

cine societies are associated with the moieties—in the East (the irrigation area) the medicine curing societies being most important.

Pueblo culture is integrated by the native religion and ceremonialism, which permeates all aspects of life. As Dutton (1965:13) sums it up:

"With the Pueblo Indians their religion transcends all else. It is the very core of their existence. All aspects of Pueblo life—the arts, crafts, and industries, social structure, and religion—are inextricably interwoven, thoroughly integrated. From the simple tenet that Man must live in harmony with nature, the Pueblo Indians developed a rich dramatic art—poetry, legendary, song, and dance—by means of which religion is given outward expression. They perform sacred rites in their fields, prior to the planting, and conduct appropriate ceremonies throughout the season. . . . Their hunts are ceremonially ordered and conducted. Many of the designs on their pottery and other works of art are derived from motifs connected with their ceremonial life. And they build their dwellings and sanctuaries or kivas following religious traditions. Through religion all else is given significance. There can be no understanding of Pueblo life apart from its religious beliefs and practices."

Among the Eastern Pueblos, few of the major religious ceremonies are open to the public, in contrast to those of the Hopi of the West. The numerous attempts to replace the native religion with a Western one, over a period of more than three centuries, by Spanish and Anglo-Americans, forced the traditional ceremonies underground. Only a few festivals, which in fact, are not part of the original religious system, but reflect the impact of Roman Catholicism, are celebrated openly. An example is the festival of the saint's day, which belongs to the Hispanic tradition.

Pueblo religion places the strongest importance on the cooperation between man, nature, and the supernatural. The performance of proper rituals influences supernatural beings to cause nature to provide the necessary elements (particularly water and sun) for the crops so that man may live. Interdependence of the three is always stressed. Symbolically, this religion also stresses the importance of the social cooperation upon which existence of the pueblo depends. The relationship of the Pueblo to his natural environment is of constant concern. Individuality is obviously, in this context, a potential source of discord and little leeway is permitted to the individual. Various forms of pressure, including charges of witchcraft and physical coercion, are applied to the deviant. The Pueblos conceive of the universe as an orderly, cooperative system and feel that social cooperation is necessary for its continuation.

While intervillage cooperation does not exist in economic or political activities, it does in the area of religion, regarding the revival of certain ceremonies or the training of certain individuals for religious society membership. Also, Taos Pueblo is "custodian" of Blue Lake, residence of some of the supernatural beings, on behalf of not only the Pueblos but of all mankind. Similarly, Santa Clara is "custodian" of a sacred mountain residence of supernatural spirits, and other pueblos are responsible for other such places. Indeed, there are now pending cases before Congress and the Indian Claims Commission in which this element figures prominently.

For three-and-a-half centuries, Roman Catholicism has been embraced, at least nominally, but in the post-World War II period, several Protestant denominations have made their appearance. The introduced religions always kept, physically and conceptually, distinct from native tradition. Because of this compartmentalization, the Pueblos see no inconsistency in performance of Christian rituals on Sunday and the native ceremonies at other times. In like manner, they see no inconsistency between accepting grants for CAP components and at the same time maintaining extreme social and ideological distance from the outside world.

In 1964, the OEO programs were introduced, becoming active in 1965. The concept fostered by OEO of truly Indian-generated plans and projects, if carried through as originally intended, may in the course of time lead the Pueblos to relax their long-held stance of suspicion and secrecy toward the outsider, reduce their compartmentalization, and open up a new world for them. In the meantime, as noted earlier, the traditional cohesiveness and discipline within each of the Pueblo communities has made it possible for these people to utilize the CAP components in their own interest to a degree not often found elsewhere.

Further consideration of the changes of the present century are taken up in the following section on the social, economic and political organization of Santa Clara.