Kiva, Cross And Crown: The Pecos Indians And New Mexico, 1540-1840. By John L. Kessell. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, for the National Park Service, 1979. 587 pp. $12.00.

Most students of American Indian culture and history are aware of the fact that more has been written on the tribes of the Southwest (individually and collectively) than any other region of Indian North America. Name any anthropologist who has focused on Native American cultures in the past eighty years and chances are that he or she wrote something on the Pueblos during the course of his/her academic career. Yet how many enthusiasts of this charismatic culture area are cognizant of the paucity of documentary studies of individual communities? Plainly most of us are not, despite what in reality is a tremendous gap in the literature of these historic and contemporary Indian communities.

John L. Kessell, familiar to most students and scholars as a specialist of the missions and missionaries of the Southwest has tackled what Alfred Vincent Kidder once described as a most lamentable major gap in our knowledge of the historic Southwest. The task was not an easy one. Adolph Bandelier, Edgar L. Hewett and Kidder each contributed pieces to the historical puzzle of Pecos between 1880 and 1958. But these were mere historical outlines leaving most questions unanswered. Pieces of the puzzle were near-meaningless without speculative interpretation and a broad knowledge of all Pueblo history and ethnology to add to the better-known archaeological sequence for the impressive ruins outside of Santa Fe.

The perspective Kessell settled upon is largely to be admired. Throughout the book the entire Spanish province of New Mexico is mirrored from documented events combed from previous scholarship and, more importantly, those dug from the archives by the author. And the mirror has two sides. When documents are lacking for Pecos, Kessell draws upon events elsewhere to provide continuity in this complex and copiously documented narrative.

A careful scholar in the best tradition of Herbert E. Bolton and his "roundtable" of Spanish Borderlands historians, Kessell notes at the outset that he has not relied on translations of documents despite the importance of such published works in other areas of Southwestern studies.

Instead, where possible, he has gone to the original Spanish documents — whether in Mexico City, Seville, Berkeley or Santa Fe — rereading the sources with Pecos everpresent on his mind. This laborious approach reflects two principal methodological points that characterize Kessell and his work: first, he is near antiquarian (in the best sense of the term) in his quest for veracity and authenticity; secondly, the writing of history is for the author (in theory and in practice) the narration of a story of living individuals molded in the active tense. Kessell is a sensitive writer who captures the atmosphere of the age as he revives critical historical events for the reader.

For students of Spanish New Mexico the book is a delightful success. Colonial New Spain becomes a living reality as Hispanic characters enter and leave the central stage of the Rio Grande and Pecos valleys. For students of Pueblo history, however, the book is less successful. Often the author becomes so involved with the Spanish subjects of his specialty that the dynamics of Pueblo society are lost amidst the struggles of friars, colonists and soldiers in the remote outstretch of a new European world. This is not entirely the author's fault. Where other ethno-historians have the advantage of ethnological studies, Kessell's subject limits his potential to present the other half of the coin. Pecos was abandoned in 1838, long before ethnology was an organized discipline and thus, as he states in his introduction, no attempt is made to reconstruct Pecos social organization.

On this score Kessell is absolved but his failure to utilize oral history is less forgiveable. Despite the passage of time from the abandonment of the pueblo to the coming-of-age of American anthropology, some material was gathered from descendants of Pecos by Edgar Hewett. Furthermore some memories of Pecos are alive and well today at Jémez and other Rio Grande pueblos where the migrant Pecos moved only one hundred and forty years ago. Fortunately this omission will be less significant once Jémez tribal historian Joe Sando completes his work on that Pueblo community.

Aside from a detailed narrative of Spanish colonial enterprise in New Mexico, the strengths of the book rest in the successful development of several outstanding themes of Pecos history. The most important is that of factionalism. We learn from the outset that the Pecos migrated to this mesa-top

setting before contact with Europeans as a result of pressure from nomadic groups, a concept introduced by Bandelier and bolstered by archaeologists since 1900. We also learn that despite the exposure of Pecos to tribes of the Plains, the choice of locale was a rational one as this setting was the most strategic gateway to the plains and thus always held a potential for monopolizing trade items moving from east to west and vice versa. Exposure was clearly a trade-off for a middleman position and potential wealth relative to other Pueblos — a factor realized prior to contact with Europeans. In Kessell's estimation, Europeans entered the New Mexican landscape offering certain advantages to Pecos in its quest to retain control of an elaborate trading nexus.

Factionalism is woven as the key design in understanding motives and actions at many levels besides that of economic imperatives. Whether analyzing actions of Pecos officials in their quest for special favors at the office of the governor in Santa Fe or in attempting to interpret plots and activities of Pecos leaders in their kivas, from contact in 1540 through final abandonment three hundred years later, the author relies heavily upon this as the central key to unlocking the mysteries of the changing world within the walls of Pecos. The theme becomes especially significant in Kessell's interpretation of the Pueblo Revolt and subsequent Reconquest Period (1680-96) in which Pecos played a dual role as friend and foe of the Spanish invaders. This is the fulcrum of the book structurally and is significantly the "watershed" in Pueblo history. Before the Revolt, Pecos had not been viewed as a darling from the governor's offices in Santa Fe. In fact, because of her strategic position for trade with Apaches and other plains tribes, Pecos was always expected to give more in tribute and labor (and military service) to the Crown than other pueblos simply because she was wealthier. Subject to the same missionization pressures and increasing work and tribute payment from Onate's time forward, the Pecos were not loyal allies of the Spanish Crown. Nor were they good Christians. But they did warn the Spaniards of impending revolt up to the fatal hour in 1680 and, in the aftermath, Pecos warriors aided Governor de Vargas in the mop-up of localized Pueblo resistance after his return in 1692. Without Pecos, this might not have been possible for another decade.

But did Pecos sell-out the other Pueblos? Clearly she did not. Cooperation was but a veneer. They, like most independent conservative tribal societies within a linguistic family had their friends and their enemies. Generally they did not get along well with the northern Tewa Pueblos, but they did fight side by side in the 1680 Revolt. And they were loyal to Popé and his retinue of leaders from San Juan until his successor, Luis Tupatú of Picurís, took his place in the interregnum of Spanish occupation. By 1689 Pecos, in alliance with the Keres, Jémez and Taos were in an "unceasing war" against Tewas, Picurís and probably Tanos, their former allies in the Great Revolt.

Once the Spaniards were back in the central seat of power, Pecos — like many other pueblos — had to readjust to colonial domination once again. The transition was not without trauma for the Pecos. Two political camps survived the Reconquest. Traditional ceremonial leaders conservatively guarded all aspects of Pecos sovereignty and ceremonialism and felt no obligations to aid Spaniards and their friars. A more cooperative faction — mainly composed of young leaders selected by Spanish authorities — never completely accepted the cultural baggage of the Iberians but they did provide the essential political and military allegiance necessary for Spanish control of trade and politics within the pueblo. They also demonstrated that Pecos's fighting men were essential for Spanish policing of the frontier.

Politically the "progressive" faction of cooperative youths prevailed throughout most of the eighteenth century. Socially the traditionals maintained solidarity in the kivas despite frequent harassment by Spanish authorities and their Pecos henchmen. The ultimate key to conquest was the frontier institution of the mission and in this endeavor, the Castilians failed miserably. Across three centuries Franciscans labored at Pecos building architectural marvels for their time of construction. Never did the Towa-speaking Pecos fully learn Spanish and conversely, no friar during the three hundred years of Spanish occupation was fluent in Towa. Kivas were destroyed from time to time and fetishes had to be hidden or buried, but shrines were maintained and ceremonialism was never lost.

The wonder of the story of the Pecos (like many other

histories of Native Americans) is that religion and language were maintained in the face of such odds. But, as Kessell tells us, the reason again is to be found in the failure to reach consensus over policy — this time Indian policy as established in Spain, Mexico City and Santa Fe. In short, a theme of New Mexican history best exposed by the late France V. Scholes surfaces in intense rivalry between church and state over control of the Indians of the province. As both groups, civil and religious, vied for control of Pecos, the true subjugation and conversion of the people became secondary considerations to those of privileges of economic importance. Pecos was bled dry for every available manta and every fanega of piñon nuts during these various contests for her wealth. Slaves and hides from the plains were the real gems desired in Santa Fe and Mexico City and, as long as the Pecos could keep these items flowing, little attention was paid by Spanish officials to maintenance of kivas, social organization and retention of the native tongue.

Trade provided Pecos her prosperity and most interpretations of the decline and demise of Pecos place great weight on Comanche raiding. Certainly this was a major factor and one that Kessell does not fail to point out, but more important is the general theme of disease. Despite infighting in the kivas, disagreement over civil authorities, trading rivalries, frequent changes of Spanish authorities in Santa Fe, failure to attract more than a visiting priest at the local church and occasional losses of manpower at the hands of Plains raiding parties — as long as the ecology of the valley was maintained, Pecos coped with adversity. But disease visited them too often, a theme essential to understanding the ultimate demise of the once-great pueblo-fortress.

From a high of over 2,000 inhabitants living in some 1,000 rooms during the sixteenth century, Pecos was reduced to half that number by 1706. After several major smallpox epidemics in the eighteenth century and contamination of the water supply due to drainage through the Catholic mission cemetery (a factor ignored by the author), population plummeted to 159 by 1799. The timing was catastrophic. Simultaneously, a final problem eventually led to geographic displacement.

Anticlimatic in hindsight, but important for a new perspective on Spanish-land grant history, was encroachment by Hispanos who sought the rich (though limited in area)

farmland of the Pecos River Valley. Beginning in 1794 several families were on the threshold of Pecos garden and farm plots. By the 1830s life in the ancient religious valley was anathema to Pecos survival. Hence their move to Jémez and the Rio Grande pueblos.

Kiva, Cross and Crown is a powerful and important narrative that deserves careful reading by all students of the Spanish Borderlands and by those students of Indian history who are interested in Plains-Pueblo relations and the theme of inter-Pueblo relations. Anyone interested in mission history will also find this work compelling if somewhat over-dramatic with inclusion of copies of signatures of nearly every Spanish official and friar who entered New Mexico in the Spanish and Mexican periods. Finally, archaeologists will want to examine Kessell after reading Kidder, *et al.* for the fine synthesis of documents presented in a tediously complex but readable narrative. Any reader will delight in the use of illustrations lavishly subsidized by the National Park Service (some 27 color plates; over 200 black-and-white illustrations) and reference librarians will delight in knowing that for Pecos we now have some nicely summarized appendices with demographic tables and lists of notables — Indian and Spanish. An addendum provides an interesting explanation of the "Miera Map of 1758," one of the more accurate maps of New Mexico and the Indian tribes of the Pueblo region during the eighteenth century.

Ethnohistorians will find this work important but frustrating. The dominant image projected throughout the book is that of a people caught between two pincers. Within their own cultural province the Pecos underwent increasing pressures from rebellious hispanophobic pueblos that resented Pecos's cooperation with the invaders. Compounding this was ecclesiastical and civil pressure that heavily taxed the Pecos labor and resource base eventually splitting its society into two camps. From the other pincer pressure increasingly made it more difficult to hold and maintain the gateway to the plains and the important economy of surplus based upon trade as Comanche raiders drove deeper and deeper into the Pecos-Apache trading sphere. Eventually the pueblo, historically the most populous and architecturally the most magnificent, deteriorated. If, as Kessell submits, factionalism rendered the pueblo more and more susceptible as the Pecos people headed

"toward extinction" (as he titles his final major chapter), we must ask what transpired internally. From contemporary evidence it would appear that Pecos, like a nut, was not rotten; nor did the pincers force it to crack and spill-out its contents. The nut merely dried-up, turning into seed for a changing community to the west that is far from extinct.

William R. Swagerty
Newberry Library
Chicago, Illinois

Zuni: Selected Writings of Frank Hamilton Cushing. Ed. Jesse Green. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979. 440 pp. $16.95.

In the first generation of American anthropologists — Bourke, Matthews, Mooney, Fletcher, Powell, and the other pioneers — the most important name is surely that of Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857-1900), a mysterious figure in spite of the flamboyant publicity he generated in his lifetime, a gifted literary artist whose writings have been largely ignored by most students of American literature, and a field-worker whose achievements — however amateurish they may appear to more "scientific" investigators — may provide an object lesson in the limitations and possibilities of research into the culture of "primitive" societies.

Cushing's life as an ethnologist may be understood as a series of inspired, almost mystical leaps of the imagination by which he was able to pierce through conventional perceptions of "savagery" and "civilization" to a vision of the universal wisdom that underlies all societies, whatever their surface differences. He developed his own methods of investigation — indeed his entire education was largely by his own efforts — and even as a child he had begun to seek answers to questions which his elders considered irrelevant. Indeed his neighbors in western New York assumed that his unconventional behavior — wandering in the woods, dressing in an Indian costume of his own manufacture, attempting to communicate with birds — were all evidence of possible lunacy. Even as a boy he was determined to break down the temporal barriers which