and their secular protectors were ousted from New Mexico. When they returned, and it became obvious that the Pueblo people were too few in number to rid themselves of the Europeans with any measure of permanence, the Pueblos accepted those formal aspects of Catholicism which fitted into their own pattern unobtrusively, rejected the others by merely neglecting them, and continued to carry on the religious pattern of their fathers. As soon as it became apparent that the Pentecostal cult endangered the native religion (now including native Catholicism) on which their whole social structure is based, preacher and proselyter for the Pentecostals were ejected from the pueblo. When the latter refused to return to Pueblo ways his name was removed from the census roll to indicate that his membership within that group was forever cancelled.

and the latter party.

The grounds for the establishment of the latter party

were of course the same as the grounds for the former in 1900.

Initial grounds for the latter party were the same as the grounds for the former in 1900.

For the first group, the grounds for the latter party were the same as the grounds for the former in 1900.

which could become a part of the former party's platform.

However, in the first year, the party began to lose

the first year of the party's existence and the party's

and a complete loss of the party's platform, the party

and their second platform was the same as the first.

When they returned, it was to find that the party

people were too few in number to be considered as the

European with the number of people in the party.

accepted those formal aspects of the party which had

into their own party's platform, and the party

by nearly neglecting them, and continued to carry on the

religious pattern of their platform, as now as it had

appeared that the party's only interest was the party

religion (the religious party) and the party's

whole social structure is based on the party's

for the party's social structure is based on the party's

the latter party's social structure is based on the party's

removed from the party's social structure is based on the party's

ship within that party and the party's



## CHAPTER VII

42

### THE CULTURAL RESPONSE

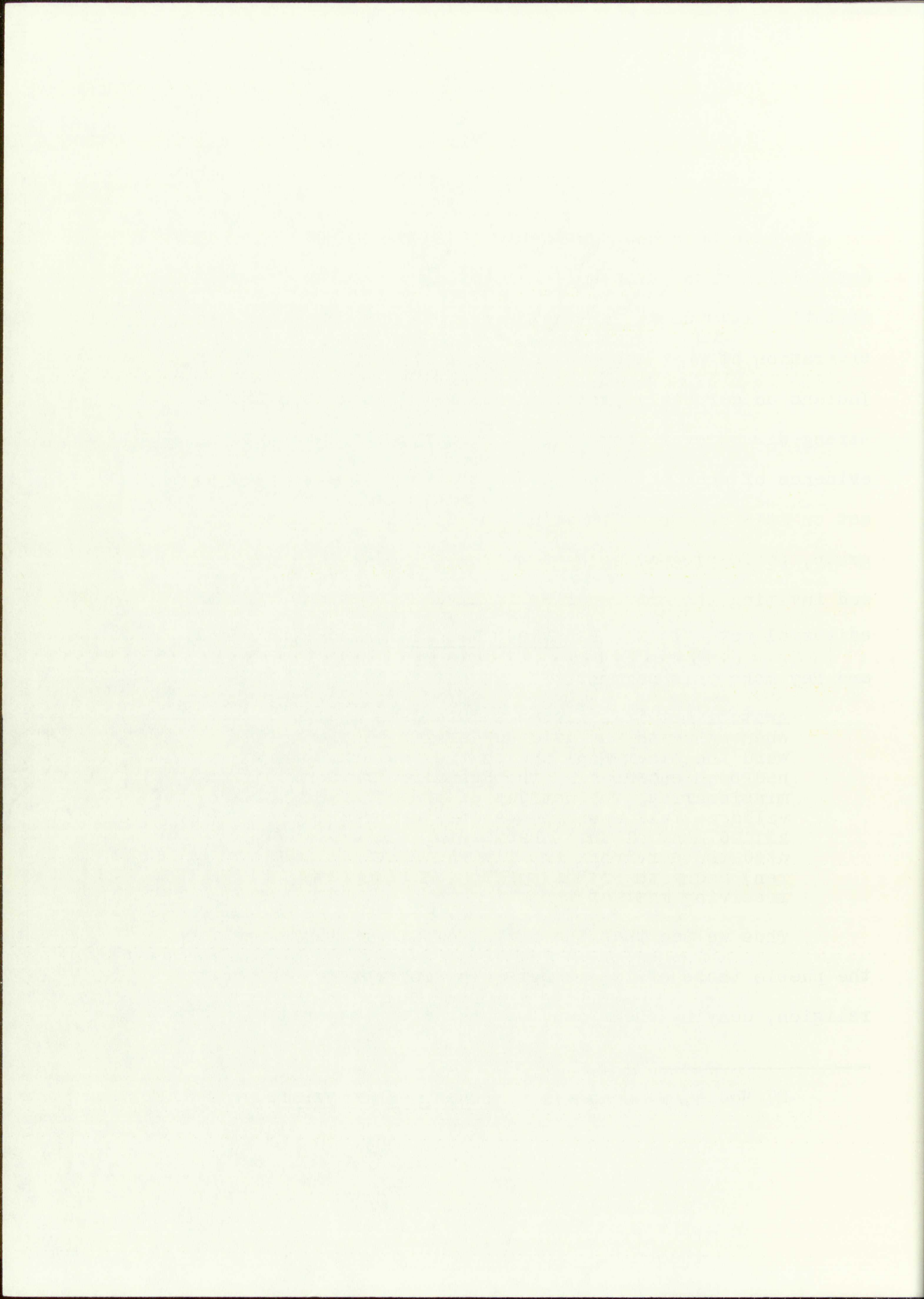
We have seen how the Pueblo Indians managed a show of Catholicism without actually accepting the faith or substituting its dogma for their own. We now come to a consideration of what happens when some of the individual Indians do earnestly profess a new religion in the face of strong disapproval from their community. We have historical evidence of what happened to Awatobi when it attempted to act on its own in defiance of the will of the larger Hopi group, professing allegiance to the Catholic king of Spain and inviting the missionaries to live among them. In the editorial notes to the Benavides Memorial, Hodge, Hammond, and Rey make this comment:

Awatobi met its ultimate fate late in 1700, when owing to the attitude of its people toward the other Hopi and to the fact that they had been encouraging the Spaniards to send missionaries, the natives of the other Hopi villages fell upon them before daybreak, killed many of the inhabitants, and distributed the survivors (mostly women and children) among the other pueblos; Mishongnovi receiving most of them.<sup>27</sup>

Thus we see that the action of Sia in banishing from the pueblo those of its members who took up the Pentecostal religion, denying their own, was not without parallel. The

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<sup>27</sup> Hodge, Hammond & Rey, Benavides Memorial, p. 298.





Sians saw that harboring any of their members who professed the new religion was an immediate and growing threat to the functional integrity of the group, Little as they liked losing members, it was the considered opinion of the majority that it would be better to remove the recalcitrant individuals from the census rolls and deny them any further privileges offered by Pueblo life than to permit them to enjoy that very security which was being undermined by their lack of cooperation. If the community was to preserve this security, it had to take some action in its defense.

The result within the culture itself was that the older patterns were strengthened and conformity to them took on renewed value, both through the desire of pueblo members to avoid censure and through the reaffirmation of their faith in the security of known ways. This we take as evidence of our contention that self-interest is one of the basic tendencies of societies as it is of individuals.

A community such as a pueblo, whose whole social, economic, and religious life is closely integrated, and whose well-being is positively correlated with the fulfillment by all of its members of their specific roles, loses a measure of its stability when some of these members fail in their duties. Without making any changes in its own basic patterns, it can resort to two methods for restoring

From the first meeting day of the committee the president  
the new religion was as important as the old one to the

functional integrity of the group. Little as they liked

being members, they were not willing to be without it.

Their interest in the new religion was not only

in the new religion itself but also in the way it

was to be used to build a new life for the people.

They were not only interested in the new religion but

also in the way it was to be used to build a new life

for the people. It was not only the new religion but

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itself to equilibrium. It can make an attempt to bring the defaulting individuals back into line, or, failing that, it can expel them from its membership. The inconvenience of adjusting itself to functional unity with a slightly reduced membership would be negligible compared to the constant friction which would be the result of the retention of non or only partially functioning members. A byproduct of either of these reactions may be a resurgence of older cultural patterns as a rationalized defense against any further attempts at disruption.

For many years Sia has been attempting to increase its numbers. To this end it has discouraged marriage outside of the pueblo, and those who do marry outside are required to bring their husbands or wives to live within the pueblo. Epidemic disease (since the Spanish conquest) and malnutrition (since the Anglo influx into the Southwest) have been constant enemies. Witchcraft, too, has played its part. Bandelier claimed that killing within the pueblo itself because of witchcraft kept the population at a minimum for many years.<sup>28</sup> While this might seem to be

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<sup>28</sup> Bandelier, Final Report, II, footnote p. 35. "Any disaster of magnitude, like drought, epidemic diseases, or a flood, is quickly attributed by the Pueblos to witchcraft. In consequence of this suspicion sets in, and many crimes are committed which are kept secret, but contribute slowly and surely to depopulate the village. Certain pueblos, like Nambe, Santa Clara, and Cia, owe their decline to the constant inter-killing going on for supposed evil practices of witchcraft."





a case of biting off the nose to spite the face, evidently, the Sians consider it the lesser of two evils. This also gives evidence of their conviction that a bad Sian is not to be considered a Sian at all, and therefore, it is no crime to get rid of him. It is known that they still threaten killing for serious offenses, if not in an outright manner, at least in the form of suggesting the possibility of "hunting accidents".<sup>29</sup>

Expulsion of the Indian Pentecostals was not an easy decision for the Sia council to make. Even after making the decision they were willing to reconsider it several times. It was always their hope that a re-examination of the offenders would disclose a willingness to renounce the Pentecostal faith and return to Pueblo ways. Candido, the ring-leader, had first taken up the cult in 1928, but it was not until 1933 (according to his own statement) that he was advised by the Council that he no longer had the privilege of pueblo membership. Up to that time he had been proselytizing within the pueblo, but it is interesting to note that he won no permanent converts outside his own family and one other related family. The attitude of most of the Sians toward the "Holy Rollers" had by then become

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<sup>29</sup> Hawley, Pueblo of the Sun.





one of ridicule rather than strict censure. The community considered them a nuisance but also took some pleasure in gossiping about the strange antics they performed during their religious services in the Lujan house. However, when Candido refused the clowns' call to ceremonial duties in the kiva in August, 1933, the council decided something should be done about it. Making oneself ridiculous was one thing, but refusing to participate in community duties was another. Doubtless Candido knew what would happen when he refused, and it was probably this knowledge which kept him from transgressing any important regulations before that time, in spite of his profession of faith in the new religion. Perhaps the Pentecostals in Albuquerque had convinced him that they would back him in his stand and see that the pueblo took no serious action against him. It is not clear how early they advised him of federal laws insuring freedom of religion. (This is one of the points he stresses now in any discussion of the case, and it is the main point upon which his brother's law-suit is based.) It is quite likely that it was easier for him to add the new religion as an adjunct to the old, fulfilling different needs, than to accept it at first as a complete replacement. The Pentecostals are vigorous and insistent missionaries once they have managed to win the attention of prospective converts,

and the other side of the street. The community  
 considered that a business had also been placed in  
 going about the things which they performed during  
 their religious activities in the same house. However, when  
 people return to the street, they are not allowed to  
 the street in the same way. The community is not  
 about the things which they performed during their  
 things, but returning to the community business was  
 another. However, people who would happen when he  
 returned, and it was probably this knowledge which kept him  
 from transgressing any important regulations before that  
 time, in spite of the presence of faith in the new reli-  
 gion. Perhaps the transgression in this case had concerned  
 him that they would be in the same house and not in the  
 public place as before and not in the same place. It is not clear  
 how early they returned to the street from the religious freedom  
 of religion. This is the case of the return to the street now  
 in any discussion of the case, but it is the same point  
 upon which his brother's law was based. It is not  
 likely that it was easier for him to end the new religion  
 as an object to him all, although different needs, then  
 to accept it as a new religious replacement. The trans-  
 gressions are vigorous and important when they  
 have managed to win the attention of prospective converts.



but it was probably some time before they could wean Candido from the habitual ways which had been inculcated in him from infancy. This, together with his reluctance to incur the complete disapprobation of the authoritative members of the community, would account for the length of time between his initial acceptance of the Pentecostal faith and his open refusal to continue even a semblance of the native religion.

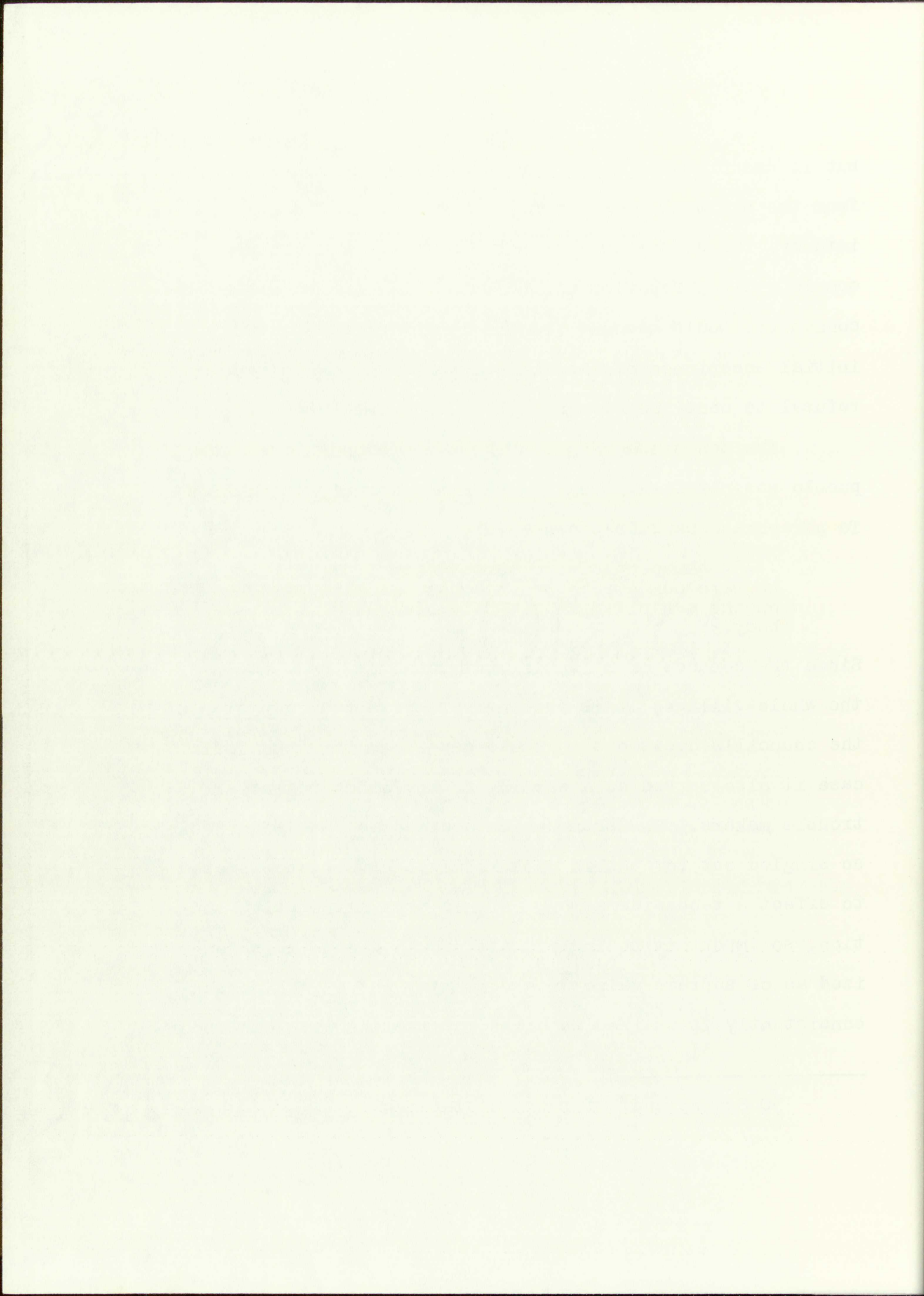
The council having come to a decision, the whole pueblo was notified; the expulsion was formal and public. To paraphrase Candido's own words,

... the people were told in front of us that we were condemned, thrown out of Sia like trash on the ash pile; and it was made known to everybody.<sup>30</sup>

Since the conduct of a Pueblo individual is the concern of the whole village, it is customary to give public notice of the council's decisions in these cases; in this particular case it also served as a warning to any other potential trouble makers. The shame which accrued to the individuals so singled out for public censure might have been expected to effect a reconsideration, as this type of negative sanction, so important to individuals of any group, is recognized as of supreme value in a community where each person consistently is trained to close interaction with others of

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<sup>30</sup> See Appendix for exact statement.





his society. That Candido's overt reaction to this decision was contrary to the council's expectations (or hopes?) is evidence of how far he had deviated from the community norm. He protested the decision both to the council itself and to the Indian Agency in Albuquerque, and yet he was sufficiently impressed with the authority of the council to move out of the pueblo and into Albuquerque where he began working as a silversmith for one of the local curio manufacturers. The pueblo settled back to its usual round of community activities and, except for its increased reserve and hostility toward outsiders, one would not have noticed any change. The people had been warned and they had responded by applying themselves to a stricter observance of pueblo custom. In less than a year Candido was back in the pueblo; he had come to visit his parents and to "talk about Jesus." He was not immediately approached by the council. They waited for a time to observe his behavior before calling him in once more for questioning. He was asked the same questions as before: Did he have any intention of renouncing the Pentecostal religion and returning to Pueblo ways; and if he were ever elected to an important position of authority in the pueblo, would he understand his responsibility to the people in the proper performance of all





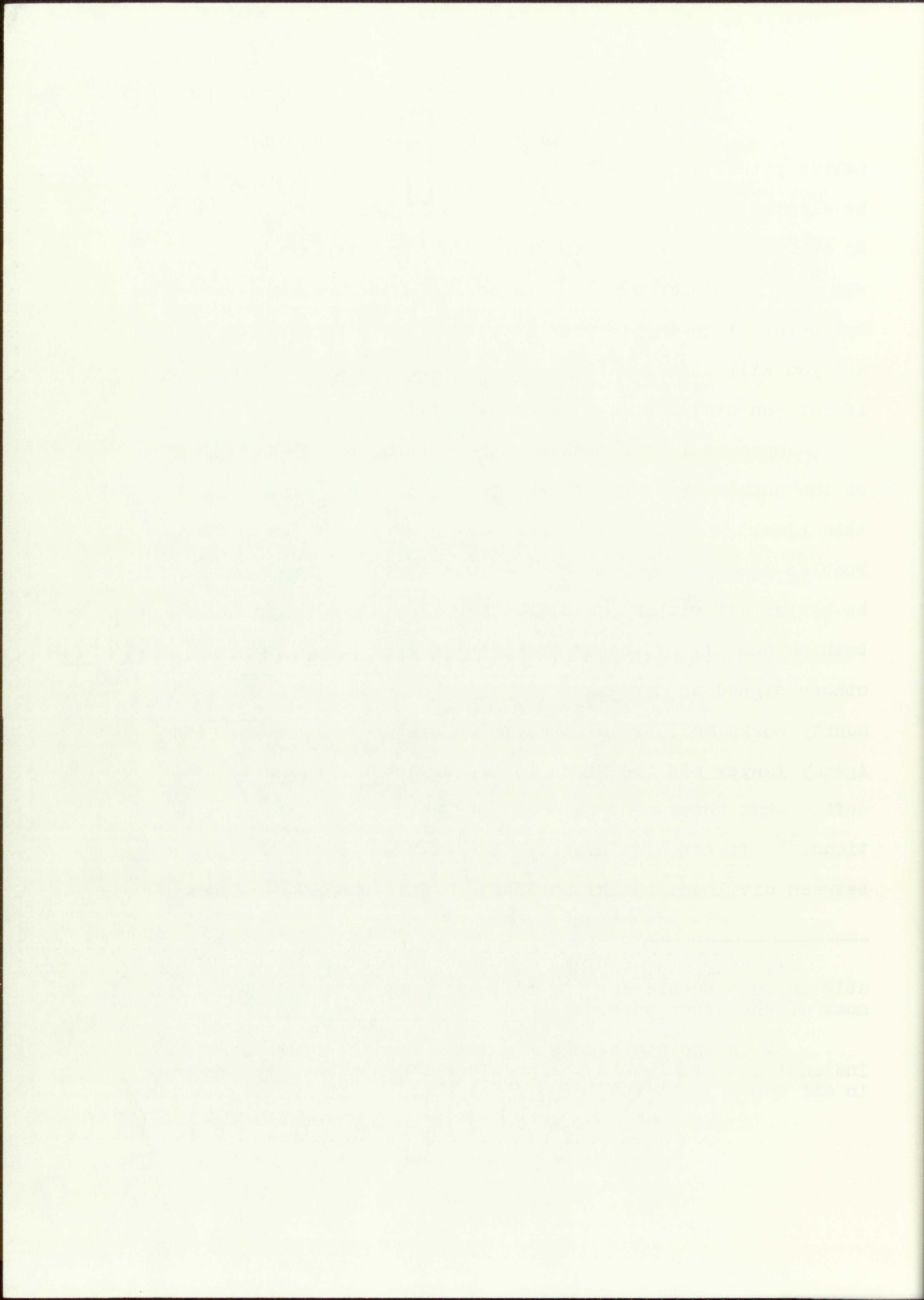
native ritual duties? To his negative response ("If I ever be elected to be a chief, I say he that is next to me could do all those things."), the war chief's<sup>31</sup> warning came stronger than before: "We are not going to quarrel here, but before I go any further I will say this to you; that I and you will bide our life. If you are right you will live, if not you die; and if I am right I will live, if not I die."

Once again Candido left the pueblo, but it was not on the authority of the council alone that he was expelled this time. The council had asked the advice of the United Pueblos Agency lawyer who had agreed that the pueblo would be better off without Candido. However, at a hearing where both he and all of the other "saints" were present, the others signed an agreement to participate in certain community works and were allowed to remain in the pueblo. This Agency lawyer was the first to try to get the Sians to define what they meant by community work and pueblo regulations.<sup>32</sup> It was also his idea to get them to distinguish between civil and religious duties. This was not a simple

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31 "War captain" and "war chief" are used interchangeably in this pueblo for the officer known as war captain in most of the other pueblos.

32 In the Sia census reports where the Pentecostal Indians' memberships in the pueblo are cancelled, the reason in all cases is stated to be, "for breaking pueblo regulations."





matter for a theocratically minded people. Some of them could not even realize the possibility of a dichotomy. From the reactions of the Pentecostals, it would seem that they classified all duties announced by the war chief as religious, and only those announced by the governor as civil. The pueblo itself put them both under the heading of community duties. For women these were defined as plastering community buildings (the two kivas, the church, and the community office building [the cacique's official house] and grinding corn [for ceremonial use]). It is obvious from this definition that the Indians were trying to word it to conform to white concepts of duty. They called the cacique's house the community office building and they did not specify the purpose of the corn grinding. Ceremonial dancing they did not include at all, presuming that the whites would never understand this as a community duty.

In 1940 the pueblo had further difficulty with the Pentecostals. Those they had allowed to remain in the pueblo were causing trouble. Though they had signed an agreement to abide by pueblo regulations, when it came to the actual performance of duties, they refused, saying it was against their religion. Another hearing was held and these offenders were also formally expelled. Among them was Saturnino Lujan, Candido's eldest brother, who up to that time had

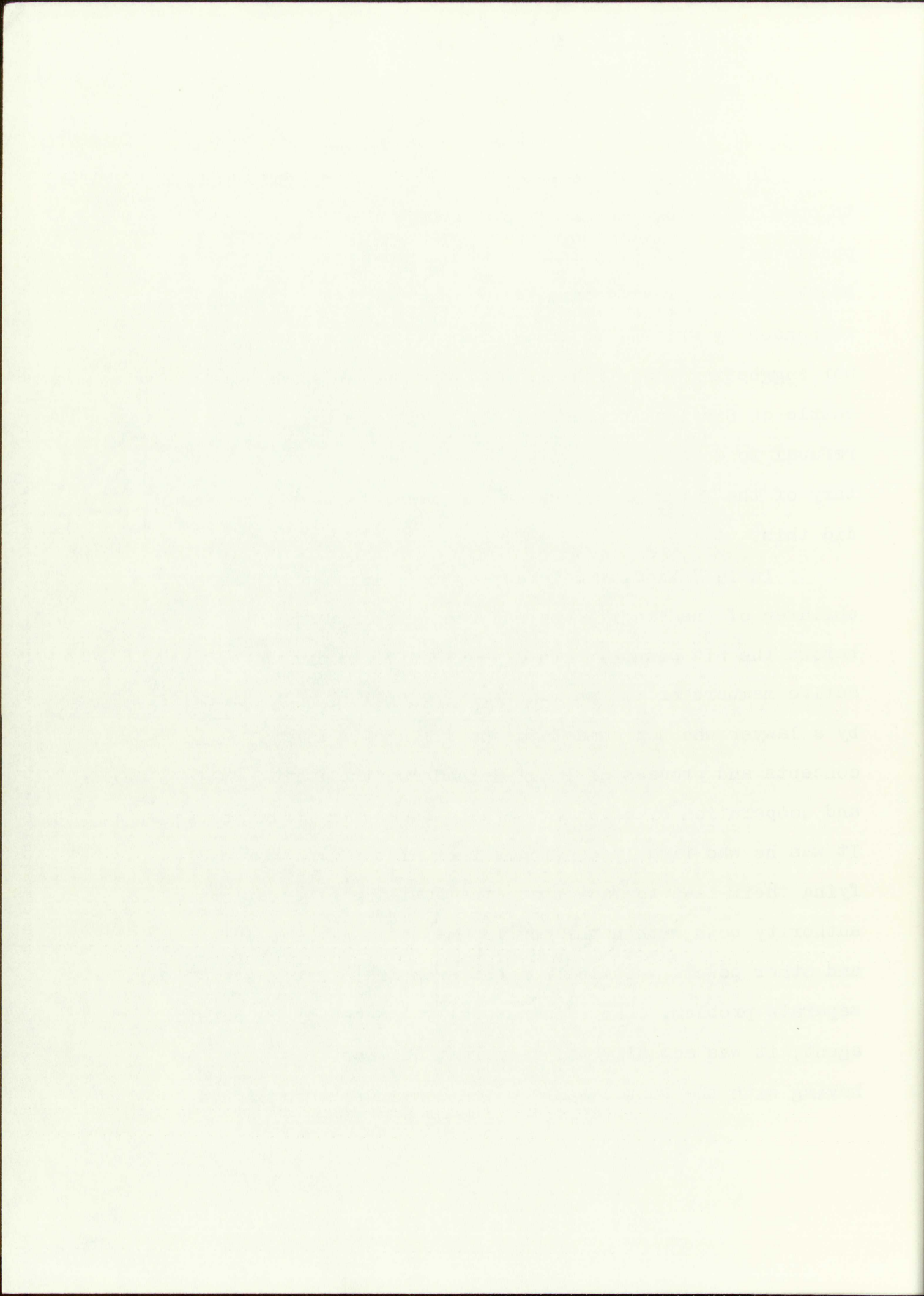




participated in community affairs. By now the number of expelled members totalled eleven. This number does not include the minor children of expelled members who were also excluded from the census rolls.

In 1943, Saturnino, having left the pueblo, was working at the Indian school in Albuquerque. He applied to the Sia council for permission to graze his cattle on the Borrego grant. At the time he had fifty-three cattle although his grazing quota, when he was still a pueblo member, was only thirty. The council wrote to him at the school stating that their decision to refuse him the grazing permit was unanimous because:

1. He had previously refused to abide by the civil rules of the pueblo and was thereby expelled, according to tribal law.
2. He had refused to perform his share of Pueblo work required by the pueblo in lieu of taxes-- thus forfeiting rights.
3. A recent drought had made the grass scarce and some of the present permittees might have to be turned off.
4. If the number of stock on the grant were increased, the pueblo buck herd should be given first place because it is used by all sheep owners of the pueblo.
5. If the stock were grazed by Herrera, the pueblo would be upset because the council already had voted not to grant a grazing permit.





practicability of his suggestion. The difficulties had begun in 1928 and in 1947 they had not yet <sup>been</sup> resolved them to the satisfaction of either side. With the lawyers help they wrote out the following rules for membership in Sia Pueblo:

1. When the governor cries out in the plaza concerning spring ditch work, three or four weeks beforehand, or the war captain cries in the plaza that there is plastering of public buildings, two days beforehand, everyone must know and report.

In regard to the duties of peace, of not assaulting another member with a stick or a hand or a word, we have been trained, all of us, since we could talk. In regard to the duties of right conduct, of hard work, of respect to the people and respect to our officers, we have been trained since we could talk. Duties of the pueblo include reasonable and peaceful conduct in the close community.

Troubles are not measured in the pueblo piece by piece, but over a long time, as a whole. The purpose of the native court is to make good people out of those who get in trouble.

2. Rarely does the Sia court impose the full penalty of their laws; half the time the court only makes the offender swear on his knees that he will give up bad things and be a right member of the pueblo. But if the courts do not impose full penalty, that does not mean the offense is forgotten or forgiven--if repeated. It is customary to wait and see at the end what is best to do.

3. It is not a law of the pueblo to throw out a man for small breaking of laws. People are warned and reminded of their duties; if they

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move far out and do not come back, officers must decide whether to treat continued failures to perform duties as a refusal or mere forgetting.

4. All land rights in the pueblo depend on proper performance by the user of his duties to the pueblo. Under native law everything moveable can be taken away by a person thrown out of the pueblo, except sacred things which do not belong to any single person but are held in trust by all. But land and things attached to land can be held and used only while persons remain members of the pueblo and perform their duties.

5. Parents have control over their children and or forever; children never grow up to years when they are free or can act without consent of living parents. The last surviving parent decrees which of the thirty or forty-year old sons shall be head of the family and trustee of family property. Parents are expected to raise children in ways of hard-working duty and clean living, ways of quiet and peace with all the close-living neighbors, ways of respect for the constituted officers and institutions. It is a matter of shame if a child gets into trouble and requires advice by officers or officers and council, rather than parents only. If there is conflict between advice of pueblo officers, difficulty ensues. Therefore, if parents leave the pueblo or are expelled, the children lose membership at the same time and by the same fact. Expulsion is rare, a last resort for peace and good order. Children can remain members only if the expelled member gives up parental rights over the children, such rights to be given up to a responsible member of the pueblo in good standing, if the child is young--or with rights surrendered by parents to the child if the child is old enough to have personal judgment. This pertains in such matters as marriage, moving to some different place to work, changing religion, or re-joining the pueblo. The pueblo wants children of ex-





pelled people as members, if the child wants to be readmitted, but parents must give up their rights over them. The child will be given a hearing, judged as to his probable adaptability to the pueblo life, and admitted at least on probation. It is not a policy of the pueblo to make children suffer for the sins of their parents.

It can be seen from the above document that, though change was introduced in the concept of codifying customs, these laws were the same, in feeling if not wholly in content, as those which formerly had been preserved by custom and oral tradition. There was no clearer definition of community work than before and no distinction between civil and religious duties. Phrases such as, "duties of the pueblo include reasonable and peaceful conduct in the close community," leave interpretation up to the pueblo authorities, those individuals who attained their positions through qualifying as trusted conservers of Pueblo ways. There can be no doubt as to their interpretation.

In section one is indicated that one cannot live outside the pueblo and still retain membership. (How could one live in Albuquerque or Santa Fe and know exactly when the governor or war captain were going to cry orders in the plaza?) This strict residence ruling works more of an economic hardship on the Sians than it would on other pueblos closer to urban communities where daily commuting to jobs





is possible. It also acts as a deterrent to acculturation by limiting the contacts with white society.

When Vidal and Teresita Trujillo petitioned for full admission to pueblo membership it was necessary for their mother to consent to their becoming members, and thus remove the problem of conflict of authority. Both were adults but neither had been trained in Pueblo life and duties. Both were admitted on probation for one year, with the governor, the war captain, and their uncle, Benos Micra, as guardians. At the end of the year, it was specified, the new governor and war captain might apply to make admission of either or both final and complete. To date no further action has been taken in the matter. When the question does come up again, the woman, Teresita, probably will be admitted but it is doubtful that Vidal will. The drinking and disorderly conduct he continues to indulge in are not likely to dispose the council in his favor.

In addition to the decision in the case of the two petitioners, the council laid down some further rules in regard to other children of ex-members and clarified the privileges of and prohibitions against the ex-members themselves:

1. The law of the pueblo laid down in this decision makes clear that the children of Candido and Saturnino Lujan, who have long





been excluded by action of the council, and of Valentino Lujan are not members of this pueblo.

2. It makes clear that not one of the other children of Ana Trujill<sup>33</sup> is a member, and makes clear how any of them may hope to become a member.<sup>34</sup>

3. The council also wishes to state the law of this pueblo in regard to ex-members who have been excluded from the pueblo.

a. They may not use land in the pueblo to farm or graze. They may not take or use wood, rock, earth or clay without permission of the governor. They may not build upon the land in this pueblo.

b. They may come in freely to visit, and may be fed and sheltered when they come. But the third day is the end of their permitted visit. . . and while they are in the pueblo they must honor all customs and authority.

A month previous to this hearing the council had asked the Agency authorities for a review of the possibilities of enforcing the decision of 1940 in which the pueblo had asked for a loan of a thousand dollars from the rehabilitation account to reimburse the expelled members for "use rights" to their land. The loan was to be repaid by the pueblo from funds collected through sale of the forty-one tracts of land

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<sup>33</sup> Two other adult sons of Ana were expelled along with their mother in 1940 by reason of their own actions. Five other minor children are excluded by the fact of her expulsion.

<sup>34</sup> See p. 53 above.





sold. The price was to cover the amount paid to the expelled members in compensation, plus a small handling charge for interest, etc. The Indian Agency made the funds available to the governor and council of Sia, but when the Lujans were asked to accept the money, they were also asked to write a paper relinquishing their claim to any lands in the pueblo. This they refused to do and Candido Lujan, representing the family, appealed to the Secretary of the Interior asking for a decision as to whether or not the governor had the right to take their lands away from them. At the time Candido's appeal raised the question of sovereignty and no one in the Agency or the Department of the Interior felt empowered to make any decision. A member of the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs expressed the opinion that:

... the Zia council should be made to understand clearly that they have authority only if it does not conflict with the Constitution of the U.S.A., which guarantees certain fundamental rights to individuals.

The reasoning here is not logical in view of the fact that the states of New Mexico and Arizona deny their Indian citizens the privilege of voting, a privilege presumably guaranteed to all United States citizens. The paradox continues to vex the Agency whose members, when thinking in terms of their own cultural background, are inclined to support the claims for religious freedom, and yet their





jobs as Indian administrators have trained them to recognize Pueblo autonomy.

The outcome of the law-suit Saturnino has started against the pueblo of Sia may set a precedent for the settling of any further problems of a similar nature, and may be an important factor in the future rate of acculturation. If he loses, the right of the pueblo to make it's own decisions in regard to the expulsion of members and disposal of their property will be upheld, and conformity to Pueblo custom will retain its value in the eyes of the individual members. If he wins, the autonomy of the pueblo no longer will be a reality and their governing body will have to give precedent to a higher authority, that of the federal government. This will rob the council of a considerable amount of its prestige, which will in turn make it increasingly difficult to enforce it's rulings. The resultant cultural disintegration will undoubtedly accelerate the process of acculturation. Thus we have seen how the actions of an aberrant and uncooperative individual, which first led to a close integration of the pueblo started a chain of events leading eventually to a measure of disintegration.

This question of native autonomy in government has been troubling the Pueblos for some time. Since the early part of the twentieth century, Taos Pueblo has been in the





throes of dissension and factionalism. This pueblo more than any other had been subject to outside forces leading to disintegration. The disturbance finally crystalized into the formulation of the Native American Church, a creed in which the taking of peyote is the sacrament. To the conservatives the adoption of this new creed was heresy, in spite of the fact that the peyote eaters continued to carry on their ceremonial duties in the native religion as well as following the ritual of the new church. In 1918 five Taos men were put out of the kiva organizations and there was considerable disturbance. Outsiders interested in the controversy endeavored to curtail the use and sale of the plant by enactment of a statute in which it was made a misdemeanor, liable to two hundred dollars fine, to transport, sell, give, or use peyote. Since only federal laws are effective on Indian lands, it's only effect was to make peyote buttons more difficult to obtain. Troubles between peyote users and the pueblo government continued and finally led to a trial in which the problems of religious freedom versus the authority of the native government were argued. The result was an attempt at compromise between the two factions, in which the peyote users were cautioned to avoid disturbing the peace and to continue careful observance of Pueblo duties.

A similar problem lately has arisen in the same pueblo. Taos women married to Indians of outside tribes with religious

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tenets differing from those of the native Taos system have been ordered by the council to give up their lands and leave the pueblo. On the surface the problem appears to be one in which the pueblo will not tolerate outsiders living on their lands; but this is entirely contrary to the universal Rio Grande Pueblo system of advising or even insisting that members who marry outside bring their spouses back to live in the home village. The actual issue seems to be one of eliminating persons who will not or cannot conform to the village religious system, the principal integrating factor of Pueblo society. This issue is supposed to come to trial, and the problem, as above, is that of the individual against the pueblo, the right of personal freedom of belief versus Pueblo autonomy as guaranteed by the federal government.

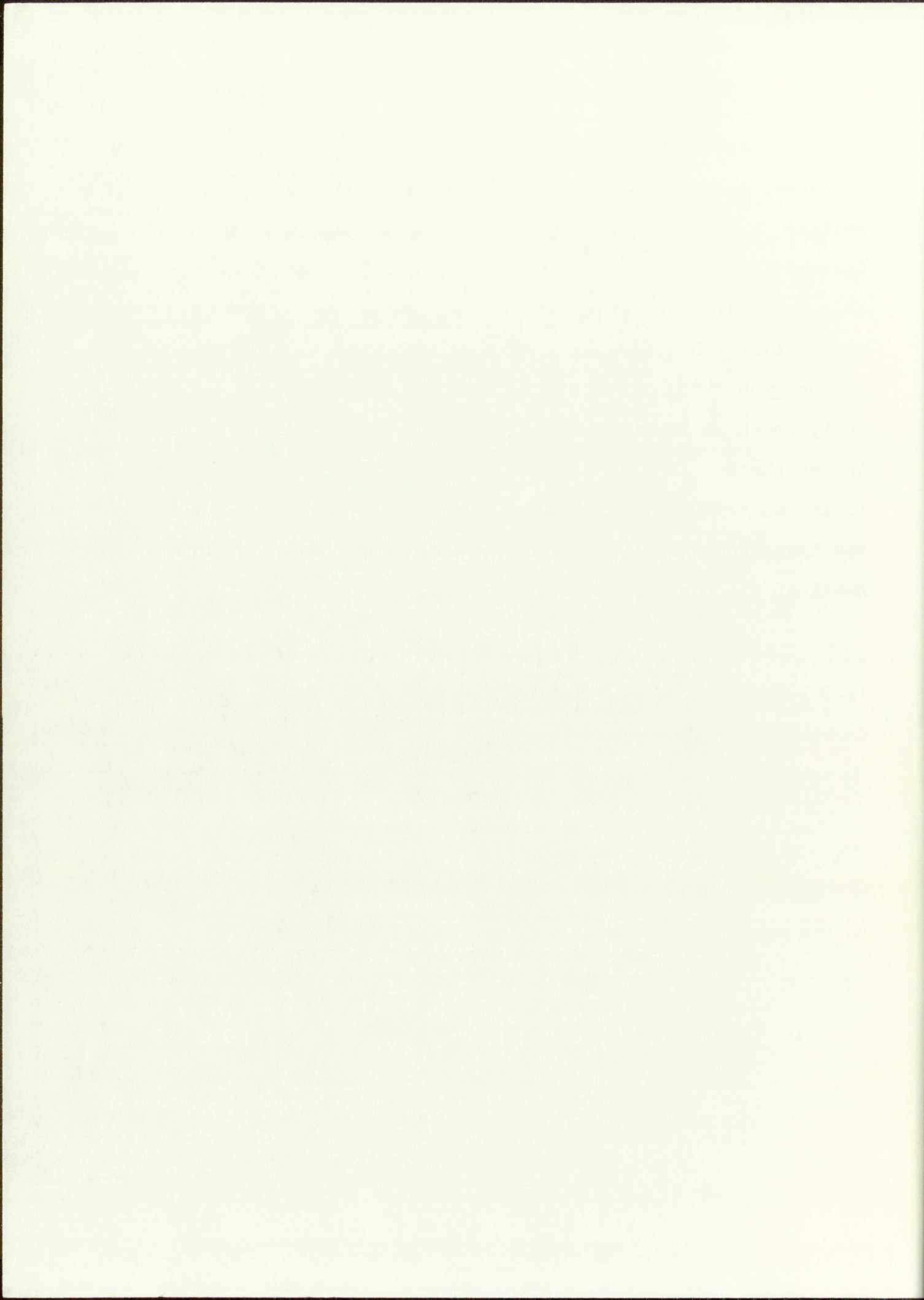
Isleta, also long disturbed by factionalism, in 1947 adopted a constitution in which church and state were separated. The full implications of this separation are far from being comprehended by the majority of the Isletans themselves who always have thought of the two as interdependent aspects of a single institution. These people are more acculturated than any of the other Pueblo groups, except possibly those of the Tewa basin. A number of them work for the Santa Fe Railroad shops in Albuquerque, and since they no longer are dependent upon farming for sub-





sistence, some of them are interested in the possibility of selling their lands for profit. Is the pueblo to permit dissolution of their lands and social organization to satisfy the self-interest of the "progressive" minority when such action would have an adverse affect upon the remainder of the group? Conservatives and progressives alike are carefully watching for the decisions in the Sia and Taos trials to see whether Pueblo autonomy is to be upheld as guaranteed to Indian tribes by the federal government, or the rights of the individual are to be recognized as guaranteed to all American citizens by the constitution.

Among the Pueblos the old native religion, focused upon the dual aims of curing and fertility (primarily the production of rain) is the basic integrating element and the foundation of social and political organization. The religious, as chief priest and spiritual head of the pueblo, appoints all other religious and secular officers. However, the very officers he appoints are empowered to discipline him if he should deviate from prescribed behavior and ritual. Other important influences in the pueblo come from the medicine societies, secret religious groups formed usually after one has been cured by them. They are not only in curing and weather control, but also in the conscious preserves of tradition. The heads of these groups form a religious council which advises the council of the pueblo. These heads achieve some position of authority





## CHAPTER VIII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The situation with which we have treated is one of conflict between an individual and his community over acceptance or rejection of values introduced from without which are not normally compatible with the cultural pattern of that community. The results consequent upon the attempted conversion of Sia Pueblo to the Pentecostal faith reflect some of the possible reactions to such a conflict.

Among the Pueblos the old native religion, focused upon the dual aims of curing and fertility (primarily the production of rain) is the basic integrating element and the foundation of social and political organization. The cacique, as chief priest and spiritual head of the pueblo, appoints all other religious and secular officers. However, the very officers he appoints are empowered to discipline him if he should deviate from prescribed behavior and duties. Other important influences in the pueblo come from the medicine societies, secret religious groups joined usually after one has been cured by them. They function not only in curing and weather control, but also in the conscious preservation of tradition. The heads of these groups form a religious council which advises the cacique, and since these heads achieve their positions of authority

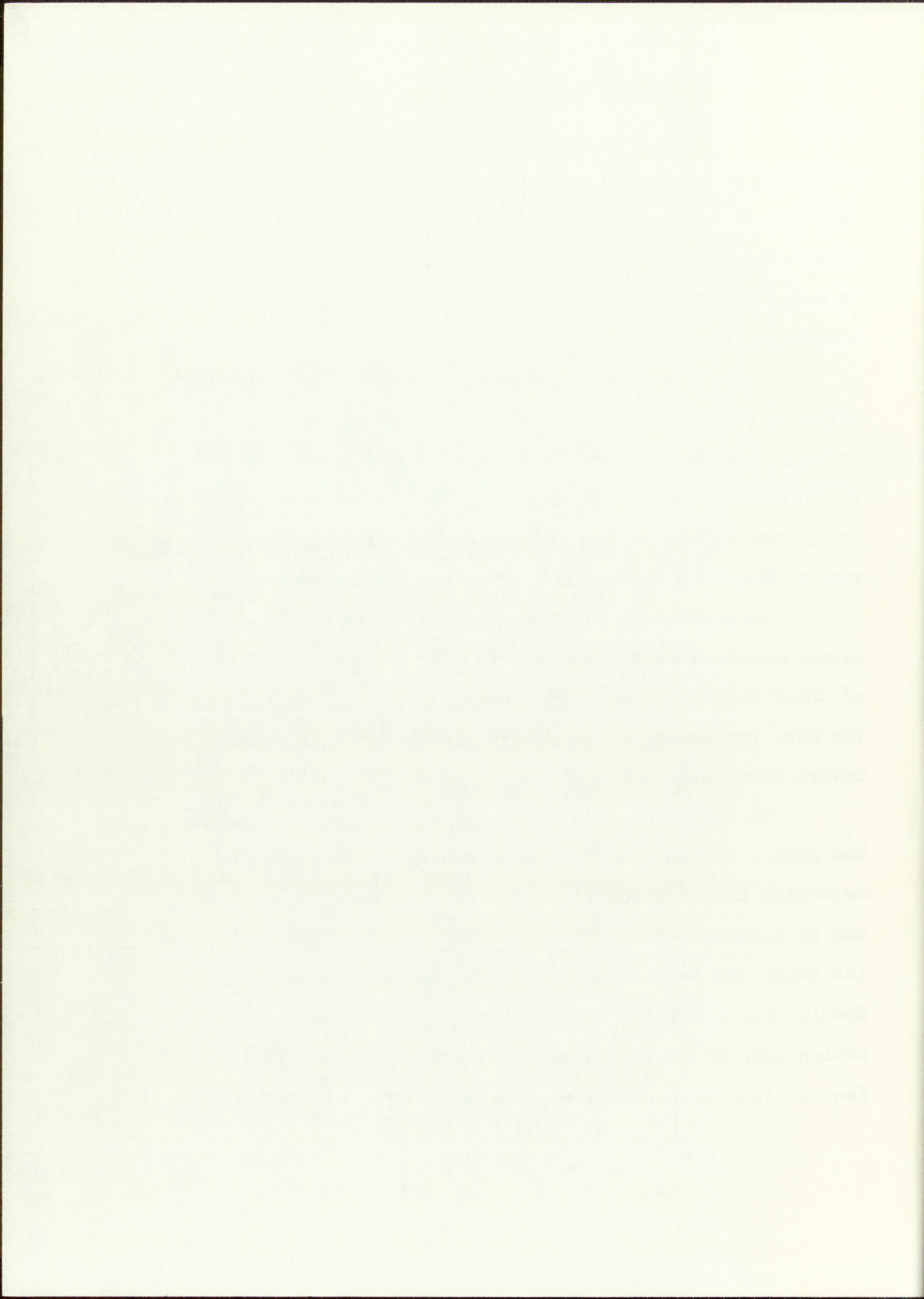




by strict adherence to traditional procedure, they might be expected to be the ultra-conservative individuals of the community. In view of this form of control, conformity to an accepted mode of behavior is an important value to all community members.

Roman Catholicism, effecting its entrance into this cultural pattern through a conquering group, was first tolerated, then forcefully rejected (when the Pueblos realized it could not be accepted merely as one among their numerous religious societies) and later accepted with considerable reservations and variations. The Pueblos accepted those formal and conceptual aspects of Catholicism which were meaningful to them and which fitted into the general pattern of their culture. Their own religion was not weakened by the new, but continued as strongly as before--in a more covert fashion.

The Pentecostal faith, however, was not forced upon the Sians, and they had the opportunity of accepting or rejecting it according to their own judgment. Since there was no language barrier between them and the Pentecostals (as there had been between the Indians and the Catholic Spaniards), a briefer contact gave them sufficient information upon which to judge it. The reaction of all but a few was rejection for several reasons. The new faith was





too individualistic and did not fit the cooperative plan of existence, but made a direct attack upon all those formulae which the people had worked out and handed down from generation to generation for the preservation and continuance of the group. There were no formal similarities to their own religion and functional similarity was limited to curing. And, finally, it's principal protagonist was one of their own group who was not acceptable to them as a Pueblo leader.

Where a dominant culture impinges upon a passive one, the contact may engender new reward values among some individuals in the latter group. The appeal of the new and the potentiality for accepting it are more commonly observed in those for whom the old holds out few rewards. To Candido Lujan the new faith offered an escape from the restraint of Pueblo life and a possible solution to his dissatisfactions with that life. After his conversion he saw himself as the spiritual leader of the pueblo, the one who was going to teach them the error of their "heathen" ways and show them the way to that personal salvation for which he himself felt the need. The beliefs he asked them to accept allowed no continuance of their own religion, the very heart of their functional organization.

Members of his own family succumbed to his proselytizing but at first the community as a whole ignored or





ridiculed his behavior, while the authoritative members cautioned him to stop his activities and return to Pueblo ways. His refusal to comply with their injunctions was, to the Sians, a treasonable act liable to expulsion from the pueblo. This latter was resorted to, not merely as a punishment for the individual, but as a means of protection for the village, as, in the past, those convicted of <sup>such deviant</sup> ~~with-~~ <sup>behavior</sup> ~~craft~~ had been expelled or killed. The pueblo was reacting to a danger from the outside by retreating into its old pattern for safety.

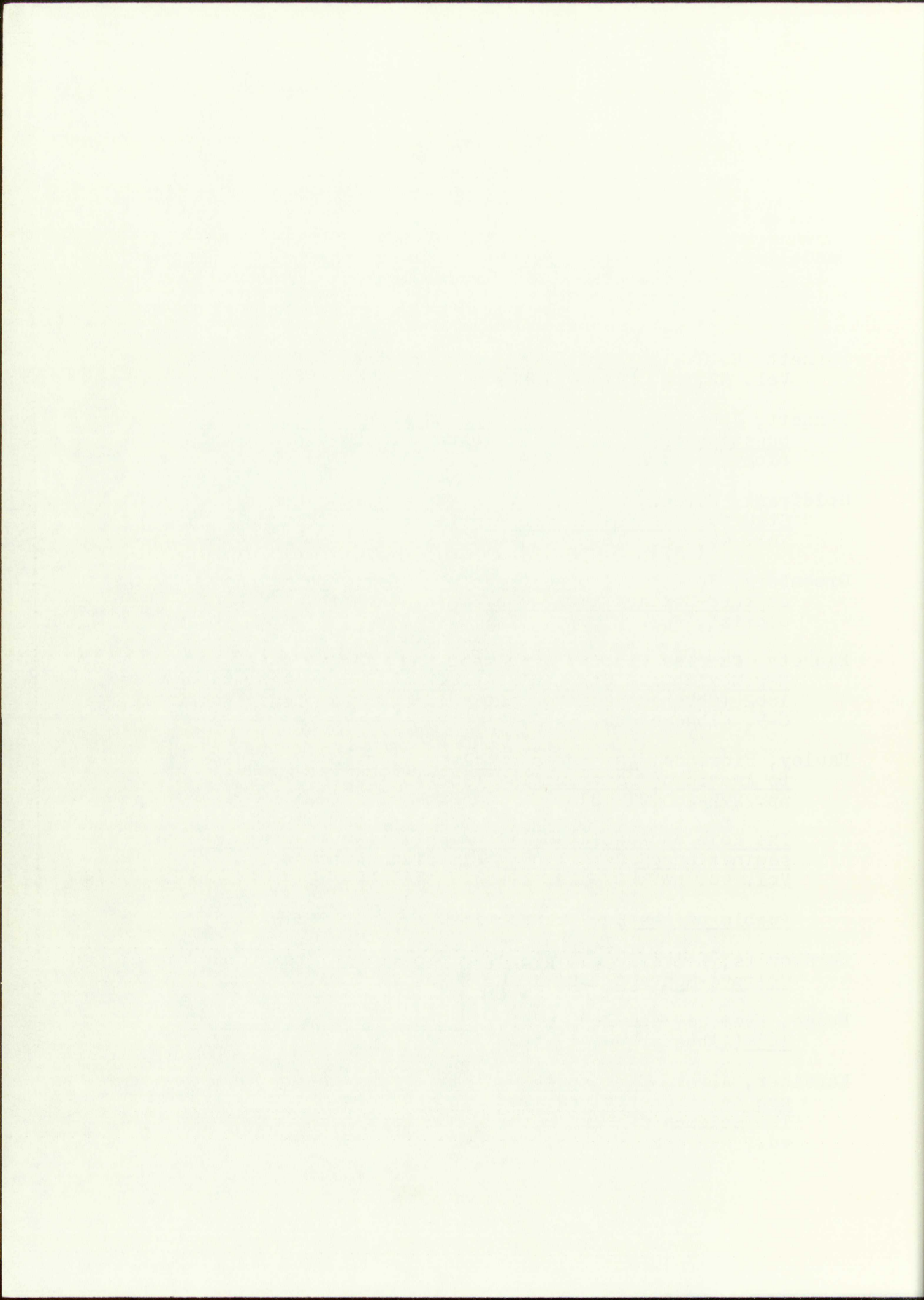
With the law suit of Candido's brother versus Sia Pueblo still pending (the date has been set for June twenty-first, 1948) the final results of the affair are not yet seen but can be predicted. If Saturnino loses, the rate of acculturation at Sia will not be appreciably affected; but if he wins, the superior authority of the federal government over the pueblo council (even in inter-pueblo affairs) will be made apparent to the individual members, and conformity to Pueblo ways as a positive value will suffer considerable weakening.





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## APPENDIX

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## APPENDIX

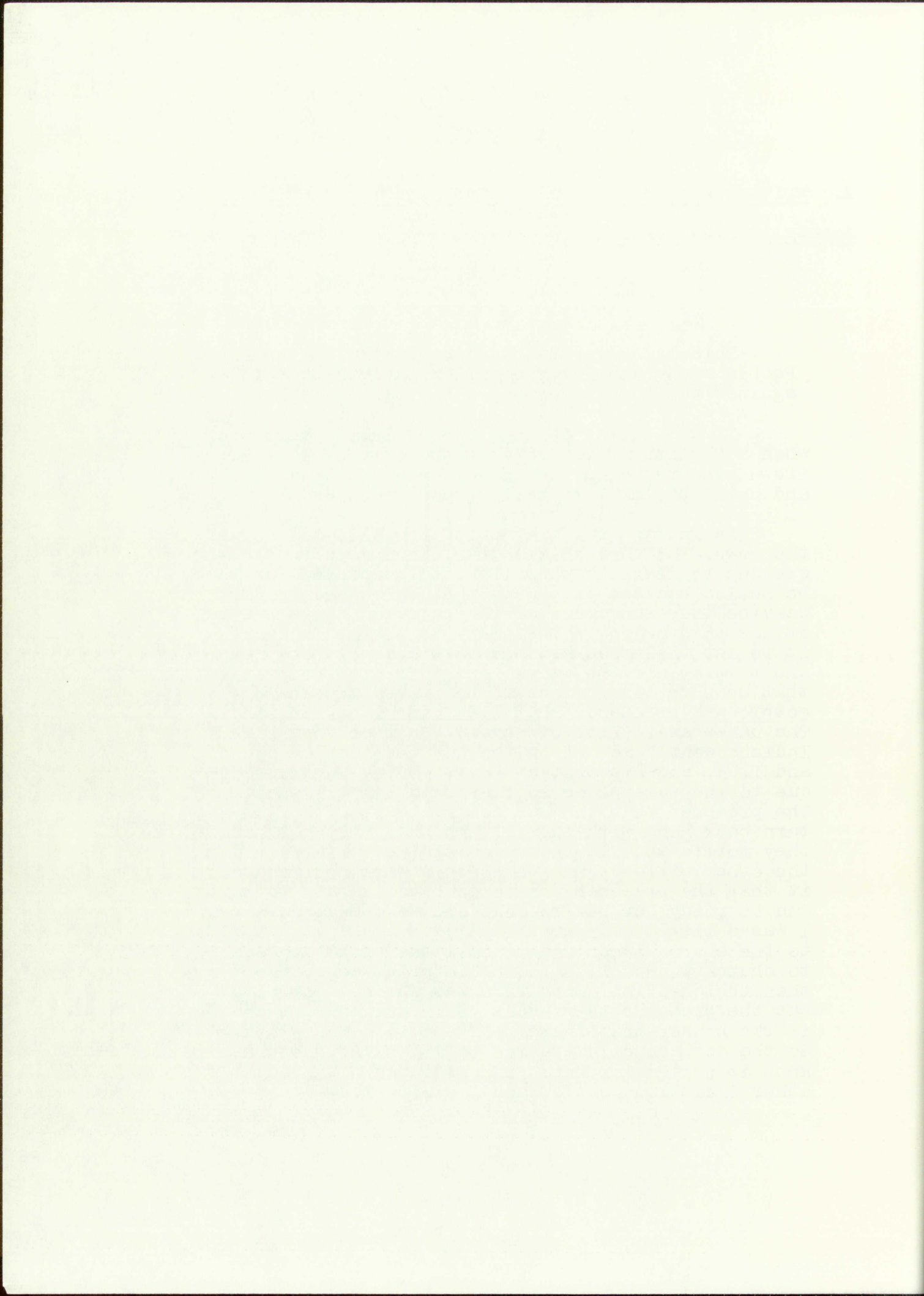
### A. Written statement from Candido Lujan to the Indian Agency in Albuquerque:

Undated

This is how it start to become so bad at Zia Pueblo among the Gov., conciler, and the people against the Christian people of Zia.

It was during spring 1928 or 1929 near Easter when a Christian lady came by the name of Nettie Brown was preaching the gospel here at Albuquerque and doing the miricle healing power of Jesus.

An Indian from Zia notice about it and spread the news. So some of the Zia Indian came to Albuquerque to hear the gospel and to be prayed for to be healed because they were not health and in that service they sang some of their Indian songs but as i it was so crowded in that service they talk over it to let the preacher come to Zia pueblo to preach and to pray for the sick. And this are the people that come to Albuquerque to be prayed for where the gosple was preached, that the Lord might heal them. The names are. (List of names) So then this Zia Indians went home and on the way they met my dad and L. M. and his brother B. M. coming to Albuquerque to the same place so they told him all about the preacher that she was coming to Zia. So they turn back home with them. Then when they get home they notife the Zia Indian chief (war priest) and the other officers and the people were notife about it that the preacher was to come to Zia and to wait and be ready for her to come and to come before her. I was a little officer (fiscal) that year to attain to the church sweep and to call the people to come to church whenever the Catholic prist come. So then the question among them was where, what place was the preacher to preach. Some one says, there is the house, that church, if she is a realy one. So the Gov. concilers agree to it. Everybody that know it waited for her. She did come with some other Christian people, and J.R.S. welcome them and





bring them into his house. I, being officer, and another to attain the church as sweeping and call the people to church whenever the Catholic priest come. We were waiting for this preach at the Catholic church knowing that the Gov. and chief and concilers let the preacher preach in that church, all we have to do is to take the Gov. chief and the conciler words and let the preacher in the church. So she preach at the Catholic church at Zia and she ask if theres any one that want to be prayd for or if there any one that is wanted to prayd for healing that Lord might heal. I believe nearly everybody come befor to be prayd for. And she have some song books and track written about which she preach and about the people that were heald. She was selling them for a dollar ten, bounch of booklet of tracks and a song book. The Zia Indians by them. And before the service start I ask one of the preacher that was with this preacher if the children could come to service he says yes bring them in. I told him that they are in school he ask me if the teacher could let them come. So I went to the school and ask the teacher if she could let the school children come to church. She say no, but before I left she deside to come with the school childrens to see what was all aboute it and see what was going on. Being a Catholic herself that she get after the preacher and told her that she got no right to preach in that Catholic church and told her that she will report on them to Santa Fe through Arch Bishop and she did. Then the preacher came back to Albuquerque after they left. The next dance we had a dance for Easter. In the evening when the dance was over the dancers were dismist and us officers remain and we were told by the chief A. T. that it would be better for one of us officer or one mane be sent to Albuquerque to hear some more things from this preacher to found out more about her if she is realy of God. So I told them that I will go to Albuquerque. I did come to Albuquerque and come to the place where she preach and I hear the preacher preach it about Jesus, to be Baptize in his name, to be save from sin and that Jesus realy heal the sick. But how was I to understand all of this spiritual things of God to deep for we as any other unsave men. That was the last day that she was to preach there and I ask preacher





to pray for me to be heal of my sickness and I realy got well that same evening. I felt so differnt, rejoyes over it. After the preacher left Albuquerque one of the man toke me over to his house and explain things and make it clear for me so I believe it, and he Baptize me but I did not receive the holy spirite yet. So I went home, itold them that the preacher preach that there is but one God, believe in him only. Then ~~three~~ day after that I receive the Holy Ghost in my mother house. In the midnight I woke up and thank Jesus, I was shaking and it was the Holy Gost. I felt the restless wind blowing and hear the sound of the wind blowing and the Holy Ghost spoke to me, the words are like this (It is not that any more tell all your people to come this way and to do their own religion and give them this and give them that.) the next night same thing and same nice sweet gently voice was spokng to me. I was halve willing and halve not willing to tell my people about this precious words that spoke to me, to take the message to my people. I couldnt stand it, couldnt bear the words to keep them to my self without telling my people. So one day I went to the chief L. M. asking him promesion to call the head of all the Indian doctors or priests for me to tell them the message I got, and for them what they could think of it, but chief L. told Gov. and other officer they rather hear it first just the same, so he call me and I told the message. But it did not give no satisfacsion because they did not tell the people. and so one day I went over to the sacrist N. and it was church. So I told him if could tell the people for me to wait after the church is over. He did told them and I told the people outside the church and in one part I repeated this words to them, If you think it is not true, yo go to the left and I go to the right and if you go to the right I go to the left and let it not be quarreling among us about this matter. Then they were dismist. after that the man that Baptize me come to Zia two or three time to preach in my own house and I go around the houses telling the people to come over to hear the preacher preach. They did come to hear more about Jesus. for they were the one start them to come to Zia any way, and they preached to them that were there, is just one God to believe in. Well it preached to them about Jesus and



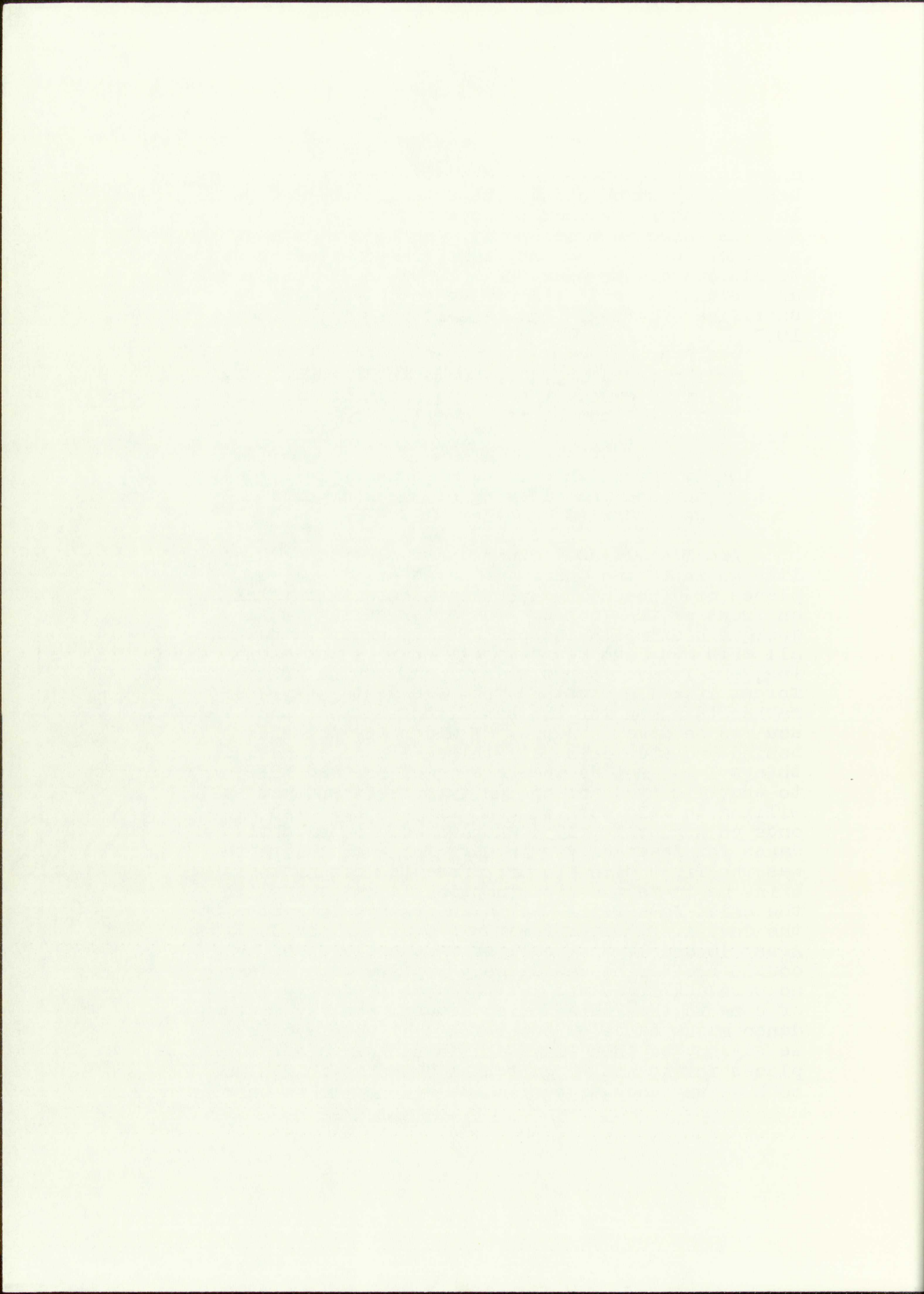


and Idole so that is what keep the people away and beside they were told by the Catholic priste not to let any other preacher to come and preach at Zia but the Catholic prists only. so this mean the preacher never preach any more. I some time come to Albuquerque to hear the word of God to get more understanding, and stilluse to go out hunting for sacrifice offering. But here it says in Hebrews 10:9

9 Then said he, Lo, I come to do they will, O God. He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second.

10 By the which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.

And I still use to dance and some otherthings like go in to the Indian medicine prist society places or dance maske dance saints feast days dance on front of the Idoles. But after coming to Albuquerque hearing the Gospel I really understand what all this was, and found myself where I was standing, and I have to put this things behind and to forget it. I understand that I have to obey God rather than men for the benefit of my poor own soul to be save in Jesus. I did really put them behind and stop doing all this. I understand what things I can not do in the side of God and hold on to what I must do of community workers and was still willing to help work on community works. And so once on August 12, 1933 when we were to pracktis dance for feast of Virgin Mary for August 15th that was the first time I ever refuse the clouns to bring me in to the kiva to pracktis and they told the chief Jose Vigil Medina and they talk over with the Gov. A. P. after feast was over the nex day Agust 16 and 17 they call us to concile I and my cousin brother he was already Baptize then. Then we were ask if we are not to dance or do the things or come to the Indian prist medesin society or to dance maske dance or other feast of saints days. We say no, so then they take things way close the places for us not to go to the Catholic church not to have any body to burried us and not to be burried





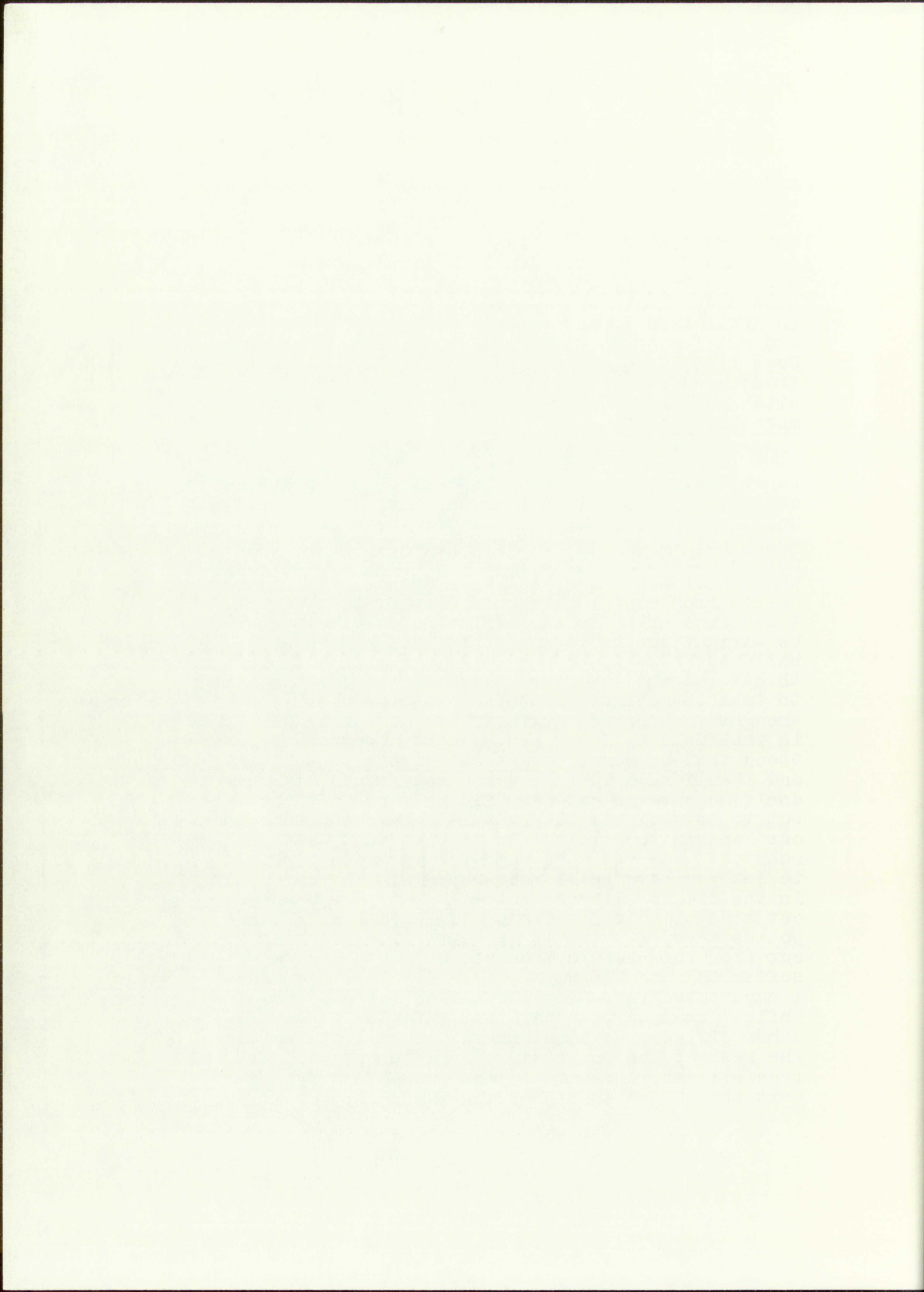
in there grave yeard, not to plant our crops in our land, not to use water to irragate not to have our cattles, horeses inside of the Zia grant, and the people were told on front of us that we are condam, thrown out of Zia like throwing trash out on the ash pile and ever bodys were let known. They call the agence Mr. T. and told him all about it. The agence told them not to send us out, this was in 1932 August 16 and 17. Then I went to Albuquerque and work there. I come back to Zia again and still talk about Jesus to my folks. They still fight against Jesus name. But slow, one by one, they come to be Baptize in Jesus name. This is understood to be clean, without sin by putting the worldly things away and that they stood for Jesus. They told us that the people that believe in the things that are made by hands and worship them, this are the people own the land and it belong to them. I was told this on Agust 15th 1932 and then 1934 I was call by the chief T. P. Just his concilers Gov. officers were there. I was ask the same thing. He says I call you here to question you. We will not going to quarrel here but before I go any further I will say this to you that I and you will bide our life. If you are right you will live and if not you die, and if I am right I will live if not I die. Then I said our great father in not to bide lifes, he is the live giver. Then he question me, if they ever elect you to be cheif are you going to do the things we do as you know that we do when we want to have the medicin men going on with their duty, to hunt for sacrifice offering? If I ever be elected to be a chief, I say he that is next to me could do all those things. He says, that is all I want to know. Now this year you are not going to have your cropes planted and you are not going to use the water to irragate with or horses or cattles to have them inside Zia grant. Our old people that were Baptize by the Spanish prist and they bring this image of Virgin Mary from Mexico which is made by hands, and put nose and eyes, mouth and hands. Us that belive in that image and other things that we belive in. And the land was cut and measured it for the Indian and was given to them so us that belive inhand made gods the land is our. You go to Albuquerque to the place where you were baptize, let them give you land. I says I will wait and see what will the land cutters





and those that gives the land away to the Indians, what he will say about it, and J. P. says you are no where yet. Dont you know that us Indians the white people are our great stump and we call them gods and they are our gods. I didn't say not a word to him, understanding them that they don't know much about realy God. Then I was dismissed. In April 1936 I went to help work in the ditch the men and I step in to the ditch to work. Luetenet Gov. L. M. come over to me, told me to step out from the ditch not to work, so I step out of the ditch and went home because I dont want to make much trouble

In April 1936 I was call again by L. M. Luetanet Gov. and call the saint one by one and were ask if they would turn back to what they believe, and I was ask, I say no. We were told same old thing not to use water for our land, not to plant, not to have our cattle in the grazing land. After that the lawer Mr. B. and some agence and Indian police from Taos Pueblo made another test for us. I did once write to the office to ask if it would be alright for us to go out of that pueblo and build our home inour own land in the field. In this verse the lawer Mr. B. ask me if I was willing to take the christian people out from Zia. I thought that he was asking me to go out in our lands in the field so I say yes. Right afterward I understood that he meant to get out of Zia to the city. and then I read in that verse, and I told him that I don't mean to go out from Zia to live in the city, but to go out from the Pueblo to have our home in our land in the field. He say, so that what you meant? I say yes. He said but we are not going to let you have build your homes out in your land in the field. If you want to build your home go out side of this Zia Grant, and then the Indian police says, I think it is better for you to go out from this Pueblo because you are going to suffer to much the way it is. I says I know that I have to suffer. Then we had to let out for a while. When we were call in again the lawer and other officers were not there. They left and so the rest of the Christain people were told that they will still remain in the pueblo and for my part that I was told that the lawer say for me to





get out from Zia this what we were told from  
Luitent Gov. L. M. after the lawer and other  
officers left.

Befor the lawer left he ask me what things  
we are not gone do. I call the things what we  
are not to do: are this sacrifice hunting  
offering and dance befor the idoles and things  
that go with the religion, so they sign there  
names to help plaster the cathlice church. That  
is all they sign of course they have to help  
other communte works, they know that.

Candido Lujan

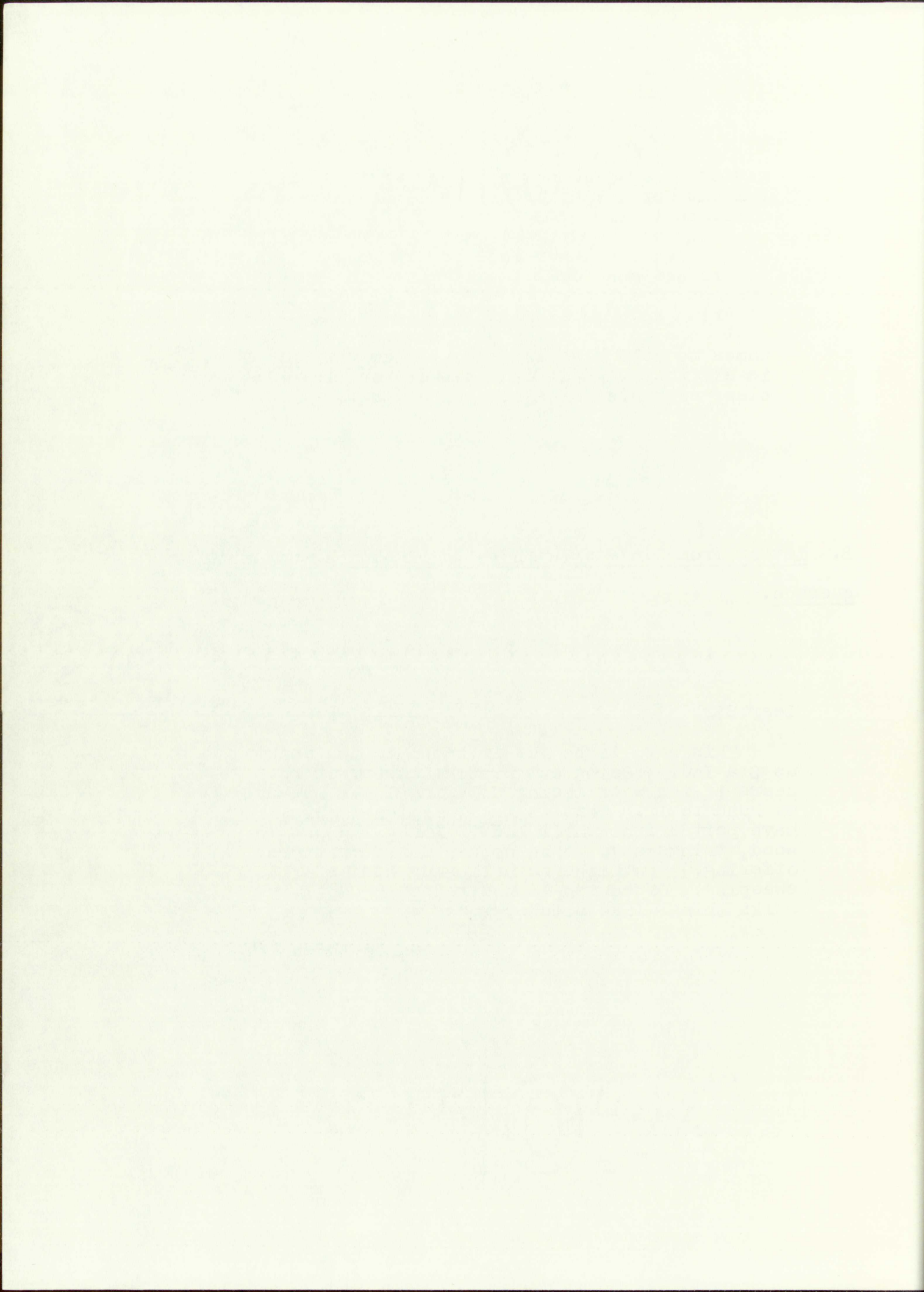
B. Letter from Candido Lujan to the Indian Agency in Albu-  
querque.

Undated

Dear Sir:

This have to be let it known to you about  
us Zia Ind. (Going out hunting ribbet or rats,  
deers if for sacrificing offering I can not put  
my hand to it. That is their legion rights. I  
have parted from their gods. And going out for  
wood, things have to be cooked for sacrificed  
offering.) but like gathering up horses or  
sweeping. Of course Im not rejecting Gov. or  
works things like ditches, roads.

Candido Lujan





C. Letter from Candido Lujan to the Indian Agency in Albuquerque.

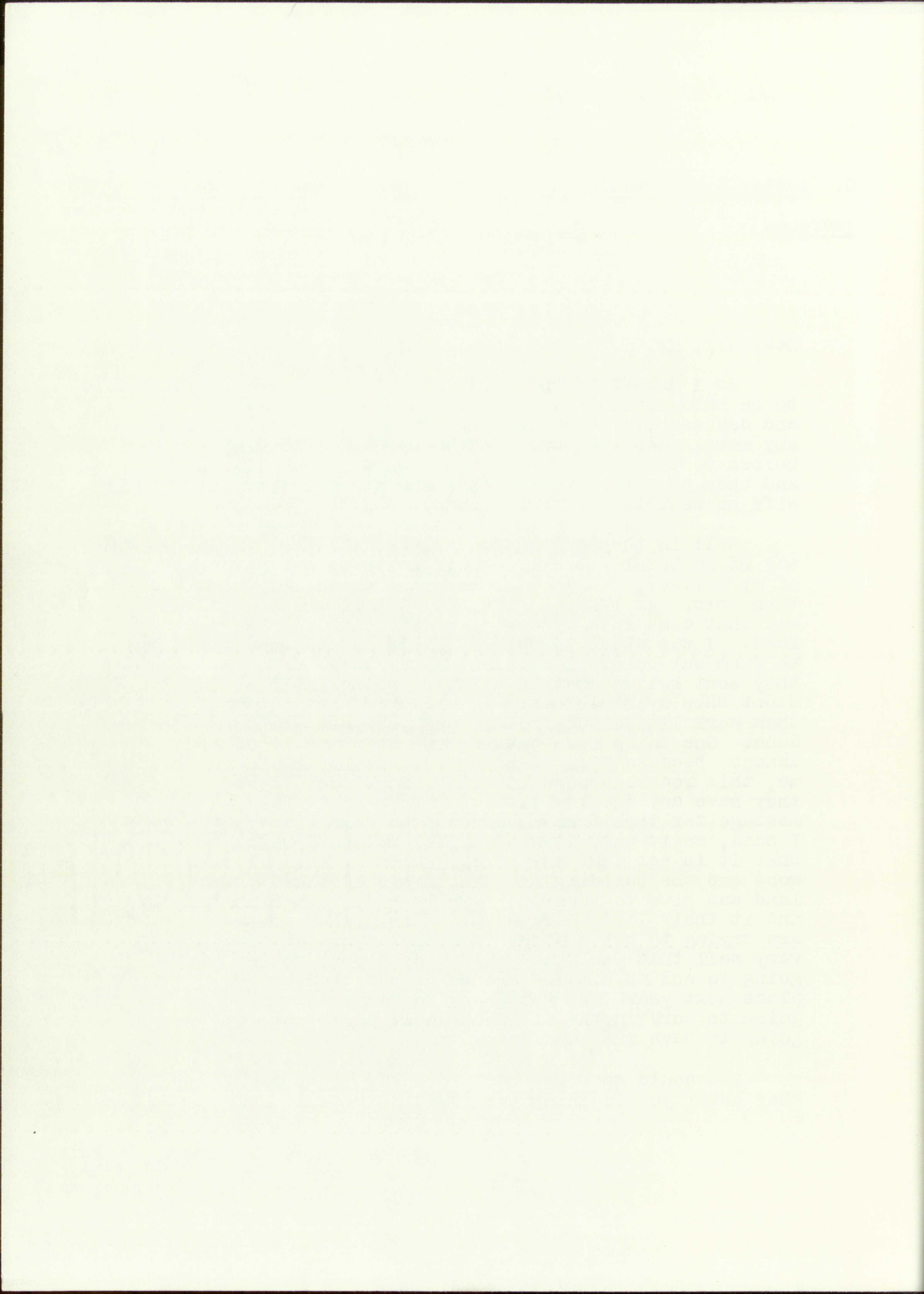
Zia Pueblo  
Aug. 18, 1933

Dear Sir, Mr. T.

As I have told you some day ago that it was to be held meeting by the chief about in believing and dances before the idol as that is no my believes any more, I dont dance. In the morning I took my horses to the pasture and then I went to San Ysidro and then come back home. In the afternoon I and my wife we went to our field and get some ear of corn.

Well in the meeting I was asked if there is no way of me turning back to their believes and get out of my believe, and be with them and dance. I tell them this. As I have heard the word of the spirit and that come into my ear, I am standing for the Lord. I was about to take my Bible out to read it to them but before I did that, they told me that they wont belive what is writtin in the Bible so I didnt show my Bible out. I told them that I help them work like ditch, road, work that have to be done. One thing I am putting you to shame is of dances, because I am standing for the Lord. He ask me, this rock and wood (meaning image idol) dont they have any one to listen for them or to take message for them from underneath to some place? I said, as it was, it was alrite, but as I heard that it is not that any more. He said, this clay, wood and the building (meaning image idol and church) land was give to them they own it and it their ditch and it their land where we plant in. That why we are trying to get you out from where you get into, very well that you dont want to come back so we going to end this. You are to go out from this place next year your not going to plant and not going to work in the ditch any more youre not going to have the land.

You could go right back to Albuquerque where they water you (meaning Baptized) they could have





the land for you to plant in and to water your plants with. I said to them we will see the wether you are in the rite place to cast out person out from their home and stop them to work in ditch or planting. We will see if you are doing rite or not.

But I am not going out, Im not go away from here. In some place I said to them to see to it themself weather they are doing according to the law of God keeping it, well theirs some more things what they say that I dont remember them all but anyway I write this best as I can what I remember. I cant go back to their old tradition I rather take the work of God and do whats right for my poor soul. I am calling you over or write to them. I told them that maybe you told them plainly last year and I tell them that I have to call for you. This is all.

From

Candido Lujan

