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Spanish-Indian Acculturation in the Southwest

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INTRODUCTION

ONE of the major events in the cultural history of the Southwestern region has been the collision of Spanish and native Indian cultures. The effects of Spanish influence are rather well known and there have been summaries of the influence of Indian on Spanish culture, but there has been little effort to develop a systematic understanding of the cultural processes involved. Importantly lacking has been comparative analysis of the results of change among the different Southwestern groups. The present paper attempts a comparison, utilizing the better-established facts concerning cultural changes in both the northern and southern Southwest.

Southwestern Spanish-Indian acculturation is one regional instance among many in North and South America and Malaysia where fairly uniform Spanish cultural influences affected native cultures. The character of the native cultures and the conditions of contact varied greatly from region to region. We have therefore in the study of these various instances something resembling a situation in which one variable is held constant while others change. Conclusions concerning the processes of change in the Southwest should provide a basis for developing broader generalizations about the interaction of sixteenth-century Spanish culture and the large number of other cultures with which it came in contact.

What we have called a "major event" in Southwestern history was of course a series of events extending over many years. Since this impact proceeded under different conditions at different times and with different effects in successive periods from 1540 to the present, it is necessary to examine the different periods separately. In the present paper we shall consider as one period of contact the events of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries from about 1540 to about 1820. The approximately 300 years of this first contact period may of course be considered in terms of smaller units of time, but it is difficult to analyze satisfactorily in smaller units because of the unevenness of data. Moreover, there is a unity in this period derived from the relative lack of change in Spanish culture and from the fact that it was the only Western culture involved in the contact situation.

The subsequent 130 years should be dealt with as a distinct period during which different factors were operative, connected chiefly with the appearance of a new nation, Mexico, as the political vehicle of Spanish culture; the existence of a well-developed Spanish folk culture in New Mexico; and the appearance of a second Western culture in the cultural milieu—the Anglo. Analysis of the cultural processes in this second period of Spanish contact calls first for more careful and detailed historical research than has so far been carried out.

Paradoxically, we have more systematically compiled information concerning the earlier period, both as regards events in the plateau region of the north and the desert region of the south. This paper, then, as an effort to synthesize the available established data, will be confined to an analysis of cultural processes in the earlier period from first Spanish contacts to Mexican independence.

PREVIOUS INTERPRETATION

There is a general awareness among students of Southwestern cultures as to what culture traits diffused between the Spanish and the various Indian groups, but there have been very few attempts to interpret the facts with reference to any of the concepts and theories of culture change. One such effort—notable because of the breadth of its viewpoint and its comparative approach—is an essay by Erik Reed (1944). Reed's conclusions constitute a valuable framework for understanding Spanish-Indian acculturation, but nevertheless only a partial framework in that he deals only with Pueblo and Navaho cultures and makes his interpretations chiefly with reference to cultural integration, omitting explicit conclusions regarding the relation of conditions of contact to contact results. He points out two important characteristics of the results of Spanish-Indian acculturation, confining himself entirely to northern, or Plateau, data: (1) that extensive Indian borrowing of material culture was accompanied by little or no change in nonmaterial culture, and (2) that "well-integrated" communities, such as the Pueblo, were resistant to changes which might have altered their distinctive cultural identities (Reed 1944: 67). Both of these propositions are certainly true for the Pueblos. It will be profitable to examine in what way they apply elsewhere in the Southwest and so perhaps to understand better the conditions which gave rise to such results among the Pueblos.

Another important effort to delineate the nature of Spanish-Indian acculturation in a portion of the Southwest is that of Elsie Clews Parsons (1939), whose collection of examples of borrowing, resistance, substitution, disintegration, etc. in Pueblo ceremonialism constitutes the most intensive effort to define specific acculturation processes. What we get from Parsons' studies is chiefly an understanding of the complexity of process in ceremonial change generally and, specifically in connection with Spanish acculturation, an analysis of the sharply limited Spanish influences on Pueblo ceremonialism (Parsons 1939: 1064–84). Parsons' interpueblo comparisons make very clear the similar processes involved among all the Eastern Pueblos and provide abundant data in support of Reed's general interpretation. It is to Parsons also that we are indebted for laying a foundation in comparative study, which with Ralph Beals (1934) she extended to the Cahita of the southern Southwest.

In addition to these two major efforts (quite different in scope) there have been other studies of particular results. We may mention among these the work of Trager (1944) with Taos and Spencer (1947) with Keresan linguistic acculturation, of Mera (1937, 1943) and others on pottery and textile arts, of

Ellis (1951) on social organization, of Whitman (1940) and Linton (1940: 390–462) on process generally—all concerned with Spanish-Pueblo acculturation. There has been far less concern with analysis of cultural processes among the students of Athabascan, Piman, Cahitan, and other Southwestern tribes, although many have paid some attention to separating from one another the Spanish-derived and the native traits (e.g., Amsden 1934; Beals 1932).

THE MAJOR PATTERNS OF CONTACT ADJUSTMENT

Our purpose here is to point out the nature of the general type of adjustment to Spanish contact on the part of the various Indian groups. For each of the tribes or pueblos the processes of adjustment varied in details, but the different processes working together produced a general type of result for each group. These general patterns are what were called “results of acculturation” by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits in their memorandum on acculturation (1935). Although they identified only three types of results, it is clear that even in the one region of the Southwest there were at least five patterns of contact adjustment.

It must be emphasized that whole communities and tribes did not survive the contact and we know little of these. It is the nature of the adjustment of the survivors which we shall discuss here. We shall limit the discussion to three of the most populous and flourishing groups, for whom most information is available, namely, the Pueblos, the Athabascan-speaking peoples, and the Cahitan-speaking peoples.

We may characterize the general pattern of adjustment of the Eastern Pueblos as one of compartmentalization. In this term we are summarizing the tendency of all the Eastern Pueblos to accept from the Spanish certain traits and trait complexes which remained peripheral to their major cultural interests and to resist traits which would have altered the main orientations of their culture, and we are referring to the ultimate result of Spanish contact as a native culture added to and modified in limited ways but not changed in fundamental structure.

In contrast it is possible to characterize as fusion the adjustment of Cahitan peoples like the Yaqui and Mayo. Among these people many traits in all aspects of culture were accepted and modified to greater or lesser extent in form and/or meaning, to result in complexes which often appear to be new and not clearly assignable to either Spanish or Indian sources. It is doubtful whether there was any really new general orientation involved in such adjustment. But it is clear that Spanish culture elements were accepted not only in peripheral but also in focal areas of the Cahitan cultures.

The adjustment of the Athabascans to Spanish contact was quite different from either Pueblo or Cahitan. There was a very limited selection of traits for acceptance, due largely to the circumstances of contact, but those traits which were accepted were integrated into Navaho and Apache culture in such a way that extensive reorientation of the cultures came about.

There were other patterns of adjustment, some of the more important

of which may be simply mentioned here. Thus the numerous Piman-speaking peoples who survived the contact resembled somewhat the Athabascans in adjustment in that they made a limited selection of traits, which did not, however, result in important reorientations. We may characterize them in terms of limited selection without reorientation. The Western Pueblos were characterized by compartmentalization in so far as they were affected, but the Hopi adjustment may be characterized further as almost complete rejection. The Southern Pueblos (Piro) were characterized by complete assimilation as seem to have been also the Opata of central and eastern Sonora (Johnson 1950). (It is an interesting fact that the area of the greatest intensity of the Apache frontier is the area of greatest mortality of Southwestern cultures.) Finally we may mention the Seri who, after initial forced acceptance, later worked out an adjustment of rejection comparable to that of the Hopi.

These characterizations of general patterns of contact adjustment need further explanation and justification. In the following paragraphs we shall attempt that, subjecting each to a uniform scheme of analysis.

EASTERN PUEBLO COMPARTMENTALIZATION

The Conditions of Contact. The general framework of cultural contact in the Rio Grande valley during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries included military domination, colonial administration, missionization, colonization. There was very little resettlement except for small, limited groups of Indians. Contact was not characterized by wholesale slaving or other activities which destroyed family organization, although there was some forced labor. Colonization during these centuries involved not the penetration of existing Pueblo communities, but rather the establishment of separate communities of colonists. Indians came into contact with Spaniard administrators and tax collectors, militant priests, soldiers, and colonists protected in land rights and against violence by the colonial administration. The situation was thus one chiefly of directed culture contact with two major interest groups among the Spaniards—the colonial administrators and the missionaries. From the 1690's there was also some social cultural fusion, with intermarriage and other intimate social relations among colonists and Indians.

The directed culture contact resulted in the presentation of three sets of culture elements. The administrators were concerned with economic gain for themselves and the Spanish Crown, which led them to offer ideas and materials for the increase of textile and agricultural production; in their dealings with the Indians they at the same time also presented ideas for community organization of a type to which they were accustomed. The missionaries were interested in directing the Indians to build churches and to adopt the Catholic religious system of belief and practice. Thus economy and political organization were affected by the Spanish colonial administrators, and ceremonial and family life (because the Catholic religious system included monogamy and other family values) were affected by the missionary activities.

The manner in which these agents of culture change operated is of great

importance for understanding the results. The program of directed contact was, of course, backed by military force during the entire period. The administrators enforced peace among the Pueblos and attempted to control attacks from outside. They allowed no choice in regard to setting up the prescribed political form of organization. At the same time they repeatedly stepped in to curb the use of force by the missionaries, partly no doubt to keep the balance of force over the Indians in their own hands but also to encourage what good will they could for the purpose of maintaining a steady flow of tax-goods and the production which gave them individual profit.

Missionary work was in the hands of members of the Franciscan Order throughout, who worked much like the missionaries generally in New Spain. They concentrated on having the Indians build churches within the communities and on organizing sodalities for the care of the church and its furnishings and the celebration of saint's days and other ceremonies. They also destroyed what ceremonial material culture seemed to them idolatrous. In the Eastern Pueblos such items consisted of kachina masks which were burned in large numbers at different periods (Scholes 1942: 98); efforts were also made to suppress the ceremonial dances. Attendance at mass was enforced by whipping. An interesting feature of the work of the New Mexico Franciscans was their failure to learn the Indian languages and consequent failure to encourage the preparation of prayers or other ritual materials in the native languages. They were criticized for this by at least the early administrators.

While these conditions remained fairly constant, social cultural fusion increased steadily. The Spanish population grew, many purely Spanish communities were set up not only near the Pueblos but also in surrounding areas, and a distinctive Spanish rural culture with certain strongly Indian elements developed. The region, in short, became one of two distinct village culture types. The Indians were thus well aware of the forms of another culture in respect to house types and other artifacts, village organization, and ceremonialism. A contact level other than the official developed.

Changes in Cultural Inventory. The major changes stemming from Spanish impact on Eastern Pueblo culture have frequently been listed in terms of traits introduced, traits lost, traits replaced. Most such diffusions and losses of cultural forms are generally agreed on, although a few important ones are disputed.

It is clear, for example, that changes in subsistence came about. Wheat (and with it the wheat bread complex including the oven), chili, onions, watermelons, peaches, apples and grapes were all introduced immediately, together with sheep, goats, horses and cattle. Their use spread rapidly through all the Eastern Pueblos. In addition, more efficient irrigation consisting of main ditches with lateral systems was introduced and accepted widely in Pueblo agriculture. Nevertheless, there was no replacement of any existing staples or techniques.

Less clear is the extent to which other aspects of material culture were altered. Metal knives and axes came into use promptly, replacing their stone

counterparts, but plows and guns (which would have had greater effect on subsistence) were apparently not introduced widely during these three centuries. Housebuilding techniques, at least through the use of adobe bricks and hinged doors, were somewhat changed by Spanish introductions. Materials of the textile craft were augmented by the introduction of wool, needles, and perhaps improvements in the loom. The basic techniques of pottery-making and basketry were not changed or replaced, although decoration of pottery, like textiles, registered some new ideas in design.

Indian possession of land (under the power of the King of Spain) was recognized and Spanish forms of land tenure were only partially introduced.

It is almost equally clear what changes in social organization took place among the Eastern Pueblos. The most definite and clearly defined diffusion consisted of the general form of the village governor system. All the Eastern pueblos and some of the Western, under pressure from the Spaniards, adopted the title and office of governor and a roster of assistants. But there was considerable variation in the acceptance of other offices and titles from the Spanish plan of pueblo organization. The *alcalde mayor* was not accepted, and probably not offered by the Spanish in New Mexico; the *fiscal* was accepted, but *topil* and other church functionaries were not. Detailed research into these variations should include more work on the nature of the Franciscan operations within the Pueblos, since it seems to have been the Spanish church functionaries who were generally rejected. The governor pattern of civil organization was not accepted as a replacement, but rather as an adjunct, of the existing village organization. Division of pueblos into *barrios* was not accepted other than in a rudimentary form at Santo Domingo, and only *Isleta* appears to have accepted the Spanish election system—and that may have developed following the period of which we are speaking (Aberle 1948: 25). A tradition, not expressed through an actual form of organization and accepted differentially, developed designating Santo Domingo as a church governmental center.

The godparent-compadre system of the Spaniards was accepted as a vehicle for relations between Spaniards and Indians, but it is doubtful whether this was accepted into intrapueblo life before the processes of social cultural fusion became important in the subsequent period.

The Spanish influence on family life seems to have been negligible in all the larger pueblos. It is probable that intermarriage among Spaniards and Indians in smaller pueblos like Pojoaque began early and resulted in a complete shift of family organization toward the Spanish form by the end of the period, to be followed later by a disintegration of village organization also. Monogamy and patrilineal descent were already probably well established at the time of Spanish impact. The kinship terminological patterns seem not to have been affected by direct or analogous borrowing.

The various existing detailed treatments of ceremonial change make it unnecessary to list all the changes here. They may be summarized as follows. The pantheon of supernaturals was not replaced, but only augmented. Patron saints of villages were accepted and cults containing both native and Catholic

ritual elements were adopted around them. Jesus and the Virgin were not added except occasionally as minor figures. The basic mythology of Christianity, including ideas of heaven and hell, was rejected. Church buildings became centers of ceremony without replacing kivas. The ceremonial calendar was enriched by the addition of All Souls, patron saint's days, Holy Week, and Christmas, these being additions, not replacements. Nevertheless the horizon calendars seem to have been replaced by the Julian, though by just what date is not clear.

Some elements of ritual also were added, sometimes with modifications. Thus there was, in addition to the specific ritual dramas of the Saint's Day celebrations varying from pueblo to pueblo, a general acceptance of baptism as a useful rite, of All Souls ritual, and of the use of the cross identified with the directions and as a charm against illness.

Changes in Orientation. Reed and others have called attention to the considerable change in material culture among Eastern Pueblos without loss of "cultural integrity" (Reed 1944: 68). I take it that what is meant is the stability of Pueblo cultural orientations. Changes in inventory which have been listed were accompanied by no more than one important change in orientation, so far as is known—the reworking of the warfare interest. Two changes that took place may be regarded as merely aspects of one major change in relations with outsiders: the abandonment of warfare and the development of ceremonial secrecy. The abandonment of warfare was enforced by the Spaniards and thus one major interest of the Pueblos was no longer expressed in actual fighting. At the same time masked dances and rituals associated with them were protected from the Spaniards by various devices of secrecy. We may regard warfare with outsiders as having been an orientation of some importance in Pueblo life (Ellis 1951: 199). The protective devices were a consequence of its suppression. The governmental and ritual functions of the war organizations in the pueblos remained and hence the system of supernatural belief and practice was altered only in minor detail.

The two other major orientations of the Eastern Pueblos—subsistence and ceremonialism—seem merely to have been enriched rather than shifted in any direction, let alone replaced. The native crops continued to be central in production and the subsistence goals of production were not altered fundamentally, although production for taxation was introduced. Since Pueblo religion was closely linked with certain crops which were produced as before, there was similarly no change of importance in the religious system. As with agriculture, the new ceremonies and new supernaturals were added to the existing system, and elements of Catholicism strongly inconsistent with Pueblo religion were rejected.

The Processes of Change. In general it appears that the dominant process in Pueblo adjustment to Spanish contact was a sort of compartmentalization. The important introductions in subsistence, social organization, and ceremonial were accepted and adapted to Pueblo uses without much modification. Wheat was not integrated into the ceremonial system, the governor pattern

was not integrated into the village organization, the Saint's cult and the church building were not integrated into the ceremonial system. They were all employed to satisfy Pueblo interests, but they remained adjuncts rather than intricately linked elements in the whole. It is clear that they could have been abandoned, given a new set of conditions, without any important disruption of Pueblo culture.

This compartmentalization took place with practically no displacements and with a minimum of formal linkages between the new elements and the old. The conditions which gave rise to this type of adjustment will be discussed below after we have considered some other types of contact adjustment in the Southwest.

CAHITA FUSION

The Conditions of Contact. The general framework of contact for the Yaqui and Mayo was like that for the Eastern Pueblos (DeCorme 1941): military domination, colonial administration, missionization, and colonization. The Yaquis did not regard themselves as conquered people and in fact defeated the Spaniards in all engagements leading up to the entry of missionaries. The Mayos accepted the Spaniards without conquest as allies against Indian enemies. But the fact remains that, once the Spaniards entered the tribal territories, they did maintain military dominance. Their reputation in campaigns to the south was apparently sufficient to enable them for more than a hundred years to maintain their domination without actually having to resort to arms. Up to the time of Mexican independence there was, as in the case of the Pueblos, only one serious rebellion, in 1740. This was unlike the Pueblo rebellion of 1680 in that there was far less unity among the Indians and, though the rebellious faction fought bitterly, the Spaniards were never in danger of being driven out of the country. The colonial administration had much the same character as on the Rio Grande, including considerable friction with the missionaries, but may have been more efficient and less corrupt.

There were, however, two major differences in the character of the colonization and missionization. Spanish colonization in the Cahita country was far less intensive than on the Rio Grande, never in the colonial period infiltrating the whole Cahita country. Aside from the important mining center at Alamos in the Mayo country, Spanish communities grew up north and south of the Cahita territory rather than in it. Cahita contact with colonists was more limited than for Pueblos and chiefly through forced or voluntary labor in mines well out of the Yaqui country and only bordering the Mayo country. Nevertheless there seems to have been a good deal of such contact.

The behavior of the Jesuit missionaries was different in important respects from that of the Franciscans in New Mexico. The facts so far dug out of archives indicate some suppression of ceremony but little burning of masks or destruction of images, certainly not on the scale attained among the Eastern Pueblos. The Jesuits forced the building of churches and enforced attendance at mass, sometimes by whipping or other corporal punishment. At the same

time they learned the native languages and spent much time working with natives in the translation into Cahita of prayers, portions of the mass, and other materials. These translations survive today and provide a core of written ritual in Cahita ceremonialism.

Except for these differences, directed culture contact had much the same character that it did in New Mexico. It should be noted that there was heavy emphasis during the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries on getting the Yaquis to raise an agricultural surplus, chiefly of wheat, to supply the increasing missionary efforts to the north among Piman-speaking peoples. It should also be noted that the Spaniards encouraged a considerable amount of colonization by Yaquis themselves outside the Cahita country. Mining areas to both north and south were populated by Yaquis. The nature of these colonies, whether forced or not, and the extent to which they involved disruption of families, has not been adequately worked out. It seems likely that the "colonists" moved back and forth between the new Spanish-organized communities and the Cahita country.

Changes in Cultural Inventory. Time levels for borrowing and associated cultural changes are by no means so well established for the Cahita as for the Eastern Pueblos, and it seems possible from the historical sources which have been studied that we shall never uncover descriptions of Cahita culture in the colonial period as adequate as those for the Pueblos. It is necessary in discussing changes, therefore, to point out that revisions of the summary given here are to be expected when historical research matches in completeness that for New Mexico.

For the Cahita, wheat, chili, and melons were added to the corn, beans, pumpkin staples, as well as peaches, grapes, and onions. As with the Eastern Pueblos these did not replace the existing crops. It appears, however, that wheat was raised in greater quantities than among the Pueblos, but largely for outfitting the northern expeditions. It is possible, but not certain, that ditch systems were introduced and used in addition to a simpler flood plain agriculture which had been practised along the Yaqui and Mayo Rivers. It is clear also that certain wild foods formerly used in abundance, such as amaranth and various grass seeds and mesquite beans, were gradually replaced but at just what time is not clear. They certainly were still in use well into the nineteenth century, suggesting not much change during the colonial period.

Metal tools, particularly hoe blades and knives, quickly replaced wooden and stone tools. Also, burro transportation assumed some importance early in the contact period. Adobe bricks for church construction and mortar and stone were accepted, but throughout constituted only an alternative, not very widely used, method of house construction, along with the native cane and mud.

Changes in social organization were considerable. The scattered rancheria type settlement pattern was not wholly replaced, but the bulk of the population became concentrated around church centers at intervals along the river courses. The grid system of settlement pattern was not, however, introduced as it was farther south in Mexico, indicating no forced village relocation.

Village organization was profoundly altered, but without altering the system of landholding which remained one of communal village management. The Spanish system of annually elected governors with assistants was accepted. Although the governors had go-between functions with Spaniards as among the Pueblos, they did not specialize in these alone. They also managed the land and a court system of adjudication of family disputes. Their authority in civil matters was enforced by a Bow Chief, also called captain, and a society of warriors whose members assumed Spanish military titles. The Spanish whipping post and stocks were adopted as means of enforcement. The Spanish church organization with maestro cantoras, sacristans, and men's and women's sodalities was adopted and assumed control over the round of calendrical ceremonies. The operations of the three authorities were closely integrated through joint appearance at ceremonial and civil functions and through a number of ritual linkages centering around the use of flags, crosses, and canes of office—all Spanish introductions.

The Spanish ritual kinship system was introduced and modified especially with respect to burial and death functions, to conform with native ritual kinship. Monogamy became an accepted ideal pattern of marriage, although the real pattern continued to include polygyny. The highly descriptive Cahita kinship terminology resisted change until the subsequent period.

Changes in the ceremonial system were intricate and many-faceted. Only a few major changes can be discussed here. The pantheon of supernaturals seems to have been profoundly altered with respect to names and forms, probably less so with respect to meanings and function. Jesus and the Virgin were accepted and each became the focus of a cult within the whole ceremonial system. Moreover, the central cult within the whole system became that of Jesus, and two sodalities devoted to it became the controlling organization of ceremony. Not only were the terminology and much of the ritual practice accepted from the Christian system, but the mythology also was successfully introduced by the Jesuits. It was modified to fit the native locale, providing, for example, alternative place names from Biblical geography for the native place names. Typical are the Christian flood myth and the story of the persecution of Jesus which in large part replaced corresponding native flood and culture-hero myths. A portion of the native mythology connected with dreamed power and certain supernaturals such as the deer and other animals remained somewhat apart from the new combination and continued as an important, but subordinate, focus of ceremonialism. Its ritual vehicle consisted of the pascola and deer dance complex.

The forms of ceremony underwent similar reworking, the Christian form and meanings becoming dominant. Altar paraphernalia, masks, and ritual implements of many kinds assumed European forms as they were employed in the new combination cults. Prayers from Christian ritual were adopted and ritual speeches included Yaqui translations of Spanish phrases. Written words, largely Yaqui translations from Spanish and Latin, became of great importance in ceremony, and literate or semiliterate Yaqui ritual specialists became

key figures in the ceremonial organization. The whole inventory of changes in ceremonialism would require many pages to list. In general it may be said that a new set of forms came into existence derived from both traditions with the European becoming dominant, while the clearly native forms and meanings which persisted with little change remained few but still of considerable importance.

Changes in Orientation. It is by no means clear to what extent these extensive changes in inventory involved change in orientation of Cahita culture. The as yet poorly known early accounts do not give us a satisfactory base from which to estimate change; and the reworking of complexes, so obvious in its results, has obscured the nature of Cahita culture before contact. It is clear, however, that the new syntheses of ceremonialism and village organization did not result in orientations identical with corresponding aspects of Spanish culture.

The economy, like that of the Pueblos, certainly was not much reoriented. It remained a simple subsistence economy little changed in crop patterns or techniques. It is likely that the concentration of settlements resulted in a lesser importance of hunting and wild foods and a corresponding greater importance of agriculture, but the evidence is against much change in this direction during the colonial period. Cahita subsistence was basically agricultural when the Spanish came in.

There is considerable evidence of interest in warfare among the Cahita (Beals 1943: 40-43) and this was certainly changed under Spanish military domination. While the warrior society remained as a definite feature of the village organization with all of its ritual war paraphernalia, as well as its nominal war function, its activities became exclusively ceremonial in the hundred years following Spanish contact. These ceremonial functions were moreover closely integrated with the newly developing church-centered ceremonialism in the form of a special cult of the Virgin. Whether this integration of war organization with the rest of the ceremonial life was a new feature of Cahita ceremonialism, however, remains questionable. It seems likely that what happened was rather an intensification and elaboration of an already existing close linkage.

The orientation of the ceremonial system which developed during the colonial period focused on curing, certainly not on a Christian-oriented interest in the afterlife. While curing was certainly a cultural interest in the Christian system, it was not the dominant one as presented by the Jesuit missionaries. The indications are then that the Cahita orientation which developed was either a new one growing out of the combination of the two traditions or an adaptation of the Christian forms to an existing major orientation of Cahita ceremonialism. We cannot be sure of the nature of the change here, but it is clear that there was not a simple acceptance of the ceremonial orientation offered by the missionaries.

The Processes of Change. The processes of change which took place among the Cahita may be characterized as involving diffusion of a far larger number

of cultural elements than in the case of the Eastern Pueblos. The elements which were transferred, except in the case of subsistence and economic organization, were not only numerous, but also replaced many corresponding elements in Cahita culture. We cannot always be sure whether replacement or completely new increment was involved. Internal analysis of the cultural inventory after contact indicates that a major process was replacement of form with extensive modification of meaning. Typical of this process would be the replacement of the scalp-pole dance with the matachin pole dance, or the replacement of the Sun patron of the warrior society by the rayed Virgin. In such instances a specific Spanish element was accepted with many of the Spanish meanings, but native meanings persisted, and the total was something new, not quite Spanish, although not native Cahita.

However, the processes are not all to be subsumed under this one type. There was also much persistence of Cahita form, which, however, in the new context of partly Spanish form and meaning, began to assume new meanings. The end result was a fusion of borrowed and existing elements which constituted a new integration of elements with respect to both form and meaning. The Spanish diffusions were not compartmentalized as a fairly distinct adjunct to Cahita culture; they were modified and reworked to the extent that the culture took on a new character, certainly with respect to its inventory and probably in some degree with respect to its ceremonial and social orientation.

ATHABASCAN REORIENTATION

The Conditions of Contact. Although we shall discuss only briefly the nature of the Athabascan adjustment to Spanish contact, the contrasts with the two previously discussed adjustments throw some light on the range of processes involved in Spanish contacts in the Southwest as a whole.

The conditions of contact for the Navaho and Apache may be described in positive terms as intermittent, indirect, and largely hostile; and negatively, in comparison with the Eastern Pueblos and Cahita, as not involving military domination, colonization, colonial administration, or any but the slightest missionization. Contacts were intermittent in that Navaho communities were distant from Spanish settlements, and relations were occasional through trade expeditions, raids, and through short-lived mission programs as at Cebolleta in the vicinity of Mt. Taylor. Much indirect contact with Spanish culture, of a more continuous character, took place through Navaho contact with Pueblo people who lived among them and through Navaho relations with Pueblo communities of various types. Contact was thus not enforced and it was not intensive in any aspect of life.

Changes in Cultural Inventory. A case can be made for changes in Navaho life with respect to subsistence pattern, material culture items, and social structure. Already basically agricultural, no change of importance came about in the Navaho crop complex or in techniques; but they did accept sheep and goats and thus added herding to their subsistence pattern during the Spanish colonial period. They adopted horses with the associated Spanish material

culture complex. Metal tools, weaving in wool, and textiles were also adopted. Along with the adoption of horses and the new herding complex went some change in social structure as a result of greater mobility and more contact among Navaho local groups. Social life broadened through such contact among Navahos and with Pueblo and Spanish communities. Similar changes may be noted for the Apache, as a result of taking over horses, but not sheep.

Changes in Orientation. The striking thing about Navaho adjustment to contact is not the number of cultural elements diffused, but rather the profound influence of the few acceptances that did come about. Navaho culture was sharply reoriented as a result of the new means of subsistence adopted. As the herding complex developed and the interest in livestock extended to horses, the whole economic aspect of Navaho life was transformed. The new activity did not remain a subordinate one compartmentalized in Navaho life, but became a major focus of interest. Production and population increased and, as this took place, Navaho relations with surrounding peoples as well as among themselves assumed a new character. Tribal sense, although not tribal organization, intensified. Trade and production for trade became increasingly important. Livestock became integrated into the prestige and social structure. This new orientation was developing at an accelerated rate as Navaho raiding increased up to the close of the Spanish colonial period. It was raiding also, with horses as the means and one of the objectives, that constituted a new orientation for the Apaches.

Processes of Change. Uncontrolled by Spanish military domination or the structures of colonial administration, Athabascans selected on their own terms a few elements which fitted well with their environmental situation and their existing cultural patterns. They ignored Spanish ceremonialism and community organization. The way in which they were able to choose, sometimes quite consciously, is clearly indicated in the story of their withdrawal from the mission program at Cebolleta, when they told the missionaries that they frankly did not "desire to become Christians" (Kelly 1941: 50) and since the priests had run out of food and other goods they were going back to the way of life that they liked best.

This limited selection with withdrawal from further continuous directed contact left them free to integrate their borrowings with their existing culture in accordance with the structure of that culture. The result was the reorientation which we have noted. Somewhat similar processes seem to have taken place in connection with Navaho religious life, as they borrowed elements from Pueblos and proceeded to integrate these in their own way with their ceremonial system. The extent of the change here is not however so clear as that in the economic aspect of culture.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

There are essentially only two approaches to the explanation of the phenomena of cultural change in contact situations. On the one hand, such changes are often explained with reference to the nature of the cultures which, through

their bearers, come into contact. On the other hand, they are sometimes explained with reference to the conditions of contact. The first approach makes use of concepts such as compatibility, integration, complexity, and patterning. The second makes use of concepts such as directed change, social cultural fusion, participation, firsthand contact, intensity of contact, hostility, and duration. It would seem that both approaches are necessary.

We have emphasized that we are concerned only with those cultures which survived contact. Too little information is available for consideration of those which underwent complete assimilation. It is doubtful whether any whole tribe was assimilated during the colonial period, but it is certain that many individuals and some communities were.

We have made distinctions among the adjustment patterns of native cultures primarily with reference to the manner in which native and Spanish culture elements entered into combination, only secondarily with reference to the number or type of culture elements diffused. We have used the terms compartmentalization, fusion, and reorientation for types of combination, although it is recognized that there were other types which we have not attempted to analyze here.

We have further been concerned with cultures as wholes in their adjustment to contact rather than with separate complexes.

The question which will concern us here is the nature of the factors which gave rise to such different results in the contact process. There appear to be few difficulties in explaining Athabascan reorientation. The facts which seem to be important are the following. The selection of elements was controlled by the receiving cultures. The ecological and demographic situation was favorable to the new subsistence techniques selected, namely, herding for Navaho and raiding for Apache. The process of integration of the new traits took place also under conditions established by the receivers. The precontact subsistence patterns allowed for the additional techniques and advantages were quickly apparent. The receiving cultures were not oriented strongly around the existing subsistence pattern. These features of the contact situation and of the cultures seem sufficient to explain the results in Spanish-Athabascan acculturation.

There is more need for analysis in explaining the different results for Eastern Pueblo and Cahita since the conditions of contact were similar in so many ways. Both were the object of vigorous programs of directed change in all aspects of culture. In neither case did the complete transference with replacement which would seem to have been the objective of the Spanish program take place. Reed advances the hypothesis for the Eastern Pueblos that "the strength and integration of the indigenous patterns" was such that material culture elements could be selected for specific advantages without changes taking place in other aspects of the culture. This seems to be a useful hypothesis, and yet we are faced with several difficulties in explaining the Cahita case.

In the first place I do not think that the nature of Pueblo integration is alone sufficient to explain the results of acculturation. The conditions of contact, which included direct opposition and suppression of the established and

widely integrated ceremonials such as the kachina dances, must have given rise to opposition to the innovators as well as to the innovations. There is no evidence of efforts on the part of the Franciscans to adjust their innovations to Pueblo ceremonialism in the light of any understanding of it which they gained. I would therefore add to the explanation hostility to, and lack of prestige of, the innovators.

The different results with the Cahita would seem to suggest a precontact Cahita culture very different from that of the Pueblo—a less closely integrated village life, perhaps more like that of the Pimans. And yet I find that hard to accept. Early nineteenth-century Cahita village life was strongly like that of the Pueblo with ceremonial and social systems strongly linked and a primary orientation in ceremonialism. This could have been a convergence but I am more inclined to regard it as a persistence from the aboriginal condition of a general pattern of Cahita life.

What seems most probable as an explanation of the fusion which took place among Cahita is the following. The Cahita settlement pattern was different from the Pueblo—the *rancheria* type. The missionaries, at first very vigorous, introduced the pattern of “reduction” to pueblos. This meant a setting up of village centers, organized around churches, of a type which had not existed before. It seems likely that those Cahita who did come into the new centers, to be sure also leaving the scattered *rancheria* settlements in existence, became material in the hands of missionaries for a new form of pueblo organization. It was in this fluid period of the reduction to pueblos that the new politico-ceremonial organization took form. It is fairly clear that there was division into progressives and conservatives. It seems likely that the old and the new village forms were in competition for a time and that eventually the new became dominant, with the *rancheria* remnants subordinate in various ways. This would explain the ultimate dominance of the Spanish-derived forms of organization.

The missionaries who first came into the Yaqui settlements came at Yaqui invitation and, as stipulated, without military escort. They comported themselves in a way that did not rouse general antagonism or they could have been easily ousted. The evidence indicates that they did not directly attack existing ceremonialism, but offered substitutes and permitted much Cahita reworking of forms and persistence of old meanings for the substitutions. These conditions of contact, then, the competing village patterns, prestigious innovators, and the techniques of substitution, gave rise to fusion of cultural elements rather than to resistance with compartmentalization under pressure. Our explanation makes the effects of Jesuit techniques, in contrast with Franciscan ones, and the fluidity of settlement patterns the major factors in the conditions of contact responsible for results different from those evidenced among the Eastern Pueblo.

It seems highly probable, if this is correct, that contact resulted in little more change of orientation for the Cahita than it did for the Eastern Pueblos. We might then extend Reed's proposition a little further and suggest that not only may extensive material culture borrowing take place without important

changes in social and religious life, but much borrowing may take place in all aspects of a culture without fundamental changes in the orientations.

One final point may be mentioned. Acculturation in language seems to have followed patterns the same as for other aspects of culture in the case both of the Cahita and the Eastern Pueblo. As Trager (1944) and Spencer (1947) point out, Tiwa and Keresan have no mechanisms for incorporating borrowed Spanish words into the morphological pattern of the native languages. On the other hand, both Yaqui and Mayo have standard techniques for incorporating Spanish words into the languages, and the words may be treated morphologically, for instance by affixation, as are the Cahita words (Spicer 1943). In other respects also, Spanish has obviously influenced the morphology and syntax of Yaqui and Mayo (Johnson 1943).

COMMENTS

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EVERYONE agrees that the Eastern Pueblos have been a conservative people. In a closely integrated culture dominated by the gerontocracy, the pace of change is slower than elsewhere. But I am inclined to think that we have been led to greatly minimize the amount of Pueblo borrowing by their very ability to amalgamate—and so absorb—traits rather than to compartmentalize them. Amalgamation tendencies certainly must be high in a group which has pulled the parts of its culture so tightly together. I believe that anthropologists have been confused on this point of process by three problems: lack of completeness and detail in Eastern Pueblo studies, personal lack of detailed knowledge of colonial Spanish culture and of the old New Mexico version of the Catholic church, and, in some cases, the unfortunate preconception of preceding anthropologists that Indianists should concentrate upon items Indian, including diffusion of traits between tribes but not between natives and Europeans. I should like to call attention to data which suggest that both Catholicism and Pueblo secular officers are examples of amalgamation, rather than of compartmentalization, and to offer the growing wage economy with its far-reaching consequences as further evidence of amalgamative ability.

We are all aware that in the prehistoric period the Pueblos took their start by borrowing from people to the south, probably the Mogollons, and that later the Mogollon group so returned the compliment that finally both lost their specific identities in becoming the Western Pueblos. I believe that this tendency to borrow and absorb continued in the historic period but that ability in amalgamation has obscured the origin of some borrowed traits even from the Pueblo people themselves.

Catholicism, for instance, is vehemently claimed as their own religion. If we found that these people paid but forced lip service to the creed we could agree that this trait had been compartmentalized. But at present, after mass in Jemez, the governor stands at the church door bitterly denouncing as traitors