

Protestant missionaries entered the pueblos subsequent to the Mexican War, producing rivalries with the limited number of Catholic priests. Schools were established in some cases, but the missionaries had little effect: The Pueblo Indians remained nominal Catholics and practiced the traditional religion in the secrecy that still enveloped it.

Tourists began to come toward the end of the century. Many anecdotes from this period exist, such as the one regarding a woman of Pojoaque Pueblo who exclaimed, "What curious people these Americans are; one has just bought the stone which covered my chimney. What could he want with it?"

The most profound changes occurred in Pueblo culture in the period of Anglo-American dominance (1900-present), more than in all the preceding three centuries. Economically, two major innovations were introduced that seriously affected the farming subsistence economy of the Pueblos. A credit system was introduced at the end of the 19th Century with the establishment of numerous Anglo trading posts, and a later shift began to a cash economy with the arrival of tourists in cars, wage labor for the Indian Service Construction programs, military service and dependents, allotment cheques, and the availability of wage labor in the vicinity of the Pueblos.

The Indian Bureau agents, until 1928, placed great pressure upon the Pueblos to become variants of the dominant American form of society. In addition to encouraging education, there was also pressure for the Indians to surrender the native religion and other tradition that were "un-American." With the enactment by Congress of the Indian Reorganization Act and the appointment of John Collier as Indian Commissioner in 1934, a new policy of tolerance began. But as Dozier, himself a Tewa of Santa Clara, points out:

"The new regime permitted traditional authorities to relax controls that safeguard Pueblo ceremonial life. But the Pueblos *have not abandoned these* controls. The conservative communities are ever prepared to tighten social control mechanisms in the event of any threat to their indigenous way of life. When there are repeated violations of Pueblo patterns of behavior which endanger the ceremonial activities of the community, the War Captains and their assistants, the Pueblo gestapo, are alerted and an iron curtain descends over the pueblo. Within the village all but the rigid conformists are suspect and any deviant behavior is dealt with promptly and severely by a variety of social control measures."—DOZIER 1961: 170-1.

b. Pueblo Culture

Among the Pueblos a distinct division of labor exists: agriculture and religion are mainly the concern of men, as hunting and warfare once were. Women are concerned chiefly with household activities, including handicrafts such as pottery making.

Each pueblo is politically autonomous, a closely knit group in which community solidarity is of extreme importance and the individual subordinate to the group. As portrayed by Benedict, the growing child is so thoroughly indoctrinated with the culture of the group that by the time he is an adult he is overwhelmingly concerned about community welfare and sees himself primarily as a part of the community. Others, including Dozier and D. Eggan, have pointed out the tensions involved in a society with such rigid controls, and the consequent escape of many Pueblo Indians to non-Pueblo communities.

Governments of the pueblos are typically theocratic, with the heads of priest-hoods often constituting the councils, as at Zuni. Among the eastern pueblos, except for Santa Clara, the leaders of the religious groups, the *caciques*, appoint the governor, officers, and council. In all cases it is the governor who has primary responsibility for dealing with "outsiders." Matrilineal organization and clans, important in the Western Pueblos, are not present in the East, where the bilateral⁸ extended family is the basic social building block. In the East, the great division of the pueblo is into moieties (from the Old French work for half), named, among the Tewa speakers, the Winter and Summer. The moiety organizations are responsible for ceremonial activities at appropriate times of the year, and are—or were—responsible for the government of the pueblo during half of the year. Though general kinship affiliations are bilateral, the moieties are primarily patrilineal, but membership can be changed and need not be hereditary, and each is headed by a *cacique*. Various secret ceremonial and/or medi-

⁸ A "bilateral" kinship system recognizes relatives on the father's and mother's side equally.