Spring 3-6-1961

Cultural and Social Problems of an Indian Pueblo

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CULTURE CHANGE AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF AN INDIAN PUEBLO • LIEF

Fig. 1. Yellow Corn Dance at San Juan Pueblo with Catholic Chapel and Church in Background.

CULTURE CHANGE AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF AN INDIAN PUEBLO

By

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A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in Sociology

The University of New Mexico

1960

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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This study describes the impact of social change upon the social structure of an Indian pueblo community in New Mexico. It is an investigation of the variant social forces and their conflicting impingements. Given a certain culture heritage, a particular historical background and a specific physical and social setting, what are the results of change upon the social system and upon the individual? To fit this inquiry into the empirical realm of facts, the community of San Juan pueblo was chosen, not so much because of its unique cultural configuration, as for the fact that it offered an opportune area for concentrated study.

The institutions in San Juan are changing in form and structure. Also, among these institutions are shiftings in power and control. It is hypothesized that the most significant shift is in the rise of the secular-governing tribal council and the decline of authority in the native religious system. Two basic assumptions presented are that wage earning is replacing farming, and formal Anglo[1] education is supplanting

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[1] The term, Anglo, in common use in the Southwest, is a synonym for the term English-speaking people. Anglo is often a comparative term differentiating the people it refers to from Spanish-speaking people ("Mexicans") and from Indians. William W. Winnie, Jr., makes this semantic distinction, "The Spanish Surname Criterion for Identifying Hispanos in the Southwestern United States: A Preliminary Evaluation," Social Forces, XXXVIII, No. 4 (May, 1960), p. 363.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: STATEMENT AND SCOPE OF THE TEXT

This study describes the important social changes upon the social structure of an Indian community in New Mexico. It is an investigation of the vital social forces and their conflicting implications. Given a certain cultural heritage, a particular historical background, and a setting physical and social setting, what are the effects of change upon the social system and upon individuals? To put it in inquiry into the empirical realm of fact, the community of San Juan Pueblo was chosen, not because because of its unique cultural configuration, as far as the fact that it offered an opportune area for concentrated st d.

The institutions in San Juan are changing in formal structure. Also, among these institutions the shifting in power and control. It is hypothesized that the most significant shift is in the rise of the secular-governmental control and the decline of authority of the traditional system. Two basic assumptions are made, that value orientation is replacing forming, and formal Anglo education is supplanting

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1 The term, Anglo, in common use in the Southwest, is a synonym for the term Anglo-American. Anglo is often a comparative term differentiating the group of people to from Spanish-speaking people (Mexicans) and from Indians. William W. Hinkle, Jr., makes this distinction in "Spanish Surname Criterion for Determining Ethnicity in the Southwestern United States: A Problem Involving Sampling," Social Forces, XXXVIII, No. [illegible], [illegible] 1960.

religious and tribal custom instructions. Two other assumptions investigated are that the family is becoming smaller, more nuclear in emphasis, and that material wealth is becoming more desirable. These trends in the social system of San Juan are believed to have affected the individual members of the pueblo and necessitated personality adjustments, especially when some of the changes are at variance with persisting traditions.

The following chapters present a two-fold approach to the analysis of change in the community. One approach is an investigation into the various socio-cultural, institutional and ecological forces and the postulated shifting of emphasis because of contact and change. It is assumed that this is the dynamic context in which citizens of the community exist and operate. The other view focuses upon the individual pattern of adjustment in its manifest actions.

Chapter II describes the means used to analyze and record the phenomona of pueblo life in San Juan. This chapter discusses the methodology and theoretical guides employed in the study. One of the main problems of data gathering in this pueblo was the traditional reluctance of the Indians to supply any information to the investigator. In many instances the opinions were obtained from a single respondent and then cross-checked by reviewing the literature for findings by other investigators.

Chapter III is an analysis of the social and cultural

religious and tribal organizations. The [illegible] tions investigated [illegible] more modern in [illegible] more desirable. [illegible] are believed to have affected the Indian [illegible] pueblo and necessitated [illegible] when some of the changes are [illegible] ditions.

The following chapter [illegible] the analysis of change in the [illegible] investigation into the various [illegible] and ecological forces [illegible] because of contact and [illegible] the dynamic context in which [illegible] and operate. The other view [illegible] tern of adjustment in its [illegible]

Chapter II describes the [illegible] record the phenomena of [illegible] chapter discusses the methodology [illegible] employed in the study. One of [illegible] pattering in this [illegible] the Indians to supply any information [illegible] In many instances the [illegible] respondent and then [illegible] for findings by other investigators.

Chapter III is an analysis of [illegible]

setting of the community. The institutional approach is emphasized and various sections in the chapter are devoted to the institutional level of investigation. The physical and economic situation is described stressing the observed shift from farming to that of wage earning. Following this is a report on the historical factors that have significance to the contemporary setting. Next, the chapter analyzes the family structure and the growing importance of formal education, especially since the latter provides additional contacts with other cultures. The religious and political institutions are two important areas of investigation of change within the pueblo. There is found a growing separation of secular authority from sacred authority. Social stratification is viewed as a developing phenomenon in the community structure where a vertical class system based on material wealth is beginning to replace the traditional pueblo system of classifying roles. Chapter III ends with a summary of the institutional positions, comparing the Anglo-American complex with the San Juan Indian complex.

The final chapter of this thesis is a summary of the material and findings in this project. It is hoped that several of the provocative questions which arose from the study may stimulate future investigations about the causes and functions of social relations in a transitional society.

setting of the community. Especially these patterns are emphasized and variations analyzed in the chapter devoted to the institutional level of the community. The social and economic aspects are emphasized since, in the observed shift from farming to that of supervision, the change is a result on the institutional factors that are directly tied to the contemporary society. Next, the chapter analyzes the family structure and the growing importance of formal education, especially since transfer values and traditional culture with other cultures. The religious and political institutions are two important areas of investigation of change within the pueblo. There is found a growing secularization of people, but only from sacred authority. Social stratification is viewed as a developing phenomenon in the community with some marked vertical class system based on material wealth is developing to replace the traditional-caste system of classifying people. Chapter III ends with a summary of the major cultural constructs comparing the Anglo-American culture with the Spanish-Indian complex.

The final chapter of this study is a summary of the material and findings in this project. It proposes that several of the descriptive models of culture change from this study may utilize future investigations into the sources and functions of social variations as a structural-level.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

In order to grasp the essence of culture change in San Juan, the investigator must not only observe its manifestations but also probe its roots. The study presented here analyzes those areas believed to be significant to the development of social problems. Recognized are descriptive and analytical gaps concerning the community at large.

The method used was that of the informal interview in which some of the respondents knew the specific intent of the interviewer and some were not told of the intent. All realized that he was a visitor who had both a professional and a personal interest in them. The original introduction to the pueblo came from a few preliminary visits in early June, 1959, followed by a six-week archaeological excavation done on the periphery of the pueblo.[1] The excavation was sponsored by the University of New Mexico with the intent to ascertain archaeological evidence of the existence of San Gabriel, the first Spanish capital north of Mexico. Such evidence was found and the excavation was deemed a success.

This investigator was one of the forty-five student excavators and his role was recognized as such by the members of the community and especially by the Indians hired to help

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[1] The excavation started June 20, 1959 and ended August 1, 1959. It began again on June 20, 1960 and ended August 1, 1960.

[illegible]

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY AND [illegible] OF INVESTIGATION

In order to gress [illegible] of [illegible] San Juan, the investigator [illegible] only [illegible] festations but also [illegible] the [illegible] here analyzes those areas believed to be [illegible] development of social problems. Therefore, [illegible] and analytical [illegible] concerning the community as [illegible].

The method used was that of the [illegible] which some of the responsible [illegible] interviewer and more [illegible] lized that he was a visitor and not with a professional [illegible] a personal interest in [illegible]. The original [illegible] the pueblo came from [illegible] 1959, followed by a six-week [illegible] on the periphery of the pueblo. The [illegible] sored by the University of New [illegible] ascertain archaeological evidence of the [illegible] Gabriel, the first Spanish [illegible] evidence was found and [illegible] of the [illegible].

This investigator was one of the [illegible] excavators and his role [illegible] of the community and [illegible]

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[1] The excavation started [illegible] 1, 1959. It began again on [illegible] 1960.

in the excavation. Friendships were made while working on the job, and many are still in effect.

The interview technique was one of self-reporting with guidance from the interviewer. Generally, the respondent was permitted to report without interruption until he wandered too far off the main subject. New questions then were asked to redirect the conversation. With a few of the more cooperative subjects, direct inquiries were made. The questions were formed to meet the experiences of the subject and tailored to his limitations.

Some items were cross-checked by asking, whenever possible, other individuals identical questions. In certain areas, i.e., religious practices, it was difficult to cross-check information. The investigator, in these instances, had to check his data with material obtained by other students of pueblo social structure.[2] A twenty-two item schedule was devised later in the study (November, 1959). An interpreter had to be used with some of the subjects, a situation probably influencing their responses. The schedule was found to have some difficult questions even though an attempt was made to simplify them. Here was evidence that conceptualizations, especially in abstract form, indicated cultural differences. Some of the inquiries had to be reformed to include concrete

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[2] However, some of this gathered material by other investigators was written from one to three decades ago. In these cases, their information served as guides rather than specific facts about particular cultural items.

in the excavation. Fellow-Indian were people under working on the job, and many are still in doubt.

The interview technique was one of semi-structured guidance from the interviewer. Though [illegible], the respondent was permitted to report without interruption until he wandered too far off the main subject. Then the interviewer did more guided to redirect the conversation. With a few of the more cooperative subjects, direct inquiries were made. The questions were formed to meet the orientation of the subject and tailored to his limitations.

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[2] However, some of this material was obtained by other investigators who written from the southwest [illegible]. In these cases, their interest in [illegible] specific facts about particular [illegible].

illustrations. Here my interpreter (LA),[3] fluent in three languages (English, Spanish, Tewa), was of aid. The aim of the schedule was to probe a little deeper into some of the problems and to check on uniformity of gathered information.[4]

Field workers in this region recognize the existence of a traditional mistrust of outsiders and a reluctance to supply any information.[5] San Juan is not alone in this tendency and in fact can be regarded as a conservative pueblo. The explanation lies in part in historical experience reaching back to the time of the Spanish conquest. Though contacts with Spanish, Mexican and American administrations, many of

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[3] Initials, in place of names, are used throughout the thesis. This is done not only to maintain the confidence of the respondents but also to protect them. If an investigator has specific need for a name, he may obtain it by writing to the author, Department of Sociology, University of New Mexico.

[4] Use of the schedule was abandoned after only a few attempts when it became apparent that this was stirring up suspicion instead of free expression.

[5] Watson Smith and John M. Roberts, Zuñi Law: A Field of Values ("Peabody Museum Papers," Vol. XLIII, No. 1, Cambridge: Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1954), pp. 7-8; Leslie A. White, "The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 60 (1942), pp. 9-10; William Whitman, "The San Ildenfonso of New Mexico," Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, ed. Ralph Linton (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940), p. 394; Edward P. Dozier, "The Rio Grande Pueblos," MS, 1956, pp. 154-155; John Adair, "People of the Middle Place: A Study of the Zuñi Indians," MS, n.d., p. 3, comments on this subject, "A magic circle is drawn by the pueblo around itself, and by each person around himself. No matter if you are a tourist striking up a conversation with a passerby, or a psychologist using projective techniques, sooner or later this barrier will be felt. Easy conversation will be replaced by chilly silence if the tourist should ask what takes place at the shrine on the mesa top. This magic circle is not unique to Zuñi; it exists in all the pueblos."

illustrations. [illegible] Thus, in a [illegible] language (English, Spanish, French, etc.) [illegible] the scientific world to [illegible] problems and to [illegible] of [illegible].

Field workers in this [illegible] of a traditional [illegible] and a [illegible] supply any information. [illegible] only and in fact can be imported as a [illegible]. The explanation lies in [illegible] back to the time of the [illegible] with Spanish. [illegible]

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2 Initially, in place of [illegible] there. This is done [illegible] the respondents [illegible] has specific [illegible] the author. [illegible]

4 Use of this [illegible] attempts when [illegible] application [illegible].

5 Wallace Stitt and [illegible] of Values / Proceedings [illegible] orities: Feedback [illegible] Leslie A. White, "The [illegible] Memoirs of the American [illegible] (1962), pp. 5-1; [illegible] Neiles, "Acculturation [illegible] Ralph Linton (New York: [illegible] p. 354; Edward T. Dozier, "The [illegible] pp. 143-153; John Adair, "[illegible] of the Zuni Indians," [illegible] "A magic circle is [illegible] another person [illegible] attracting us a [illegible] using projective [illegible] be felt. Many [illegible] if the [illegible] the same [illegible] exists in all the [illegible]."

the functions of the religious and social life went underground. Even with increased education, the tradition of reserve persists and is readily observed when one is visiting the pueblo. This feeling has not been helped by a few field investigators in the past who either inaccurately reported the data or published information that harmed, or at least was thought to have harmed, some of the tribal secret societies.[6] Because of this, some of the Indians suspect the intentions of the ethnologist. On the other hand, the status of archaeologist and that of sociologist are better received. The position assigned to me by an Indian friend was not that of an ethnologist but of a "sociologist." (LA)

Thus with my role defined and interpreted, I had freedom of movement without undue suspicion. My study, especially in the latter stages, was well known and the possibility of its contribution to the community was recognized. I had been warned by the Indians themselves about deliberate lying by respondents, and they gave me examples of field investigators intentionally misled.

Generally, the highest concentration of interviewing

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[6] On two separate occasions comments were made to the author about specific investigators in the past. Both times the Indian respondents volunteered the information without any prompting from the author. One of these Indians was a middle-aged woman from a pueblo in the western portion of New Mexico. (EM) She had been hostess for several anthropologists in the past. About one of these investigators she said, "She did us harm." The other respondent was a young man of San Juan (LA). He believed that some of the data about his and other pueblos should not have been reported because of its secret nature.

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was among the young men and women of the pueblo.[7] Other groups questioned included: Spanish-Americans married to pueblo residents, a few of the older generation (parents, grandparents, past and present members of the tribal council), the village priest, and members living in other pueblos of the Upper Rio Grande region. Interviewees also included local and governmental officials dealing with Indians, law enforcement agents in contact with San Juan, teachers, merchants and students of ethnology having knowledge of that area. The greatest gap, with a few exceptions, was the lack of coverage of the pueblo's religious leaders. This would have afforded valuable insight, for information is incomplete in this area. In essence, it can be said that San Juan pueblo was studied from two perspectives: how the people of San Juan perceive their society and how this sociologically-trained investigator interpreted it on his two six-week stays and subsequent visits there.[8]

Hence, this was primarily a field project in which the greater bulk of the data was obtained from direct observation and informant reporting. However, various theoretical

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[7] Much of this type of data was obtained from two respondents. Both of them were college students, males, and were aware of my thesis. One was a junior, majoring in sociology and having courses in anthropology, two of them covering Pueblo ethnology. The other respondent was a graduate student in guidance and counseling and worked with Indian grade-school students. Their comments helped to cross-check personal observation.

[8] These visits, many of them for two days at a time, began in September 1959 and continued until August 1960.

approaches guided this investigator in his orientation and recording of phenomena. In the incipient stages of this study the approach was more general and random in content gathering. Then certain patterns emerged that indicated causative relations of which cultural conflicts appeared to be one of the explanations. But this interpretation was too simple if not too broad in scope.

What, then, is a more specific explanation? The institutional approach was chosen after surveying the possibility that this Indian pueblo did not have predominant lineage systems; that, in fact, it is governed by a dual-moiety system,[9] a system which in the contemporary setting can be analyzed from institutional structures. Through an analysis of institutional change as a result of cultural contacts and assimilative directions, the impact of conflicts on the individual can be explained.

This study recognizes the need to distinguish the fields of anthropology, sociology and psychology. The study considers the historical-cultural, social and personal systems of analysis as interacting but separate with properties specific to each system.[10]

The differential influence of institutional and associational groups upon individual members is a direct result

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[9] See pp. 69-71.

[10] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 6.

approaches guided the [illegible] in [illegible] recording of phenomena. So the [illegible] study the approaches were [illegible] gathering. They [illegible] causative relative [illegible] be one of the explanations. But while [illegible] simple if not too [illegible].

What, then, is a more [illegible] institutional approach [illegible] bility that this Indian [illegible] kinship system; that, in fact, is a [illegible] mate system, a system which is [illegible] can be analyzed from [illegible] analysis of institutional change as a result of [illegible] tacts and qualitative diversity, the impact of [illegible] on the individual can be evaluated.

This study recognizes the need to [illegible] fields of anthropology, sociology and [illegible] combines the diachronic-synchronic [illegible] of analysis as interacting [illegible] utile to each system.

The different [illegible] or [illegible] sociational [illegible]

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[9] See pp. 89-92.

[10] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. [illegible].

of their contact with these groups.[11] In San Juan, the community is of such size that there is an awareness of the activities of one's neighbors. Though age and sex limit movements, interpersonal contact is frequent. The degree of influence of one institution as compared with another was not extensively investigated in this study. Instead, the focus was on change within institutions and the resultant confusion of the members associated with them.

The concept of "reference groups" was utilized to perceive the effects of group pressures on the norms of the individual.[12] Emphasis was directed towards the effects of new value systems in opposition to older and more traditional value systems. The comparison to outside groups,[13] e.g., the Spanish-American "pachucos", as exhibiting desirable modes of behavior or as solutions to existing conflicts, was investigated in reference both to the copying of physical appearances and the borrowing of various activities.

This report is essentially a study of an Indian community and of problems within it. Little data has been published on San Juan's social institutions and cultural

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[11] Edwin H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology (Chicago: J. P. Lippincott Company, 1947), pp. 5-9.

[12] Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," Archieves of Psychology, No. 269 (1942), cited by Harold H. Kelley as being the first to use the term "reference group", "Two Functions of Reference Groups," Readings in Social Psychology, ed. G. E. Swanson et al (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), p. 410.

[13] Kelley, 410-414.

configuration.[14] The information gathered in this investigation was primarily from first-hand observation and informant reporting. The theoretical framework consisted of a sociological orientation with the emphasis on how cultural change is coming about in the various institutions and how the individual member is reacting to this change. The following chapter will describe the physical setting, the historical and cultural heritage, and, finally, some of the social organizations.

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[14] Elsie Clews Parsons, "The Social Organization of the Tewa," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 36, 1929; S. D. Aberle, J. H. Watkins and E. H. Pitney, "The Vital History of San Juan Pueblo," Human Biology, XII, No. 2 (May, 1940), pp. 141-157; Vera Laski, Seeking Life (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1958).

configuration.[14] The information [illegible] tion was primarily from first-hand observation [illegible] reporting. The theoretical framework consists of [illegible] logical orientation with the assumption of how [illegible] is coming about in the various institutions and [illegible] vidual member is reacting to it [illegible]. The following [illegible] will describe the regional setting, [illegible] and cultural heritage, and, finally, some of the [illegible].

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[14] Alice Dieve Parsons, "The Sociology [illegible] Tewa," Memoirs of the American Anthropological [illegible] No. 36, 1929; E. D. Adams, [illegible] "The Vital History of Bar Tech Pueblo," [illegible] No. 2 (May, 1940), pp. 141-[illegible]; [illegible] (Philadelphia: American Philosophical [illegible], 1[illegible]).

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

An analysis of San Juan's culture, historical roots, and contemporary social system includes more than a description; it provides many of the dominant themes which form the dynamic picture of the pueblo. From this active community social problems develop. Intertwined throughout the following descriptions are the threads of the background causes of change. These causes will be pointed out in this chapter.

The Physical and Economic Situation. San Juan pueblo is located in Rio Arriba County, New Mexico, about thirty-two miles northwest of Santa Fe, west of U. S. highway 64, the road that leads to Taos. The community is situated at the juncture of the Rio Grande and the Rio Chama in an area of rolling grassland that reaches up into hill or mesa country. North, west, and east of the pueblo land are mesas, which, especially to the north, break sharply into the valley. The one to the north, the Black Mesa, was one of the last strongholds of the remaining seditious Indians in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Farther west and east are the mountain ranges that contain the Española Valley, a valley known for its orchard crops, especially apples and peaches, and for its chili production.[1]

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[1] "Long Range Plan: San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico," United Pueblos Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Dept. of the Interior (Albuquerque: 1957), p. 17.

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL AND LEGISLATIVE CHANGE

An analysis of San Juan's colonia, [illegible] and contemporary social [illegible] tion; it provides [illegible] dynamic picture of the pueblo. [illegible] social problems develop. [illegible] descriptions are the threads of [illegible] These causes will be [illegible].

The Physical and Economic Structure. San Juan [illegible] is located in Rio Arriba County, [illegible] miles northwest of Espanola, [illegible] road that leads to Taos. The community [illegible] juncture of the Rio Grande and [illegible] rolling grasslands that [illegible] North, west, and east of the pueblo [illegible] especially to the north, [illegible] one to the north, the Black Mesa, [illegible] holds of the remaining [illegible] of 1680. Farther east and west [illegible] contain the Sangre de Cristo [illegible] crops, especially [illegible] duction.[1]

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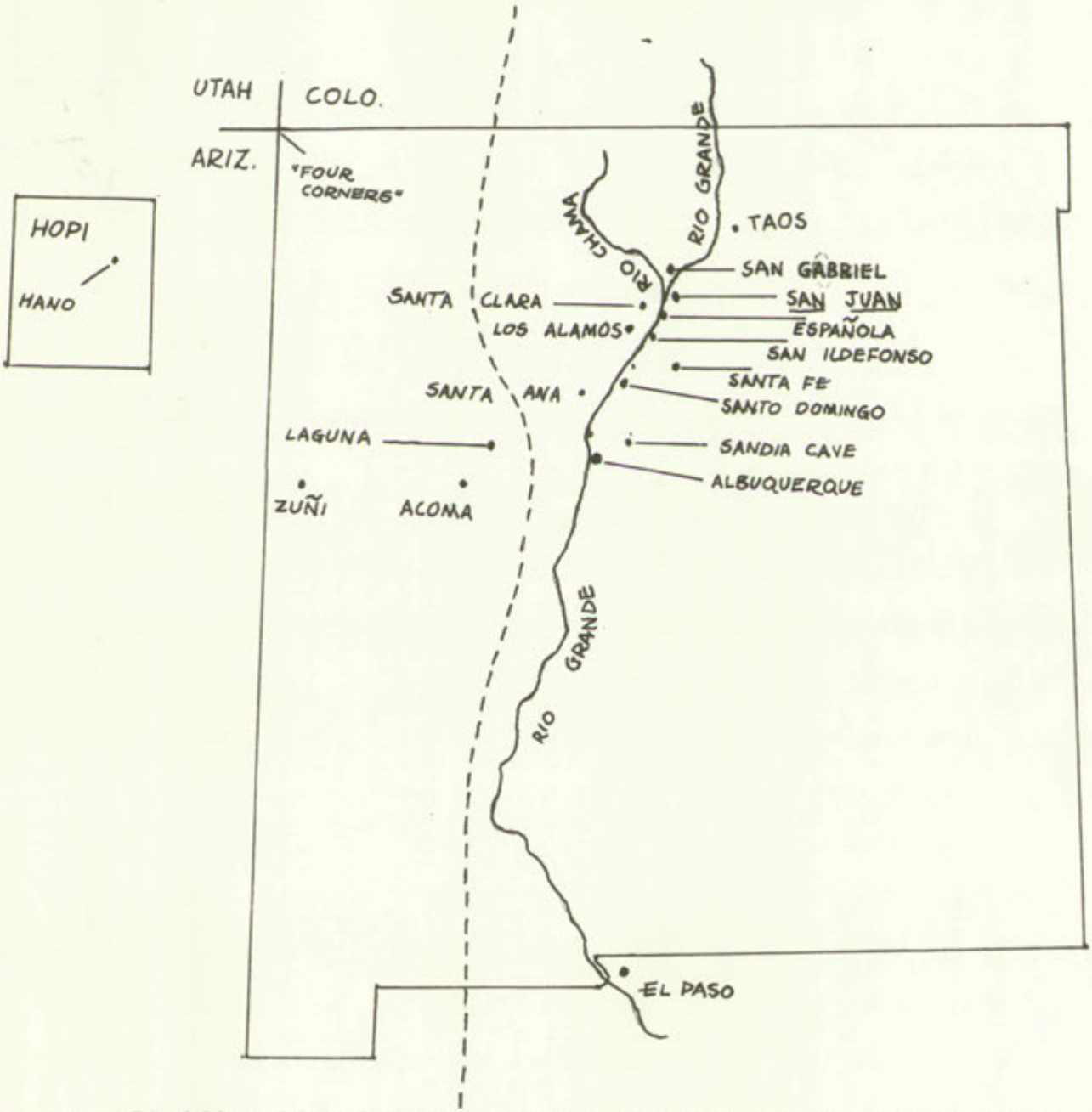
[1] "Rural Health Plan: San Juan [illegible] United Pueblos Agency, Bureau of [illegible] the Interior (Albuquerque [illegible]), [illegible].



- - - - Dividing line between the Eastern and the Western Pueblos

Fig. 2. MAP OF NEW MEXICO SHOWING LOCATION OF SAN JUAN PUEBLO IN RELATION TO PLACES MENTIONED

The altitude at San Juan is about 5,675 feet.[2] The reservation includes an area of 12,215 acres,[3] of which 10,326 acres are used for grazing (can support 47 head of cattle and horses), and 917 acres are crop lands.[4] The most common crops are alfalfa, chili, wheat, vegetables and varieties of corn,[5] especially "chico" and blue corn varieties. The latter two varieties of corn are ground, packaged and sold to local and distant grocers. (ML, LA) Indian corn is colorful and is often used for decoration, necklace-making and ceremonial observances.

Throughout the upper Rio Grande outings are arranged for the gathering of pinon nuts and for recreational pleasures gained by a trip into the neighboring mountains. (CH, LA, MK) This is the only gathering enterprise of any scale except for occasional berry picking by small children at a mother's request.[6] There are a few instances of wild-plum picking, but neither the plums nor the berries are canned or preserved. (LA) In the past, entire families went out into the mountains on a

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[2] Jet Navagational Chart, JN-44 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, March, 1957).

[3] Records and Files at United Pueblos Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Albuquerque.

[4] "Long Range Plan...," United Pueblos Agency, 6, 17.

[5] Ibid., 17.

[6] Perhaps chokecherry (Padus melancorpa Psybe.). My respondent did not identify the variety. Nighttime pilgrimages by medicine men to Santa Clara Cañyon are made to collect herbs. (LA)

The altitude at Bar Lake is about 5,[illegible] feet.[2] The reservation includes an area of [illegible] acres, of which 10,326 acres are used for grazing (can support 67 head of cattle and horses), and [illegible] acres are crop land.[3] The most common crops are alfalfa, grain, [illegible], vegetables and varieties of corn,[5] especially "Minor" and blue corn varieties. The latter two varieties of corn are grown, packaged and sold to local and distant markets. (1A, 1B) Indian corn is colorful and is often used for decoration, particular-making and ceremonial observances.

Throughout the upper Mid Cow [illegible] things are arranged for the gathering of about only one [illegible] gained by a trip into the neighboring mountains. (1B, 1A, 1N) This is the only [illegible] of any meals except for occasional berry picking by small children [illegible] request.[6] There are a few instances of [illegible] plotting, not neither the plans nor the [illegible] were [illegible] or preserved. (1A) In the past, [illegible] went out into the [illegible]

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[2] Let Have National Park, [illegible] Washington, D.C.: U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, March, 1957.

[3] Records and files at Tribal Indian Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U. S. Dept. of the Interior, [illegible] Agency.

[4] "Long Range Plan...," Dakota Indian Agency, [illegible].

[5] Ibid., 17.

[6] Farmers obtain most [illegible] medicine from [illegible]. [illegible] respondent did not identify the varieties. Illnesses [illegible] treated by medicine men to which [illegible] are [illegible] to collect herbs. (1A)

several-day expedition to harvest pinons. (LA) For bedding they took blankets and sheep skins. Until recently, there would be a gathering of insects to be roasted for food in an outside earthen oven (orno).[7] (LA)

Today, much of the food is purchased at the local trading post run by an Anglo.[8] Its founder was a German Jew (not an uncommon circumstance during the frontier days of New Mexico).[9] (WH) Much of the bread is baked in the traditional ovens but the flour usually is bought at this store, as are pasteurized milk, vegetables, canned goods and frozen food.[10]

There is no dense forest land on San Juan reservation, hence no ample supply of wood for fuel and other timber products.[11] The only concentration of trees is the glens banking the two rivers, cottonwood being the most common variety. Irrigation from these rivers was practiced back in pre-Colombian times and continued down through the centuries.[12] The old canals and ditches are winding and of outmoded patterns, resulting in a breaking up of the land into oddly shaped

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[7] Believed to be of the Locustidae family.

[8] See p. 23 for description of this store.

[9] William J. Parish, "The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico 1850-1900," offprint from New Mexico Quarterly, XXIX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1959), pp. 307-332.

[10] John Adair cites this change of food habits because of a trading post in the pueblo of Zuñi, "People of the Middle Place: A Study of the Zuñi Indians," MS, n.d., p. 50.

[11] "Long Range Plan...," United Pueblos Agency, 8.

[12] Ibid., 9.

parcels.[13] This water system, plus the constant shifting of land rights and their sale to various members within the pueblo, has divided the tillable soil until now unproductive bits and strips are found in many places.[14] (TP, LA, ML)

Only Indians of the community can "own" their land -- technically, the pueblo controls all of the land and has the power to redistribute parcels, but now individual rights are recognized and maintained. (TP, ML, LA, TS) The growing sign of personal franchise versus community ownership is a source of conflict. Several Indian owners have been relocated or otherwise moved from the pueblo even to California and Illinois, and their land has lain fallow.[15]

Much of the land is not being tilled because of a shift in the economy of the pueblo: a shift from subsistence farming to wage economy. Though there is plenty of available water, the desire to use it for farming is lessening. One

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Margretta S. Dietrich, "The Changing Indian," Pocket Handbook: Indians of the Southwest, ed. Bertha P. Dutton (Santa Fe: The Rydal Press, Inc., 1958), p. 67.

[15] A census in October 1956 revealed 95 enrollees (10%) of San Juan pueblo not living in the community, "Long Range Plan...," United Pueblos Agency, 1. In the first quarter of 1960 the number of enrollees not living in San Juan increased to 403. At this time 39% of San Juan Indian enrollees were living away from the pueblo reservation. Thus, in 3 1/2 years enrolled San Juan Indians living away from the pueblo increased by 29%. Abe Zuni, "Resident Indian Population as of April 1, 1960," report submitted to Relocation Branch, United Pueblos Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Dept. of the Interior (Albuquerque).

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Warren E. Hartman, "The Indian," Pocket Handbook: Indians of [illegible] (Santa Fe: The Rydal Press, [illegible]), [illegible].

[15] A census in October [illegible] of San Juan pueblo not [illegible] "Hold Indian Plan...," United Pueblos Agency, [illegible] 1960 the number of [illegible] to 465. At this time [illegible] living away from the pueblo [illegible] enrolled San Juan Indians [illegible] by 255. Abe Zuni, "Report [illegible] 1960," report submitted to [illegible] Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, [illegible] Albuquerque).

middle aged man related how the people used to gather annually to clean and repair the community ditch system together. This provided a good time for all, a festive occasion on which stories and gossip about one's neighbors were exchanged -- a common form of social control.[16] (GT) Now, the people grumble because they are obligated to do the job: "Why should I have to clean it out when it doesn't give me any water?"[17] (GT, TP)

Hunting, a strictly male activity, is not the dominant means of income for anyone in the pueblo. (LA) It is more of a recreation, practiced during the hunting seasons by a large number. Some men may go in groups "for luck", but the usual pattern is for the hunter to go alone or take a few friends or his son (as is done by Spanish-American and Anglo hunters). (LA) An old custom, not in practice today, was a race between two groups of men. (TS, LA, TP) Before beginning a hunt, a competition was held in which the men separated into two groups (no particular affiliation) on opposite sides of a mountain to be explored for game. The best runners were chosen and they raced up to a meeting point. The emphasis

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[16] For a more extensive description of the spring ditch-cleaning practice of thirty years ago see: Elsie Clews Parsons, "The Social Organization of the Tewa," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 36 (1929), pp. 229-230.

[17] Four Spanish-American respondents from Chamita (a Spanish-American village north of San Juan whose irrigation ditch system joins San Juan's) reported problems with the "younger generation." One of these Spanish-Americans, an elderly community leader (SA) remarked that," ...these younger ones rather drink in the cantinas than work on the ditch."

was not on winning the race, but on racing itself. (TP, LA) Today, a few men visit the "hunt priest", an old man, for a blessing of their ammunition. (LA) There is a sacred stone (about three feet in diameter) that is rubbed before leaving on the hunt to ensure success. (AB, TP, LA, ML)

Deer is the most sought-after game and after a kill some of the deer's blood is drunk to invoke good fortune again in future expeditions. (LA) The meat is shared with one's neighbors and relatives, so that most of the people in San Juan have had a meal of venison before the end of the fall hunting season. (LA) The importance of deer is underscored in ceremonial dances in winter, when some of the religious rites are centered around the "deer dances." Rabbits also are shot, a sport for the boys (several of whom reported their skill to the author). The flesh is eaten and pelts are used for a variety of purposes, including as a part of the dancers' costumes.

One incident may point to the still prevalent fears of witchcraft among Pueblo people. A San Juan pueblo hunter was in Santa Clara Cañyon (immediately west of Santa Clara pueblo) hunting deer. Spotting a large buck, he took aim and fired: the buck, he claims, thereupon changed into a middle-aged man from Santa Clara pueblo. This man, who long had been suspected of witchcraft, told the hunter, "Because you nearly shot me you will never again kill another deer." Sometime later, a report came to the hunter that a deer was

shot in the woods and at the same time the witch dropped dead in Santa Clara pueblo, his body being in the pueblo and his soul in the killed deer. To the hunter, this was proof of the existence of that witch and he still swears that that man was a witch. Although the first encounter with the witch happened over twenty years ago, to this day the San Juan hunter has never shot another deer despite having tried several times to do so.[18]

Most of San Juan males work for wages.[19] This is done primarily outside the pueblo in the neighboring towns. Several go to Los Alamos, the atomic research center, where they are employed in a diversity of tasks ranging from salaried employment to semi-skilled labor to unskilled menial work.[20] (TP, TS, KP, SN) The remuneration for a San Juan man's work is low. A survey indicates that the average weekly income of twenty-five employed interviewees came to $62.99.[21] One man

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[18] Alfonso Ortiz, "Child Rearing and the Tewa," MS, Department of Sociology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, December, 1959, p. 5.

[19] "Some villages like San Ildefonso and Santa Clara (close neighbors and similar social systems to San Juan - author) now derive the majority of their income from crafts and wage work. Employment in unskilled and semi-skilled [sic] labor in Los Alamos has replaced farming as a way of life in these pueblos," Edward P. Dozier, "The Rio Grande Pueblos," MS, 1956, p. 147. For a statement of San Juan's income in 1938 see: Appendix A, p. 108.

[20] For a summary of occupations from a survey of 64 residents of San Juan see: Appendix B, pp. 109-110.

[21] Herman Cata, "An Independent Survey on Socio-Economic Problems in San Juan Pueblo, San Juan, New Mexico," MS,

from San Juan, a Spanish-American, was sent with a group of men from Los Alamos to Geneva. He was the only one of the group who did not have a college degree. (SN, LA) Española, and many of the numerous Spanish-American communities that surround the pueblo, utilize San Juan men in a variety of jobs. It is in these bordering communities where the Indian has considerable contact with outside societies and thereby progresses in his acculturation.[22]

There is a much less complex system of esteem and status values attached to a particular job than is common with Anglos and, to a lesser extent, with Spanish-Americans. Pecuniary recompense is the major impetus and no patricular shame is attached to a menial job. (TS, ML, CA, AB) This is especially true with the older men, for the younger ones are beginning to absorb the hierarchical Anglo value systems associated with employment statuses. One man, about thirty-five years old, introduced himself as, "_____, Security, Los Alamos." Anglo values are now influencing the youth who are seeking models after which to pattern themselves. Adair

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(Con't.) Department of Guidance, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, November, 1958, p. 4. Cata continues, "The highest salary reported was $154.00 per week. The lowest mentioned was $20.00 per week."

[22] Commenting on the proximity of Spanish-American communities, Dozier, 133-134, says: "Hispanos continue to be the closest neighbors of the Pueblos. Virtually all of the Pueblo villages are surrounded by Hispano communities whose populations far outnumber them.... Although Spanish-speaking inhabitants of New Mexico are not listed separately in the census, about 1/3 to 1/2 of the total population is believed to be Hispanos. The population, as in the past, is concentrated in the Rio Grande region."

from San Juan, a Spanish-speaking, who [illegible]
men from Los Alamos to Cortez. [illegible]
group who did not have a college degree. [illegible]
and many of the numerous Spanish-American communities [illegible]
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are seeking models [illegible]

(Con't.) Department of [illegible], University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, November, 1958, p. [illegible]. Cited as "The almost salary range is $[illegible] per year. The [illegible] tioned was $20,[illegible] per week.

[22] Consulting [illegible] Spanish-speaking communities, Dorset, 1[illegible], says, "[illegible] closest neighbors [illegible] Vigil [illegible] villages are [illegible] tions far outnumber [illegible] habitants of the [illegible] about 1/2 to 1/3 of the total. [illegible] Hispanos. The population, as [illegible] the Rio Grande [illegible].

sums up the trend in Zuñi pueblo which also can apply to San Juan pueblo:

> Wage work, no matter if it be for the trader as a silversmith, in town as a common laborer or skilled mechanic runs counter to Zuñi life-ways. . . . Social relations and social control will change and a new power structure will emerge based on economic relations rather than ritual wealth.[23]

During the summer of 1959 many of the Pueblo males were invited to move dirt as part of the archaeological excavations. They represented a cross section of the male population, that is, of the unemployed males. Curiosity brought some, but the biggest attraction was the relatively good pay (the curious needed only to visit). This illustrated two facts: (1) that during the early part of the 1959 summer many men were unemployed, and (2) that no undue stigma was attached to shoveling excavated "back-dirt" for younger students.

Traditionally, the religious leaders were supposed to be free to devote all of their time to assure the smooth functioning of the community. The needs of these leaders were to be provided by the members of the pueblo. It was observed in the summer of 1959 that not only did the major religious leader of the summer moiety (called the summer man or summer cacique) till his own corn fields and irrigate his land, he also supplemented his income by weaving belts.[24]

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[23] Adair, 129.

[24] This might be a function of two factors: (1) the lesser importance of the cacique role in the contemporary scheme, (2) the increasing philosophy of self-support -- that every man must provide for himself. This same cacique was hired in the summer of 1960 to operate a tractor to help with the excavations.

sums up the trend in self-help work also as this report is been lumen public:

> Wage work, no matter how [illegible] adversarial, is too [illegible] mechanic free member in [illegible] relations and [illegible] structure will always [illegible] than mutual wealth.[illegible]

During the [illegible] were invited to have dinner [illegible] cavations. They [illegible] lation, that is, of the [illegible] none, but the bigger [illegible] (the overtime needed only to [illegible] facts: (1) that during the [illegible] men were unemployed, and [illegible] to improving [illegible]

Traditionally, the [illegible] be free to devote all of [illegible] functioning of the community. [illegible] were to be provided by the [illegible] observed in the summer of [illegible] religious leaders of the [illegible] or summer cottages [illegible] land, he also [illegible]

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[23] Ibid.

[24] This might be a [illegible] lessen importance [illegible] schemes, (2) the [illegible] every man [illegible] hired in the summer of [illegible] the excavations.

This summer cacique is the only belt weaver who learned his skill by imitation of other Indians and only he receives an appreciable amount of money for his efforts.[25] (LA, AB) Others who weave have been taught it in Federal Indian schools. (LA) No blankets are woven in the pueblo and basket making is no longer practiced. Besides belt weaving there are four other crafts still in limited practice. Two wood carvers whittle figurines and prayer sticks, mainly for the tourist trade. There are ten potters in the pueblo, some of whom produce the well-known San Juan incised designs on their ceramics. Six people are engaged in making seed necklaces. One silversmith, who does mostly repair work, is attempting to advance his trade by changing his workshop to a more favorable locations.[26] (LA)

The men make adobe bricks for themselves and on contract. Often, if considerable work is involved (for example, over 700 bricks), then male relatives or friends are obtained to help out. (CE, ML) One man said that he paid his friends

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[25] He also weaves dance belts.

[26] One man had a grocery store in which he undersold his own blood-brother whose store was near by. This underhanded policy was never forgiven by the people of the community. On several other occasions the man involved has undersold his fellow people. (LO, LA) Though born in Mexico, he had been adopted at an early age by an Indian family and claims to be a full member of the community. But because of his practices, and his reputation as an opportunist, the only official position he now holds in his advanced age is that of a fiscale (he is a church assistant, in charge of the graveyard). Although qualified, he has not been invited to sit in the tribal council, the governing body of the pueblo. (LA)

for their aid. (ML)

As one drives into the pueblo and winds past the one-story adobe homes he comes around a bend at the base of a hill. Sitting on top of this hill and to the right is a long building with an equally long sign perched on top of it. In 3 1/2 foot block letters the impressive sign says, "KRAMER MERC. CO. GENERAL MERCHANDISE". Aside from the church and its attached parish house and a parochial school and a chapel, this is the dominant structure seen by the visitor. One is reminded of a company-town commissary store which controls the purchases of its citizens. Though, in fact, the people of the pueblo are free to buy where they wish, this store is most commonly used and is more convenient than driving to a neighboring village for supplies. In addition to foodstuffs it handles such items as hardware, clothing, lumber, farm implements and notions. It is a general-purpose store that allows credit and makes loans to its customers. (WH, LA)

There is a tourist trading post which only a few San Juan Indians were seen to patronize. A machine and blacksmith shop, run by a Spanish-American, is also present in the community. There is also a post office in San Juan which occupies the front of an adobe house. Liquor cannot be bought in the pueblo, but it is available in neighboring Spanish-American villages.

As of April 1, 1958 the total number of people listed

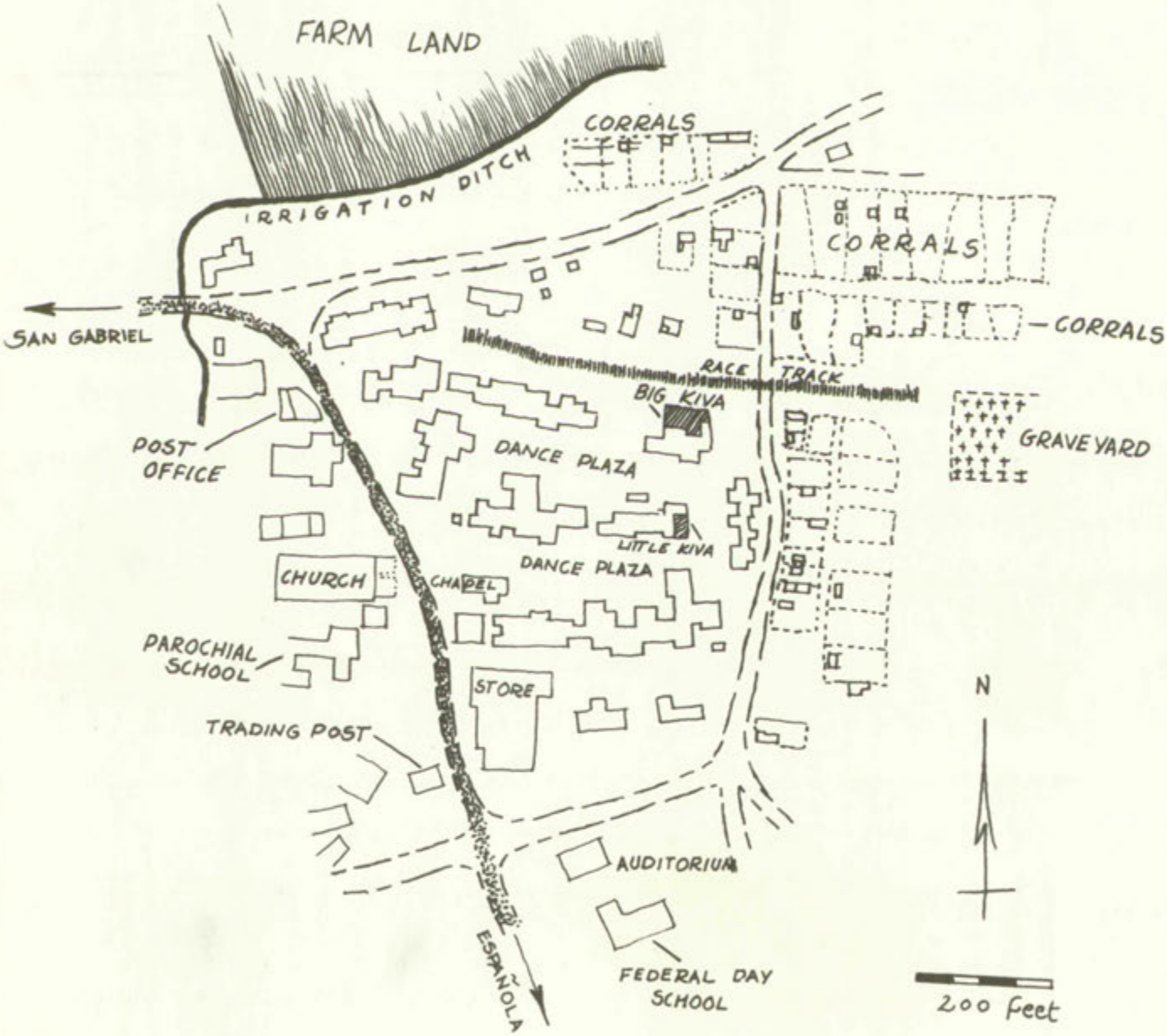

Fig. 3. SAN JUAN PUEBLO (CENTER)

on the pueblo roster was 1,095.[27] This was a population density on the reservation of about 45.5 people per square mile.[28] The breakdown of the population is as follows:

TABLE I

SAN JUAN TRIBAL ROLE[29]

Tribal enrollees	987
Non-enrollees	108
Total individuals listed	1,095
Family groups	217
Individuals living alone	49

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[27] "San Juan Census," United Pueblos Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U. S. Dept. of the Interior (Albuquerque: April 1, 1958).

[28] The percentage of those Indian enrollees living off the pueblo, 23%, was adjusted to the date of the census cited above. This figure was taken for its approximate value because the increase in percentage of people living away from the pueblo may not be linear (see footnote no. 15, p. 16). This figure was then applied to the total tribal enrollees (987) to ascertain how many were actually living in the pueblo (760). The latter figure was then added to non-enrollee residents of San Juan for the total number of people living there (868). Then with an area of 19.1 square miles the population density of San Juan was computed.

[29] "San Juan Census," April 1, 1958.

TABLE II

DEGREE OF INDIAN BLOOD[30]

Indian Blood	Number	Percentage
Full Blood	738	67.40
1/2 or more	258	23.57
1/4 up to 1/2	51	04.65
Under 1/4	3	00.27
Unknown, not reported or non-Indian	45	04.11
TOTAL	1,095	100.00

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[30] Ibid.

TABLE II

DEGREE OF INDIAN BLOOD[30]

Indian Blood	Number	Percentage
Full Blood	736	67.40
1/2 or more	298	29.37
1/4 up to 1/2	51	04.65
Under 1/4	3	00.27
Unknown, not reported or non-Indian	45	04.11
TOTAL	1,095	100.00

[30] Ibid.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION BY AGE AND SEX OF SAN JUAN'S POPULATION[31]

Age Group	Number	Male	Female
0 - 4	131	61	70
5 - 9	126	68	58
10 - 14	117	54	63
15 - 19	129	54	75
20 - 24	94	50	44
25 - 29	87	32	55
30 - 34	81	36	45
35 - 39	55	30	25
40 - 44	64	33	31
45 - 49	39	16	23
50 - 54	45	23	22
55 - 59	29	18	11
60 - 64	21	14	7
65 and over	45	28	17
Unavailable	32	10	22
TOTALS	1095	527	568

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[31] Ibid.

The physical and economic situation is well recognized by the Indian leaders of the pueblo:

> Because there is a lack of steady year-round employment near San Juan pueblo and because the resources are insufficient to support all of the people adequately, the pueblo requests that the government continue to offer relocation services to their people.[32]

The standard of living is lower than that of the United States. There is no sewage or garbage disposal system.[33] Drinking and cooking water comes from a community well and equipment to fight fires is lacking.[34] Except for the state highway (74) that passes through the pueblo, there are no paved roads. Street lighting is nonexistant (the Rural Electrification program serves the electric needs of the community).

The "pickup" truck is one of the male's proud possessions and as in other Indian communities, it is a common sight.[35] In the kitchens one sees electric refrigerators, mixers and ranges. The range using wood is favored in many

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[32] "Long Range Plan...," United Pueblos Agency, 31.

[33] Ibid., 28.

[34] "It would also be necessary to have an additional well for their domestic water supply," Ibid.

[35] Dozier, 146, observes: "Automobiles are rapidly replacing horses and wagons as the mode of travel. Pickup trucks are the most popular of automobile body styles. Horses are in little evidence, although they still perform the bulk of farm work; only the most intensive farmers in such predominately farming pueblos like Isleta and Sandia use tractors." One young man, about twenty-four years old, recently traded in his pickup truck for a used Cadillac automobile.

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of the homes. Television has invaded the pueblo and many dwellers have this as their main form of evening entertainment. In fact, one can see numerous antennas on the rooftops.[36] New household appliances are bought, not for their prestige value, but for utilitarian purposes.

With the advent of new forms of living, and the altered economic environment, there must be adaptations both individually and socially.[37] The power of the native religious institution coming from ancient Indian traditions is shifting to the emerging strength in the secular governing system. Adair comments, "The power system also shows evidence of change during these years [the last 25]. The man of property is beginning to be a man of power taking his place alongside the priests."[38] The native religious calendars are not followed as they were thirty years ago.[39] The reality of making a living demands concentration on more modern, Anglo-orientated competitive markets. Many of the Indians, especially the "progressives," are recognizing the need to incorporate the private enterprise system and its price values

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[36] Dozier, 145, comments: ". . . television programs have replaced the former gathering of bilaterally related kin to listen to old Tewa stories and legends."

[37] For the effect of wage earning opportunities on a Navaho community see: Tom T. Sasaki, "Situational Changes and the Fruitland Navaho," Journal of Social Issues, XV, No. 4 (1958), pp. 17-24.

[38] Adair, 54.

[39] E. C. Parsons, 168-169.

of the house. Television has invaded the studio and many dwellers have this as their main form of entertainment. In fact, one can say that television [illegible] the room.[36] New homesites mostly [illegible] prestige value, but for utilitarian purposes.

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[36] Dorter, 145, [illegible] have replaced the "[illegible]" to Lists to old [illegible].

[37] For the effect of [illegible] Navajo community see Tom T. [illegible] and the Traditional [illegible] (1952), pp. 17-[illegible].

[38] Adair, 39.

[39] E. C. Parsons, [illegible]

into their pueblo economics. (ML, KP, LA, PP)

Farming at San Juan is becoming an uneconomical enterprise. Yet this is a dominant way of life for many of the people. Pottery making can be lucrative for, as with a good part of New Mexico, the tourist dollar provides an appreciable monetary resource.[40] Some of the people are remaining on their farms and attempting to maintain a level of existence. However, with many of the younger men, wage earning is becoming more attractive and they are emphasizing this type of work.

The Cultural and Historical Heritage. To the average man Indians mean a group of aboriginal savages, "way out west," formerly prone to Comanche war whoops, tepees and general trouble to settlers, "bluecoats," and an occasional wagon train. With the tourist the concept is a bit more refined and brought up to a present-day setting. To him Indians are quaint but proud people who live in odd mud houses, say "ugh" or at least speak very little English, and sell pottery and silver jewelry at bargain prices. Other outsiders see the Indians as a part of the Great American Heritage, who must be preserved in their traditional forms so that this nation may be reminded of its noble past. In contrast to this is the well-wisher who desires to help change the poor, backward

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[40] Dozier, 135, states: "Tourists are by far the most frequent visitors to the Pueblo villages. Whether on a feast day or not, Pueblo Indians are delighted to have them for they are a direct source of revenue."

natives who have borne the brunt of a selfish, encroaching civilization. He wishes to make amends by sending the Indians food and boxes of old clothes, or the gospel. The artist views Indians as examples of romantic beauty colored with rustic individualism, while the incumbent politician feels that the Indian is a thorn in his jurisdictional side. Although these characterizations are examples of stereotype thinking, such frames of reference do exist and have had their effects on various Indian groups.

What is in the mind of the social scientist when he thinks of Indians? First, there is the distinction between Indian and Amerindian.[41] The former is a resident of the peninsular subcontinent of Asia; the latter lives in the Western hemisphere. For brevity, however, whenever the term Indian is used, it will apply to the American, especially in the Southwest portion of the United States. Indians, to the researcher, are not a homogeneous mass of indigenous people but groups with distinctive forms and differing traits. There is a great wealth of variety manifested throughout the tribes, a variety that has been observed and recorded.

Different schemes are used to classify the tribes of Indians. One is the linguistic classification which arranges language groups and linguistic families according to certain

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[41] Paul A. F. Walter, Race and Cultural Relations (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952), pp. 7-8.

natives who have borne the brunt of a ruthless, unforgiving civilization. He wishes to make amends by sending the Indians food and boxes of old clothes, or the gospel. The artist views Indians as examples of romantic democracy coupled with rustic individualism, while the independent politician feels that the Indian is a thorn in his jurisdictional side. Although these characterizations are examples of stereotype thinking, such frames of reference do exist and have had their effects on various Indian groups.

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[41] Paul A. F. Walter, Race and Cultural Relations (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952), pp. 7-8.

perceived and developed relationships.[42] Tewa is of significance for this paper, for it is the Indian language of San Juan. Five other villages also speak this language. They are: Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Tesuque and Pojoaque. Tiwa and Towa are unintelligible to the speakers of the Tewa language,[43] but personal interaction with all three pueblo areas is nevertheless operative. This is because two other languages are known by the various people of the pueblos: English and Spanish.[44] Tewa is spoken by all of the Indians

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[42] The difficulty of classifying language is illustrated in the following quotation: "Practically all languists agree on the reality of these families. They disagree on how to lump them into fewer groups and to a lesser extent on how to split them into subdivisions." Harold E. Driver and William C. Massey, "Linguistic Classification," Indian Tribes of North America, ed. H. E. Driver and W. C. Massey (Memoir 9; Baltimore: Waverly Press, Inc., 1953), p. 8.

In New Mexico five main Indian families are operating today. Some of these families are further subdivided into various languages. The five main families are Athabascan, Uto-Aztecan, Zuni, Keresan and Tanoan. Navajos and Apaches speak different tongues of Athabascan while the Utes, who occupy a small segment of land on the northern border of New Mexico, speak Utan, a branch of Uto-Aztecan. Zuni is a distinct and independent language spoken by the people of a pueblo of that same name. Keresan is used in seven pueblos. Tanoan is subdivided into three distinct languages: Tiwa, Towa and Tewa. Norman A. McQuown, map of "Tribal and Linguistic Groupings of Native North America" (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1955).

[43] Edward P. Dozier, "The Rio Grande Pueblos," MS, 1956, p. 53.

[44] One interesting sidelight is that a Tewa-speaking village, Hano, appears on the First Mesa of the Hopi reservation in Arizona. These people were said to have been invited there to act as warriors and guardians for the "peaceful" Hopis in return for having a new home as a refuge from battles with the Spaniards. Fred Eggan, Social Organization of the Western Pueblos (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 139; Edward P. Dozier, The Hopi-Tewa of Arizona (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), pp. 263-264, 274.

in San Juan, including the younger ones, and is the most commonly used tongue in the pueblo. English is known by almost all except some of the older members of the pueblo.[45] Spanish is a common language for practically all and can be used between various pueblos.

There are cases of reluctance to admit a knowledge of Spanish, mostly because of identification of the language with the Spanish-Americans, or as the Indians call them, "Mexicans."[46] This rejection may also have some historical roots, but it is mainly a desire not to be reguarded as "Mexicans," a people who are of a much lower status in San Juan's estimation. Yet these Spanish-Americans have many personal traits which the Pueblos borrow; especially from the delinquent "pachucos."[47] Tewa is spoken in all the Indian religious ceremonies while English is used whenever

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[45] "Long Range Plan: San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico," United Pueblos Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U. S. Dept. of the Interior (Albuquerque: 1957), p. 27.

[46] On different occasions I have attempted a few words of Spanish with some younger girls of the pueblo and they have feigned ignorance. Yet with one who was originally reluctant to admit knowledge of Spanish and with whom I later became good friends, she discovered how limited my Spanish really was and as a personal joke she conversed with me in it. Dozier, "The Rio Grande Pueblos," 152, says: "Nevertheless, Pueblo attitudes toward Anglo-Americans are generally more favorable than toward Hispanos, and English appears to have a much higher status than Spanish."

[47] E.g., "pegged" pants, guady or black shirts (when available), hair slicked back on the sides and somewhat long in back, and pachuco marks. Pachuco marks are crude tattoos made with ink and scratched on the surface of the skin of the hand and sometimes around the temple area.

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possible in the tribal council's secular meetings.[48] (LA)

This is significant in the analysis of changing times, where the shift of emphasis is away from the old religious governing system to the newer secular political structure. Dozier says:

> Retention of native languages and the persistence of the large extended family as the primary unit of socialization, we believe, has tended to foster the continuity of a highly uniform personality structure throughout the Pueblos. Similarly the persistence of a set of essentially indigenous values and moral concepts may be attributed to the continuity of the native languages and the basic unit of socialization. In recent years, particularly in the less conservative communities, the influence of the supernaturals, their impersonators and the ceremonial priests have been diminished, but the languages and the host of relatives involved in socialization have not changed substantially.[49]

From a primitive hunting and gathering nomadic life the Indian settled down, after the discovery of corn, to an agricultural existence.[50] This produced a new host of material and social inventions. Homes developed into multi-storied pueblos, weaving and pottery emerged, and pueblo government became highly organized. The respect of nature was reflected in the religion, emphasizing rain and the fertility of corn. The Spaniards, settling, upset the aboriginal equilibirum and forced new patterns of social adjustment.

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[48] A factor responsible for the use of English in the tribal council meetings during the period of this study is because the present governor of San Juan is from the Hopi Reservation (married to a San Juan woman). He understands little Tewa and is not fluent in that language. (LA)

[49] Dozier, "The Rio Grande Pueblos," 152.

[50] For a more detailed account of San Juan's past see Appendix C, pp.111-121.

possible in the tribal council's meeting meetings.[48]

This is significant in the analysis of modeling tribes, since the shift of emphasis is away from the traditional governmental system to the newer secular political structure. Taylor says:

> Retention of native language and the perpetuation of the large extended family as the primary unit of orientation, we believe, has tended to offset the establishment of a highly uniform personality structure throughout the Pueblos. Similarly the persistence of a set of essentially indigenous values and patterns concerning may be related to the continuity of the native language and the family unit of socialization. In recent years, particularly in the less conservative communities, the line of demarcation appears to have been diminished, but the language and the priests have been diminished, but the language and the root of relatives involved in socialization have not changed substantially.

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[48] A factor responsible for the inability of the tribal council meetings during the month of July is the fact that the present governor of San Juan is from the Santa Ana Reservation (married to a San Juan woman). He understands little Tewa and is not fluent in that language. (1A)

[49] Bailey, "The Rio Grande Pueblos," 1-2.

[50] For a more detailed account of the Indian read as Appendix C, pp. iii-iv.

The influence of the Spanish permeated many aspects of Pueblo life and its impact still has residual effects. Several of the current customs are a direct result of Spanish rule. The intensive secrecy of Pueblo life and the fear of outsiders, of "snoopers," can be related to the former need to conceal customs. In order to preserve the traditional life, to maintain the social systems while resisting Spanish domination, the Pueblo people reacted against outside pressures by developing stronger internal cohesive mechanisms.[51] These mechanisms today hinder the work of the researcher and block adjustment of native society to the advances of modern Western society. Conservative refusal to allow change even when change is necessary has produced splits in the pueblo, where the younger adults realize the need for change but the older "long hairs" refuse to permit it.[52] And this is not simply a phenomenon of vested interests of the older men who try to maintain their honorable status positions; it is a social phenomenon of resisting submission to institutions threatening social disorganization. The present point of analysis is that much of the resistance is traditional and that the tradition has been a result of the 16th and 17th century Spanish impact on formerly stable Pueblo societies.

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[51] See pp. 6-7.

[52] An explanation of the development of "conservative" and "progressive" factions as a result of interaction with non-Indians is given by Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 147; See pp. 89-90.

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Where the Indians had once developed an adjustment to the forces of nature, they subsequently had to develop mechanisms of adjustment to Spanish conquest and rule. The abuses of the Spanish rule, proselytism with an incongruous religion, attacks by nomadic Plains Indians, and the harshness of nature pushed the pueblo people into revolt and resulted in this tenacious clinging to the traditional way of life.

The political system of the pueblos changed when the Spaniards introduced a concept of pueblo governor.[53] The village chief became a secular governor.[54] It was through this governor and not through the religious priests that the Spaniards issued their mandates.

The missionary work of the padres did not appreciably penetrate the religious structures. While the Indians paid nominal homage to Western beliefs, they still retained their old religions. But through the centuries there had developed a shifting of power, a change away from the sacred to the secular. Today the power exchange is visable in the pueblo

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[53] Leslie A. White, "The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 60 (1942), p. 95.

[54] "Chief" is a generalization, for there were several types of "chiefs." Perhaps what the Spaniard thought what was the chief was simply the pueblo's "outside chief" -- a man delegated to handle affairs with outsiders. The religious chiefs, dubbed "caciques" by the Spaniards, were the real dominating power within the pueblo.

where new responsibilities are being given to the governor.[55] (LA)

Though horses, cattle, chili, wheat, apples, onions and iron were introduced by the Spaniard,[56] and though three and one-half centuries of intensive contact with non-Indians have gone by, the conservative pueblos retain many of their ancient ways. Yet, innovations have emerged. New concepts are slowly entering into the social system and into the individuals' value systems. With the shifting economy of the pueblo and compulsory education for the young people, Anglo value systems are assuming increasing importance. One author's evaluation of the situation is as follows:

> Today, after 350 years of contact with white men, Tewa culture is about to break down, and, since the return of the veterans from World War II, this cultural disintegration has reached a critical stage. In another generation or two, Tewa culture may have completely disintegrated, and many of the sacred rites which are still alive today will have faded away into little understood traditions and be known only as superstitions.[57]

Education and the Family. Socialization begins in the

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[55] The dynamics of this social readjustment may not be perceivable per se on the individual level, but its impact is felt. Often an individual has a confusion of allegiances between the sacred and secular aspects of his pueblo, a confusion that sometimes is not adequately resolved for him and results in his using inadequate mechanisms for adjustment, i.e., drinking. Hence, the Indian adds new societal problems and causes further disruption in the equilibrium between social institutions.

[56] Edward H. Spicer, "Indian Acculturation in the Southwest," American Anthropologist, LVI, No. 4 (August, 1954), pp. 663-678.

[57] Vera Laski, Seeking Life (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1958), p. 1.

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[57] Vera Lanki, Seeking Life (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1953), p. 1.

home. Here the baby receives its first lessons on how to become a social being. What is the family setting in San Juan? To what sort of situation is the child first introduced?

In a glance at the houses in San Juan an observor immediately sees that they are separated from each other. Except for the old section of town, the dwellings are no longer connected in long-house groups as was the case in former times.[58] The pattern of residence today shows a tendency toward splitting up such house groups.[59]

Clans, in the ethnographic meaning (e.g., kinship groups practicing exogamy and matrilineal descent), are either non-existent or of no importance. The Tewa situation approximates a bi-lateral kinship family[60]

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[58] See figure 3, p. 24. In this older section of town the arrangement of dwellings is such that relatives live close together (LA) as they did thirty years ago. E. C. Parsons, 37.

[59] In describing Pueblo villages of the Rio Grande region Dozier, "The Rio Grande Pueblos," 145, says: "Pueblo villages are still predominantely of adobe, but the compact village structures are beginning to give way to isolated, single family dwellings. Multistoried houses are still characteristic of Taos, but in the other pueblos only one or two such structures [only two are seen in San Juan - author], stand as lone remnants rapidly going to ruin. The less conservative villages are beginning new settlement areas where single family structures have been patterned after American suburban homes...." Adair, 65, adds: "Furthermore, there is a growing number of men and women who live independently of either the mother's or the father's household." My observations were from visiting over a dozen of these independent structures.

[60] For further analysis of the clan system along the Tewas see Appendix D, pp. 122-123.

TABLE IV

FREQUENCY OF FAMILY SIZES[61]

Family Size	Number of Families	Percentage
2	35	16.1
3	39	18.0
4	41	19.3
5	32	14.7
6	20	09.2
7	18	08.3
8	17	07.8
9	6	02.8
10	5	02.3
11	3	01.4
14	1	00.1
TOTAL	217	100.0

TABLE V

ANALYSIS OF FAMILY SIZES

	1931[62]	1958[63]
Number of Families	125	217
Mean Size	4.3	4.8
Median Size	3.8	4.1
Standard Deviation	2.6	2.4

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[61] "San Juan Census," April 1, 1958.

[62] S. D. Aberle, J. H. Wakins and E. H. Pitney, "The Vital History of San Juan Pueblo," Human Biology, XII, No. 2 (May, 1940), p.156.

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[61] "San Juan Oceana," April 1, 1958.

[62] B. D. Aberle, J. E. Weakim and Z. H. Blanchy, "The Vital History of San Juan Pueblo," Human Biology, XI, No. 2 (May, 1940), p. 156.

[63] "San Juan Oceana," April 1, 1958.

TABLE VI

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF FAMILIES

	1931[64]		1958[65]	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Headed by Man and Wife	76	61	177	82
Headed by a Man Only	34	27	13	06
Headed by a Woman Only	15	12	17	12
TOTAL	125	100	217	100

The family household in San Juan today is nuclear and small and consists of the male head, his wife, and single sons and daughters.[66] Though a single household may include grandparents and grandchildren, cousins are rarely included in this family group.

Although the individual household contains the nuclear family, the basic kinship unit in San Juan is the extended family.[67] This consists of a number of related family groups

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[64] Aberle et. al., 157.

[65] "San Juan Census," April 1, 1958.

[66] Ibid.,; "Long Range Plan...," United Pueblo's Agency, 1.

[67] Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 150, observes: "The persistence of the extended family and native languages are undoubtedly responsible for the endurance of an essentially indigenous system of attitudes, values and moral concepts. The Tanoan bilateral kin unit[s] . . . serve as the primary units of socialization. . . . What is undoubtedly an indication of the breakdown of traditional socializing methods is

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tied together through marriage and birth and linked to a male lineage. When problems arise that affect this extended family, there is a meeting with the extended family leader.[68] (LA) This patriarch is usually a relatively old and highly respected man and he makes the final decisions. (LA) He also has the duty of an "elder" and sits in on the tribal council.[69] (TP, CH, LA, TS)

The extended families are joined together to form one or the other of the two major divisions in San Juan. These divisions are called the moieties and are divided between the "summer people" and the "winter people."[70] Moiety affiliation is said by one young man to be known by everybody and deliberate avoidance of interference is practiced during a religious ceremony or a sponsored activity given by the people of the

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(Con't.) the fragmentation of the extended kin unit into nuclear families." Dozier, ibid., 151, adds: ". . . in most cases, however, despite the trend to build single family houses, the extended family remains strong. Within the limited geographical confines of a pueblo there is ample opportunity to retain the old patterns of extended family interaction. Thus with some exceptions, especially pronounced in the 'progressive' communities, the traditional patterns of socialization still characterize the Pueblos." For a comparison of the difference between household groups and kinship units of several pueblos in western New Mexico and Arizona see Fred Eggan, Social Organization of the Western Pueblos (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950).

[68] Bertha P. Dutton (ed.), Pocket Handbook: Indians of the Southwest (Santa Fe: The Rydal Press, Inc., 1958), p. 11.

[69] White, 181.

[70] See pp. 69-70.

other moiety.[71] (LA)

The ideal pattern is for the male to be the patriarchal-authoritarian head of the family unit. Where the pattern fits, the actual case varies with particular households.[72] It is the custom for the husband to bring home his wages and usually give them to his wife, who, in turn, doles out the money needed for everyday purchases.[73] (LA) If the man wants some of the money he may ask her for it. However, the desired return of the money does not always happen. (LA, OL)

According to a number of personal observations by the author, the wife controls the economy of the house and directs the activities within it. However, the male makes the final decisions on major purchases such as an automobile, pickup truck, horse, or some land. (CH, LA, ML, TS) The trend is for the female to gain more power.[74] Her authority is

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[71] This traditional avoidance was noted by Dr. F. H. Ellis, the director of the 1959 and the 1960 field archaeological excavations at San Juan. On matters in connection with the excavation that had to do with members of one moiety, the men from the other moiety deliberately kept away.

[72] The author, upon visiting several households, has noted variations of the general pattern of male leadership. Charles Lange also notes variation in Cochiti families, Cochiti: A New Mexican Pueblo, Past and Present (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959), p. 369.

[73] Tom T. Sasaki reports this pattern among the Navaho families which he investigated, "Situational Changes and the Fruitland Navaho," Journal of Social Issues, XIV, No. 4 (1958), p. 22.

[74] Ralph Linton noted this trend in San Ildefonso pueblo, "The women more and more rule but in theory are still subservient." Ralph Linton, "Editors Summary: San Ildefonso

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especially evident when the husband's activities are disfunctional to the cohesiveness of the family group. This is illustrated when the husband spends his pay check on wine, for the wife is quite vehement in her recriminations. (LA) After a potato harvest two years ago, several of the husbands decided to drink and spent their wages on bottles of wine. An amusing outcome was noted by some of the neighbors when the wives rounded up the husbands and, with the aid of sticks, drove them home. (TA, LA, OL) One unfortunate husband was led by his spouse who was pulling his ear. (LA, OL) Morning-after lectures to husbands are common but do not prevent drinking. (TS, LA) At times, inebriated husbands have been beaten by their wives, but rarely do they retaliate. (LA) Husband-beating is a strictly private matter. Wife-beating, on the other hand, may result in a tribal court proceeding.[75] (LA)

The Hispanic concept of machsmo appears among the men of the pueblo. To be macho means to be sexually virile, aggressive, brave, vigorous and to drink "like a man."[76]

(Con't.) Acculturation," Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, ed. Ralph Linton (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940), p. 462.

[75] During the winter of 1959-1960, one case of wife-beating was brought before the tribal court. The accused was sentenced to ninety days incarceration in the Santa Fe County jail. The governor passed sentence with approval of other court members. The defendant was the head of his family. (LA)

[76] The author has noted on several occasions such masculine boasting by his Indian friends. Clark gives an account of this "Latin" behavior in a Mexican-American community

Romantic love is a recent, borrowed innovation which did not have practical meaning in aboriginal times, when the struggle for existence required the community to be a tightly functioning unit.[77] Now, with the trend toward nuclear family groups, selection of a mate is not so much for the purpose of a productive unit as from the concept of romantic love.[78] Very few marriages are a result of "circumstances," reports the Catholic priest, where the paternity of an illegitimate child is proven and the male is in an available position for marriage. Usually the wedding is not pressed if the father is unwilling to marry. (BF)

Choice of a mate is made generally among people of the same pueblo, but some marriages are made with Indians not belonging to San Juan. Spanish-Americans are married into the

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(Con't.) in California: Margaret Clark, Health in the Mexican-American Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), p. 195. The Services describe the phenomenon as it occurs in a small Paraguayan town, "The men are supposed to be exceptionally amorous and generally macho. . . ." Elman R. Service and Helen S. Service, Tobati: Paraguayan Town (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 233. For a Description of this behavior among Spanish-American males in New Mexico see Munro S. Edmonson, Los Manitos: A Study of Institutional Values (Middle American Research Institute, preprinted from Publication 25, pp. 1-72, New Orleans: Tulane University, 1957), pp. 26-27.

[77] William Whitman, "The San Ildefonso of New Mexico," Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, ed. Ralph Linton (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940), p. 457.

[78] Whitman, 457, in his description of San Ildefonso says: "In the old days men selected their wives for their industry and ability to keep house. Today White [Anglo-American] concepts of love affect the marriage choice. As a result, said the woman who told me this [a San Ildefonso informant - author], marriage is not generally as successful as it used to be."

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77 William Whitman, "The San Ildefonso of New Mexico," Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, ed. Ralph Linton (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940), p. 457.

78 Whitman, 457. In his description of San Ildefonso says: "In the old days men selected their wives for their industry and ability to keep house. Today White [Anglo-American] concepts of love effect the marriage choice. As a result, said the woman who told me this [a San Ildefonso informant - author], marriage is not generally as successful as it used to be."

pueblo but are not permitted Indian religious membership or legal ownership of the land. (SN, ML, LA, TP) Both Spanish-American males and females have married Indians.[79] The trend of residence has been for Spanish-American males to move into the pueblo rather than taking the wife outside to live.[80] There are blond and redheaded Indians, indicating mixture with non-Indians. Nowadays, being married to an Anglo male is considered good, for it means a better chance at a higher standard of living, hence higher socio-economic status. (LA, OL) This is in contrast with "Mexican" husbands.[81] Yet, there are examples of Spanish-Americans achieving respect and esteem,[82] especially when they have contributed to the community in work and in providing for the family. The denial of land ownership is for the purpose of keeping the community intact and preventing a repetition of encroachments that have diminished the property of American Indians in the last one hundred years. The closed membership of religious societies is a consequence of internal and traditional cohesiveness and of external and historical pressures from the Spanish rule.[83]

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[79] "San Juan Census," April 1, 1958.

[80] This trend was reported by one of the Indians who made a survey of the houses in San Juan that had mixed marriages involved.

[81] See footnote No. 46, p. 33.

[82] Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 135, advances a historical reason: "Where Hispanicisation set in early, intimate Hispano-Pueblo relations appear to be enduring. This is true at San Juan where a number of Hispano-Pueblo marriages are on record. . . ."

[83] See Appendix C, pp. 111-121.

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[83] See Appendix C, pp. 174-181.

The ceremony of marriage today is conducted in the Catholic church and is associated with the ritual of mass. The husband's surname is given to the wife. (Indian marriages in the traditional style have not been reported in San Juan for more than twenty years.) In many cases, an informal party is given in the home of the groom's parents a week before the wedding. The bride's family is invited. The two families, on this occasion, give advice to the couple and wish them "good luck." (LA)

The newlyweds live in a dwelling of their own if they or the groom's parents can afford one. If not, they live in the home of the groom's parents until they can establish their own household.[84] (LA) (One practice, in the past, was to add two or three rooms to an already existing structure.)

Divorce is rare in San Juan;[85] the last divorce proceeding reported by a respondent happened over ten years ago. (LA) The low number of divorces is thought to be a result of pressures from the Catholic church.[86] Yet, as we shall see later in the discussion of the Catholic Church, Catholicism is not the dominant religious force in the pueblo. White, in

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[85] Five divorced people (two males, three females) are reported on the San Juan census. This number does not include remarried divorced people. "San Juan Census," April 1, 1958.

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his discussion of divorce in Santa Ana pueblo says, ". . . there are many people at Santa Ana who are not sufficiently obedient to Roman Catholic Church rules to pay much attention to them."[87] However, many temporary separations occur, but only for a short period. The separation may last for a week or two. (LA) There are strong community pressures for the spouses to reunite, hence very few separations are officially recorded for San Juan.[88]

The system of compadrazgo (coparent relationships) is another Hispanic borrowing and is connected with the Catholic religion.[89] Such relationships in San Juan are established at the child's baptism and confirmation and superimpose another system of bonds upon the community besides religious-society and moiety affiliations.[90] The padrino (godfather) chosen as the child's sponsor at baptism is likely to be unrelated to his family while the one picked for conformation is usually a

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[87] White, 172.

[88] Four separations are recorded on the census. "San Juan Census," April 1, 1958.

[89] Clark, 157-161; Service, 172-183; Marvin Harris, Town and Country in Brazil (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), pp. 151-155.

[90] Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 131, tends to lessen the significance of the compadrazgo. "Except for the occasional selection of an Hispanic acquaintance as sponsor for a child in baptism and the exchange of god-parent terms between the child, its family and the sponsors, the god-parent institution never became fully established." Whether "fully established" or not the relationship does exist in San Juan and the people there recognize it. For a description of the padrino siginficance at Cochiti see Lange, 405, 413-414.

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relative.[91] (The madrina is the godmother for the female child and only has significance at confirmation.) The godparents, or padrinos, become ritual parents and form, with the real parents, a coparent or compadre relationship. The bond is not only between the individual and his godparents but also between his two sets of parents.

The pardino of the child's baptism gives advice and assistance to the godchild.[92] This baptismal-padrino is sought for counsel even when the godchild has matured to manhood and his opinion is respected on such matters as marriage, work, and long journies. (The padrino of confirmation, according to one respondent, it less involved with the godchild's development.) (LA) The best man of a marriage also becomes a padrino. The groom usually selects a relative but does have the prerogative of choosing a non-relative, even an Anglo friend. (An Anglo served as a best man in a wedding during the winter of 1959-1960.) This padrino of marriage later serves as a marital advisor for the couple. (LA)

In the family setting, the mother is the initial and prime socializing agent. Most of the children are born within the pueblo in the parents' home. (LA) There is a ritual connected with birth, and the sprinkling of corn meal to the

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[91] This was related to the author by one respondent. (LA) On another occasion the author had witnessed a great-uncle serving as a padrino for a young boy's (age 3) confirmation. The father of the child was a Spanish-American and his uncle was of the same ethnic background.

[92] E. C. Parsons, 14-15.

cardinal directions is still thought of as bringing luck and good fortune for the newborn. An Indian name is assigned within one or two weeks after birth.[93] (The Spanish name is given to the child in the Catholic Church at baptism.)[94] In the naming ceremony the child is brought outside at sunrise by the grandmother or an elderly aunt (maternal or paternal)[95] and the name is assigned. (LA) A prayer is said while facing northward if the child is of the winter moiety or facing southward if the child is of the summer moiety. (LA)

The use of the cradle board is an unusual practice now. Only four cradle boards are known by one respondent to be in use. These, he said, are fastened to a roof beam like swings.[96] (LA) To protect the baby, items are left to ward off evil. Sometimes a bracelet of coral or imitation coral is put on the baby's wrist to protect it from witchcraft. (LA) If the infant is ill, modern medical practitioners are consulted.[97]

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[93] This one to two week period was given to me by a respondent, male, young adult. (LA) E. C. Parsons places the name giving on the forth day after birth, 13.

[94] E. C. Parsons, 14-15; Lange, 405.

[95] E. D. Parsons, 13.

[96] Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 47, adds: ". . . while the Tanoans have a cradle swing from the roof beams by ropes."

[97] Native curers are used for older people, especially if the illness is believed to be caused by witchcraft. One old man (ML) cited that he had a native doctor perform a curing rite when he broke his leg. However, he did not relate

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The mother is the prime discipliner of the child, her discipline beginning when the child is old enough to understand her directions. Older children often look after the younger ones taking care that they do not get hurt. This occurs both outside of and within the homes. The early training is permissive and functional to the everyday living in the community. Dozier says:

> The period of infancy, from one to two, is a permissive one throughout the pueblo area. During this period the child is 'lord' of the household. Weaning seldom takes place under a year. The breast is used as a pacifier and there is frequent contact with the mother's body. There are few frustrations and little adherence to routines.[98]

The parents show little or no embarrassment if the baby or young child voids in the presence of a visitor.[99]

The father disciplines less than the mother because he is not at home as much as she. He is either working in the

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[98] Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 47.

[99] On the subject of early childhood training Dozier, ibid., continues: "The crawling or toddling child may urinate anywhere, while for defication it is taken around the corner of a house. The genital region is frequently fondled and genital exploration is not forbidden or discouraged. Adult male and female members or older children pick up the child frequently and caress it; a child never wants of attention within the household. Indeed, a strong taboo exists that a child left alone in a room may be bewitched - therefore extreme care is observed that a member of the household is always with the child."

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fields, wage-earning, or loafing and drinking with friends. He may not be married to the mother, so that no strong bonds keep him near by. Illegitimacy is common, reports the Catholic priest of San Juan, and no undue stigma is attached either to the mother or to her child.[100] There is a desire to establish parentage, especially by the mother's parents, in order to obtain welfare subsistence, if not to hold the male responsible for his acts.[101] (BF)

The father, when available, is both a trainer and a disciplinarian. If the child is a male, he will be taken hunting by the father and taught crafts. (TS, LA) This instructional function by the father or other male relative is diminishing because the community is changing. The change is toward the purchasing of items rather than the manufacturing of them. This is true of clothes, but not for religious articles. Even much of the dancing costume is of commercially manufactured items. (TS, LA, ML)

The child is a much loved object in the family, and affection is displayed openly. Especially strong are the grandparents' affectional ties with the baby and young children. The mother complains that grandfather or grandmother

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"spoils" the baby, but not much is done to prevent their demonstrations. The little youngster is king of the household, free to move at will. "Don't do that!" is not a common command in a San Juan family as it is in many Anglo families.[102] One respondent explained that the child will find out for himself if his actions produce pain or displeasure. Punishment, if the child is flagrant in his disobedience, can and does come in the form of whippings by either parent or by an older child.[103]

Punishment can come from figures outside of the family setting, religious figures in the form of whipping kachinas.[104] If a child misbehaves, a parent may threaten to call a kachina,

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[102] Hawley and Senter, who describe the Keresan mode of childhood care closely parallel this author's observations in San Juan. Florence Hawley and Donovan Senter, "Group-Designed Behavior Patterns in Two Acculturating Groups,""Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, II, No. 2 (Summer 1946), pp. 142-144; Lange, 372, suggests that the fewer "don'ts" is a function of fewer "untouchable" items found in the Indian household.

[103] Lange, 372, describes whipping in Cochiti. "Corporal punishment, such as whipping with a strap or switch, is used for more extreme cases but rarely in the presence of nonfamily members -- as is true in most families of our own culture."; Adair, 108, comments about whipping in Zuñi. "Whippings continue down to the present day. But there is little doubt that the children are held in line more often by threats of the supernatural, by scaring and scolding than they are by physical whippings."; Cata, 10, in his survey of San Juan found "Thirty-two of the thirty-nine persons believed in spanking their child; two did not; and four omitted the question." (Perhaps he meant "Thirty-three of the thirty-nine."?)

[104] Lange, 33, 372, mentions cultural bogeys in the Keresan village of Cochiti; Adair describes these bogeys at Zuñi, John Adair, "People of the Middle Place: A Study of the Zuñi Indians," MS, n.d., p. 103.

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a god living in the mountains, to come down and whip the child. A kachina can be summoned at any time; all the parent needs to do is to tap on the stove pipe or on the side of the fireplace and the kachina will hear the beckoning and come down to whip or, possibly, to eat the misbehaving child. (LA)

On December 26 this visitation by the Kachinas becomes a frightening reality for the young child. At dusk, after the turtle dance is completed, two masked kachinas emerge from the kiva and begin to roam the old part of the pueblo.[105] If a child is accidently caught by one of these fearsome gods, he is told that he will be abducted to the kachina's home in the mountains, possibly to be eaten alive there. But the mother runs out just in time and bribes the kachina to release the child in return for a couple of loaves of Indian bread. The masked kachina moves through the pueblo, accompanied by the governor's officials, stops at the door of a child's home, and inquires if anyone inside has been misbehaving. The child is brought forth and whipped (all this is prearranged). After a few minutes, the parents say, "That's enough, O, Great One." One respondent commented that the child clearly understands the reason for being whipped and does not become resentful of his parents. (LA) This respondent further added that the child does not attribute betrayal to the parent

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[105] E. C. Parsons, 179-183, describes in detail the turtle dance at San Juan. She also gives an account of a masked figure, Tsabiyu, which is similar to my findings. Ibid., 270-274.

for calling the kachina; it was his own actions that brought the punishing god.[106]

Because there is much interaction between relatives and family and much visitation is common, affectional ties become diffused.[107] This avoids an over-emotional dependency upon one particular parent and provides a psychological "cushion" in case one parent dies orbehaves contrary to social expectations. Despite the trend of nuclear family settings, there still exists this extended bond of kinship, moiety, and neighbor ties.

The little girl learns her role by imitating her mother and other female figures around the household.[108]

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[106] In his analysis of village disciplinarians, Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 48, whose mother is a Santa Clara Indian, gives a description that closely approximates my data. "As the child grows older he is made to see the village disciplinarians, a pair attired in buckskin clothes and wearing hideous masks. These positions are usually filled by the War Captains or by men selected by them. . . . Equipped with bull whips the pair of bogey men visit the pueblo at dusk moving along in a prancing dance periodically cracking their whips." Dozier, ibid., 48, further says: "Parents who feel that their child or children are especially prone to mischief and difficult to manage may ask the disciplinarians to visit their homes and discipline their children. Among the Tewa the disciplinaries make the child or children dance while they crack the bull whips at their heels. . . . While the children cry and dance with fright, parents encourage the disciplinarians to keep up their work and enumerate their children's faults and misdemeanors and also tell their children that they have been compelled to resort to calling on supernaturals in order to make them behave."

[107] Ibid., 51.

[108] This visitor to Pueblo homes noticed little girls mimicking their mothers' actions and was reminded of similar scenes in his own culture.

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107 Ibid., 91.

108 This visitor to Pueblo Bonito noticed little girls mimicking their mothers' actions and was reminded of similar scenes in his own culture.

The little boy has a more difficult problem because as he matures he is brought farther and farther away from the family circle and into, not only community life, but, as a wage earner, into communities outside his pueblo.[109]

As the child reaches puberty he is ready for the final initiation ritual.[110] It is during this ceremony that the child supposedly discovers that kachinas are not gods, but people, relatives and neighbors representing physical manifestations of gods. Many ethno-analysts consider that the shock is traumatic, and has residual effects on the personality of the initiate.[111] This may be true of other pueblos, especially those in western New Mexico and Arizona, but as we shall see in the following discussion, the impact of the new knowledge on the San Juan initiates is not as powerful as may be believed.

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[109] In trying to ascertain the internal composition of a large household in San Juan, this researcher received different replies from Indian respondents. One admitted that he was confused as to who actually lived there. (CJ) Another related that three of the daughters in the above household had illegitimate children. (ML) In pursuing the matter, I asked one of the children (age seven) of that household how many brothers and sisters he had. He replied, "Three sisters - two yellow and one black." I inquired as to why two were yellow and he answered, "They were born that way." Then I asked him why the third sister was black. He replied, "'cause she's a 'nigger'." No Negro is known to that household nor, for that matter, in the entire pueblo.

[110] For more detail on all three initiation rites see pp. 79-81.

[111] Dozier, "The Hopi-Tewa. . . ," 326-327; Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph, The Hopi Way ("Indian Education Research Series," No. 1, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), pp. 52-53, 55.

The little boy has a more difficult problem because as he matures he is brought farther and farther away from the family circle and into, not only community life, but, as a wage earner, into communities outside his pueblo.[109]

As the child reaches puberty he is ready for the final initiation ritual.[110] It is during this ceremony that the child supposedly discovers that kachinas are not gods, but people, relatives and neighbors representing physical manifestations of gods. Many ethno-analysts consider that the shock is traumatic, and has residual effects on the personality of the initiate.[111] This may be true of other pueblos, especially those in western New Mexico and Arizona, but as we shall see in the following discussion, the impact of the new knowledge on the San Juan initiates is not as powerful as may be believed.

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[109] In trying to ascertain the internal composition of a large household in San Juan, this researcher received different replies from Indian respondents. One admitted that he was confused as to who actually lived there. (G1) Another related that three of the daughters in the above household had illegitimate children. (M1) In pursuing the matter, I asked one of the children (age seven) of that household how many brothers and sisters he had. He replied, "Three sisters - two yellow and one black." I inquired as to why two were yellow and he answered, "They were born that way." Then I asked him why the third sister was black. He replied, "'cause she's a 'nigger'." No Negro is known to that household, for that matter, in the entire pueblo.

[110] For more detail on all three initiation rites see pp. 79-81.

[111] Dozier, "The Hopi-Tewa. . . ," 329-327; Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph, The Hopi Way ("Indian Education Research Series," No. 1, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), pp. 52-53, 55.

During the initiation rites there is much instruction as to the significance of the kachinas, and the neophyte comes to understand that the secrecy of the kachinas has meaning and purpose; that there were logical reasons why he was not previously informed of the true nature of the kachinas. Besides, and most important, by the time a contemporary San Juan youth has reached this age he already has serious doubts as to the validity of these masked gods. The ceremony simply confirms his suspicions. In response to an inquiry about this being a traumatic experience, one man (age early twenties) replied, "Not me. It might have been true before my time."[112]

After the mask is taken off, the impersonator laughs at the deceived initiates. Dancing clowns join in his mirth, and the boys find themselves embarrassed by their jesting. However, one respondent reports that a good time for all soon follows, as each child tries on the mask and wonders when he will get the chance to become a kachina in a pueblo ceremony. With the new position of being a full member of the moiety, the boy now feels himself a true man of the community.

At the time that this traditional indoctrination takes place there is also training in the grade schools.

In 1887, formal education was introduced to San Juan.

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[112] Note: these initiations are considered sacred by the Indians and there is reluctance to report anything about them. On the subject of previous knowledge of the identity of the kachinas, my respondent reported his personal experiences. (LA) He also added that he believed other initiates were as well informed as he was about the impersonators.

The San Juan school was established then as a mission school for Indian children.[113] About 1889 the mission school at San Juan became a "government contract school," the Federal government cooperating with the church in operating it.[114]

In 1909 a Federal day school was also established.[115] In addition, there is presently a third school within the pueblo domain, a county public school. This one serves children not only from the pueblo but also from the nearby Spanish-American communities.[116] Today all three schools run from the first grade to the sixth and seventh grades.[117] From a twelve year review of achievement testing, scores show that, in general, the elementary children have approximated the national norm.[118]

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[113] "Long Range Plan...," United Pueblos Agency, 25.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid., "In 1909, at a meeting of the Pueblo officers under the leadership of the Agency Superintendent, two acres of land were donated for the purpose of educating the Pueblo Indians, the school improvement to go to the pueblo government if at any time the school should be discontinued. The first building erected was a two-room schoolhouse, these two rooms still being a part of the present school building. The second building was a two-room building to accommodate the teachers. Another school room was built about 1927. In 1936 an extensive construction program was undertaken. A school room was added to the other and supplementary buildings were erected."

[116] The county school thereby provides additional contacts for some of the Pueblo children with their Spanish-American neighbors.

[117] The Federal day school goes up to the sixth grade, while the other schools continue up to the seventh grade.

[118] "Long Range Plan...," United Pueblos Agency, 27.

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[120] "Long Range Plan...," United Pueblos Agency, 27.

TABLE VII

SCHOOL CENSUS OF SAN JUAN PUEBLO INDIAN CHILDREN[119]

San Juan Pueblo Indian Children	Males	Females	Total
Living on San Juan Reservation	98	88	186
Living on Other Reservations	5	7	12
Not Living on Any Reservation*	56	64	120
TOTAL	159	159	318

*NOTE: Four males and seven females in this category are attending special schools and institutions, colleges and universities, or vocational schools.

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[119] William J. McGranahan, School Census of Indian Children, San Juan Pueblo, Branch of Education, United Pueblos Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U. S. Dept. of the Interior, form 5-255 (Albuquerque: May 16, 1959).

TABLE VIII

SAN JUAN INDIAN CHILDREN ENROLLED IN SCHOOL[120]

San Juan Pueblo Indian Children	Males	Females	Total
Public Schools	39	41	80
Federal Day School	56	43	99
Nonreservation Federal Boarding Schools	25	24	49
Mission and Private Day Schools	19	27	46
Mission and Private Boarding Schools	16	17	33
Special Schools and Institutions	0	1	1
Colleges and Universities	4	3	7
Vocational Schools	0	3	3
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TABLE IX

NINE YEAR COMPARISON OF NEW MEXICO INDIAN PUPILS ENROLLED IN FEDERAL AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS[121]

School Year Dates	Percentage in Federal Schools	Percentage in Public Schools
1950-1951	81.0	19.0
1951-1952	77.8	22.2
1952-1953	75.4	24.6
1953-1954	73.5	26.5
1954-1955	69.8	30.2
1955-1956	69.6	30.4
1956-1957	68.6	31.4
1957-1958	58.0	42.0
1958-1959	52.3	47.7

NOTE: "Data are not complete for 1959-1960 but will reflect a substantial increase in the number of pupils enrolled in public schools."[122]

The parochial school provides a pre-grade school class as well as the first eight grades. Graduates from this parochial school generally continue in the parochial system and

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[121] Chart, "Comparison of Indian Pupils Enrolled in Federal and Public Schools: 1950-51 to 1958-59," Branch of Education, United Pueblos Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1960.

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into Catholic high schools.[123] The U. S. Indian school at Santa Fe is a Federal boarding school which accommodates Indian students from various areas of New Mexico and provides an opportunity for vocational training in such areas as carpentry, agriculture, baking, silversmithing, art, cabinet making, machine work, weaving and home economics.[124] This boarding school runs from junior high-school through the senior high-school levels; it allows for closer contacts between students of the various tribes.[125] Sometimes, report teachers in the Federal Indian school system, the contact produces rivalries, and fights have occurred between members of the various tribes. The trend is for this boarding school at Santa Fe to drop the upper grades and become a junior high-school.

School-age children also go to local public schools, as at Los Alamos and Española, the latter having a large Spanish-American population. The police of Española are on constant duty during recesses to maintain peace; there is

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[123] Interview with William J. McGranahan, principal of the San Juan Federal Day School, San Juan pueblo, June 9, 1960.

[124] Cata, 8.

[125] "Frequent interaction between Pueblo and other Indians occur in boarding schools and in the jobs made available by the federal government in hospitals and construction work. These situations bring individuals of different pueblos together, but they also provide relations between Pueblos and other Indians from distant tribes." Dosizer, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 133.

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little trouble in their presence.[126] In fact, very few Indian children are ever "booked", according to Española police records.

Beyond high school, the Pueblo student, with the aid of Federal grants, may attend a vocational trade school.[127] There is also opportunity for a limited few to attend college through Federal grants and loans.[128] Three such students, personally known to the author, are presently attending the University of New Mexico, one of them in graduate work. A total of seven are attending college.[129] Cata reports, from his survey, the degree of education in the pueblo. The average of his population sample was 11.1 grade. He found: 46% graduated from high school; 38% did not complete high school; 3% graduated from college; 3% are attending college; 2% went go trade school; 2% went to nursing school; 2% went to business college; 2% went as high as three years in college; and 2% did not respond to his questionnaire.[130] Asked what subject helped most in school, the majority answered, "English."[131]

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[126] Interview with Española chief of police, Española, New Mexico, September 26, 1959.

[127] "Long Range Plan...," United Pueblos Agency, 26-27; Cata, 2.

[128] Cata, 2.

[129] See Table VIII, p. 59.

[130] Cata, 3.

[131] Cata, 9; Scott finds that fluency in English is not only an index of acculturation, but also an index of potential

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Indian children are over "worked" [illegible] police reports.

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126 Interview with Mr. [illegible], [illegible], New Mexico, September [illegible], 1936.

127 "Long Range Plan ...," United [illegible] Data, 4.

128 Data, 2.

129 See Table VIII, [illegible] 55.

130 Data, 3.

131 Data, 4; Report Table [illegible] only an index of each survey [illegible] an index.

There is a growing recognition of the need for adult education and plans have been accepted by the tribal council of San Juan for pilot studies in the pueblo.[132] The educational system in San Juan, as with the rest of the United States, still needs more facilities, qualified teachers and equipment.[133]

But what does formal schooling to San Juan Indians signify? From the English speaking educational institution comes an introduction to the Anglo way of life, a way of life that often is in contrast with Pueblo traditions. One Indian college student, a highly intelligent young man, remarked to me that he could do better in school but "somehow the Indian comes out in me"; and he restrains himself.[134] The Indians of San Juan accept the educational system, and many agree that it is a means of helping both the individual

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(Con't.) acculturation for Mescalero Apache high school students. Richard B. Scott, "Acculturation Among Mescalero Apache High School Students," (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of Sociology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1959), pp. 92-93.

[132] "Long Range Plan...," United Pueblos Agency, 27.

[133] Interview, McGranahan.

[134] Whitman, in discussion on San Ildefonso pueblo, comments on the effects of schools, 426. "Government schools and colleges are unsettling the young. Already the Pueblo has split into two hostile factions, and the schism is widening rather than healing. White ways are crowding out the Indian way and from this change the whole village is suffering." He further states, 459: "While the older men are well integrated and at harmony with the culture, maladjustments do occur, particularly among the young men who have been away from the pueblo to school or college and who find difficulty is settling down to the slow pace of pueblo life."

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and the pueblo.[135] Also, in the higher grades of school, the Indian child meets people from other cultures, including Anglos and Spanish-Americans.[136] (ML, LA, OJ, AL, WH) From some of these contacts, there is a copying of surface traits such as clothing and hair styles of the Spanish-American boys.[137]

In the home and community the child is trained to be a member of his family, moiety and pueblo. The emphasis is on participation in the community and religious groupings. In

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[135] "The pueblo recognizes the importance of higher education and requests that scholarship grants be set up to aid young people who have done well in high school and who wish to attend college but may be financially unable." "Long Range Plan...," United Pueblos Agency, 26; Cata's findings in San Juan, 3, are, "In combining the results to the question, 'Are you staisfied at having reached that level' I found that 48.43% were satisfied with the amount of education they had received. Another 48.43% indicated that they were not satisfied with their education. The remaining 3.14% gave no answer."; Margretta S. Dietrich, "The Changing Indian," Pocket Handbook: Indians of the Southwest, ed. Bertha P. Dutton (Santa Fe: The Rydal Press, Inc., 1958), p. 71, adds to her comments on the conflicts between formal education and traditional religious training, ". . . but for economic reasons Indian parents feel forced to accept the risk. There is not enough land and not enough opportunity for all the people to make a living at home. The children must be prepared to compete in the outside world. At a recent conference on education in Gallup [New Mexico], all the Indians agreed that 'Indians need better education now; they are ready for it and cannot progress further without it.'"; Whitman on San Ildefonso, 430, says, "A few of the older people deprecate the sending of their children away to school because they feel that a child soon forgets its Indian ways, its native speech, its songs and dances."

[136] One student of ethnology reports that the Indian boys going to school in Española often team up in football games with the Anglo students so that they can play against the "Mexicans."

[137] See p. 33, 47n.

the various ceremonials and kiva retreats, the child is drawn into the ethos of traditional Indian life. As this orientation develops, a new orientation is laminated on the experiences of the child. It is that of the public grade school system. While the family structure is undergoing transitional change, especially in leadership roles, generational conflicts and segmentation, the theme of competitive, grade-orientated schooling adds to the adjustment demands of the child. Adair sums up the Indian situation:

> The older people are not in conflict as much as the middle aged and younger men and women. These younger people show the results of several generations of concerted educational endeavor exerted by Indian service and missionaries. The young men born into the families in which religious office is handed down are torn between the old way of life and the new way: devoting a lifetime to religious or working for cash which will enable the purchase of material goods. . . . There is a growing secularization, the religion does not permeate the whole of life as it used to.[138]

Religious and Political Institutions.

> We want to offer this ceremony
> To please the gods
> So that we may obtain
> Crops abundant
> That we may be loved and liked,
> That we may catch up with that

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[138] Adair, 81. It is the author's contention that often the Indian child is not adequately prepared to meet the various pressures and is not provided with sufficient alternatives of behavior. As he grows older the pressures become more imminent, the demands more prevalent. How can he be successful in life, especially in dealing with Anglos and Spanish-Americans, and still remain in the good graces of his neighbors and maintain his status in his religious society? Sometimes the choice of action is in neither direction but takes a neutral path of temporary isolation from the societies about him.

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For which we are always yearning,
Life of Abundance.[139]

The supernatural was a dominant concept in the lives of the Pueblo Indians.[140] It crept into every aspect of life, permeated the daily tasks and controlled the actions of the people.[141] From farming to government, from recreation to ritual, supernatural beliefs were pervasive.[142]

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[139] Excerpt from the winter cacique's prologue in the Raingod ceremony of San Juan, Laski, 35. This ceremony is reported in its complete form in Laski's book. On this section of the prologue she, 147, comments: "The following is a more literal translation of the last three lines. . .:

May all of us catch up with that
Which we are thinking about most
To have for ourselves;
May we have in the house
Plenty of meat."

Laski, ibid., continues, "In this context, the term 'meat' stands for everything which is needed in the home, therefore, 'plenty of meat' implies abundance. The preceding thought can, of course, be rendered in English in more than one way, thus explaining the slight variations in the translation." For further information on the translation of Indian poetry see: Herbert J. Spinden, Songs of the Tewa (New York: The Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, Inc., 1933).

[140] The base line of this thesis is that of a Pueblo Indian society in transition. In order to evaluate the present situation, certain past conditions must be ascertained for their contributions. Therefore, the following discussion will describe the importance of religion to the people and present the underlying native religious themes that stemmed from the aboriginal existence many centuries ago.

[141] Harry Tschopik, Jr., Indians of North America (Science Guide No. 136, Man and Nature Publications, New York: The American Museum of Natural History, 1958), p. 23; Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture (New York: Mentor Book, New American Library, 1950), p. 59.

[142] Lange, 227, reports on the pervasiveness of religion in Cochiti pueblo; Laski, 90, describes it in San Juan, "Religion is all-pervading in Tewa life. Even the routine of

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142 Lange, 227, reports on the pervasiveness of religion in Cochiti pueblo; Leski, 90, describes it in San Juan, "Religion is all-pervading in Tewa life. Even the routine of

Belief in the supernatural developed from the need for survival in the hostile and unpredictable land of the Southwest.[143]

Corn was the mainstay, "the staff of life," and its successful growth depended not only on the ingenuity of the tillers but also on the whims of nature. Since the sun and the weather held the power of success or failure over the crops, beliefs developed that were centered on the appeasement of Nature and her manifestations.[144] The sun, moon, stars, earth and animals were respected and ceremonials were devoted to their recognition.[145]

The dominant religious concerns were corn, fertility and weather. Elaborate ceremonial organization coupled with myth and ritual was centered in them.[146] Most of the rites and beliefs were concentrated on bringing rain and

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(Con't.) workaday life is interwoven with short prayers to the Raingods, to the Firegod, to Old Man Wind, and to the Departed Ones. And every activity of daily routine -- eating, drinking, smoking, planting, harvesting, threshing the corn, birth and death -- calls for participation of the spiritual helpers without whose assistance and blessing nothing can be accomplished."

[143] Aitken says, "Life, in terms of livelihood, here means successful corn-growing -- corn-growing under semi-desert conditions [Hopi Reservation] -- the hope of rain ... all is focused on a common object, the procuring of rain and germination for the crops." Barbara Aitken, "Temperment in Native American Religion," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LX (1929), p. 372.

[144] Laski, 74.

[145] Tschopik, 25; E. C. Parsons, 264-270.

[146] Laski, 5, 68, 69; E. C. Parsons, 168-263.

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[144] Aitken, 74.

[145] Trockopik, 29; E. C. Parsons, 29-[illegible].

[146] Leach, 5, 69, 69; E. C. Parsons, 185-[illegible].

producing abundant crops.[147] Symbolism was utilized to represent the dieties. Good and evil were not antithetic concepts associated with the spirits, for as in mortals, both qualities are in all the supernaturals.[148] Man, through ceremony, must please the spirits, impress them and work with them.[149] They will reciprocate by appeasing man.

Once, in mythological times, the kachinas and men were friends and partners.[150] Jealousy separated them, but after battles ended a truce prevailed and a tentative partnership came into effect. The kachinas lived part of the time in the clouds (hence, are often called "cloud people") and part of the time underground.[151] Some stayed in the mountains nearby, near enough to be heard by the people.[152] If the dances were done properly and prayer plumes were constructed accurately, the kachinas would send the needed rain.

Kachinas were the most frequently represented dieties in the masked dances and ceremonies performed throughout the

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[147] Adair, 68-69, "The natural control over the crops, that is horticultural technology became buttressed by supernatural techniques essential to agriculturalists in a region of sparce rainfall. These religious techniques became exactly prescribed, tremendously elaborated, and were passed on from one generation to the next by a highly organized system of teaching."

[148] Laski, 77-78; Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 54-55.

[149] Dozier, ibid.

[150] Dutton, 12-13.

[151] Laski, 9, 72-73.

[152] E. C. Parsons, 270-271.

producing abundant crops. Spring is the [illegible]

represents the diety. Upon [illegible] concepts associated with the [illegible] qualities are in all the [illegible]

many, most [illegible] the spirits, [illegible] them. They will [illegible]

Once, in mythologic times, [illegible] friends and partners. [illegible] battles [illegible] came into effect. The twins [illegible] [illegible] (hence, are [illegible] the time underground. [illegible] by, [illegible] were done properly and [illegible] quantity, the [illegible]

Zeuhuna were the most [illegible] in the masked dances and [illegible]

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[147] Adair, [illegible]. "The natural [illegible] that is [illegible] natural [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] from one [illegible] of [illegible]."

[148] Laski, [illegible] [illegible], "[illegible]."

[149] Dorian, [illegible].

[150] [illegible], [illegible].

[151] [illegible], [illegible].

[152] Z. [illegible], [illegible].

year.[153] Much time was spent in preparation and training for these affairs, and their execution was taken with great seriousness. The kachinas were impersonated by masked dancers who,[154] while performing the prescribed rites, were at those times the earthly manifestations and human representations of the deities.[155] The ceremonial calendar included rites for curing societies and other religious societies, for animals (especially deer and turtle), for the coming of the kachinas, and for the summer and winter solstices.[156]

Today, summer and winter are still the two main divisions in the Pueblo's religious structure.[157] These divisions are called moieties and alternate primary responsibility and leadership of the pueblo according to the seasons.[158] The summer moiety has more power than the winter one because, said one young man (LA), of the "longer length" of the summers, i. e., there are more warm months than cold ones. (Lask's informant reports, "To make the summers longer." [159]) The moieties

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[153] Tschopik, 24.

[154] E. C. Parsons, 150-158.

[155] Laski, 10, 26.

[156] E. C. Parsons, 168-169.

[157] Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 24.

[158] Dutton, 11; Laski, 76, says, "The social and religious paternalism of the Tewa is well anchored in their strong paternal moiety system."

[159] Laski, 40; also see footnote on fetishes, p. 72.

year.[153] Upon this was [illegible] in organizations and [illegible] these efforts, and their exercise [illegible] overseas. The Hopkins were [illegible] by Hawkins [illegible] who.[154] While performing the [illegible] rites, were at [illegible] times the earthly realizations and human representations of the deities.[155] The ornamental mahogany [illegible] carving scutcheons and other religious [illegible] (especially [illegible] and Saints), for the [illegible] and for the support and [illegible].[156]

Today, women and children are still the two main [illegible] alone in the Pueblo's religious structure.[157] These divisions are defined materially and attitudes [illegible] and leadership of the pueblo according to [illegible]. The number society [illegible] over the [illegible] one young man (LA), of the "Lounge" [illegible] e., there are more [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

are patrilinial and tend to be endagamous.[160] When marrying a man of the other moiety, the woman, if she so desires, can change her affiliation through ceremony.[161] (LA, TS)

At the top of each moiety is its leader, or cacique.[162] This man is dedicated to the welfare of his community. In the past, he was expected to devote all his time to his people and attend all the ceremonies; however, because of the change in economy, the summer cacique has to spend time providing for his family.[163] The moiety cacique is also responsible for the smooth functioning of all the secular activities in the pueblo but delegates much of this authority to the governor.[164] The position of cacique is for life, and upon death, his "right-hand man" takes over.[165] The third in responsibility, the "left-hand man,"[166] then moves into second position as "right-hand man," his replacement being chosen by the reigning cacique. (LA)

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[160] Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 26.

[161] Ibid., 26-27. For discussion on the relationship between the extended family and the moiety see Appendix D, pp. 122-123. There is an analysis of clans and their comparisons with moieties.

[162] Dutton, 11, describes the derivation of the word: "Cacique -- a Haitian (Arawak) word used extensively by early chroniclers to designate the priest-chiefs; it was incorporated into the Spanish language with this significance."

[163] See pp. 21-22.

[164] E. C. Parsons, 102.

[165] Laski, 4.

[166] E. C. Parsons, 112.

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160 Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 26.

161 Ibid., 26-27. For discussion of the relationship between the extended family and the moiety see Appendix B, pp. 122-123. There is an analysis of clans and their comparisons with moieties.

162 Dutton, 11, describes the derivation of the word: "Cacique -- a Haitian (Arawak) word been extensively by early conquistadors to designate the chief-of-state; it was incorporated into the Spanish language with this significance."

163 See pp. 21-22.

164 E. C. Parsons, 102.

165 Lasar, 4.

166 E. C. Parsons, 112.

Other sacred functionaries are religious society leaders, some of whom are medicine men, while others have the responsibility for the upkeep and protection of the kiva, and the ceremonies. There is reported a "kachina father" for each moiety who is host for the kachina impersonators.[167] (LA)

Curing is a strong theme in the religious structure of the pueblo, for sickness and death were a common threat to the aboriginal community.[168] Religious societies, groupings, and personages have carried this theme down from the past and, today, ceremonies are performed to stave off illness and death.[169]

Many of the religious societies cross-cut the moieties and perform duties when either moiety is operative. Today, the religious societies, and the rites associated with them, are becoming extinct. Laski says about San Juan:

> This daily ritual is about to fade away and the younger Tewas know little, if anything, about it. It is kept up by a few old men who continue to feed Mother Earth, who, from their ceremonial pipes blow sacred fog to the Rain-gods, and whom you may still see going out in the fields, at sunrise corn youths and corn maidens.[170]

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[167] Florence Hawley Ellis, "A Reconstruction of the Basic Jemez Pattern of Social Organization with Comparisons to Zia Social Structure," MS, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, n.d., pp. 64-65.

[168] Tschopik, 24.

[169] Laski, 112-113, reports the contemporary situation of religious groupings, rites and individuals in San Juan. For a diagram of the old religious structure of the Tewa, see Appendix F, p. 125.

[170] Laski, 90-91.

Other secular functionaries are religious society leaders, some of whom are medicine men, while others have the responsibility for the upkeep and protection of the Ark, and the ceremonies. There is reported a "Keeping Father" for each society who is sent for the keeping ceremonies.[167] (IA)

Coming is a strong theme in the religious structure of the pueblo. For sickness and death were a common threat to the aboriginal community.[168] Religious societies, groupings, and personnels have carried this theme down from the past and, today, ceremonies are performed to stave off illness and death.[169]

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[167] Florence Hawley Ellis, "A Reconstruction of the Basic Tewan Pattern of Social Organization with Comparisons to Its Social Structure," MS, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, n.d., pp. 64-65.

[168] Tewaqui, 24.

[169] Lasky, 112-113, reports the contemporary situation of religious groupings, rites and ceremonies in San Juan. For a diagram of the old religious structure of the Tewa, see Appendix F, p. 125.

[170] Lasky, 39-41.

Each moiety has a fetish that is an important item from which much of the power of the moiety is derived.[171] There are personal fetishes, such as small stones, owned by individuals in the pueblo, which are thought to bring power or to cure an ailment. The fetish is rubbed all over the body and is sucked to gain power from it. (LA)

The kiva is the ceremonial house for the religious retreats and rites. There are two kivas in San Juan: "the big kiva" and "the little kiva."[172] Most of the ceremonies, i.e., raingod, tribal initiation ("finishing"), and the eagle, "old man" and turtle dances, begin in the big kiva, where the secret rites are performed for purification and for communication with the deities. (LA) Following the kiva activities, dancers are seen to emerge from the building and to perform a public dance in the main plazas of the old section of town. In the past, there were foot-races, games and betting,[173] but these activities are now being abandoned, leaving a gap in an entertainment function formerly provided for the people.[174] (TP, TS, LA, ML, GT)

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[171] The winter moiety lost its fetish over twenty years ago when someone sold it. It is believed by one person that much of the power of this moiety is lost because there is no fetish to give it strength. (LA)

[172] For more on San Juan's kivas see Appendix H, pp.127-129.

[173] E. C. Parsons, 233-234, 236.

[174] When asked why there are no longer footraces, two men (one about 35 and the other 70) said that the wives of the players fought over the merits of their men. (SJ, TS) One added, "This bickering soon put an end to the races."

However, associated with the dances can be noted entertaining aspects, such as the catching of the deer dancers after a final performance by the girls of the pueblo (at the deer dance on February 28, 1960, one determined young woman captured her dancer by tackling him; another girl, age eighteen, bit her victim). After being captured, the deer dancer is brought to the home of the girl and he and his parents are given a feast.[175] (LA) In return, they present the girl's family gifts of meat. At the dances, and especially the most recent Navajo shame dance (March 6, 1960), a mocking of the Navahos, there was a general feeling of festivity among the married and unmarried women of the pueblo. (LA)

A common game, shinny, held in February and March in the various pueblos is played like field hockey with a hockey stick and goal lines.[176] The game moves through the entire old section of the pueblo, with food and presents being distributed. The shinny ball, made by the summer cacique with corn offerings from each family in San Juan stuffed inside, is often carried inside a home "for luck."[177] (LA) The first part of a game, reported to the author, was played by both males and females; the second half by the women only,

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[175] The author, as a guest, can attest that the meal was quite savory and more than enough food was offered to him.

[176] E. C. Parsons gives an account of shinny, 230-231.

[177] The carrying of the shinny ball inside the house was also observed at Tesuque.

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A common game, ahkwy, held in February and March in the various pueblos is played like field hockey with a hockey stick and goal lines.[176] The game moves through the entire old section of the pueblo, with food and presents being distributed. The ahkwy ball, made by the current cacique with corn offerings from each family in San Juan stuffed inside, is often carried inside a house "for luck."[177] (LA) The first part of a game, reported to the author, was played by both males and females; the second half by the women only.

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[176] E. C. Parsons gives an account of ahkwy, 230-231.

[177] The carrying of the ahkwy ball inside the house was also observed at Taos.

with the goal posts set up. (LA) The unmarried women won, so the married women sponsored a dance. (LA) The next game would be intentionally lost by the unmarried girls so that they will be sponsors of the next dance. (LA)

Though there is active participation in religious affairs, reluctance is found among some of the people, especially the younger ones, who at times complain of the obligation placed upon them.[178] In a survey by Cata, a decline in the actual number of people involved in the dances was recognized and various reasons were given for this, such as "parents and officials" and "changing times."[179] These observations were made over two years ago. Now, the situation has been reversed. Within the past few months (winter-spring, 1960) a shift occurred towards increased participation in dances.[180] Many members of the pueblo have commented on the

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[178] Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 148. This holds true also in Tesuque pueblo where a young married woman complained to me that she had to participate in the corn dance held July, 1959. Adair, 82, states,"'Dancing doesn't have anything to do with rain,' one informant replied. He and other informants gave a scientific explanation that they have read in books or heard in school--and believed. These same veterans said that they took part in the dances to please their families and 'to keep gossip down.' Some, of course, enjoyed the feeling of group participation and recreation while others did not."

[179] Cata, 5.

[180] Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 148, found this trend a few years ago in Santa Clara pueblo and San Ildefonso pueblo, "Indeed, there has been a resurgence of dancing in these pueblos, and old dances which have not been performed for many years have been revived."

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growing desire to dance and the greater number of performers.[181] (KP, TS, LA, OS, LO, CN) A precedent was established on February 28, 1960, after the death of two young men in an automobile accident (drinking was a contributory cause), the deer dance was held nevertheless. (LA) In the past, whenever a death took place at the time of a scheduled dance, the dance was postponed. (LA, OS) Several adults remarked on this breach of custom. (OS, CM, LA, LO) The old custom indicates the significance of the individual and also the avoidance of "bad luck" associated with having people attend the dance with "heavy hearts of sorrow."[182] (LA) But this time the dance was executed (some close relatives, however, abstaining) after several days of deliberation and with the final agreement on omitting some of the sacred aspects of the ceremony. (LA)

The annual corn dance in July has not been held for several years. (LA) Instead, a Comanche dance or a Plains dance is held. The latter is a borrowed performance from the

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[181] Adair, 81, says: "In all likelihood there will continue to be other revivals of old customs, old ceremonies, etc., but still the disintegration will go on for it is becoming increasingly difficult for . . . the young men brought up in the modern schools, and who for some years may have lived away from the pueblo, to devote their lives to ritual and prayer. In the last century there were no alternatives facing these young priests. There was only one way of life and one system of values."

[182] Aitken, 372, comments: "In particular, a man who is responsible for a ceremony says, 'I have to be happy all the time from now to my dance.'"

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[181] Adair, 21, says: "In all likelihood these will continue to be other revivals of old customs, old ceremonies, etc., but still the disintegration will go on for it is inevitably irresistibly difficult for . . . the young Indian brought up in the modern schools, and who for some years may have lived away from the pueblo, to devote their lives to ritual and prayer. In the last century there were no alternative social ideas for young pueblos. There was only one way of life and one system of values."

[182] Aitken, 272, comments: "In most cultures, a man who is responsible for a ceremony says, 'I have to be busy all the time from now to my dance.'"

Plains Indians and is a recent innovation in the pueblo. (LA) An observer quickly notices that the male costumes lack the traditional Pueblo dance paraphernalia. The men are dressed in "Comanche" costumes or a fascimile -- commercially-dyed war bonnets with garish-colored loin cloths. Some costumes have beadwork and feather sprays commonly found in the Plains area. The women, however, are dressed in the typical female dance costume of the Pueblos, the black manta. One Pueblo man explained, "The Plains Indians have no women in their dances." (LA) Though many of the steps, arrangements and movements about the various plazas are similar to other Pueblo dances, the impression given to this researcher is a lack of pueblo authenticity. There also were three Anglo participants seen in the dancing. The above description may be an illustration of a shift from the religious function of the dances to an entertainment function. Where foot races have been discontinued, the Comanche dances fill a recreational need. The dances also have a commercial aspect: they draw a large tourist crowd and a charge is made for taking snapshots.[183]

Though the setting referred to is not in the pueblo,

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[183] Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 149, comments on this recreational aspect of the dances. "Finally there are an increasing number of dances which are purely secular and performed for entertainment."; Whitman, 430n., adds: "The Indians in San Ildefonso are extremely fond of dancing, and frequently dance for no good reason except sheer fun. They are very proud of doing the steps well and of having beautiful costumes." The shift from the emphasis on corn to the commercial or entertainment emphasis is a significant sign of change and accommodation in this Indian setting.

the following comment by an Indian may shed light on the costume use: "In giving tribal dances off the reservation, it is better to wear a headdress, otherwise you are considered 'phony'. People expect it and don't know any better."[184]

Within the little kiva, weekly social dances are reported to have been conducted. (LA) Now, they are not so prevalent though still done and even elderly people join and "have a good time." (LA) Another performance is the "round dance," whose primary function is entertainment, otherwise serving to acquaint the young people with each other. (LA) The form of the round dance is probably borrowed in part from the Great Basin tribes (Nevada-Utah area) and the Keresans.[185] The lyrics, however, are indigenous, "They're silly sounding. Some of them are love chants," reported one young Pueblo man. (LA) The only instrument used is the drum. Alternating, the boys and girls form a circle by holding each other's waists and facing inward. They shuffle around in a circle, stepping back and forth to the rhythm of the music. This is only one of several kinds of social dances done in the little kiva. (LA)

Not only do the young people enjoy these Indian dances, they are also adept in rock-and-roll jazz. Rather than dance the fox trot or waltz, they perform the gyrations associated with rock-and-roll, in a style similar to the bobbing and

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[184] Newsletter, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs, Santa Fe (July-August, 1959).

[185] Florence Hawley Ellis, personal communication, December, 1959.

the following comment by an Indian man quoted in the contemporary: "In dying tribal dances of the Reservation, it is better to wear a mackinaw, shirtwaist or otherwise conventional 'canny'. People expect it and don't mind any detriment."[184]

Within the little town, weekly social dances are reported to have been conducted. (IA) Yet, they are not as prevalent though still done and even elderly people join in and "have a good time." (IA) Another performance is the "round dance," whose primary function is entertainment, otherwise serving to acquaint the young people with each other. (IA) The term for the round dance is probably borrowed in part from the Great Basin tribes (Nevada-Utah area) and the Comanche.[185] The Lyrics, however, are indigenous. "They're silly sounding. Some of them are love songs," reported one young Pueblo man. (IA) The only instrument used is the drum. Alternating, the boys and girls form a circle by holding each other's waists and facing inward. They shuffle around in a circle, stepping back and forth to the rhythm of the music. This is only one of several kinds of social dances done in the little town. (IA)

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[184] Seminarian, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs, Santa Fe (Only-Journ, 1959).

[185] Pueblo Cross Reader Edit, Department of Communication, December, 1-5.

rocking method of Spanish-American young people. An attitude of emotional detachment is sustained while the young man guides his partner around the dance floor. Rock-and-roll dance bands are favored and on Saturday nights are featured in Española. Here, the Indian has direct contact with the Spanish-American youth and also often sees Spanish-American boys engaged in fights.[186] From this contact, cultural borrowing results. Thus, when observed in the pueblo, the Indian youth appear to have many of the surface manifestations of Spanish-American behavior. When the dancing is of Indian origin, however, the Spanish-American influence is non-existent. The boys are again Indians.[187]

To be a full member in a moiety, the child must go through three initiation rites. The first begins before the child is six months old. The two other rites are at the ages of 5 - 10 and 12 - 16 respectively.[188] (LA) In the first two initiations there are sacred water-sprinkling activities to bless the initiate and to provide protection and power.

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[186] At one such dance hall on a Saturday night the police of Española were seen by the author to be actively engaged in attempting to stop several fights that occurred among Spanish-American young men. Some Indian boys and girls from San Juan were also present.

[187] On this subject Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 149, relates, "The Indian theme is retained in this final category of dances [dances other than those designed for entertainment-author], for the songs and dance patterns reveal essentially Pueblo or pan-Indian elements."

[188] My respondent on this indicated that the age ranges are only approximated by him, that there is variation.

They take place in the cacique's house (the cacique of the father's moiety) and are performed by this cacique.[189] These two ceremonies are called "water giving" and "water pouring."[190] The second initiation, for boys only, permits a young man to have his own horse and hunt with his father, along with other privileges.[191] He also receives a miniature ceremonial bow and arrow. The ceremony is held every seven years and is conducted in four days of retreat in the big kiva. There, the boy eats only food that has not been salted. (LA)

In the second and third ceremonies each boy has a ceremonial father whose duty is to instruct the boy in the lore associated with initiation and to prepare him for the rites. In turn, the boy performs certain tasks for his ceremonial father, such as carrying wood and doing other chores. The relationship between ceremonial father and neophyte provides another bond in the community. It is lasting and extends the ties of the community, for the ceremonial father has a personal interest in the boy's later training. (LA)

The third and last initiation rite, called the "finishing", is the most important one for the child because he

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[189] One man added that not all the babies go through the first initiation today. (LA)

[190] Alfonso Ortiz, "Child Rearing and the Tewa," MS, Department of Sociology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, December, 1959, p. 7.

[191] Ibid.

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190 Alfonso Ortiz, "Child Rearing and the Tewa," MS, Department of Sociology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, December, 1959, p. 7.

191 Ibid.

then becomes a full member of the moiety.[192] Usually the initiation is held in conjunction with the annual raingod ceremony, one of the most meaningful ceremonies in San Juan[193] as it ushers in a new agricultural cycle. It has taken place every year (except 1950) since the end of World War II.[194] The initiation, however, may occur whenever the caciques feel it necessary -- the last one seven years ago. (LA) A few days before initiation the kiva is prepared; kachina masks are freshly painted and evergreens are brought in.[195] The boys and girls are ushered into the kiva, those of the summer moiety in the west rooms, those of the winter moiety in the south rooms. The boys are dressed in nothing but a loin cloth and the girls wear the black manta.[196] The masked kachina chief[197] enters, followed by the clown dancers, and

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[192] Ibid., 8. Conflicting information is given by Ortiz and Laski, 25-27. Also, E. C. Parsons has scanty data on this initiation rite, 151-153. Before any definitive statements are made there should be further investigation on the various initiations in San Juan. My data concentrated on Ortiz's report.

[193] Laski, 1.

[194] Ibid. Laski reported this in 1958.

[195] A reason given for the initiation being held just before a raingod ceremony is that it takes advantage of the newly renovated religious paraphernalia. (LA) The Tewa pattern is summed up by Dozier, "The Rio Grande Pueblos," 27. "Among the Tewa both men and women undergo initiation to validate moiety membership. Initiation ceremonials occur about every four years and the age of the initiates varies from six to ten, although an occasional adult changing moiety affiliation may also undergo the rite. The initiations are under various kinds of taboos and food restrictions."

[196] See p. 76.

[197] In this ceremony this kachina chief is used for both moieties. (LA)

then become a full-fledged [illegible]. [illegible] the initiation is held in conjunction with the [illegible] ceremony, one of the most elaborate [illegible] in the [illegible] as it adopts in a new [illegible] [illegible] every year (except 1950) since the [illegible] [illegible].

The initiation, however, may occur [illegible] if it is necessary -- the last one [illegible] seven years ago. [illegible] days before initiation the boys in [illegible] are freshly painted and [illegible] [illegible] boys and girls are ushered into the kiva. [illegible] society in the west [illegible] south room. The boys are dressed in [illegible] cloth and the girls wear the [illegible]. [illegible] Kachina chief[129] enters, followed by the clown [illegible], and

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[129] Ibid., 8. Conducting [illegible] and Lasaki, 25-27. Allen, [illegible]. Records [illegible] initiation rite, 151-152. Sections [illegible] are made there should be [illegible] initiations in San [illegible] [illegible] port.

[130] Lasaki, 1.

[131] Ibid., [illegible].

[132] A [illegible] before a [illegible] newly [illegible] term is [illegible] by Dorian. "[illegible] "Among the Tewa [illegible] date [illegible] every four years and the [illegible] to ten, although [illegible] tion may also [illegible] vations [illegible] [illegible].

[133] See n. [illegible].

[134] In [illegible] both [illegible]. (MA)

each initiate is brought before this formidable kachina by the boy's ceremonial father. Then, with a raw-hide whip the kachina strikes the back of the boy four times (the girls are simply tapped). While the whipping takes place, the clowns watch to see if the boy is brave, for he is not to show any emotion, especially must not cry. Then the girls are sent home, and the ceremony continues without them.

After all the girls have left, the kachina chief takes off his mask and mocks the boys for thinking that he was a god. There follows an atmosphere of mirth and joking, with the initiates joining in the fun.[198]

This final initiation grants many things heretofore taboo and denied to the boys. The entire ceremony takes from two to three hours. The next evening, the girls attend a puberty ceremony for their own final indoctrination into full adult status in the pueblo. (LA)

Ceremonial whipping serves as a device of social control, and is not limited to children but is extended to adult members of the pueblo. (LA) If a man is known to have performed poorly in his office, e.g., avoiding execution of tasks in a secular duty such as that of lieutenant governor, or dancing in a religious ceremonly while intoxicated, he is brought into the big kiva and whipped. (LA) Punishment of this type is carried out in San Juan under the dictates of

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[198] See pp. 55-56 for a discussion on the psychological impact of this ceremony.

son initiate is shown at before this, crawling in between the
the boy's ceremonial frames. Then, with a tremendous shout, the
leaders strike the back of the boy four times (the strokes are
simply taped). While the women chant, the initiate
waits to see if the boy is brave, for he is not to show any
emotion, especially not cry. Then the girls are back
home, and the ceremony continues without them.

After all the alone work is done, the medicine man takes
off his mask and moves the boys for taking them back to
God. There follows an atmosphere of mirth and laughing,
the initiates joining in the fun.[195]

This final initiation gives many things new status
taboo and denies to the boys. The entire ceremony takes from
two to three weeks. The last ceremony, the [illegible] a
puberty ceremony for girls, is a final initiation into
adult status in the community. (Ia)

Ceremonial weighing serves as a form of social cere-
trol, and is not limited to outsiders but [illegible] the
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or dancing in a religious ceremony, [illegible] [illegible]
brought into the big kiva and weighed. (Ia) [illegible]
this type is carried out in [illegible] [illegible]

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[195] See pp. 53-55 for a discussion of the psycholo-
cal impact of this ceremony.

the religious institution. (LA)

Catholicism is practiced in the pueblo.[199] Along with the first Spanish conquistadores, came the padres.[200] These men, of the Franciscan order,[201] had a difficult time converting the Indians to their European religion. The basic concepts of Christianity were alien to the pueblo setting. Original sin, the Trinity and dogma emanating from papal authority were incongruous to the everyday existence of the Indians.[202] Resistance developed to the degree that the padres had a hazardous task. With the garrisoned Spanish troops nearby, the missions were relatively safe,[203] but when the Spanish army was deployed elsewhere, many padres in the Southwest

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[199] White, 60, comments: "Are the Santa Ana Indians then Catholics? We would answer, 'No, they are not.' In spite of all the situations . . . in which the Indians behave as Catholics, and in spite of their flat assertion that they are Catholics, we have no hesitation in declaring that they are not." White, 61, later states: "They are willing to use some of the white man's magic as they are willing to use some of his tools and weapons." Whitman, 456, in his description of San Ildefonso, says: "But it would appear from observation that on the whole there is little interest in Catholicism." When asked about being a Catholic one young man answered me, "In San Juan we are not Catholics." He added that Catholicism is a foreign religion, a "white man's religion." Yet, whenever possible, this same man goes to mass every Sunday. (LA)

[200] George P. Hammond, Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico (Santa Fe: El Placio Press, 1927), pp. 1-9, 90-100.

[201] Edgar Lee Hewett and Reginald G. Fisher, Mission Monuments of New Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1943), 54-124.

[202] White, 67.

[203] Edward H. Spicer, "Indian Acculturation in the Southwest," American Anthropologist, LVI, No. 4 (August, 1954), p. 663.

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[202] White, 67.

[203] Edward H. Spicer, "Indian Acculturation in the Southwest," American Anthropologist, LVI, No. 4 (August, 1954), p. 663.

were killed.[204] But the missionaries persisted and three and a half centuries of determination have partially succeeded in some of the pueblos.

San Juan has a church, parish house, parochial school and chapel. Church services are attended regularly, mostly by women of the pueblo. Mass is said in Latin, the sermon in English. Funerals and weddings are conducted by the priest. The school is taught by four nuns.

In many of the homes of the pueblo, a niche in an adobe wall of the living room has an effigy placed in honor of Christ. Religious pictures as well as crucifixes are present.[205] From these household items and from church attendance it may be concluded that Catholicism is a prominent religious theme. Its influence is apparent also in the tribal dances. The Comanche dance at San Juan and the corn dance at Tesuque are preceded by a Catholic mass and a religious procession coming out of the church. In this procession is carried the santo of Saint John the Baptist, the patron saint of San Juan, which is placed in a shrine temporarily set up in one of the plazas. Along with the patron saint and other santos are robed altar boys and the priest, who walks under a canopy. Behind them come several of the townspeople dressed

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[204] See Hewett and Fisher, 243-244.

[205] Only very few of the homes visited by the author did not have an effigy. All, however, had the other religious items mentioned above.

in their "Sunday best."

The santos are put on an altar at the far end of the shrine amid lighted candles and flowers. The shrine's inner walls are covered with linen sheets on which religious pictures are fastened. The ceiling also is covered with linen sheets, and two blankets with frills are attached. Hanging from the blankets are handkerchiefs and colored Christmas tree balls. Along each side of the shrine sit San Juan Indians and visitors from other pueblos. A violin and guitar furnish music; the tunes are primarily Mexican folk melodies. While the dancers are performing Indian steps outside in the various plazas, visitors enter the shrine to kneel and pray. (At Tesuque pueblo, at the conclusion of the corn dance, the dancers visited the shrine, genuflected and crossed themselves.) Completing the ceremony is a procession back to the church to return the santos.

Witchcraft is still a recognized phenomenon as strong fears exist about witches and sorcerers.[206] This concept comes in part from prehistoric Indian times;[207] and some of

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[206] Whiting, 456, says about San Ildefonso: "Everyone believes in witchcraft, and women and children in particular are afraid to go out at night for fear of witches. Any event that seems in any way peculiar is always attributed to a witch or witches. The people are continually suspecting each other, particularly those whose conduct is not impeccably pueblo, and will occasionally level specific charges of sorcery against someone they fear or dislike." He adds, 456n., "White [Anglo - author] people are not witches, but Mexicans are sometimes said to be."

[207] Watson Smith and John M. Roberts, Zuñi Law: A Field of Values ("Peabody Museum Papers," Vol. XLIII, No. 1, Cambridge: Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1954), p. 39.

in their "Sunday best."

The *santos* are set on an altar at the far end of the sanctuary and lighted candles and flowers. The sanctuary's inner walls are covered with linen sheets on which religious pictures are fastened. The ceiling also is covered with linen sheets, and two blankets with frills are attached. Hanging from the blankets are handkerchiefs and colored Christmas tree balls. Along each side of the sanctuary sit San Juan Indians and visitors from other pueblos. A violin and guitar furnish music; the tunes are primarily Mexican folk melodies. While the dancers are performing Indian steps outside in the various dances, visitors enter the sanctuary to kneel and pray. (At Tesuque pueblo, at the celebration of the corn dances, the dancers visited the sanctuary, genuflected and crossed themselves.) Concluding the ceremony is a procession back to the church to return the *santos*.

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[207] Watson Smith and John M. Roberts, *Zuni Law: A Field of Values* ("Peabody Museum Papers," Vol. XLIII, No. 1; Cambridge: Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1954), p. 102.

the minor themes have European origins.[208] The placing of a coral bracelet on the newborn baby's wrist to protect it from malevolent forces has developed from a European practice.[209] Fear of the dead is common.[210] The owl is an especially feared object, its presence an evil omen.[211] Witches are conceived to be omnipresent and to have power to control the actions of others.[212] If a person exhibits strange habits (not in conformity with the rest of the pueblo) he may become under suspicion.[213] A man in his middle thirties, unmarried and living alone, was charged, to his face, by a drunken friend with being a witch. The accused laughed it off by agreeing. No consequences as of yet have come of this incident. (LA)

Though many worship in the Catholic church and possess votive objects, they have deep ties with the traditional religion of the pueblo.[214] The two religions have blended

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[208] Whitman, 417-418.

[209] Florence Hawley Ellis, personal communication, December, 1959. See p. 49.

[210] Several persons refused to touch the bones of their ancestors. Three young people (two of them college students), on separate occasions, commented to me of their apprehensions about the human bones excavated during the archaeological diggings. (OL, LA, MK)

[211] Whitman, 418.

[212] See pp. 18-19.

[213] Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 50.

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but the dominant hue still belongs to the Indian belief patterns.[215] The sphere of influence of the two religions varies. As White says:

> The Santa Ana Indians do not belong to the Roman Catholic church; rather, they have accepted and adopted bits of Catholic ideology, ritual, and paraphernalia, and these bits belong to them.[216]

He adds in a footnote that his observations probably apply to all other pueblos who call themselves Catholics.[217]

With Spanish contact the formalization of an office to deal with Indians was utilized,[218] but its significance in the everyday existence was yet to come.[219] However, weak as the governor was in colonial times, his influence is today recognized as a secular power within the community. As White says:

> The governor has no functions pertaining to native Indian religion or sacred custom; his duties are wholly secular. The governor's functions may be divided into

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(Con't.) Present conditions threaten this area of Pueblo societies, but they have not . . . actually affected reorganization." Dozier, ibid., 156.

215 ". . . that the spiritual values of Catholicism were but imperfectly internalized, if not at all. . . . Pueblo values remain essentially aboriginal; indeed to this day Pueblo Indians differ most profoundly from their white [Anglo] neighbors in this area of their culture." Dozier, ibid., 103.

216 White, 60.

217 Ibid.

218 White, 95.

219 See pages 36-37 on discussion of the formation of the governor's office.

> two categories: 1. He is the principal go-between between the pueblo and the (non-Indian) outside world; and 2. He has charge of various domestic affairs within the pueblo. The present writer believes that the importance of the second category has been on the increase during the past few decades.[220]

The tribal council is the secular governing body in the pueblo and has charge of the non-religious leadership of the people.[221] This group is composed of the governor, the first lieutenant governor, the second lieutenant governor, former governors and the sheriff and his assistants. (TP, TS, LA, JU)

Each year a new governor is appointed. The cacique of one of the moieties appoints the governor while the cacique of the other moiety appoints the first lieutenant governor. And so down the political power structure, these two caciques alternate in appointing the members of the tribal council. (LA) The following year, the other cacique has the duty of appointing the governor (last appointed, for 1960, by the summer moiety cacique). The cacique may receive advice on prospective candidates; however, the final decision is made by him. (LA, TS) A ceremony accompanies the appointment of the governor and includes the handing over of the much-revered Lincoln cane by the retiring governor to the newly appointed one. Lincoln, while President, sent canes to all

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[220] White, 106.

[221] White, 182. For a description of the secular structure of San Juan thirty years ago see E. C. Parsons, 102-105.

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[220] White, 106.

[221] White, 162. For a description of the secular structure of San Juan thirty years ago see K. C. Parsons, 102-105.

the pueblo governors. The modern ceremony was reported to be a short one, taking place in the home of the retiring governor.[222] (LA)

The status of the governor is not a creation coming from prehistoric times, but was conceived by the Spanish administration.[223] It was intended for him to act as a middleman between the two culture systems.[224] This was an artificial creation (patterned after Western systems of policital control); the Indians did not have such a separate system of political power, for custom and tradition already had set up controlling mechanisms within the structure of the aboriginal society. However, since the Spanish were militarily stronger, and could bring harsh coercive measures upon the Pueblo people, the office of governor was incorporated into the society. Here was the inception of a separate political institution.

Since the governorship was not a traditional office but was imposed upon the people as a power position of leadership in a society where leadership was acceptable only along prescribed lines, the symbol of the governor today is not completely positive in the eyes of the people of San

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[222] E. C. Parsons, 103, describes the more elaborate ritual that took place in San Juan thirty-years ago.

[223] White, 95.

[224] Ibid. White continues that the Spanish also established an ecclesiastical group of Indian officials to be associated with the Roman Catholic church. Today, these men are called the fiscales.

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Juan.[225] (OL, CH, TS, LA, KT) He is called upon to be a leader where defined limites of leadership already exist. He is a symbol of change where change is resisted. He is viewed as a threat to the strength of the religious system.[226] Thus, though the governor and his assistants have authority over many of the secular aspects of the community, the real power remains vested with the moiety caciques who, on many important matters, have the final word.[227] The summer cacique also holds the position as village chief and is endowed with the tutelege of the pueblo's secular affairs. (LA)

The shift is noticeably occurring, however, toward stronger leadership on the part of the governor. This trend is not confined to San Juan pueblo but extends to other New Mexican pueblos.[228] Younger men are being selected for the

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[225] Criticism of the tribal government runs high in the pueblo. Cata, 5, 8, found in his survey that 82.81% of his respondents believed that the pueblo needs a new system of government.

[226] Adair, 91, reports of the rise of the power of the governor, "In summary, we find that the strengthening of the civil government represents the rise of a new power system, i.e., there is going on a separation of church and state."

[227] On the pueblos of the Rio Grande, Dozier, 147, says: "Nevertheless membership in the ceremonial societies has declined and there has been a definite weakening in the influence of traditional leaders. At the present time sufficient members remain in the crucial medicine and moiety societies charged with ceremonial and governmental functions to keep the majority of the pueblos operating the same way."

[228] Adair, 91, comments on the change from sacred to secular control at Zuñi and the Rio Grande area. ". . . rapid economic growth which has taken place at Zuñi and the concomitant change in the power systems from theocratic to secular control over village affairs. The latter has lagged behind economic change."

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job, especially those adept at speaking English and experienced in dealing with people of the outside world.[229] In San Juan, the new governor is a former Army Air Corps radio operator and mechanic. He is a middle-aged man who has had considerable contact with Anglo society. He replaces a highly traditional man (who even wears long braids). The new governor plans to create an advisory board of younger, educated men in the pueblo to assist him. (CH, LA, KP) Before accepting the office he demanded a free hand to carry out his program, which included stronger control of the pueblo's finances. (LA) A sign of the new governor's power in decision-making was evident when the summer cacique was approached on the possible transfer of the pueblo-own trading post to another man. The cacique referred the matter to the governor. (LA)

Figure 4 is a postulated diagram of San Juan's legal system and the various factors that influence this system. Many of the factors come from the traditional matrix of the community. Some of these traditions have been influenced by contacts with the Spaniards and by association with Anglo-Americans. Other traditions, however, have retained much of their ancient religious nature and still influence the native religious system and the kinship-moiety structure of the community.

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[229] "Pueblos' Trend to Elect Young Candidates Noted," Albuquerque Journal, December 30, 1959, p. 13.

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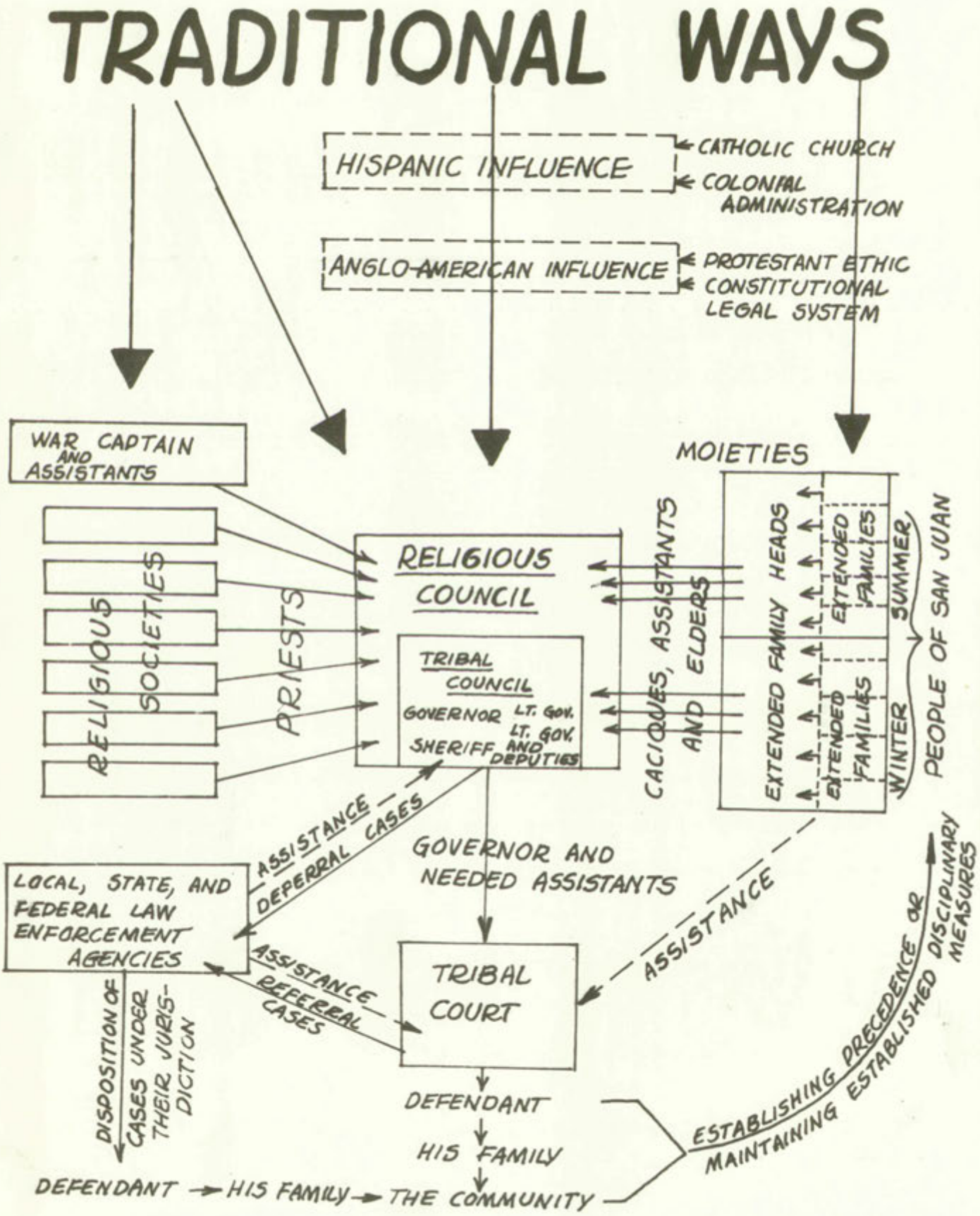

Fig. 4. POSTULATED FACTORS INFLUENCING SAN JUAN'S LEGAL SYSTEM

The religious society leaders, war captain, moiety caciques, and elders form the religious council. This council is the highest authority in the pueblo. Besides acting as advisors, different individuals in this group have various responsibilities. For example, the war captain assured order during ceremonials, the hunt priest conducts rituals associated with the deer dance, and the moiety caciques alternate the primary spiritual leadership of the pueblo.

Many of the secular duties of this council have been delegated to the tribal council which is directed by the appointed governor. One of the governor's obligations is to maintain the protection of his people and, with the aid of the sheriff, he directs law enforcement.[230]

The tribal court is set up by the governor to adjudicate complaints brought before it.[231] Depending upon the

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[230] Generally, the apprehension of minor violators is not rigidly controlled. (CH, TP, LA, WH) One of the reasons why the violators are not caught is that the sheriff is often not present in the pueblo. Like the other members of the tribal council, he is not paid for his duty, so must have a job elsewhere. (CA, LA, TS, TP) The last three sheriffs' occupations were outside the pueblo and absorbed their daytime hours, leaving little time to devote to the protection of the pueblo. (CA, LA) "Long Range Plan...," United Pueblos Agency, 32, "They [the people of San Juan] are without facilities or funds to carry on a good and alert law and order program. Their tribal officers have little or no control over the conduct of their people in law and order matters. They have reached a stage where the officers do not command the respect necessary to keep good order. When it comes to making decisions in such matters they find themselves divided and cannot reach decisions."

[231] Lange, 225, describes the contemporary court at Cochiti: "Accusations are still presented to the governor,

severity of the case, its implications to the community, and precedents, various individuals are included in the proceedings. The tribal council may be represented, witnesses from the community may be drafted, and people from outisde agencies may be utilized.[232] If the crime warrants handling by outside agencies, the defendant is transferred to their jurisdiction.[233]

The disposition of the defendant has repercussions in the community: what happens to him in turn affects the pueblo's conception of deviant behavior and the control of this behavior.

Social Stratification.[234] San Juan's transitional society

(Con't.) who investigates as best he can and makes a decision on the basis of precedent. If this is not feasible, he convenes a court including his lieutenant and some or all of the other council members. . . .Witnesses, as well as the accuser and the accused, are questioned. After exhausting the evidence, the merits of the two sides are discussed, and a desicion is reached. The governor announces this decision." Lange also describes the forms of punishment as monetary fines, community labor or lashes from a whip kept by the governor.

[232] Interview with Delos Botone, Special Officer in Charge, Branch of Law and Order, United Pueblos Agency, Santa Fe, New Mexico, May 21, 1960.

[233] Ibid.

[234] The statements under this heading are a result of the author's evaluation of San Juan's social system and indicate what he believes to be a new trend in the organization of the community. These statements are developed from the data presented in the present chapter and from personal observations. The analysis is included here to point out the emerging stratification, also to suggest a possible area for future investigation.

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[235] One of Warner's methods is to measure socio-economic symbols to ascertain social class hierarchies in various United States communities. His Index of Status Characteristics (I.S.C.) measures occupation, house type, dwelling area and source of income. W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949). This method of ranking by the researcher differs from the technique of Centers, who relies on members of a community to identify their own social class positions. Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949). An interesting application of both methods is made by Haer with three cities (Los Angeles, Spokane and Tallahassee). He finds differences in stratification among them, and significant agreement of social class ranking between the methods of Warner and Centers. John L. Haer, "A Comparative Study of the Classification Techniques of Warner and Centers," American Sociological Review, XX (Demember, 1955), 689-692. The present writer considers Warner's. I.S.C. approach more appropriate in the San Juan situation because: a) there is a reluctance on the part of these Indians to rank their neighbors and themselves, b) socio-economic stratification in San Juan is in its beginning stages, therefore the members of this community cannot evaluate status positions. One respondent remarked, "The concept of classes with many of them is still vague." (LA)

[236] Wormington, 76, describes the "Great Pueblo Period" (circa 1050 A.D.-1300 A.D.), the time "when this culture reached the pinncale of its development." H. M. Wormington, Prehistoric People of the Southwest (Denver: The Colorado Museum of Natural History, 1947), p. 76. Wormington, 78, comments on the forms of government of that period. "As the size of the group increases and life become increasingly complex, some centralization of power is inevitable. . . . With greater cooperation, leisure is likely to increase, although sometimes this greater freedom is limited to a ruling caste which makes great demands on the time of other individuals. This does not appear to have been the case among the ancient Pueblo people as they seem to have had an essentially democratic form of government. . . . Often a priestly caste will arise which, as

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How then should the emerging classes in San Juan be analyzed? Where can the people be grouped? To the observer the system still seems vaguely defined, especially with the still-active orientations toward community life as a whole and the values of subjugation of personal accomplishment to the accomplishment of the community. Yet one perceives, in the light of Anglo and Spanish-American areas surrounding the pueblo, a tendency toward stratification and a recognition of it.[237] Today, new orientations for material self-improvement are emerging, necessitating comparison with one's own neighbors. This individualization has been developing especially with the availability of wage earnings outside the community and the shifting from farming to other enterprises.

It should not be forgotten that strong pressures remain for conformity and against excessive individualization. One elderly respondent, remarking that he was quite wealthy, elaborated on a long personal history of accomplishments and "deals," some of which were opportunistic. (ML) He added,

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So there are pressures to minimize the collection of personal riches. For San Juan community, the class system appears to be vaguely defined and still has a small range according to wealth. The greatest tendency centers on the lower classes, and the pueblo itself has the appearance of a low-class community with some individuals reaching into the middle classes.[238] The impact of a class system, as presently manifested, is not as important as other systems in the community. However, the trend toward stratification and recognition of personal wealth as a sign of class membership is developing, particularly among the younger members of San Juan.[239] (CH, CA, OL, MK)

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Institutional Change and the Individual. The shift in power and influence of institutions may be represented by the illustration below. It merely is suggestive of trends as a result of change and should not be taken as having accurate quantitative values.

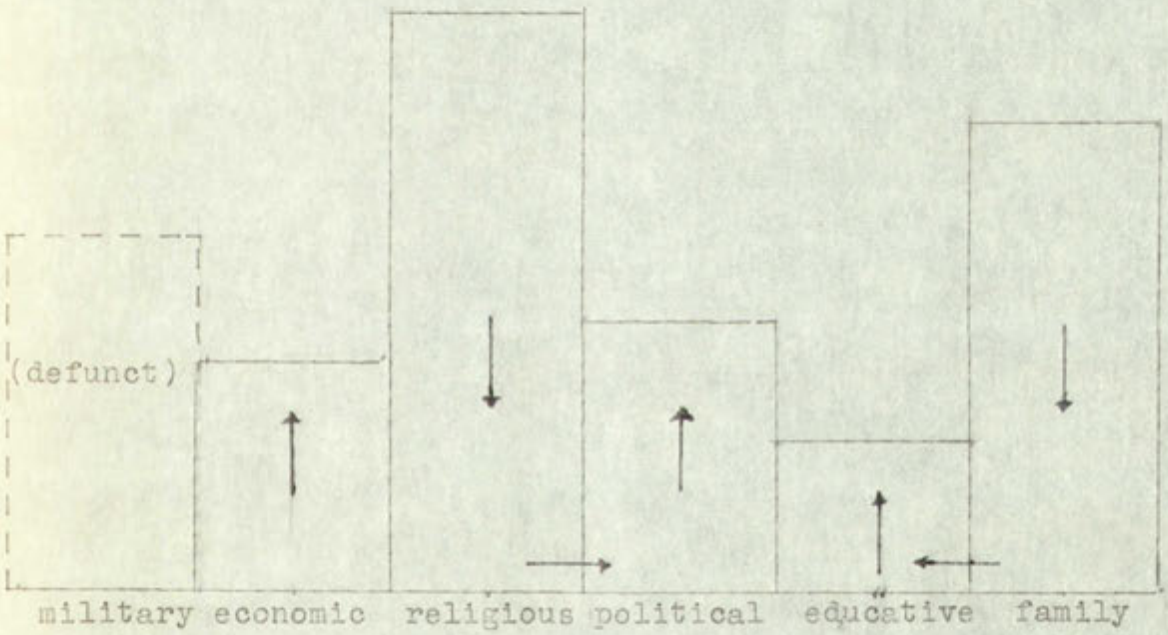

Fig. 5. Tewa Institutional Trends

An interesting paradox has emerged: increasing self-awareness and a growing desire for personal advancement over the demands of community conformity, yet, at the same time, a greater need for community projects to aid in the adjustment

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(Con't.) developing with the men who work at Los Alamos. He added that not only do the men seem to associate with each other but their families spend evenings together. (LA) See page 21 for Adair's comments on the change in social relations because of working for wages in Zuñi pueblo.

of acculturation strains that have developed out of the new competitive markets.

This writer suggests that in San Juan the strain of cultural conflicts on the individual psyche is more direct than the "typical" Anglo situation. Instead of passing through a long vertical series of group and associational memberships, the conflict of cultural strain is more immediate and less obstructed when it reaches the individual Indian. This influence of culture conflicts is, of course, modified by institutional patterns, which on their own accord reflect societal attempts at readjustment to the disequilibrium. However, because of the less complex institutional and societal structure, the Indian feels the conflict more directly. Groups can and do act as buffers to cushion the impact of change. If a particular group does not offer adjustment patterns that the Indian desires, he has, within limitations, other collectivities available to satisfy his needs. Yet within less complex societies, group alternatives are fewer, so that in the face of radical change the Indian must depend on the resources of the groups to which he already belongs, more so than the Anglo confronted with similar difficulties.

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group life, he has no alternative but to fall back on his personal resources in the cultural conflicts forced upon him. Lacking supportive institutions, the Indian is without proper societal solutions to his problems. He is obliged to rely on individual psychological mechanisms of adjustment. The Anglo's greater variety of solutions provided in a social frame of reference lessens his final dependence on individual resources. Here, then, is a fundamental difference between the Amerindian and the Anglo-American today.

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CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this investigation was the analysis of social change and its effects upon an Indian pueblo. Where the changes took place depended on a multiplicity of factors connected with the pueblo's past, its economy and its institutional structures.

Scope of the Undertaking. San Juan is a community with fewer than 900 people. Though most of the residents are Indians, Spanish-American and Anglo-American families also live there. This small community offers certain advantages to the investigator, for he can observe the pueblo is its entirety and at the same time become acquainted with its various parts; he can gain an overall picture of an Indian pueblo, including its institutional patterns. Yet there is a disadvantage associated with close contact with a community. This is the loss of objectivity in the course of participant observation by being drawn into the mesh of community life.[1]

Since this study is an analysis of a contemporary American Indian pueblo in transition, many of San Juan's problems are similar to those of other Indian pueblos in the Southwest. Where a similarity of conditions exists,

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Social Change and the Community. The preceding pages attempted to give insight into contemporary Pueblo life against a background of the older traditional pattern, and to describe areas of social strain and the impact of various forces on the structure of an Indian community. The effects of contact with neighboring Spanish-American and Anglo-American societies are interpreted from the dynamics of change in institutional patterns. These changes have altered the roles, statuses and values of the members of this pueblo.

San Juan is a farming community thirty-two miles north of New Mexico's capital, Santa Fe. Its heritage includes the cultivation of corn and the growth of a predominantly agricultural society. The people have been sedentary for generations, their survival largely dependent upon the success of their crops. It is assumed that their concepts of life developed out of such an existence, conditions which demanded close cooperation and the maintenance of a stable community. Researchers in archaeology believe that religious personages became important functionaries in assuring a balance between man and nature. In order to keep the balance, these investigators assume that the priests dealt not only with the supernatural but also with the people of the community. Thus, it is considered that the traditional roles

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of the priests were thereby established.

From birth, the Pueblo people were trained, first in the home, then in the religious societies, to be functioning members of the community. It is believed that the need for social cohesiveness orientated the roles of the people towards the good of the community; it subjugated individuality to co-operation, personal rights to community rights. This orientation, even in the face of numerous external forces through the centuries, is thought to remain dominant.

New concepts have entered the structure of the community, altering the traditional matrix. When the Spaniard came and conquered, it is believed that he influenced the Indian in two directions. First, the impact of the administrations created perserverant adherence to traditional patterns and a reluctance of the society to permit outside forces to change it. Second, the conquerors introduced change. They created a secular governing body, which placed the governor in charge of the tribal council. Also, they introduced new religious concepts by bringing in Catholicism. They gave the people new foods and cattle and brought in the horse. The horse radically transformed the culture of the Plains Indians by permitting them to be more mobile, thereby bringing them into contact with the Pueblo people.

Following these Hispanic contacts came the Anglo-American settlers. New religions and political concepts were introduced by these men along with new notions about

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self-determinism, individual freedom and secular authority.

Today, the Indian is placed in economic competition with his Spanish-American and Anglo-American neighbors. Native technology does not produce all his material needs, so he must sell his farm produce and crafts to purchase needed staples. Wage earning is more lucrative than farming, so the men are now seeking paying jobs. With more money, material products can be purchased and more wealth accumulated. In this way, some of the Indian families are becoming richer than others.

Wage earning in an outside community draws the man away from his family. The family's situation is changing and one reason is the male's new outside orientations. Another change in the function of the family -- and important in the socialization process -- has to do with the children being educated by federal and local schools. In addition to further contact with Spanish-Americans and Anglo-Americans, concepts of competition, grades and individual achievement are associated with these schools. While the children still participate in religious initiations, are instructed in the sacred lore of the Indian and attend ceremonies, they are also developing new interests in the world about them.

Native religion, despite the inroads of Catholicism, remains a strong force, but the native religious leaders are losing some of their authority. The native religious system, stemming from an agrarian existence, has not developed

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sufficient sacred substitutes in the changing technology and economy of the community to maintain its former leadership.

The leadership of the pueblo is shifting to the secular governor and his aides. In Spanish colonial times, the governor acted as an intermediary between the Spanish administration and the Pueblo community. Now, more responsibility is being vested in the governor to handle internal secular matters. His emerging power, however, is not completely accepted by all of the tribal members.[2]

The changing power relationships are producing conflicts between adherence to old traditions and the support of the new mores. These conflicts influence the individual Indian and his society.

Perspective of Time. San Juan pueblo is at one point along the continuum of change. In the past, stresses have come and adjustments have been made. In over 350 years of contact with the Western world, the pueblo has maintained its Indian heritage and persisted in perpetuating its traditions. The increase in participation with other cultures has produced changes in its social system but these changes have not yet terminated the native culture. However, if contemporary trends continue, assimilation is likely to occur eventually. As this assimilation is reached, the

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[2] Dozier, "Rio Grande Poeblos," 147, adds: "Doubts about the efficacy of the old system in a modern setting and the rise of 'conservative' and 'progressive' factions provide conditions for a shift from the old to the new."

sufficient sacred substitutes in the changing technology and economy of the community to maintain its former leadership.

The leadership of the pueblo is shifting to the secular governor and his aides. In Spanish colonial times, the governor acted as an intermediary between the Spanish administration and the Pueblo community. Now, more responsibility is being vested in the governor to handle internal secular matters. His emerging power, however, is not completely accepted by all of the tribal members.[2]

The changing power relationships are producing conflicts between adherence to old traditions and the support of the new mores. These conflicts influence the individual Indian and his society.

Perspective of Time. San Juan pueblo is at one point along the continuum of change. In the past, stresses have come and adjustments have been made. In over 350 years of contact with the Western world, the pueblo has maintained its Indian heritage and participated in perpetuating its traditions. The increase in participation with other cultures has produced changes in its social system but these changes have not yet terminated the native culture. However, if contemporary trends continue, assimilation is likely to occur eventually. As this assimilation is reached, the

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[2] Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 187, added: "Doubts about the efficacy of the old system in a modern society and the rise of 'conservative' and 'progressive' factions provide conditions for a shift from tribal to the new."

old religious institutions and tribal customs will become folklore. But assimilation will probably not take place in a single generation or even in several generations. San Juan today is still an Indian community and retains its ethnic distinctiveness.

All societies are faced with stresses produced by change. San Juan pueblo is not alone in this respect. Yet, the specific problems of San Juan are unique because of its particular situation.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

TABLE X

STATEMENT OF INCOME, 1938[1]

Farm Crops	$ 5,709
Livestock and Produce	1,495
Outside Labor	26,808
Arts and Crafts	1,801
Other Native Industries	412
Direct Relief	385
TOTAL	$36,610

[1] S. D. Aberle, J. H. Watkins and E. H. Pitney, "The Vital History of San Juan Pueblo," Human Biology, XII, No. 2 (May, 1940), pp. 141-157. Although this table was constructed 20 years ago even then outside labor provided the greatest amount of income for the people of San Juan. Subsequent data on the above categories were inadequate and unreliable and therefore were not included in this thesis.

Appendix A

TABLE X

STATEMENT OF INCOME, 1938[1]

Farm Crops	$ 5,729
Livestock and Produce.	1,495
Outside Labor.	26,908
Arts and Crafts.	1,801
Other Native Industries.	412
Direct Relief.	585
TOTAL	$36,610

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[1] S. D. Adams, J. R. Watkins and K. H. Pitney, "The Vital History of San Juan Pueblo," Human Biology, XII, No. 2 (May, 1940), pp. 141-157. Although this table was constructed 20 years ago even then outside labor provided the greatest amount of income for the people of San Juan. Subsequent data on the above categories were inadequate and unreliable and therefore were not included in this table.

Appendix B

TABLE XI

OCCUPATIONS OF SAN JUAN INDIANS
DIVIDED INTO THREE AGE GROUPS[1]

Group I 17-25 years

Occupation	No.
Housewife	3
Nurse	1
Civil Service (Matron)	1
House Work	1
College Student	2
High School Student	10
Baker	1
Graduate Student	1
Total	20

Group II 26-34 years

Occupation	No.
Silversmith	1
Housewife	2
Employment Interviewer	1
Housekeeper	1
Baker (Assistant)	1
Store Clerk	1
Surgical Nurse	1
Dormitory Attendent	1
Construction Work	1
Cafeteria	1
Mechanic (Assistant)	1
Unemployed	1
Nurse's Aid	1
No Answer	2
Total	16

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[1] Cata, 16. The categories listed above are Cata's and are a result of a survey that he conducted in the pueblo in November, 1958. A total of 64 individuals were interviewed.

Appendix B

TABLE XI

OCCUPATIONS OF SAN JUAN INDIANS
DIVIDED INTO THREE AGE GROUPS

Group I 17-25 years

Occupation	No.
Housewife	[illegible]
Nurse	[illegible]
Civil Service (Matron)	[illegible]
Ranch Work	[illegible]
College Student	[illegible]
High School Student	[illegible]
Baker	[illegible]
Graduate Student	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]

Group II 26-34 years

Occupation	No.
Riverwatch	[illegible]
Housewife	[illegible]
Employment Interviewer	[illegible]
Homekeeper	[illegible]
Baker (Assistant)	[illegible]
Store Clerk	[illegible]
Surgical Nurse	[illegible]
Dormitory Attendant	[illegible]
Construction Work	[illegible]
Cafeteria	[illegible]
Radio (Assistant)	[illegible]
Unemployed	[illegible]
Nurse's Aid	[illegible]
No Answer	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]

[illegible]

Cain, Ia. The organization [illegible] and are a result of a survey that the [illegible] in November, 1955. A total of [illegible] viewed.

TABLE XI - Continued

Group III 35-69 years

Occupation	No.
Truck Driver	1
Domestic (House Maid)	1
Housewife	5
Janitor	2
Hospital Maid	1
Farmer	3
Station Attendant (Service)	1
Security Inspector	1
Construction (Labor)	1
Cook	1
Maintenance and Repair	1
Teacher (Art)	1
Plumber, General	1
Yard Work	1
Unemployed	1
Supervisor	1
Employment Interviewer	1
Store Merchant	1
Baker	1
No Answer	2
Total	28

TABLE XI - Continued

Group III 35-39 years

Occupation	No.
Truck Driver	1
Domestic (House Maid)	1
Housewife	2
Janitor	1
Hospital Maid	3
Farmer	1
Station Attendant (Service)	1
Security Inspector	1
Construction (Labor)	1
Cook	1
Maintenance and Repair	1
Teacher (Arts)	1
Plumber, General	1
Yard Work	1
Unemployed	1
Supervisor	1
Employment Interviewer	1
Store Merchant	1
Baker	1
No Answer	1
Total	20

Appendix C

The History and Prehistory of San Juan

Where did these people originate and what in the past has influenced the present-day culture? A brief résumé of the historical and pre-historical past will be reviewed in order to understand the current cultural complex and to analyze the value of contemporary social systems. There is a growing recognition of the importance of ethnohistory in the field of social science today.[1] Also, it cannot be denied that archaeological discoveries play important roles in contemporary analyses, as it is almost impossible to avoid the intercontributions of the three levels of approach: psychology, sociology and anthropology. Each field, in its own right (with definable boundaries), should be considered, the selection of the discipline being conditioned by the particular problem of the research.

It is not known precisely when man first migrated to the New World, but there is general agreement that he traveled from Asia through the Bering Straits and into Alaska.[2] The

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[1] Robert C. Euler, "Southern Piaute Ethnohistory: A Tri-Chronic Study in Culture Change, Informant Reliability and Validity," Henry B. Nicholson, "Ethnohistory as a Special Field of Study in the New World Anthropology." Discussions following these papers included these people: Melville J. Herskovits and Margaret Mead. Fifty-Eighth Annual Meeting of The American Anthropological Association in Mexico City, December 30, 1959.

[2] Paul S. Martin, Digging into History (Chicago: Chicago Natural History Press, 1959), pp. 7-11; H. M. Wormington, Ancient Man in North America (Denver: Denver Museum of Natural History, 1957), pp. 249-260.

first men were hunters and food gatherers, who wandered southward and utilized the natural harvest of the land, hunting mastodon, mammoth, giant ground sloth, musk-ox, and giant bison.[3] These animals became extinct. With the changing climate, man was forced either to change his habits or to move. He did both, migrating as far as the southern tip of South America.[4]

In the American Southwest the gatherers and hunters were faced with a progressive drying up of the land. This made natural gathering more difficult and by some prehistoric occurrence a species of wild grass was converted to maize, or corn. This revolutionary innovation was thought to have begun farther south over 5,000 years ago, its technique carried up into the Southwest and used by the "Cochise" people.[5]

Corn, having these early beginnings, was to become the main theme of later Pueblo peoples, a theme which meant not only survival but also a dominant motif in their religious and social life. Fertility provided life for the corn; rainwater assured its success and the success of the people. Today, these three items, corn, fertility and rain, are still

---

[3] The exact dates of the first man in the New World are not known. The earliest culture that there is any information about is the Sandia, whose site is in the Sandia mountains of New Mexico and the date is in excess of 20,000 years ago, Wormington, Ancient Man. . . , 85-91, 253.

[4] Reports on radiocarbon dates from the Patagonia indicates that man had reached this area some 8,000 years ago, ibid., 257.

[5] Martin, 14, 49, 142.

first men were hunters and food gatherers, who wandered southward and utilized the natural harvest of the land, hunting mastodon, mammoth, giant ground sloth, musk-ox, and giant bison.[3] These animals became extinct. With the changing climate, man was forced either to change his habits or to move. He did both, migrating as far as the southern tip of South America.[4]

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[4] Reports of radiocarbon dates from the Patagonia indicates that man had reached this area some 8,000 years ago. Ibid., 252.

[5] Martin, Id., 49, 142.

imbedded in Pueblo cultures though their importance is losing footing with the advances of modern technology. Some of the younger members no longer respect the ceremonial importance dedicated to corn and rain. They are reluctant to participate in these religious affairs, which to them have no truthful meaning. But several attend the meetings and dance in the plazas for fear of cummunity censure or punitive actions.[6]

Nevertheless, thousands of years ago, corn gained in importance and the people of the Cochise culture added this food to their usual gathering and hunting enterprises. As corn became the main food, new foods were added to the cultural inventory of a people, who, about the time of Christ, were called the "Mogollon."[7]

> Cochise and Mogollon cultures may be regarded as a more or less single and continuous development. There is no break in our story at all, but there is a transition. To restate briefly: the Mogollon civilization is Cochise plus farming, pit-houses, pottery, a few new types of stone tools and other additions. . . .[8]

These Mogollon people inhabited an area that is now west-central New Mexico and east-central Arizona.[9]

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[6] John Adair, "People of the Middle Place: A Study of the Zuñi Indians," MS, n.d., p. 82.

[7] Martin, 14-16; H. M. Wormington, Prehistoric Indians of the Southwest (Denver: The Colorado Museum of Natural History, 1947), pp. 148-162; Joe Ben Wheat, "Mogollon Culture Prior to A.D. 1000," Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology, No. 10 (April, 1955).

[8] Martin, 15.

[9] Another development from the Cochise were the Hohokam. These Indians lived farther west of the Mogollon along the

Farther to the north were a people called the "Anasazi". They are believed to have come from the Great Basin area (the Intermontane area reaching from Oregon and Idaho southward through Nevada, Utah and into parts of California, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico.)[10] Sometime around or before 1 A.D. these people primarily roamed in the area drained by the San Juan River, which flows through the "four corners" country (where the states of Colorado, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico meet).[11] The earliest of these people were designated "Basketmakers" because of their skillfully woven and intricately designed baskets.[12]

With the addition of beans and improved varieties of corn and squash around 600 A.D., a greater dependence on a sedentary agricultural life developed and pithouses evolved

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(Con't.) Gila and Salt Rivers and their tributaries in the southern half of Arizona. See: Martin, 20-23, and Wormington, Prehistoric Indians. . . , 118-147.

[10] Martin, 18-20; Wheat, 205, adds: "We do not know the origin of the Anasazi, although it is not unlikely that they represent an eastern extension of early Great Basin hunters and gatherers. Since the Cochise appear also to have moved out of the Great Basin at a somewhat earlier date, certain generalized trait resemblances may reflect a very early relationship between these groups. This separation appears to have taken place at a fairly remote time and to have been almost, if not entirely complete." Wheat continues, 207-208, by saying that agriculture, architecture and pottery-making developed much earlier with the Cochise-Mogollon than with the Anasazi (about 2,000 years earlier for agriculture, 600-700 years earlier for architecture and 500 years earlier for pottery-making).

[11] Wormington, Prehistoric Indians. . . , 27.

[12] Ibid., 27-47.

Farther to the north were a people called the "Anasazi". They are believed to have come from the Great Basin area (the Intermontane area reaching from Oregon and Idaho southward through Nevada, Utah and into parts of California, Colorado, Arizona and Mexico.)[10] Sometime around or before 1 A.D. these people gradually moved in the area drained by the San Juan River, which flows through the "four corners" country (where the states of Colorado, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico meet).[11] The ancestors of these people were designated "Basketmakers" because of their skillfully woven and intricately designed baskets.[12]

With the addition of beans and improved varieties of corn and squash around 500 A.D., a greater dependence on a sedentary agricultural life developed and villages evolved

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[11] Wormington, Prehistoric Indians. . . , 27.

[12] Ibid., 27-47.

as dwelling places.[13] Pottery also emerged in this prehistoric setting.[14] By 700 A.D. the Basketmakers began to spread out, some of them traveling into central New Mexico and meeting the Mogollon people coming up from the south.[15] In most areas 700 A.D. is the approximate date given for the development of the Anasazi culture from the Basketmaker periods into the "Pueblo" periods.[16]

In the next 400 years radical changes came about, especially in dwelling arrangements and social organizations.[17] Houses were being built together and moved from semi-subterranean to totally above-ground structures. More rooms were added and more houses juxtaposed. These gradually evolved into multi-story apartment-house villages which we now call by the Spanish word, "pubelo," meaning village or community.[18] The change also affected the people's way of life. Living together in close-knit communities demanded social organizations of cooperation, of acceptable systems of interaction,

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[13] Ibid., 48-57.

[14] Ibid., 52-54.

[15] Wheat, 205-230, discusses the diffusion of cultural traits between the Mogollon and the Anasazi Indians. On page 185 he presents a table correlating the Mogollon, Hohokam and Anasazi cultures from 300 B.C. to 1000 A.D. For more information on culture contacts in the Rio Grande area see: John C. McGregor, Southwestern Archaeology (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1941), pp. 348-361.

[16] Wormington, Prehistoric Indians. . . , 27.

[17] Ibid., 57-76.

[18] Ibid.

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spread out, some of them traveling into central Mexico
and meeting the Mogollon people during a period of peace.
In most areas 700 A.D. is the approximate date for the
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In the next 400 years the Anasazi made great
especially in dwelling arrangements. Adobe and stone
Houses were being built together and gradually evolved
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into multi-story apartment-house villages in the Southwest
by the Spanish word, "pueblo," meaning village or community.
The change also affected the people's way of life, leading
together in close-knit communities developed complex institu-
tions of cooperation, or acceptable ways of interaction.

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13 Ibid., 84-97.

14 Ibid., 92-94.

15 Wenger, 229-230. Archaeologists differ on the exact
dates between the Mogollon and the Anasazi periods. Wenger
185 has presented a table of relative time periods, which
Anasazi culture from 300 B.C. to 1300 A.D. Information
tion on culture contacts in the San Juan Basin
Morgan, Southwestern Archaeology
Sons, Inc., 1951, pp. 3-[illegible].

16 Washington, Prehistoric Indians.

17 Ibid., 77-79.

18 Ibid.

of daily work patterns that could provide for the needs of the community as well as the individual. Community life produced specialization and leisure; new crafts, new functions of government, new roles of religion emerged.[19] Cotton was introduced along with spinning and weaving techniques.[20]

The system of leadership is believed by some investigators to be essentially a democratic crystalization with the absence of an autocratic ruling class.[21] Religion also functioned to maintain an equilibrium within the culture. The close dependence of existence on nature found expression in religious ceremonies centered on the control and appeasement of omnipresent forces.[22] The kiva was the meeting place for many of the ceremonies. Similar to the older pit-houses, it was partially, if not totally, an underground structure. In some places these structures became quite elaborate during the Great-Pueblo Period circa 1050 A.D.[23] For the next 200 years pueblo civilization was at its greatest height. Arts flourished, food was in surplus, and masonry reached its finest form of development.

Then something happened. Perhaps a multiplicity of

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[19] Ibid., 77-78.

[20] Ibid., 69-70.

[21] Ibid., 78; Edward P. Dozier, "The Rio Grande Pueblos," MS. 1956, pp. 14-15.

[22] Wormington, Prehistoric Indians. . . , 78.

[23] Ibid., 76-107; McGregor, 270-294.

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The system of landownership is believed by some investigators to be essentially a democratic organization with the absence of an autocratic ruling class.[21] Religion also functioned to maintain an equilibrium within the culture. The close dependence of existence on water, found expression in religious ceremonies concerned with the control and supplementation of omnipresent forces.[22] The kiva was the meeting place for many of the ceremonies. Similar to the other pit-houses, it was partially, if not totally, an underground structure. In some places these structures become quite elaborate during the Great-Pueblo Period since 1300 A.D.[23] For the next 500 years pueblo civilization was at its greatest height. Area flourished, food was in surplus, and economy reached its finest form of development.

Then something happened. Farming a multiplicity of

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[19] Ibid., 77-78.

[20] Ibid., 6-70.

[21] Ibid., 78; Edward H. Spicer, "The Rio Grande Pueblos," MA, 1954, pp. 14-15.

[22] Wormington, Prehistoric Indians . . . , 74.

[23] Ibid., 76-107; Morenon, 27-[illegible].

causes - drought, great arroyo erosion, hostile neighboring bands - resulted in the contraction of pueblo civilization and a migration of many Indian groups.[24] Many areas were deserted. Some groups from the San Juan and Mesa Verde areas moved to the Rio Grande area, where they met the older inhabitants of the region.[25]

In 1539, the first European explorers of the Southwest came up from Mexico as far as Zuñi, New Mexico.[26] One of this party survived to tell of a city greater than Mexico City.[27] Coronado in 1540 gathered an expedition of conquistadores in Mexico and went north only to be disappointed in not finding the golden "Seven Cities of Cibola". Instead he encountered trouble with the Pueblo people and massacred some of them. Two years later, after extensively exploring the Southwest, Coronado returned to Mexico.[28]

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[24] Wormington, Prehistoric Indians. . . , 80-84.

[25] McGregor, 296-297.

[26] George P. Hammond, Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico (Santa Fe: El Placio Press, 1927), pp. 2-3; Fray Marcos de Niza, Discovery of the Seven Cities of Cibola, trans. and ed. by Percy M. Baldwin ("Historical Society of New Mexico Publications in History," Vol. I; Albuquerque: El Placio Press, 1926), pp. 11-31.

[27] Ibid., 28-29; Cleve Hallenback, Land of the Conquistadores (Caldwell, Idaho: The Claxton Press, Ltd.), pp. 21-27.

[28] Ibid., 27-40. Also see: George P. Hammond and Aqapito Rey, Narratives of the Coronado Expedition 1540-1542 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940); Hubert E. Bolton, Coronado on the Turquoise Trail (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949).

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[24] Wormington, Prehistoric Indians . . . , 39-94.

[25] McGregor, 296-297.

[26] George P. Hammond, Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico (Santa Fe: El Palacio Press, 1927), pp. 2-3; Fray Marcos de Niza, Discovery of the Seven Cities of Cibola, trans. and ed. by Percy M. Hamlin ("Historical Society of New Mexico Publications in History," Vol. I; Albuquerque: El Palacio Press, 1926), pp. 11-31.

[27] Ibid., 22-29; Cleve Hallenbeck, Land of the Conquistadores (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Press, 1949), pp. 21-27.

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For forty years after the first contact with the Spaniards, the Indians probably remained unmolested, but by 1581 there are records of various expeditions of explorers, missionaries, and soldiers of fortune.[29] The promise of governorship after conquest drove many of these men into new territories. On July 11, 1598 colonizers and priests reached San Juan pueblo and the first Spanish settlement was established.[30] The name, San Juan de Caballeros, was given to the pueblo by Oñate, the first territorial governor, in honor of the Indian's cooperation[31] (they had moved across the river for the colonizers and given them their vacated land). In 1601 the first capital north of Mexico was established there, named San Gabriel.[32] In 1609 New Mexico was made a crown colony and the capital was transferred to Santa Fe.[33] Wormington makes a vivid comment on the impact of the Spaniards when she says:

> From the beginning there was a clash between the two cultures. The Pueblos resisted as best they could, but they were no match for the more highly organized Spaniards with their superior weapons and their inestimable advantage of being mounted. The colonizers and

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[29] Hallenback, 42-55; Hammond, Don Juan de Oñate. . . ,7-8.

[30] Ibid., 99-100. Also see: Gaspar Pérez de Villagia, History of New Mexico, trans. by Gilberto Espinosa, introduction and notes by F. W. Hodge (Lancaster, Pa.: The Quivera Society, 1933).

[31] Hammond, Don Juan de Oñate. . . , 100.

[32] Ibid., 180.

[33] Ibid.

> missionaries who entered the country looked upon the Indians as a subject people; there were abuses and many excesses, and the Indians were shamefully exploited. Corn the all important staple of the Indians, was requisitioned, and Spanish horses trampled Pueblo corn fields. Every effort was made to break down the prevailing form of government. Missionaries were determined to destroy the old religion and make converts among the natives. The principle, that the end justifies the means, was developed in its most pernicious form. There were floggings and hangings, and Indians were sold into slavery. All in all, it is a disgraceful page in history. Even the most cursory glance at our own record of dealings with various Indian groups, however, suggests that we are hardly in a position to "cast the first stone." Under the circumstances, even the smallest pebble would be excessive.[34]

Folklore relates that the Indian religious priests realized the impact of the Spaniards and that, when the Spaniards[35] came into their valley, the priests instructed the people henceforth to hold their ceremonies at night and in secret. (TP, TS)

The people with the San Juan area were known for their aggressiveness; that is, they were aggressive compared with pueblos farther down the Rio Grande and others in western New Mexico and eastern Arizona.[36] An explanation for this contrast is in part because of contact with nomadic tribes of the Plains.[37] Especially with horses stolen from the

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[34] Wormington, Prehistoric Indians. . . , 114.

[35] Two respondents cited Montezuma as the one involved in this first expedition. This Aztec implication leaves much to ponder on, but may simply be a quirk in the handing-down of the folktale. Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos," 86, comments that the tale may have been carried up into New Mexico by Mexican Indians.

[36] Ibid., 45-46.

[37] Ibid., 46; Wormington, Prehistoric Indians. . . ,114; S. D. Aberle and J. H. Watkins, "The Vital History of San Juan Pueblo," Human Biology, XII, No. 2 (May, 1940), p. 146.

missionaries who entered the country looked upon the Indians as a subject people; there were abuses and many excesses, and the Indians were shamefully exploited. Corn the all important staple of the Indians, was requisitioned, and Spanish horses trampled Pueblo corn fields. Every effort was made to break down the prevailing form of government. Missionaries were determined to destroy the old religion and make converts among the natives. The principle, that the end justifies the means, was developed in its most pernicious form. There were floggings and hangings, and Indians were sold into slavery. All in all, it is a disgraceful page in history. Even the most cursory glance at our own record of dealings with various Indian groups, however, suggests that we are hardly in a position to "cast the first stone." Under the circumstances, even the smallest pebble would be excessive.

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[36] Ibid., 45-46.

[37] Ibid., 46; Wormington, Prehistoric Indians . . . , 114; S. D. Aberle and J. H. Martin, "The Vital History of San Juan Pueblo," Human Biology, XII, No. 2 (May, 1940), p. 146.

Spaniards, these Plains people became more mobile, hence were a greater threat to the pueblo inhabitants.[38] With increased mobility these tribes raided and plundered, forcing the Pueblo people to more extensive defensive tactics. This readjustment of social organization is believed to have precipitated a greater orientation toward fighting.

A long-smothered desire for independence was realized in 1680 after a famine and widespread pestilence; it came to a climax with revolt.[39] The pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona aligned themselves in a common cause: to get rid of the hated Spaniard. The instigator and organizer of the revolt was a medicine man from San Juan pueblo named Juan Popé. Guided by visions in a kiva, he sent forth his plan to the other pueblos. The plot was discovered, but by moving up the scheduled date a few days it was a success.

Santa Fe was besieged and fell. Along with it collapsed the Spanish domination of Arizona and New Mexico. Punitive expeditions sent up from Mexico in the next twelve years were unsuccessful.[40] Often the revolutionaries took refuge on the steep-walled mesas and withstood the attacks

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[38] Florence Hawley Ellis, "Patterns of Aggression and the War Cult in Southwestern Pueblos," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, VII, No. 2 (Summer, 1951), p. 177.

[39] For more specific data on the Pueblo Revolt see: Charles Wilson Hackett and Charmion Clair Shelby, Revolt of Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin's Attempted Reconquest 1680-1692, part I and part II (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1942).

[40] Hallenbeck, 167-186.

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[39] Alfonso Ortiz, "Patterns of Aggression and the War Cult in Southwestern Pueblos," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, VIII, No. 3 (Summer, 1961), p. 177.

[39] For more specific data on the Pueblo Revolt see Charles Wilson Hackett and Charmion Clair Shelby, Revolt of Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin's Attempt to Recover, 1680-1682, part I and part II (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1942).

[40] Bolton, 167-170.

of the Spanish forces.

In time, internal bickering among the different pueblos, attacks by nomadic tribes, and severe droughts weakened the resistance and will to fight. Without engaging in a skirmish, General de Vargas reconquered the area in 1692.[41] A slight change of mind by the Indians delayed recolonization of Santa Fe until the next year, when the territory was declared a kingdom.[42] Though periodic uprisings continued they were minor.[43] In 1821 the area became a part of the Republic of Mexico, in 1846 a territory of the United States,[44] and for a few days in 1863 a part of the Confederacy.

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.; Leslie A. White, "The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 60 (1942), pp. 26-27.

[44] Charles F. Coan, A Shorter History of New Mexico, Part II, New Mexico Under Mexico and the United States (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, 1928), pp. 164-175.

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.; Leslie A. White, "The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 60 (1942), pp. 26-27.

[44] Charles F. Coan, A Short History of New Mexico, Part II, New Mexico Under Mexico and the United States (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, 1923), pp. 167-175.

Appendix D

The Clan System at San Juan

Clans practicing exogamy and having matrilineal descent at San Juan pueblo are either non-existent or have little significance for the society. Hawley comments on the Tewa:

> Clans, apparently borrowed from the Keresan system, exist but carry no function beyond providing an additional last name for members. Many of the people do not even know their own clan affiliation.[1]

One young man (LA) who appeared to be aware of this social system could not relate any definite information about clans in San Juan. He did not know if he was a part of a clan or not. In another paper Hawley further states, "The clan probably never did exist as an important functioning organ among the Tewa."[2] Parsons believes that the moiety system at San Juan is a substitute for clans; that clans are more important in Hopi and Zuñi pueblos.[3] Since clans are defined as matrilineal in form and the Tewa system is basically patrilineal, Eggan makes an interesting observation about the Tewa:

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[1] Florence Hawley, "An Examination of Problems Basic to Acculturation in the Rio Grande Pueblos," American Anthropologist, L, No. 4 (October-December, 1948), p. 618.

[2] Florence Hawley, "Keresan Patterns of Kinship and Social Organization," American Anthropologist, LII, No. 4 (October-December, 1950), p. 510.

[3] Elsie Clews Parsons, "The Social Organization of the Tewa," Memoirs of the Anthropological Association, No. 36 (1929), p. 89.

Appendix D

The Glass Eyes at San Juan

Diana's problems are very real and Devlin's relationship to people at San Juan pueblo are also very real. They are also significance for the artist. Devlin's comments on [illegible]

Diana, despite her [illegible] and her [illegible] artist but carry no [illegible] [illegible] tional last name for [illegible] not even know Devlin's [illegible] relation.

One young man (LA) who [illegible] system could not relate his [illegible] in San Juan. He did not know [illegible] not. In another paper [illegible] ably never did artist [illegible] the Tewa." Everone believes [illegible] Juan is a substitute for [illegible] tant in Rey and Jaki [illegible] materialized in Juan and the [illegible] Ilneed, Egan makes an [illegible] Tewa:

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1 Florence Hawley, "An Indian [illegible] to Acculturation in the [illegible] Anthropologist, L, No. 4 (October-[illegible]

2 Florence Hawley, "Persons [illegible] Social Organization," [illegible] (October-December, 1[illegible]

3 Alice Cloke Fergusson, "The Story [illegible] the Tewa," Memoirs of the [illegible] 36 (1924), [illegible]

> The clan system. . . would be further affected by the extensive period of Spanish acculturation. Catholic regulation of marriage practices would take away the last remaining functions of the clan system, and intimate contacts with Spanish (and later Spanish-American) settlements would give a patrilineal tinge to the remnants. That it ended as a mere naming system under these conditions is not surprising. These same influences would tend toward the development of a kinship system on a bilateral, non-classificatory basis and a family system on the Spanish model. . . .[4]

Hence there is no matriniality in San Juan -- the Tewa situation, as brought out by Eggan, approximates the bilateral kinship system.

---

[4] Fred Eggan, Social Organization of the Western Pueblos (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 316.

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4

Fred Eggan, <u>Social Organization of the Western Pueblos</u> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 316.

TABLE XII

(Rev. 10-30-58)

M-214

INDIAN SCHOOLS MONTHLY REPORT

SCHOOL San Juan Day PRINCIPAL Wm. J. McGranahan FOR MONTH ENDING Feb. 29, 1960 19____

ROOMs in School	(1) TOTAL ENROLLMENT BY GRADES THIS YEAR													TOTAL		(2)	(3)	(4)		(5)	(6) TRANSFERRED					RECEIVED		
	Beginners	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth	Tenth	Eleventh	Twelfth	Boys	Girls	No. of days attendance for month	No. of days attendance to date this year.	Enrolled this month. B	G	Average daily attendance this month.	To other Fed. Schools	To other Schools	To room in this school	Dropped	From room this school	From other Fed. Schools	New Entries	Pupils Re-entered
	19													9	10	372	2165	9	10	18.67								
		18												11	7	369	2054	11	7	17.57								
			9											7	2	165	1007	7	2	7.86								
				14										8	6	276	1576	8	6	13.14								
					11									6	5	223	1224	6	5	10.61								
						11								7	4	182	1110	6	4	8.67								
							19							10	9	370	2002	10	8	17.62								
	19	18	9	14	11	11	19							58	43	1957	11138	57	42									
TOTAL														101				99										

(7) Aggregate days all pupils enrolled this month 2079

(8) Aggregate days all pupils enrolled to date 111425

(9) Percentage of Attendance 95.70

(10) Days school was in session this Month 21

Number on Scholastic Rolls: 143 Boys 134 Girls 277 Total

(To be supplied by Day Schools only. Include all children 6-18 years of age enrolled or belonging in the Pueblo or Area served, whether or not in school & regardless of school attended

INSTRUCTIONS FOR TEACHERS' MONTHLY REPORT

In order to conform with the instructions for making the Annual Report, he name of every child between the ages of 6-18 who lives within the area erved by the school and who should be in attendance at that school, unless hysically or mentally incapacitated, must be known and entered on the ttendance register on the first day of school or on the first day after his rrival in the area and marked absent unless he is actually in school. The eachers' Monthly Report is concerned only with the record of pupils actually nrolled in the school. However, the Principals' Report will account for all upils eligible to attend school by reporting such totals under the heading Number on Scholastic Rolls."

Following are specific instructions for filling out each item on the eachers' Monthly Report.

. "TOTAL ENROLLMENT BY GRADES THIS YEAR"-includes all pupils who have been members at any time during the school year, except those who have been transferred to other Federal Indian Schools or to "rooms in this school". In such instances the entire year's report of attendance shall be transferred to the receiving school or room. When more than one grade is included in a room, please indicate number of girls and boys in each grade.

. "NUMBER OF DAYS ATTENDANCE FOR THE MONTH"-includes the total number of days attended by all pupils.

. "NUMBER DAYS ATTENDANCE TO DATE THIS YEAR"-should show the cumulative total from the beginning of the year through the month covered by this month's report.

. "NUMBER ENROLLED DURING MONTH"-includes all who have been on the class register at any time during the month, not merely new entries.

. "AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE FOR MONTH"-is computed by dividing the total days of attendance for the month by the number of days school was in session.

. The "TRANSFERRED" and "RECEIVED" columns should be self-explanatory, except perhaps "New Entries" and "Dropped."

a. "New entries" refers to pupils enrolling in the school for the first time and who were not received by transfer from another Federal School or another room in this school.

b. In the day schools "Dropped" includes children who have been removed by death or physical or mental incapacity. In the boarding schools it denotes any pupil who has withdrawn without transferring to another school.

. "PERCENTAGE OF ATTENDANCE" is computed by dividing the total days actually attended by total days enrolled (Perfect attendance).

. "NUMBER OF DAYS SCHOOL WAS IN SESSION" includes the number of days taught. Legal holidays, days approved for educational conferences, educational trips, etc. are included in this column and the previous day's attendance duplicated. They may also be counted toward the required 180 days.

If a child has been present more than 50% of any half-day session e may be counted as present for one-half day.

When children are kept out of school by the doctor, they are not o be counted as present unless the formula above applies.

Appendix F

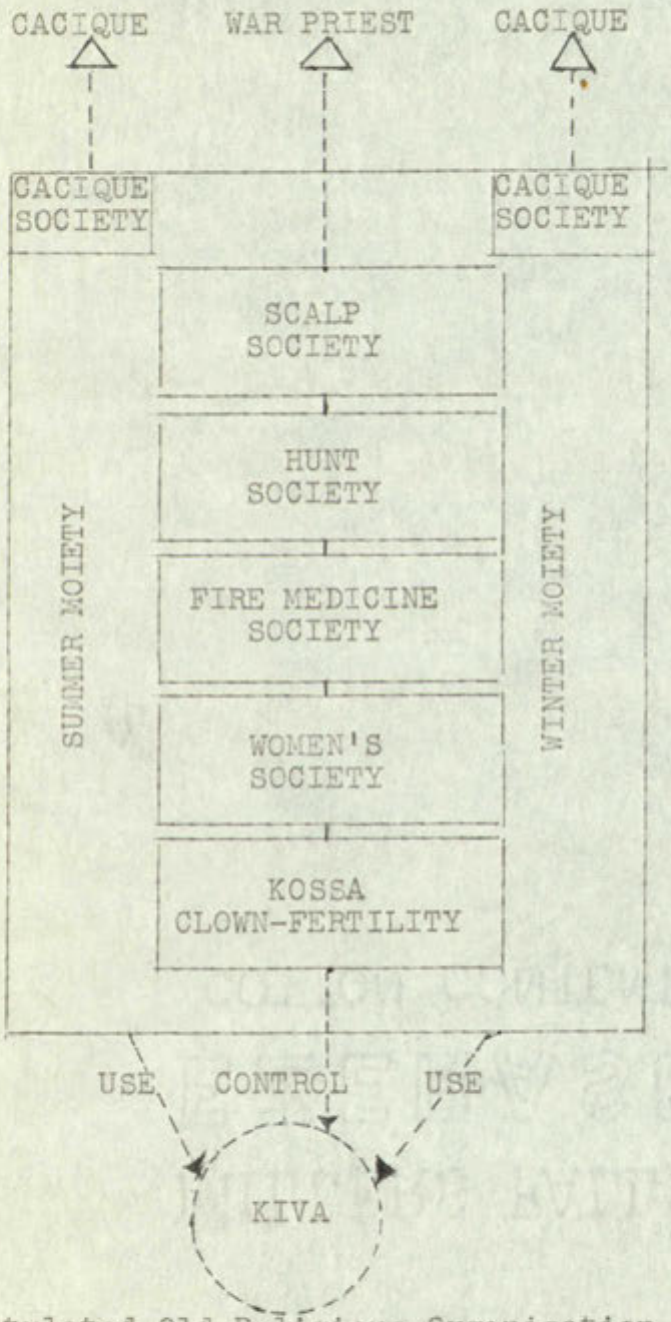

Fig. 6. Postulated Old Religious Organization of the Tewa.[1]

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[1] Florence Hawley Ellis, "A Reconstruction of the Basic Jemez Pattern of Social Organization with Comparisons to Zia Social Structure," MS, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, n.d., diagram IV.

Appendix G

Legendary Origin of the Moieties

The moieties began long ago. As legend says, a tribe, the predecessors of the San Juans, came in their wanderings to a river and started to cross it on a bridge. While they were crossing, the bridge broke, dropping the people in the middle into the rapids and drowning them, and they subsequently turned into fish. The remaining people scampered to safety. One group reached one bank and became the summer people, and the other group escaped to the other bank and became the winter people.[1]

---

[1] Legend told to author by TP, LA, TS.

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[1] Legend told to author by WE, LA, TS.

Appendix H

The Kivas of San Juan

In San Juan there is one main kiva, rectangular shaped. The other kiva, known as "the Little Kiva," also rectangular, is used both in preparation of sacred dances and for secular affairs. The big kiva has a large center room and four smaller rooms. Two of the smaller rooms, to the east of the main room, belong to the summer people; the two on the south side are reserved for the winter people.[1] The smaller rooms are used for moiety initiation, retreat for the old priests, and the storage and maintenance of kachina masks, altar equipment and other religious paraphernalia. The two smaller rooms to the east can be entered through a door, but access to the two small rooms to the south is only through the roof. The main room is entered either by a "hidden door" on the side or by a ladder through the roof. There are two holes in the roof of this main room through which grain offerings are thrown down to the people below. There are no sipapus (sacred holes to the underworld) in the chamber floors, according to one respondent. (LA)

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[1] Vera Laski, Seeking Life (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1958), pp. 5-8.

Appendix H

The Kivas of San Juan

In San Juan there is one main kiva, [illegible] shaped. The other kiva, known as the Little Kiva, [illegible] rectangular, is used both in [illegible] and for secular affairs. It has [illegible] room and four smaller rooms. Two of the smaller rooms, to the east of the main room, which is the [illegible], two on the south side are reserved [illegible]. The smaller rooms are used for [illegible] for the old priests, and the stores are [illegible] Kachina masks, altar [illegible] paraphernalia. The two smaller rooms to the east can be entered through a door, but access to the [illegible] south is only through the roof. The main room is entered either by a "hidden door" on the side of the ladder through the roof. There are two holes in the [illegible] through which grain offerings are given down to the people below. There are no [illegible] (altars) [illegible] in the chamber floors, according to [illegible]

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[1] Vera Leath, [illegible] Folklore Society, [illegible], pp. [illegible].

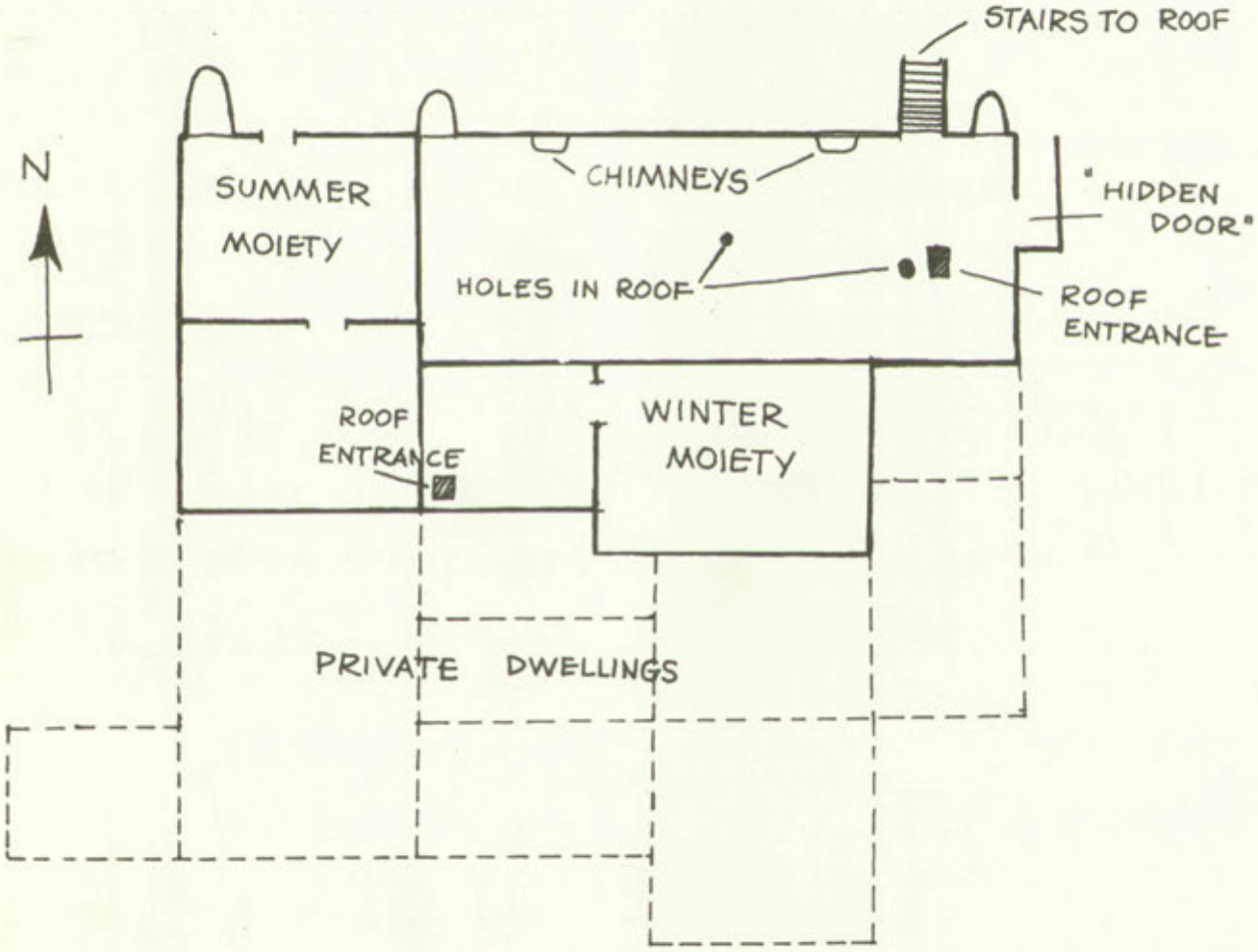

Fig. 7. THE BIG KIVA AT SAN JUAN[1]

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[1] Adopted with modifications from Laski, facing page 7.

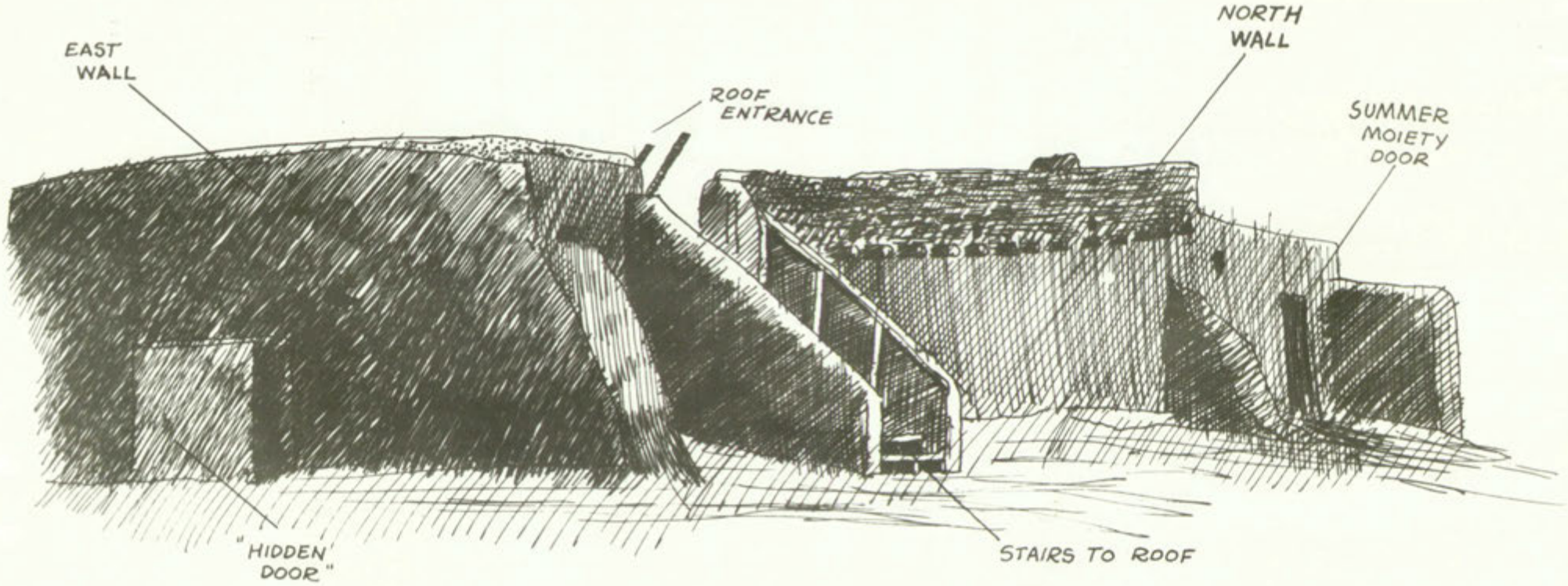

Fig. 8. SIDE VIEW OF BIG KIVA

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