

later, American) authorities, the officials of this government were appointed by the priest of the native religion and owed their primary allegiance to the native tradition; the officials functioned as executive officers of the priests while publicly carrying out the orders of the Spanish Government. In short, the overt government of the pueblo masked its operation (Dozier 1966:172-5).

Spanish repression led eventually to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and the expulsion of the Government, soldiers, missionaries, and colonists. In 1693 the Spanish returned, and by 1696 had pacified the Pueblos. The inability of the several communities of Pueblos to cooperate with each other was a major factor in reconquest.

The period of "Stabilized Pluralism," from the return of the Spanish to the advent of Anglo-American influence, witnessed a change in Spanish attitudes toward the Pueblos. The *encomienda* system was not reinstated. The friars were concerned more with the welfare of the Spanish colonists than the repression of Pueblo religion, and the secular government was forced to concentrate its attention upon the raiding Apaches and Comanches. While the missionaries attempted to suppress native traditions sporadically during the early 18th Century, they were not persistent and did not receive cooperation from the secular government. Traditional ceremonies thus resumed and participation in church activities became minimal. Resentment toward the missionaries continued and in this period the Franciscans were relieved of mission responsibility for New Mexico, which became part of the diocese of Durango, resulting in still further decline in missionary activity.

Spanish colonies established in the 18th Century over time assimilated Indians from a variety of Pueblo and other tribes. To Pueblos, to whom the repressive system of the pueblo was unacceptable, the Spanish town was a place of asylum. Relations between the Pueblos and the Spanish colonists tended toward peaceful coexistence, but each retained its cultural characteristics.

"Outwardly these relations were pleasant and amicable, but they never developed into more intimate understandings. The Pueblos reserved the inner core of their culture to themselves and effectively warded off influences which might have disorganized and disrupted the tightly integrated Pueblo way of life. . . . For later periods we have detailed information on the "boundary maintaining mechanisms" that were employed to preserve pueblo culture; it is clear, however, that they were developed during the century in review here."—DOZIER 1961:147.

There was some degree of intermarriage between Spanish and Pueblo, but this invariably involved the Pueblo moving to the Spanish town and becoming assimilated, and two distinct social systems coexisted.

(3) *Anglo-American Period*.—The period of Anglo-American contact (1804-1900) was, at the beginning, characterized by the arms-length amicability that characterized the end of the 18th Century. The Spanish population was "little interested in changing or modifying the life of the Pueblo Indians, and the clergy, too, had withdrawn from intensive missionary work" (Dozier 1961:153). With the advent of the Anglo-Americans there was little change; they identified themselves with the Spanish upper class with similar relationships to the Pueblos. The independence of Mexico in 1821-22 wrought few other changes in relationships. Relations between the Spanish and Pueblos remained amicable, but some Spanish encroachments upon Pueblo lands were to become significant after the cession of the Territory of New Mexico to the United States by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848.

The legal relation of the Pueblo Indians to their pueblo land holdings was unclear until the Supreme Court in 1913 held that their lands could not be alienated. Population pressures of the Spanish and Anglo communities had, in the last half of the 19th Century, become significant and a source of conflict between the Hispanic element and the Pueblos. The developing tension was further increased by the favored treatment given by the U.S. Indian Bureau to the Indians—the rural Spanish people lived under conditions very similar to those of the Indians, and became resentful of the Pueblos receipt of educational facilities, health care, etc. With the increase in number of the Anglos, the perception of the class system also changed. The Spanish had been divided into two classes, the *ricos* and the poor. The people of the pueblos were ranked under the poor Spanish. Now the poor Spanish and the Pueblo Indians were ranked together, with the Indians receiving favored treatment. It may be noted that roots of contemporary New Mexican ethnic rivalry lie in this period.