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The Pueblo Revolt of 1680, Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico. By Andrew L. Knaut.

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serve. When aboriginal communities acquire the expertise to develop their own proposals, they will have gone some way toward overcoming the local-level dependency that has led to so many business failures and so much inappropriate development. Because the book contains sound advice about how to obtain community consent, a nonelitist business development project should be able to avoid many of the top-down schemes and promote the voluntarism that will enable many otherwise marginal projects to be successful and competitive.

Planning for Balanced Development is meant as a how-to business primer for aboriginal people intent on cultural retention and sustainable employment opportunities. For this purpose it is faultless and is unlikely to be equaled soon. Despite the qualms that social scientists may have about ethnotourism, the importance of assisting people who want to preserve their communities through business development cannot be responsibly ignored. In producing this book and offering the royalties to her community project, Susan Guyette has provided aboriginal communities with an exemplary service, which more scholars could emulate productively.

Ross Mallick

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680, Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico. By Andrew L. Knaut. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. 248 pages. \$29.95 cloth.

Currently a large part of the allure of the Pueblo Indians is their past history. Apparently, the author of yet another book on the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was fascinated by the tribes' history. In his prologue Knaut describes the revolt very succinctly, making the reader believe that this is going to be a comprehensive account of the events leading to the revolt as well as of the days and years following. However, a historian will discover quickly that the book is not historically inclusive; it covers only highlights of the famous event in the Pueblos' past.

Knaut's book is divided into three parts, which are then subdivided into chapters. Part I begins with the early contacts between Pueblo people and Spaniards, describing the Europeans' mission and accomplishments, both positive and negative. A question arises here about the book's accuracy in relation to the difficulties experienced by the first European representative, Esteban, at

Hawikuh. Knaut states that Esteban crossed the cornmeal line placed for pilgrims returning from their sacred lake in Arizona. Not so. It was Coronado's party that crossed the cornmeal line, entering the Zuni area at Hawikuh in early summer, when the pilgrims were returning from their annual trip to the lake. Coronado's transgression caused the Zuni warriors to attack his party. This fact was documented in 1992 in the film *Surviving Columbus*, as told by the Ashiwi or Zuni.

Knaut touches on Onate's Entrada but fails to report the first meeting at Santo Domingo Pueblo with thirty-eight Pueblo leaders before the journey continued to Yunge Oweenge, where the Spaniards settled, renaming it San Gabriel.

The tragic incident at Sky City is well described; I have not seen the story written elsewhere in as great detail as here. However, Knaut places the trial for the Acoma incident at San Juan Pueblo, although most historians know that it took place at Santo Domingo Pueblo, the site of the ecclesiastical capital at that time. The return of DeVargas, with Indian allies who fronted his returning party, is also described well. But, again, the author fails to mention that these allies carried letters and rosaries, which they presented to the tribal leaders as they advanced up the Rio Grande. It may be too much to expect inclusion of the prophecies of Fray Juan de Escalona and Fray Diego de Mercado, which also took place prior to the expeditions.

After describing the revolt and the re-establishment of the Spanish colonists, Knaut explains that the citizens of New Mexico were divided into three camps: Franciscan missionaries, bureaucratic authorities appointed by the Crown, and permanent settlers. His explication of the disputes between secular and clerical authorities is well researched.

Chapter 5 gives a good account of the culprits who made New Mexico history colorful, as we view it in retrospect. The three worst governors, as judged by the indigenous inhabitants, were Juan de Eulate, 1618–25; Luis de Rosas, 1638–41, who was murdered in 1642; and Bernardo Lopez de Mandizabel, 1659–61. Of course, there were others, such as Pedro de Peralta, 1610–14, who was later confined in a cell at the Franciscan headquarters of Santo Domingo Pueblo (p. 93) for nine months. Lopez de Mandizabel also eventually stood trial before the Inquisition in Mexico City, where he died while in custody (p. 116).

Of the Franciscan group, there was Custo Isidro Ordonez, who stood toe-to-toe with the governors. Others not so strong resigned their missions; six are listed (p. 110). During all these fights

between the secular and the clergy, the Pueblo people celebrated their cultural revival, part of which was ignoring the ban on the kachinas. However, in 1661 a new *custo*, Fray Alonzo de Posada, came from Mexico City. A new governor, Diego de Penalosa, arrived also. Posada, who had support from the new governor, immediately reinstated the ban on the kachinas and ordered all masks and costumes connected with the dances to be collected and given to him. He also began strict enforcement of Indian attendance at church services. These restrictions led to other incidents that are not covered in the book. In general, the Pueblo people found fewer and fewer venues through which to preserve their traditional ways, and the pressure for revolt increased.

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 explicates many aspects of Pueblo life that the average, nonhistorian reader will especially enjoy. One is the convoy system. Knaut describes a caravan of about thirty wagons laden with mission supplies—building materials, church ornaments, cloth, and nonperishable foodstuffs—leaving Mexico City in midsummer, accompanied by settlers, traders, a complement of a dozen soldiers, a handful of Indian porters, and friars and government officials newly appointed to serve New Mexico. This departure, Knaut writes, was timed so that the worst leg of the trek from Santa Barbara to Santa Fe could be completed during the less forbidding months of late fall and early winter.

Arriving in Santa Fe in December or January, the convoy would spend the next six months unloading and then taking on salt, piñons, hides, and occasional Athabaskan slaves. This was followed by another year-and-one-half gathering supplies and outfitting the caravan for its next journey northward. The return trip was timed to avoid crossing the Rio del Norte during the spring floods, leaving Santa Fe in May or June bound for the markets of Santa Barbara and its surrounding mining camps.

In spite of all the hard work and the time spent, few of the dreams of wealth that fueled many colonists would find fulfillment during the seventeenth century. The land offered scant resources for exploitation by profit-minded colonists. This was the reason commercial success was difficult for those who managed to build sizable stores of goods. With no circulating currency, trade in New Mexico relied on a system of barter, which, I might add, continued until World War II. This place simply was not an *othro* Mexico or Nuevo Mexico.

The question is often raised, Who were the newcomers to New Mexico? Knaut writes that with Onate's *Entrada* fifty-three new

soldiers entered the province. Of these, forty were convicts sentenced to serve in the desolate northern province and transported there in chains.

Life was hard for those unable to withstand the furies of the land; some who were broken by it left the area when they could. With the citizens divided into three camps, as described earlier, many colonists turned to the ways of the fourth camp, the original indigenous natives. Thus today there is a unique culture in New Mexico—the architecture, food, and folkways practiced in the native villages—including the Pueblo Indians and the descendants of the settlers.

In the concluding chapter, Knaut points out the final instigator of the rebellion, Juan Francisco Treviño (1675–77), the governor who exercised a level of persecution never before experienced by the Pueblo people. Treviño outlawed congregation in kivas and ordered many kivas destroyed. Soon he ordered the arrest of forty-seven Pueblo leaders (not medicine men), who were brought to Santa Fe and publicly whipped. This humiliation caused one of those whipped, Popé of San Juan Pueblo, to begin to organize the Pueblo people and plan a revolt. Thus it happened.

In the epilogue, Knaut explains that Popé was replaced by Luis Tupatu of Picuris Pueblo for a while. In July 1683 Tupatu sent an emissary, Juan Punsilli, to the Spaniards from his pueblo. Tupatu's message was an invitation for the Spaniards to return, provided they did not pillage and burn any more pueblos. This bears out Pueblo oral history, which claims that Pueblo men were in the company as DeVargas accomplished his bloodless re-entry.

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 is a good book; it is not complete, but it is an interesting addition to written history for the average reader.

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Severing the Ties that Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies. By Katherine Pettipas. Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 1994. 304 pages. \$39.95 cloth; \$18.95 paper.

This detailed study of Canadian government policies and practices aimed at destroying indigenous religious traditions, and of