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New Mexico and the Pimería Alta

A Brief Introduction to the Colonial Period in the American Southwest

JOHN G. DOUGLASS AND WILLIAM M. GRAVES

INTRODUCTION

The American Southwest is notable for its unique physical and cultural landscapes. From the low Sonoran and Chihuahuan deserts to the vast uplands of the Colorado Plateau to the Rio Grande valley and beyond, this region has witnessed a diverse and complex social history spanning more than 10,000 years. For the vast majority of this long span, this history was a Native American history that reflected the diversity and complexity of the indigenous groups who inhabited the region's various landscapes. By the AD 1500s, the region was home to hundreds of village settlement and scores of mobile hunter-gatherer groups who spoke dozens of different languages—the direct ancestors of many of the Native Americans who live in the Southwest today.

In 1539, the history of the Southwest was irrevocably altered with the arrival of the first Spanish expedition, led by Fray Marcos de Niza (Bolton 1990). The expedition was sent in advance of the Coronado expedition of 1540 by Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy of Mexico. Members of Niza's group reached as far north as the Zuni area, where a member of his party, Esteban de Dorantes, a

member of Pánfilo de Narváez's failed 1535–36 expedition to what is now the American Southeast, was killed by the Zuni (Bolton 1990:33–35; Riley 1999:29). Encouraged by exaggerated reports of gold and the potential for wealth from the Niza expedition, Mendoza organized a larger expedition and appointed the governor of Nueva Galicia, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, to lead it (Bolton 1990; Riley 1999:30) (see chapter 2, by Matthew F. Schmader, this volume). In the spring of 1540, Coronado and a group of over 300 soldiers, as well as numerous *indios amigos*—generally Nahuatl speakers and other indigenous conquerors, primarily from central and western Mexico, who outnumbered the Spanish many times over (including the Mexica, Tlaxcalteca, Oaxacan, and Tarascan cultures)—headed north from Compostela, the capital of Nueva Galicia, continued along the western slopes of the Sierra Madre Occidental, continued through the upland valleys of Sonora, and reached as far north as the Hopi Mesas and the Grand Canyon (Bolton 1990). Over the next two years, Coronado's forces made contact with numerous Pueblos and Plains groups and reached as far east as Wichita, Kansas. His well-documented encounters (e.g., Bolton 1990; Flint and Flint 2005; Hammond and Rey 1940; Hartmann 2014) with Native American groups mark the beginning of the colonial period in the Southwest—an era characterized by what were often conflictive, violent, and tumultuous relations that distinguish much of the more-recent history of the region.

Within the Southwest, colonial encounters and the processes of colonialism played out in notably divergent manners through time and space. Colonialism and the process of state expansion into new territories far from capital and motherland have occurred for thousands of years across the globe (see chapters in Stein 2005). The Spanish intrusion into the Southwest was not the first, widespread extraregional interaction witnessed by the inhabitants of the region. However, similar to Mesoamerica (e.g., Matthew 2012), it was by far the most far-reaching and influential in terms of dramatically altering the historical trajectories of both native and foreign cultures. For millennia, various cultural groups in the Southwest had interacted with foreign societies and experienced influxes of new peoples into the region. A good example of such interactions is the widespread evidence for Mesoamerican influence in architecture, material culture, and ideology among the Mimbres, the Mogollon, and the Hohokam, and throughout the Ancestral Pueblo world seen in the centuries around AD 1000 (e.g., Creel and McKusick 1994; Di Peso 1974; Gilman et al. 2014; Harmon 2006; Schaafsma 1999; Somerville et al. 2010; Whittlesey 2004; Whittlesey and Reid 2013). In this case, archaeologists are still sorting out what form these interactions took and how they were structured—for example, direct or indirect interregional trade, population movement, diffusion of ideologies and cultural traits, or some combination of phenomena—but the presence of strong cultural ties between cultures of the American Southwest and of greater Mesoamerica

seem undeniable. The later arrival in the 1400s of Athapaskan speakers, the ancestors of the modern Navajo and Apache, and the arrival of the Comanche in the 1700s are other examples of interregional interactions, this time marking the introduction of new cultural groups to the American Southwest (see, e.g., Wilshusen 2010:193).

Unlike these examples of extraregional cultural influences and movements of populations into the Southwest, however, the arrival of Spaniards in the 1500s was clearly the most “foreign” intrusion into the region and would irrevocably alter the histories of both native and colonizer groups. The American Southwest was the northern frontier of the Spanish Empire, and like Guatemala on its southern edge, was a place of conflict, persistence, and ethnogenesis (see Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Hu 2013; Matthew 2012; Palka 2005; Rice and Rice 2005). The Spanish colonization of the Southwest was part of a hemispheric approach to colonialism, one that bears striking resemblance to many other examples of colonialism in both modern and ancient state examples (Alcock 2005; Brown 2013; Deagan 1995, 1997; Gosden 2004; Gosden and Knowles 2001; Hart et al. 2012; Hartmann 2014; Hu 2013; Lapham 2005; Liebmann and Murphy 2010; Liebmann and Rizvi 2008; Lightfoot 2005; Lightfoot et al. 1998, Lightfoot et al. 2013; Lydon 2009; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Mathers et al. 2013; Matthew 2012; Oudijk and Matthew 2007; Mitchell 2013; Oland et al. 2012; Oliver 2010; Panich 2013; Panich and Schneider 2014; Rice and Rice 2005; Riley 2001; Rojo 2001; Scheiber and Finley 2011; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010; S. Schroeder 2010; Stein 2002; Stojanowski 2010; Thomas 1989; Trigg 2005; Tiesler et al. 2010; Voss 2008a, 2008b; Wade 2008). These examples show us that, through such colonial encounters, cultures undergo dramatic transformations in identity and social, economic, and political relations, and that to understand such encounters, we must turn away from simplistic models of colonialism drawn from world systems theory or models of domination and resistance (see Gosden 2004).

The chapters in this volume focus on the two major areas of the American Southwest that witnessed the most intensive and sustained colonial encounters: (1) the New Mexico Colony which extended from present-day northeastern Arizona to north and central New Mexico; and (2) the Pimería Alta in the northern Sonoran Desert (Figure 1.1). The particular mix of players, sociohistorical trajectories, and local and regional social relations within each area both led to, and were transformed by, markedly divergent colonial processes. Understanding these different mixes of players, history, and social relations provides the foundation for understanding the enormous changes wrought by colonialism in both New Mexico and the Pimería Alta. Such an understanding also allows us to create models of the colonial process that highlights processes of ethnogenesis and cultural transformation among and within the colonizing state, colonists, and Native Americans, as well as a more realistic picture of power relations, autonomy, and

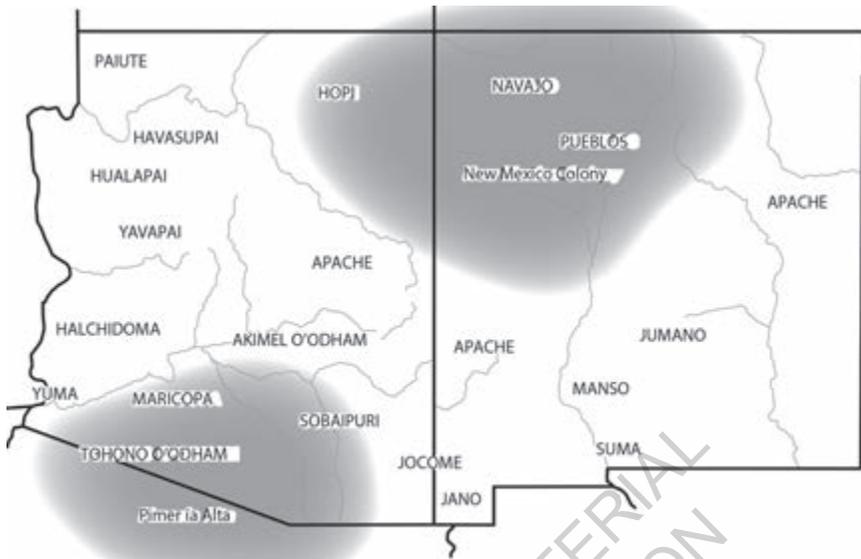


FIGURE 1.1. Map of the American Southwest, including the approximate location of both the Pimería Alta (below) and the New Mexico Colony (above) (after Majewski and Ayres 1997:fig. 4).

inequality among these groups. As a group, the chapters in this volume highlight such transformations and relations and focus on the experiences, perspectives, and actions of both Native Americans and European colonizers.

NATIVE AMERICANS, COLONISTS, AND TRANSFORMATIONS

Gil Stein (2005:25–26) has recently argued that colonial encounters should be viewed as having three participants: (1) the colonial homeland, (2) the colonies themselves, and (3) the indigenous societies living within the established colonies. This is a reaction to traditional views of the process of colonialism portrayed in a binary way with two primary players: the active, dominant colonizer and the passive colonized. One of the primary issues with this historical viewpoint on colonialism is that it is unidirectional (change occurs from colonialist to native peoples) and is, therefore, overly simplistic. Scholars today view colonialism as being highly complex in the nature of social relations that existed among various agents. In contrast, more traditional anthropological concepts such as “acculturation” and “assimilation” are unidirectional processes in which the passive indigenous groups alter their cultures to incorporate behaviors, practices, and material culture of the dominant colonizer (see Mitchell and Scheiber 2010:13–14). In pluralistic communities such as colonies, however, there are much more complex relations and interactions among different groups (e.g., Liebmann and

Murphy 2010). Without taking these complexities into account, there can be no recognition or conception of individual or social agency (Van Buren 2010:158; see also Hart et al. 2012; Lightfoot et al. 1998). Identifying social agency in colonial studies is important because (1) colonial processes are always grounded in history, (2) social actors are knowledgeable about the structure of society, and (3) the power and position of social actors vary (Mitchell and Scheiber 2010:16–17). Rather than being a unidirectional phenomenon, cultural interaction in colonial settings is better modeled as multidirectional, wherein cultural traditions evolve, change, as well as persist in a variety of ways (e.g., Deagan 2005; Haley and Wilcoxon 1997, 2005; Voss 2008a, 2008b). This is made abundantly clear by the chapters in this volume, which show great variation through time by both native and colonial groups in the American Southwest.

Colonialism is, at its essence, about unequal power structures (e.g., Gosden 2004; Hart et al. 2012). One important goal in the study of colonialism is to not view colonialism as an event or a defining moment in history, but as a context or a process in which one can view what Alexander (1998) originally referred to as “cultural entanglements.” The resulting transformations, on the parts of both indigenous and colonial cultures, must be seen as part of the long-term histories of those groups (Hart et al. 2012; King 2012). These aspects of long-term histories affected and reflected the daily practice and general response of indigenous people to these newest foreign invaders to the Southwest (see Lightfoot et al. 1998). Changes or continuity of traditions in the face of colonialism should not be seen as an either/or situation, but rather as processes of responding and adapting to newly emerging and evolving cultural surroundings (Lightfoot 2012; Silliman 2009, 2012). Colonialism, in one form or another, was alive and well long before Spaniards arrived in the Americas. As we discussed elsewhere in this chapter, the American Southwest was no stranger to new groups and foreign ideas arriving from elsewhere and becoming incorporated into the cultural patterns and social histories of the region. Whether prehistoric interactions between the American Southwest and Mesoamerica were colonial in nature is debatable, and certainly the Spanish entry was several orders of magnitude different from anything seen previously, but it is important to acknowledge the nature of past cultural connections. Similar extraregional interactions and influences, certainly on a much larger scale, were present in central Mexico—from where Spaniards and their *indios amigos* originated (King 2012; Matthew 2012).

While some scholars conceive of Spanish colonies as being occupied by Spanish soldiers, settlers, and missionaries, it is clear from documentary and genetic records (see, e.g., Johnson and Lorenz 2010 and Snow 1998, 2010) that many colonies across North and Central America contained a mixture of peoples of different backgrounds that included many Mexican indigenous groups (such as the *indios amigos* discussed elsewhere in this chapter). The colonial

era in the American Southwest, as well as neighboring Alta California, offered opportunities for colonists to reinvent themselves socially, away from the core of the Spanish colonial political economy in central Mexico. In Alta California, for example, colonists who in early censuses self-reported as being *mulato* or *mestizo* were later recorded as being of Spanish descent (e.g., Haley and Wilcoxon 1997, 2005; Voss 2005, 2008a). In one case, the 1781 census of the Pueblo of Los Angeles classified fewer than 5 percent of its residents as being of Spanish descent; just nine years later, nearly half of these same residents classified themselves as Spanish (Pubols 2010:132). By 1790, census records in Alta California began recording only two categories, *gente de razón* and *indio*, rather than the previously more complicated identity of race, thus creating a system that increasingly helped to contrast colonists (who most likely were of indigenous descent themselves, albeit from Sonora, Mexico) with resident indigenous groups. As we see in chapters by J. Homer Thiel (12), J. Andrew Darling and B. Sunday Eiselt (7), and Kelly L. Jenks (8) in this volume, similar processes were occurring in the American Southwest, as well.

As Spanish policies further and further restricted traditional subsistence practices, political economy, and self-reliance, Native Americans created novel solutions allowing the continuation of traditional practices and belief systems. The process of identity transformation was a reflexive one in which identities were transformed and communicated only with reference to previous identities (Casella and Fowler 2005:4). While many scholars have referred to these transformations as ethnogenesis (e.g., Haley and Wilcoxon 1997, 2005; Voss 2008a, 2008b), more recently Lee Panich (2013) has argued that these changes ought to be seen within the long-term histories of the perseverance among indigenous groups, rather than as “terminal narratives” (e.g. Wilcox 2009) of dramatic changes in identity and group constitution.

It is clear that Pueblo groups, in particular, transformed aspects of their lives and identities through the alteration of traditions. For example, the Hopi integrated many new concepts, material goods, and foods derived from colonists into their daily life, while simultaneously and actively maintaining core aspects of their culture (see, e.g., Laurie D. Webster, chapter 4 in this volume). In essence, the Hopi offered Spanish missionaries what they expected, and then went on to continue to perform traditional activities either in secret or after Spaniards left the Hopi Mesas (Dongoske and Dongoske 2002). Some scholars have referred to this as “passive” resistance (e.g., Adams 1989), while others have argued this was an active response to colonization—“Hopification” as Hartman Lomawaima (1989) has referred to it (see also discussion above of Brown’s [2013] similar concept of “Pueblofication,” as well as Clark [2005, 2012]). To be sure, native resistance to colonialism in the Southwest was multifaceted and reflected adaptations to the new and emerging colonial reality (see Mitchell and Scheiber 2010:17–18).

While many Native American groups incorporated aspects of colonial material goods and iconography into their everyday life, the message conveyed by those native people through the use of such items and images was not necessarily the same as when they were used by colonists. For the postrevolt period in New Mexico, for example, Matthew Liebmann (2012a:138–141; see also Liebmann 2002) describes the creation of variations on the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Puebloan portrayals of masked Pueblo dancers and the sun kachina (Frank 1998:46). In these cases, Pueblo artists appropriated and transformed Spanish iconography and imagery for their own purposes and needs. Such appropriation is an example of how Pueblo groups took, adapted, and used colonial symbols “to forge their way in [a] new colonial world” (Silliman 2005:68). By studying how agency and history combine to create new traditions that relate to particular long-term histories and circumstances, one can begin to understand transformations in colonial settings (Mills 2008:261). These trajectories continued well past initial colonial interaction in the American Southwest (see Liebmann [2012b]) and chapters by Thomas E. Sheridan and Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa [9], and Colleen Strawhacker [13], this volume, for discussions of colonialism extending into modern times).

It is through agency and shared histories that both colonists and indigenous groups transformed and created new identities during the colonial era. The histories of these groups defined the meanings of places on the landscape, how such places were used, and how people related to both these places and each other. Following Pauketat (2001, 2003), these histories can be seen as intertwining and creating webs of relations that connected people to each other and to their ancestors, and transformed the world around them during the colonial era. The concluding chapters to this volume, by Kent G. Lightfoot (chapter 14) and David Hurst Thomas (chapter 15), sum up these transformations in the American Southwest and compare and contrast them both to themselves, as well as to, respectively, Alta California and the American Southeast.

A PERSPECTIVE ON COLONIALISM IN THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST

The colonial encounters in the American Southwest comprised a complex interaction involving multiple players and multiple agendas. Colonialism is generally defined as a dual process involving the “attempted domination by a colonial/settler population. . . and the resistance, acquiescence, and the living through these by indigenous people” (Silliman 2005:59). With regard to the initial Spanish incursions into the Southwest during the 1500s, many might offer the view that resulting exchanges between indigenous groups and Spaniards were examples of culture contact, as these were relatively short-term encounters (e.g., Silliman 2005, 2009). However, with the official settlement of the New Mexico Colony in 1598, the policy of Spanish colonial domination became

entrenched, and, to use Ferris's (2009:168–70) terminology, continued to “creep” forward (see Liebmann 2012a; Sheridan and Koyiyumptewa, chapter 9 in this volume). Stephen Silliman (2005:62) puts it well when he states, “Colonialism is not about an event but, rather, about processes of cultural entanglement, whether voluntary or not, in a broader world economy and system of labor, religious conversion, exploitation, material value, settlement, and sometimes imperialism.” The establishment of missions, presidios, and other institutions of the Spanish Empire (see chapters by Strawhacker [13], Thiel [12], and Barnet Pavao-Zuckerman [11], this volume) formalized and structured relations with native groups who had lived in the Southwest for millennia, and inevitably drew cultures into a complex system of global colonial processes that transformed both groups in ways not captured by simple acculturation models or conquest narratives that have long dominated anthropological and historical thought on colonialism (see Wilcox 2009).

Chris Gosden describes colonialism—and, in particular, modern European colonialism—as a “total social fact” that has “infiltrated all areas of people’s lives in all parts of the globe” (Gosden 2004:24; see also Gosden and Knowles 2001). These statements capture the transformative nature of the colonial process for all involved and highlight the roles of power relations, and social “creativity and experiment” (Gosden 2004:25). The unfolding outcomes of colonial processes were and are created by those who have *both* power and agency and are capable of enacting change. The Spanish conquest of the Southwest can be modeled as an example of Gosden’s (2004:24–30) *terra nullius* form of colonization. Spanish colonizers would have viewed the cultural practices of indigenous groups as socially or politically illegitimate and would have asserted a natural right to control land, resources, people, and labor and forced new political and economic systems on native inhabitants. This colonization led to the transformation of native cultures and the recreation of existing social relations between native groups, as well as the death of many people through violence and the introduction of nonnative diseases (see Hull 2009:12–13; Ramenofsky and Kulisheck 2013). While Gosden’s classification of colonialism is useful, scholars such as Spielmann and her colleagues have argued that he inadvertently deemphasizes “the actions of the living” (Spielmann et al. 2009:103). In their case study from the central New Mexico Salinas pueblos, Katherine Spielmann and her colleagues demonstrate with archaeological evidence that there were diverse and varied actions and reactions to colonization that were shaped by a combination of local environments, histories within specific pueblos, gender, past and present subsistence strategies, and the specifics of the establishment of missions. As they and others, such as Mark Mitchell and Laura Scheiber (Mitchell and Scheiber 2010), remind us, gender, ideology, and political economy all played important roles in guiding colonialism.

Despite such critique, Gosden's terra nullius concept provides a framework that allows us to recognize and begin to understand the roles that power and violence played in the Southwest colonial encounter (Gosden 2004:114–52). Traditionally, archaeologists and historians have tended to deemphasize violence and how it was used as a means of domination, culture change, and the establishment of control in social and economic relations with indigenous groups (see Wilcox 2009). By explicitly taking into account aspects of colonialism such as violence, the forcible usurpation of land and other critical material resources, and the religious and racist policies that drove much of European colonialism, we can critically examine indigenous resistance, culture change, and ethnogenesis within the colonial process. At the same time, though we do not wish to overemphasize violence by itself, it was at times an empowering factor for Pueblo groups (e.g., Wilcox 2009). While the violence of colonial encounters is undeniable (see chapters by Schmader [2], and Sheridan and Koyiyumptewa [9], this volume, for example), the focus on long-term histories, rather than on specific events, is also important to understanding its larger role and effect (Hart 2012:92; Silliman 2012:115). Colonialism in the American Southwest is much more complex than the Grand Narratives of domination and resistance (see Thomas [15] for a detailed discussion).

THE NEW MEXICO COLONY

In the following sections of this chapter, we briefly discuss the early colonial histories of the New Mexico Colony and the Pimería Alta to provide background for the rest of the volume. While each area was settled by Spanish missionaries, ranchers, and other colonists, their trajectories and individual histories are markedly different. We start with a discussion of the early history of the New Mexico Colony. This discussion below is meant as a brief overview; for some discussion of nuances, the reader is referred to the chapter by Thomas [15] in this volume.

The Pueblos and Their Neighbors

At the time of the first Spanish incursions into what would become known as the New Mexico Colony, the area was home to a diverse set of Native American groups, intertwined by complex sets of social relations and rich histories of living in the region that spanned thousands of years. Population estimates for the region preceding the colonial period have been placed in the high tens of thousands (e.g., Barrett 2002; Riley 1999). Multiple Pueblo Indian groups were living in large, multistoried, multifamily settlements, each consisting of numerous roomblocks in a vast area spread from the Hopi Mesas on the west to Pecos Pueblo on the east, and throughout a large portion of the Rio Grande valley and its tributaries—from Taos and Picuris Pueblos on the north to the Piro-speaking pueblos along the Rio Grande near modern-day Socorro (Barrett 2002; Cordell 1991; Spielmann 1998).

These Pueblo groups practiced irrigation and dryland farming and engaged in complex systems of trade and exchange that involved the community specialization of products; the extraregional distribution of bison products, shell, and other exotics; and the movement of raw materials (cotton, salt, obsidian, etc.) throughout the region (Shepard 1942; Snow 1981; Spielmann 1989, 1991; Warren 1969, 1979; see also chapters in Spielmann 1998). By the end of the sixteenth century, it is estimated that as many as 100 individual pueblos were occupied in the region, with many having populations of 500 to 1,000 people (chapters in Adams and Duff 2004; Barrett 2002; Graves 2002; Riley 1999). Pueblo groups spoke up to eleven distinct dialects or languages: (1) Zuni, (2) Hopi, (3) the Western Keresan dialect of Acoma and Laguna Pueblos, (4) Towa among the Jemez Pueblos and at Pecos, (5) Tewa among the villages along the Chama River and down the Rio Grande to its confluence with the Santa Fe River, (6) a possible distinct Tanoan or Southern Tewa dialect among the pueblos of the Galisteo Basin, (7) Northern Tiwa at Taos and Picuris, (8) Southern Tiwa among the pueblos of the Albuquerque Basin and along the eastern slopes of the Manzano Mountains, (9) Eastern Keresan among the villages of the lower Jemez River and along the Rio Grande to its confluence with Galisteo Creek, (10) Tompiro among the Jumanos pueblos, and (11) Piro among the southernmost pueblos along the Rio Abajo portion of the Rio Grande valley (chapters in Adams and Duff 2004; Cordell 1991; Eggan 1979; Hale and Harris 1979; Schroeder 1979). As well documented by over a century of anthropological and historical study, the entire Pueblo world was marked by both similarities and distinct differences in social organization, religion, economy, and political relations (e.g., Dozier 1983; Eggan 1950; Fox 1967; Levy 1992; Ortiz 1969; Sando 1992; Spicer 1962; Whiteley 1988), and these differences and similarities appear to have characterized the Pueblo world at the time of initial Spanish contact (e.g., Adams and Duff 2004; Barrett 2002; Graves 2002; Simmons 1979; A. Schroeder 1979).

In addition, there were a number of nonsedentary, primarily hunter-gatherer groups who occupied those regions to the south, east, and north of the Pueblo world. To the south lay the Mansos, who occupied areas in and around the Rio Grande valley near El Paso (Benavides 1996; Beckett and Corbett 1992; Riley 1999). To the south and east were the Teya/Jumanos, who are considered to have been Wichita- or Caddoan-speaking groups by many Plains anthropologists. Athabaskan-speaking Plains Apaches or Querechos also occupied areas to the north and east of the Rio Grande at the time of Spanish contact (Bolton 1990; Riley 1999).

The Early Colony

After Coronado and his forces returned to Mexico in 1542, it would be another four decades before the next Spanish incursion into what would become the New



FIGURE 1.2. Map of approximate early Spanish colonial routes through modern-day Arizona (after Majewski and Ayres 1997:fig. 2).

Mexico Colony (Figures 1.2 and 1.3). As Linda Cordell (1991:27) discusses (see also Gutiérrez 1991:45–46; Hadley et al. 1997; Kessell 1979; Polzer and Sheridan 1997; Spielmann 1991), this hiatus can be attributed to the discovery of silver deposits in Zacatecas and the resultant shift in focus of colonial administrators from further exploration to the exploitation of this particular resource. In 1581, the expedition of Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado and Agustín Rodríguez entered the region with the joint mandate of missionization and exploration for mineral wealth (Barrett 2002:6; Bolton 1979 Cordell 1991:27; Hammond and Rey 1966). After only a few months and not finding any mineral wealth to exploit, the expedition returned to Mexico, but without Fray Rodríguez and another Franciscan

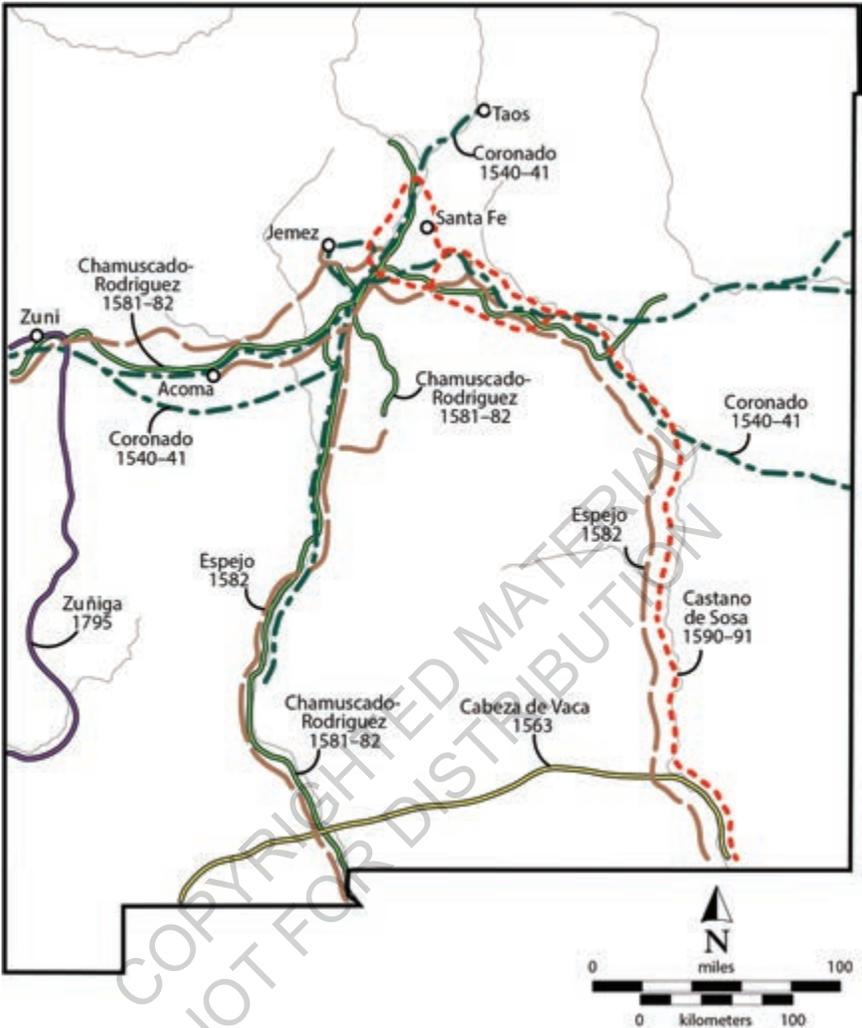


FIGURE 1.3. Map of approximate early Spanish colonial routes through modern-day New Mexico (after Hartmann 2014:map 6; and Majewski and Ayres 1997:fig. 3).

priest, who stayed behind to missionize the native people. A year later, another expedition was launched, led by Antonio de Espejo, to investigate reports that Rodríguez had been killed. After confirming Rodríguez’s death, Espejo and his forces traveled west to Hopi and the Verde River valley, and then returned to Mexico, only spending five months in what is now New Mexico and Arizona (Barrett 2002:6; Cordell 1991:27; Hammond and Rey 1966).

Nearly a decade later, the early 1590s witnessed two attempts to colonize New Mexico that were not officially sanctioned by the colonial government of

New Spain and the Spanish Crown. In late 1590 / early 1591, Gaspar Castaño de Sosa led a small group north to the Pecos River and then west into Pueblo territory (Barrett 2002:6; Cordell 1991:27; Hammond and Rey 1966). After only seven months, this party was captured by forces led by Juan Morlete, who had been sent to return the illegal expedition to the colony. A second unsanctioned expedition into New Mexico with the intent of establishing a colony was launched in 1593 by two military captains, Leyva de Bonilla and Antonio Gutiérrez de Humaña (Barrett 2002:6; Hammond and Rey 1966). Little is known of this expedition as all members except one were killed while exploring the Plains east of the Pueblos along the Rio Grande (as reported to Juan de Oñate by the lone survivor five years later).

In addition to providing much ethnohistoric information regarding indigenous Southwestern groups, these expeditions in the late 1500s also reflected a renewed interest in colonizing the northern frontier of Mexico by both the Spanish Crown and the administrators and leaders of the colonial provinces of New Spain. In 1595, Juan de Oñate, the *alcalde mayor* of San Luis Potosí, was granted the contract to launch an expedition to establish the Colony of New Mexico (Hammond and Rey 1953; Riley 1999:42). Oñate, born around 1550 in Zacatecas, was the son of the lieutenant governor of the colonial province of Nueva Galicia (Riley 1999:40). After a significant delay due to changes in the viceroyalty of Mexico and considerations of competing applications by the Council of the Indies, Oñate and his forces began the journey northward in early 1598 (Hammond and Rey 1953:309–14; Riley 1999:42–43). On April 30, 1598, Juan de Oñate and his group stopped a few miles south of the Rio Grande and formally established the Colony of New Mexico by decree; and, on May 4 the expedition crossed the river near present-day El Paso (Hammond and Rey 1953:16, 315). These first colonists consisted of soldiers, Franciscan priests, servants, slaves, and their families. The group may have totaled between 400 and 560 people, including women and children (Cordell 1991:27; Riley 1999:46). On July 11 of that year, Oñate established the first Spanish settlement in New Mexico named San Gabriel across the river from the Tewa pueblo Ohkay Owingeh (the former San Juan Pueblo) (Hammond and Rey 1953:17; Simmons 1991). The official colonial capital would later be moved to the settlement of Santa Fe in 1610 by the second governor of New Mexico, Pedro de Peralta (Cordell 1991:27).

Almost immediately, Oñate and his forces traveled to scores of pueblos throughout the region to exact obedience to the Spanish Crown and colonial authority. Oñate's governorship lasted only until 1607, the year he resigned under pressure from the Spanish Crown and the viceroy of Mexico (Hammond and Rey 1953:32). His tenure was marked by what were often brutal and violent dealings with Pueblo groups throughout the colony and the forcible extraction of labor, food, and other commodities from these communities (see chapters by Sheridan

and Koyiyumptewa [9], and Webster [4], this volume). Oñate never found the mineral wealth he sought in the new colony, and traveled as far east as Wichita, Kansas, and as far west as the Gulf of California looking for riches and a route to a Pacific seaport (Cordell 1991; Hammond and Rey 1953; Riley 1999:83–86). By the end of Oñate’s governorship, the colony was considered a failure by the Spanish Crown and colonial authorities in Mexico, and there was talk of abandoning the effort (Riley 1999:86–87; see also Fontana 1994:79). In 1608 or 1609, Phillip III made the colony a royal province with missionization and the conversion of indigenous groups to Christianity as its principal objective (Hammond and Rey 1953:33–34; Riley 1999:87). Moving forward, missionization efforts and the continued extraction of Indian labor, land, and resources by both mission and secular officials and colonists became the main focus of the colonial effort.

Multiethnic Nature of the Colony

Although the first expeditions to New Mexico as well as the early colonists are often described as Spanish, it is important to note that these early explorers and colonists comprised diverse peoples from varied racial, ethnic, and social-status backgrounds, much like the native groups they encountered (see Severin Fowles and colleagues, chapter 6 in this volume). The work of Kathleen Deagan and Jane Landers (Deagan and Landers 1999) at Fort Mosé near St. Augustine, Florida, provides a good example of the potential cultural and linguistic diversity of Spanish colonial communities and how social identities may have been forged in settlements composed of individuals of many different traditions, origins, and social statuses. It is important to remember that while there were often clear or specific goals set by the Spanish Crown for the colonizing of the Americas, there were many times diverse and at times conflicting interests and goals of the members of these early expeditions and settlements themselves. Thus, these early colonial encounters and the colonists involved must be viewed as multiethnic interactions with the resulting colonial communities having been pluralistic in their compositions.

The presence of *indios amigos* among many early colonial and military expeditions also illustrates the multiethnic or multicultural nature of Spanish colonial encounters (see Schmader, chapter 2 in this volume). Alliances with native warriors such as these were used repeatedly by Spaniards to aid in conquering new areas and putting down indigenous rebellions across the Americas. Guatemala, for example, was conquered by a combination of hundreds of Spanish soldiers and thousands upon thousands of indigenous *indios amigos* consisting of groups from central Mexico and Oaxaca (Asselberg 2008; Matthew 2007, 2012; Oudijk and Mathew 2007). *Indios amigos* from central Mexico also accompanied the Spanish to other areas of conquest further removed, including Peru and the Philippines (Asselberg 2008; Richard Flint, personal communication, 2016).

The Coronado expedition may have included up to 2,000 indios amigos. Richard Flint (2008:10–12) argues that in helping to explore the northern frontier, those indios amigos on the Coronado expedition were at least partially motivated by the Spanish policy of allowing native warriors to keep captives captured in battle, or by the Spanish reduction of tribute obligations to native central Mexican communities who provided soldiers for the expedition (see Asselberg 2008 for discussion of similar Spanish colonial policies on the southern frontier with Guatemala). In addition to indios amigos, there were also *naborias* (also called *auxiliares*), who were generally laborers and former Indian slaves or individuals from defeated populations (see Yannakakis 2011:656).

While some scholars have suggested that the principal indigenous military ally with early Spanish expeditions to New Mexico were Tlaxcaltecas, because they were early allies of Hernán Cortés and were enemies of the Aztecs, Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (Flint and Flint 2005:165), David Snow (1998, 2010) and William Wroth (2010) argue that they see little documentary evidence specifically identifying Tlaxcaltecas. Snow (2010:50–52; see also Snow 1998) does not believe there were Tlaxcaltecas with the Coronado expedition, though he argues that perhaps there were several with either Juan de Oñate in 1598 or Diego de Vargas in 1693. Wroth (2010:176) argues that some scholars may have assumed indios amigos on early Spanish expeditions to New Mexico were Tlaxcaltecas since they helped the Spanish subdue northern Mexican indigenous groups, which were referred to in Nahuatl as *Chichimeca*. In addition, the Tlaxcaltecas were known to head to the edge of the Spanish frontier and establish barrios or communities; for example, Analco Araval in Oaxaca (see Yannakakis 2011 for details) and also Coahuila and Nuevo León (Wroth 2010:176), among other locations. During this same general time period, the mid-1500s to mid-1600s, other Spanish colonial settlements that contained barrios of indios amigos of various central Mexican origin included the Guatemalan communities of Totonicapán, Santiago, and Ciudad Viejo Sonsonate; San Salvador and San Miguel in modern El Salvador; Ciudad Real in Chiapas; San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala at Saltillo; Chalchihuites and Nombre de Dios in Durango; and Antequera in Oaxaca (see Asselberg 2008:113; Matthew 2000; Snow 2010:51).

In any case, while in early expeditions only a few indigenous conquerors may have stayed in what is now New Mexico (the few who stayed at Zuni, e.g., [see Flint and Flint 2005:166–67]), later indios amigos from central Mexico who arrived at the New Mexico Colony founded a barrio community in Santa Fe called Analco on the south side of the Santa Fe River. Wroth (2010:177) argues that while Tlaxcaltecas residing in ethnic barrios in other portions of the Spanish frontier edge gained special status and privileges (see also Snow 2010:49), those indios amigos residing in the Barrio Analco were not granted the same special status and were, instead, a “service class assisting the Spaniards in various

realms such as labor, herding, hunting, and artisanal vocations, which placed them above the level of domestic servants and slaves, but below the level of full autonomy which, on paper at least, existed for the Tlaxcalans in their settlements.” *Indios amigos* in Guatemala for generations after initial conquest also had difficulty in obtaining certain rights or levels of status they had been led to believe they would obtain for aiding the Spanish in conquering the area (see Matthew 2012 for a detailed examination).

The frontier of the Spanish Empire, even at this early stage, was a place for colonists to reinvent themselves, to create new identities (see chapters by Darling and Eiselt [7], Jenks [8], and Thiel [12], this volume). For example, Flint (2008:60; see also Flint and Flint 2005:166) states that when the Espejo expedition arrived in New Mexico, it found *indios amigos* still living in the Zuni area who had arrived with Coronado nearly forty years earlier. Stanley Hordes (2005:89) has argued that a motivation of the unsanctioned Castaño de Sosa expedition was leading persecuted crypto-Jews to “a secure haven in the far northern frontier.” Crypto-Jews were also part of the later expedition to New Mexico led by Oñate, including some who had been a part of Castaño de Sosa’s failed expedition (Hordes 2005:111). Barbara Voss (2008a, 2008b) and others (e.g., Haley and Wilcoxon 1997, 2005) have argued persuasively that in early overland expeditions to Alta California, from the moment many settlers left the confines of the strict caste system in the colonial core, their identities were being transformed. Settlers were able to refine and reinvent their identities in new surroundings far from the colonial heartland. Frontier settlements generally provide useful avenues for transformation of identity (see Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Rice and Rice 2005; Matthew 2012). Similar motivations and similar transformations and fluidity of identity must have characterized the colonization of New Mexico over a century earlier.

Means of and Motivations for Colonization

The means of and the motivations for colonizing New Mexico fall into two categories: (1) the desire for economic wealth and power, and (2) the Franciscan missionary program. Initially, the primary motivation for attempts to colonize New Mexico was the desire for mineral wealth. Early explorers and the early colonists under Oñate’s governorship held out hope that the silver and other mineral riches of the northern provinces of New Spain could be found along the far northern frontier. As discussed above, these dreams were not realized and the economic underpinning of this particular colonial intrusion would have to be found elsewhere.

From the beginning of the New Mexico colony through the 1700s, the real basis of the Spanish colonial economy lay in the colonists’ ability to control and exploit land and the products and labor of Native Americans. The primary

structural means by which this control was exerted were the *encomienda* and *repartimiento* systems. The *encomienda* system refers to the practice of conferring control of specific lands to preferred subjects of the colony (Anderson 1985). With this control came the right to exact tribute from indigenous groups living within and around the land grant (see Liebmann 2012b:32–33). Through the *encomienda* system, Spanish colonists were able to take as tribute Indian lands, labor, and food products and significantly “weakened the economic foundations of Pueblo society” (Liebmann 2012b:33). The abuse of this system, its inherent inequality, and the devastating effects it had on Pueblo economy and society were apparent to both the colonial administration in New Spain and Franciscan missionaries (Anderson 1985:360–61; Hammond and Rey 1953; Liebmann 2012b:32–33; Scholes 1944). Throughout the 1500s and 1600s, the Spanish Crown and viceregal administrators in Mexico enacted measures to control the granting of *encomiendas* and the ability of *encomenderos* to exact tribute and labor from Native Americans (e.g., Anderson 1985:355–57, 367). In the New Mexico colony, clergy members protested the exploitation of Native Americans by *encomenderos* and the exacting of labor and tribute by governors and their administrators (Anderson 1985:361, 364–66). However, such acknowledgment and denunciation of the exploitation and inequity of the *encomienda* system did nothing to eliminate such practice.

Along with the *encomienda* system, the *repartimiento* system provided the means for other early colonists to exploit Indian labor. Under *repartimiento*, Spanish landholders could force Native Americans to work on farms and ranches and to provide labor for other colonial pursuits (Anderson 1985:354; Liebmann 2012b:33–34). As Katherine Spielmann and her colleagues have shown, these increased labor demands made of the Pueblos by Spanish colonists had deleterious effects on the health of Pueblo communities (Spielmann et al. 2009). Such labor demands also took away from the labor necessary to produce food, and surpluses dwindled at pueblos throughout New Mexico in the century following the first colonial encounters. An important component of the exploitation of Indian resources and labor through the *encomienda* and *repartimiento* systems was the harsh and sometimes violent tactics that Spanish colonists employed to exact tribute. Over the course of the seventeenth century, colonists increasingly employed either threats of violence or direct violent actions in their efforts to take Pueblo labor and commodities (Liebmann 2012b:34; see also Hadley et al. 1997:232).

Missionization and the conversion of Native Americans to Christianity can be seen as both the primary means by which the colonial process was sustained in New Mexico following the first decades of the colony’s establishment, and the primary motivation for sustaining such colonial efforts (see Gutiérrez 1991). Missionizing efforts in New Mexico began in earnest with the very first Spanish expedition into the region by Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539. Despite the clear

economic motivations behind the early colonial expeditions, proselytizing and the conversion of native groups were always a major concern of the Spanish Crown in all of its colonizing efforts globally.

In New Mexico, economic and missionizing motivations to colonize can be seen as complementary. Both required the successful control over and exploitation of indigenous labor and production to succeed, and the control of indigenous populations was key to the overall colonial strategy (Galgano 2005:9). For the Spanish, the New Mexico Colony was fraught with difficult transportation routes, geographically isolated colonial settlements, droughts, and numerous autonomous native communities. As a result of these concerns and priorities, the establishment of missions in native settlements was seen as an important factor for success of the New Mexico Colony. In fact, given the lack of mineral resources in New Mexico, missionization became the primary function of the colony when it became a royal colony financed by the Spanish Crown (see Liebmann 2012b:34–35). By the mid-1600s, nearly fifty Franciscan priests were located in Pueblo communities throughout New Mexico, and the program of church and mission construction was well underway (see Sheridan and Koyiyumptewa, chapter 9 in this volume).

Spanish missions were constructed immediately adjacent to or within Pueblo communities, at times incorporating kivas to metaphorically draw on the power of traditional Pueblo religion the Spanish were attempting to simultaneously alter (Gutiérrez 1991; see also chapters by Phillip O. Leckman [3], Lightfoot [14], and Thomas [15], this volume). The overall agenda spearheaded by Franciscan missionaries in the New Mexico Colony was to create “a program of religious and social conversion calculated to undermine native institutions and sources of cultural strength in order to make the Pueblo people into Catholics and Spaniards” (Frank 1998:50). To do so, they had to confront and attempt to alter the native political, social, and religious structures that lay opposed to their conversion (see chapters by Leckman [3], and Sheridan and Koyiyumptewa [9], this volume). As a result, colonial Spanish religious structure was placed in such a way to mediate that opposition while also attempting to overpower it. In the Hopi village of Awatovi, for example, Franciscan priests filled in the village’s kiva with clean sand and constructed the altar of the Mission church on top (Dongoske and Dongoske 2002). Leckman, chapter 3 in this volume, describes a possible similar situation at the Pueblo site of Paako. Other times, as in the case of Abó and Quarai, while the missionaries supervised the construction of church complexes, they allowed the construction of kivas adjacent to these buildings (see chapter by Thomas, this volume for further discussion of this and alternative viewpoints).

This may have been, according to Robert Galgano (2005:73–74), ways for friars to “smooth” the introduction of Christianity to the native Pueblo populations.

Missionaries may have wanted to encourage “a Christianity that allowed for local flavor and permitted native expression” (Galgano 2005:75). However, it is clear that most missions and priests in New Mexico actively discouraged the continuation of, and tried to eradicate, traditional Pueblo religious rituals as part of their program of conversion (see Sheridan and Koyiyumptewa, chapter 9 in this volume). At the same time that Spanish religious institutions were created and imposed to negate native ones, Spanish missionaries also attempted to destabilize the native spheres of authority and leadership, as well as the sexual division of labor, both inside and outside Pueblo households and communities (see insight into this process at Hopi before and after conquest by Webster, chapter 4 in this volume). For example, while the Spaniards introduced domesticated animals as a food source (see Yetman 1994), it had the indirect effect of aiding to negate the traditional role of the male hunters (Frank 1998:51; Gutiérrez 1991:77; Pavao-Zuckerman 2011). In fact, many roles that females had traditionally performed were now, under Spanish leadership, afforded to males, and vice versa—activities such as weaving, hunting, community defense, and construction. Such dramatic shifts in the sexual division of labor likely altered and destabilized central aspects of Pueblo society (Gutiérrez 1991:76).

Despite the convergence of motivations among secular Spanish colonists and Franciscan missionaries, “the political climate of New Mexico was characterized by significant church-state tensions for much of the seventeenth century” (Liebmann 2012b:35). Franciscans and secular colonists were often at odds for control of indigenous labor and production, and such struggles and the deleterious effects of such tribute on Pueblo communities were main factors in the mission program and the political power wielded by the Franciscan order in the new colony (Gutiérrez 1991). In fact, high demands for tribute and labor from Pueblos have been argued to be reasons why mission recruitment was relatively strong in the early colonial period. For example, Andrew Knaut (1995:62–65) argues that so much food tribute was commanded by Spanish troops in 1600 and 1601, on top of a drought, that Pueblos could not sustain themselves. Many Pueblos had several years’ storage of corn which was demanded by colonial administrators and *encomenderos*, leaving little remaining for those communities themselves. Much like later mission recruitment in Alta California in the early nineteenth century, the increase in neophytes in New Mexico appeared to partially be based on the needs of native populations for food, which missions could provide (see Hackel 2005, Larson et al. 1994, among others, for Alta California parallels). By 1607, another enticement for mission recruitment that resulted from the tribute demands made upon Pueblos was Spanish protection from Athapaskan raiding (Knaut 1995:66–67). Raiding was a response to the colonists’ disruption of traditional trade networks, as well as the depletion, in part, of Pueblo stores of food and products devoted to such trade in the past. In the face of these difficulties, recruitment to missions can be seen as a reasonable

response to ensure basic survival. As discussed below, however, such recruitment to missions many times did not equate to anything other than an outward facade of compliance by Pueblo groups.

Native Resistance and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680

In 1680, the Pueblo Revolt forced Spanish colonists and missionaries out of New Mexico (e.g., Hackett and Shelby 1942; Knaut 1995; Liebmann 2010, 2012a; Liebmann and colleagues, this volume; Preucel 2002a; Preucel et al. 2002; Silverberg 1970; Sheridan and Koyiyumptewa, chapter 9 in this volume; Spicer 1962; Wilcox 2009). This resistance to, and rejection of, Spanish colonial hegemony was one of the “pivotal events in Southwestern history” (Preucel 2002b:4) and provides a context within which to understand issues of native autonomy, power relations, domination and resistance, and processes of ethnogenesis and cultural transformation in the New Mexico Colony. During the revolt, twenty-one Franciscan missionaries—half of all Franciscans in New Mexico at that time—were killed and 400 or so colonists lost their lives (Preucel 2002b:3; Yetman 2012:73). Many of the physical signs of Spanish colonialism—churches, missions, homes, and government buildings—were burned, otherwise destroyed, or altered and subsequently occupied by Pueblo groups. Those colonists and priests who did not die in the revolt fled to safety in El Paso. It would be twelve years until Spanish colonists and missionaries returned and reestablished the New Mexico Colony, along with a renewed military effort (see examples of Spanish correspondence and analysis related to this in Hadley et al. 1997).

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and its aftermath were important in several ways (see chapters by Liebmann and colleagues [5], and Sheridan and Koyiyumptewa [9], this volume). First, until August of that year, many of the Pueblos were independent of one another, and while some were allied with one another, others were allied, at least tenuously, with Spanish colonists and thus against other Pueblos. Through time, such tenuous alliances with colonists became more difficult and strained. The revolt joined together much of the Pueblo world against a common enemy—the foreign invaders who had occupied their land for nearly a century, demanded tribute, and served extremely harsh treatment against the inhabitants of the entire region.

Second, the revolt appears to have wrought significant changes in Pueblo identity and the social relations that existed among disparate Pueblo communities. Liebmann (2012a:147–58; see also Whiteley [2003] for a more longitudinal view) argues that there was an emergence of a postrevolt pan-Pueblo identity, signified in part by changes in architecture and ceramic manufacture. For example, after 1680, plain redware became popular throughout the northern Rio Grande and was used in Jemez, Keres, and Tewa communities, as well as at

Pecos Pueblo (Kidder 1936; Liebmann 2012b:149–50). Plain redware in the northern Rio Grande may have symbolized a spreading pan-Pueblo consciousness and is similar to other undecorated redware from other portions of the Rio Grande region that was produced before the revolt; such as Salinas Red from the Salinas pueblos of Gran Quivira, Abó, and Quarai (Hayes et al. 1981:101). In addition, after 1680, there appears to have been an emergent unity of design among different decorated pottery types across parts of the northern Rio Grande (Liebmann 2012b:153–56). Four motifs—feathers, hooked triangles, key motifs, and cap steps or “sacred mountain” motifs—were adopted and commonly depicted on decorated ceramics at Jemez and Keres communities and at Pecos, Acoma, and Zuni, as well as among Tewa communities. The widespread use of these motifs among Pueblo potters may have been the result of artists “downplay[ing] their historical heterogeneity” (Liebmann 2012b:151), and could mark the unification of different Pueblo identities. At the same time, see Liebmann and colleagues’ (chapter 5, this volume) study of Post-Revolt factionalism.

Across the Pueblo world, the manipulation and control over signs and symbols (*sensu* Liebmann 2012b) played an important role in colonial resistance and the preservation of native ideology and religious practice. Such manipulation and control are most obviously witnessed in changes in the use and the depiction of iconographic designs on pottery. Images such as feathers and stylized depictions of birds, serpents, and masked figures—seemingly benign images to the Spanish colonists and missionaries focused on eradicating Pueblo religious practices—were representative of core elements of Pueblo religion associated with prayer sticks, altar decorations, ritual costumes, or shields (Mills 2002:95). For example, while feathers are seen in ceramics across the Pueblo world in the 1600s and later in a wide variety of contexts, Barbara Mills (2002:95) argues that “similarities at the regional scale in the use of feathers is quite striking and suggests a unity that cross-cuts language groups and other important social differences among the Pueblos.” In another example, Spielmann and her colleagues, argue that radical design changes in the iconography of domestic pottery at Gran Quivira, specifically among Tabira Black-on-white and Tabira Polychrome vessels, were attempts by female potters to express important Pueblo ritual knowledge in the face of active Franciscan suppression of such symbolism (Spielmann et al. 2006:640). Many new iconographic symbols introduced to the design of domestic black-on-white vessels—including masked katsina figures, feathers, possible deities, and birds—were previously found only in kiva murals and other ceremonial contexts (see also Mobley-Tanaka 2002 for similar arguments). Spielmann and her colleagues argue that different vessels, with distinct combinations of icons and signs, could represent specific religious societies or rituals performed at Gran Quivira (Spielmann et al. 2006:639). Through the production and decoration of these vessels, it was possible for religious knowledge to be conveyed

and sustained clandestinely. Thus, it appears that ceramic decoration was an important medium that played a crucial role in resistance to Spanish hegemony and in the expression of complex messages and identities across the Pueblo world, whether in secret or hiding in the open, both before and after the revolt (see Mobley-Tanaka 2002).

The New Mexico Colony Postrevolt

After several unsuccessful Spanish attempts at recolonization, Vargas led groups of soldiers and colonists to reestablish the New Mexico Colony in 1692 and 1693 (Kessell and Hendricks 1992; Preucel 2002b). Through a series of brutal suppressions of Pueblo opposition over the next several years, he was able to exert control over the colony once more (Hadley et al. 1997; Kessell and Hendricks 1992; Kessell et al. 1995, 1998; Knaut 1995:179–84; Liebmann 2012b; Preucel 2002b). As the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in New Mexico apparently witnessed a decrease in the level of violence in Spanish colonial policies and actions toward native groups in New Mexico (Knaut 1995:184–85), the organized resistance to Spanish colonial domination that characterized the latter part of the seventeenth century would not be seen again. Perhaps the centuries after the Pueblo Revolt may be seen as exemplifying the transformative nature of the colonial process (see Gosden 2004). As groups exerted agency, power, and their capacity for social “creativity and experiment” (Gosden 2004:25), identities and relations were transformed and, though they were clearly unequal in terms of power, both colonists and Native Americans found themselves intertwined in an uneasy relationship in a transformed world as the colonial encounter and their shared history continued to “creep forward” (*sensu* Ferris 2009).

For example, during the eighteenth century, Pueblo and other non-Pueblo native communities continued to culturally negotiate their relationship with colonial powers and colonists (see chapters by Fowles and colleagues [6], Liebmann and colleagues [5], and Webster [4], in this volume). Economically, politically, and spiritually, native peoples were incorporated into aspects of this new colonial society. Simultaneously, native peoples incorporated aspects of newly introduced colonial traditions into their everyday life, though the meaning and internal perception of these new traits were not necessarily what colonists understood them to be (see chapters by Thomas [15], and Webster [4], this volume). Because the government in New Mexico was generally weak (see chapter 5, by Liebmann and colleagues, this volume), the colonial state had little ability to “completely negate the power of Pueblo people to make choices about what elements of the Spanish lifestyle they were going to accept or reject” (Brown 2013:15). In her recent examination of eighteenth-century interaction between New Mexico colonists and native peoples, Brown (2013:17) has argued the power

relationships between these groups, while unequal, allowed Pueblos to “dance” with colonists and colonial powers, at times Pueblo groups being led, while at other points native peoples leading this interaction. Much like Lomawaima (1989) conceptualizes Hopification, Tracy Brown (2013:17–20) argues for Pueblofication, in that Pueblo groups created new identities through allowing flexibility in the incorporation of new traditions into their cultural matrix. Some concepts, material goods, or traditions could be viewed as things easily discarded, while others became wholly integrated into Pueblo society. As Brown (2013:168) notes, “[Pueblos] expanded political, economic, and ritual traditions to meet demands and burdens placed upon them by contact, and they also sometimes conformed practices to Spanish expectations, especially when those expectations aligned with their own practices and beliefs.”

Colonists, as well, adapted and transformed as time progressed in the New Mexico Colony (see chapters by Darling and Eiselt [7], and Jenks [8], this volume). During the initial stages of colonization, everyday life must be met with an open mind to survive, especially on the frontier. Rather than focusing economic output on one task, economic diversity was key for many (Trigg 2005). While initial colonists identified themselves as Spanish (even if they were of other descent), they slowly transformed themselves into New Mexican colonists. Through time, that identity became more solidified, a pattern seen in other colonies as well (see Deagan 1997; Voss 2008a, 2008b), though there was an increasing amount of interaction—social and otherwise—between these colonists and the native inhabitants. Furthering this, it has been suggested that in rural areas, the colonial economy was centered in Pueblo villages (see Trigg 2005:216). Soon after reconquest, many of these colonists transformed their identities from colonists to *vecinos* (Hispanic citizens), which further differentiated them from native peoples (Frank 2000; see chapters by Darling and Eiselt [7], and Jenks [8], in this volume, for detailed discussions of the process and context of becoming *vecinos* in late colonial New Mexico).

THE PIMERÍA ALTA

To the south and west of New Mexico, in the area of the northern Sonoran Desert known as the Pimería Alta, sustained colonial efforts began in the late 1680s with the establishment of a series of Jesuit missions by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino (e.g., Bolton 1919, 1936, 1979). The term “Pimería Alta” hails from early Spanish visitors’ (including Kino’s) distinctions between different dialects of the Piman speakers. While the native speakers of this language referred (and continue to refer today) to themselves as the O’odham, the Spanish used the term *Pima* and therefore defined the Pimería Alta and Pimería Baja to distinguish the physical boundaries of these languages and people (Fontana 1994:93). In this chapter, we use a combination of both modern and colonial terms for native groups of the

Pimería Alta; examples of colonial names for these groups, some of which are still used today, include Papago, Pima, Sobaipuri, Sand Papago, and Apache. In what is now central Sonora, missions were established among the Yaqui in 1617 and among the Pima Bajo (Pimería Baja) Eudeves, and Ópatas in the 1620s and 1630s (see Spicer 1962). Settlements in Sonora were first established around 1640 and were located along river valleys in the northeastern part of the present-day state, to the south and east of the Pimería Alta. Missions expanded farther north into the Pimería Alta in the late 1600s based on Father Kino's plans to extend the mission system to the Colorado and Gila rivers (Mirafuentes Galvan 1994:103; see Spanish correspondence related to this dating from the 1700s for this region in Polzer and Sheridan 1997). These missions in the Pimería Alta were maintained by the Jesuit order until 1767 and were then taken over by the Franciscan Order when the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish colonies across the New World. During the Jesuit period, numerous missions were established, while during the subsequent Franciscan period, the Franciscans only established a *visita* at Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac to the northwest of Tucson, in 1811 or 1812. As in the New Mexico Colony, the mission system in the Pimería Alta had two fundamental duties: to represent the Spanish Crown and convert native groups to Christianity. Throughout their history, these missions relied on Native American labor for economic support. As the Pimería Alta became more economically and politically important to colonial efforts in the early 1700s, settlements and military posts called presidios were also established by colonial administrators, as were mining enterprises and small support settlements (Donohue 1969; Kessell 1970; Officer 1987; Polzer and Sheridan 1997; Spicer 1962) (see chapters by Thiel [12] and Pavao-Zuckerman [11], this volume). The first presidio in Sonora was established in 1691 and had no fixed home base or facility. By the early 1700s, it had become settled at the site of Fronteras in what is now Sonora. No other presidios were established in Sonora until 1742, when garrisons were established at Terrenate and Pitic (see Naylor and Polzer 1986 and Polzer and Sheridan 1997).

Native groups were quite diverse in the Pimería Alta and contrasted significantly in settlement patterns to indigenous groups in the New Mexico Colony (see Lauren E. Jelinek and Dale S. Brenneman, chapter 10 in this volume, for a detailed discussion of these groups; Seymour 2011, 2012). When Kino first passed through the Pimería Alta, the area was inhabited by speakers of the Piman language, which is a Uto-Aztecan language. Kino referred to many of the various groups as Pima, a term derived from the Piman word *pimahaitu*, meaning “nothing” (Doyel 1989; see also Fontana 1996). Groups inhabiting the Pimería Alta included Pápagos (now considered a derogatory term for the Tohono O’odham); Pimas, Sobaipuris, and Gileños (Akimel O’odham); Sobas and Areneños (possibly Hia Ced O’odham); and the Yuman-speaking Coco-maricopas and Opas (Maricopas, or Pee Posh). Neighboring groups along the region’s periphery

included Jocomes, Apaches, Yumas (Quechan); Quíquimas (Halyikwamai or possibly Cócopas), Seris, Nébomes (Eudeves), and Ópatas (Doyel 1989:140–42; Fontana 1996; Seymour 2011, 2012; Spicer 1962). Spaniards in general, however, tended to combine these numerous groups into larger subgroups, likely due to the mixing of populations brought about through Spanish and missionary influences (see Jelinek and Brenneman, chapter 10, this volume).

The timing of the colonial effort in the Pimería Alta is an important and obvious difference when compared to that in New Mexico. Whereas the New Mexico Colony was established in the northern frontier in 1598, nearly 100 years passed before similar efforts were initiated in the Pimería Alta, although numerous previous Spanish expeditions had passed through the area. In the Pimería Alta, the indigenous inhabitants of the region had long-standing knowledge of, and experience with, Spanish colonizers as missions and colonial settlements had been established to the south for generations (Spicer 1962).

Although one of the primary economic reasons for the initial interest in and establishment of the New Mexico Colony was mining, it was the northwestern portion of New Spain, a region including the Pimería Alta, that was rich in mineral resources (Spicer 1962; see Pavao-Zuckerman, chapter 11 in this volume). While the drive for mineral riches through mining and the conversion of native groups to Christianity through missionization were both important components of colonization in the Pimería Alta, these two objectives at times lay at odds with one another (Jackson 1999:62–65). Jesuits believed strongly that forced labor was counter to their conversion efforts. As missions were established in the Pimería Alta, Father Kino specifically requested and obtained from Spanish colonial officials a five-year exemption from recently converted Pima and other indigenous groups being drafted for labor at nearby mines (Jackson 1999:64). At the same time, a royal decree arrived in New Spain ordering that recent converts be exempt from forced labor for a period of twenty years.

The missionization of the Pimería Alta and the conversion of indigenous groups to Christianity differed in some significant ways from efforts in the New Mexico Colony. As described previously, missions, churches, and other religious institutions in New Mexico were built within or immediately adjacent to settled towns and communities. At times, churches were built on top of, or generally incorporated, sacred indigenous religious architecture, creating complex relations between Christian and native religious practices. There were also heavy tribute demands made by Spaniards on Pueblo communities. In Sonora and the Pimería Alta, in contrast, differences in settlement patterns and sociopolitical organization of groups strongly influenced the conversion efforts of the Jesuits and created different strategies of missionization. For example, while missions and Spanish towns were established near native villages in Sonora, if faced with tribute and labor demands, entire villages may have simply fled the area

(McGuire and Villalpando 1989:162). Unlike the New Mexico Colony, native villages and settlements in the Pimería Alta were less formal architecturally and the inhabitants of settlements were generally more mobile. Rather than the single- or multistory roomblocks, native residences were primarily individual thatch- or brush-covered structures (Doyel 1989:142). While there was aggregation of settlement, many native inhabitants of the Pimería Alta lived in dispersed settlements referred to by the Spanish as *rancherías*. Some native groups, such as the Tohono O'odham, were known for a shifting settlement pattern of well (winter) and field (summer) villages (Doyel 1989:141; Fontana 1996:20–23). As a result, by the mid-1700s, some Spanish decisions regarding where to establish new presidios had less to do with the location of native villages, and more to do with other physical requirements, such as access to water and pasturage. In addition, in the case of the establishment of the presidio at Tubac, it also was based in large part on symbolic meanings to the Spanish, as Tubac was the location where the Piman leader Luis Oacpicagigua had surrendered to the Spanish after the Upper Pima Revolt in 1751 (see Polzer and Sheridan 1997:407–42 for analysis and Spanish correspondence related to this topic).

This more dispersed, less nucleated, nature of settlement that characterized Sonora and the Pimería Alta would have allowed native groups greater freedom to leave an area where Spanish missions or settlements existed or were being established. For example, many Yaquis left southern Sonora in the 1740s and dispersed across the Pimería Alta following a Spanish repression of the Yaqui Revolt of 1740. As the colonial agricultural economy expanded in the Pimería Alta, the demands of missions and colonist for the limited arable agricultural land of the region increased. As a result, through time there were fewer areas where native agriculturalists were able to move. The rise of *ranchos* in the region (see Pavao-Zuckerman, chapter 11 in this volume) continued to increase the strain on land for traditional activities. Groups practicing agriculture such as the Pima also relied significantly on the collection of mesquite beans, cactus fruits, and other native foods to supplement their crops (Doyel 1989:141).

By the end of the eighteenth century, roughly 100 years after the first establishment of missions and other colonial settlements in the Pimería Alta, the cultural and physical landscapes had been significantly altered (see Strawhacker, chapter 13 in this volume). Periodic disease spread throughout the region, increasing mortality among native populations, whether gentile or neophyte. In the southern Pimería Alta, along major drainages such as the Santa Cruz, what had once been a landscape of dispersed, autonomous villages inhabited by diverse groups was transformed into nucleated settlements of indigenous groups living within or in close proximity to growing colonial settlements (see Doyel 1989:147–48). At the same time, large portions of the greater Pimería Alta were essentially unchanged by colonial intrusions. Tohono O'odham and Areneño groups were

still inhabiting nonriverine desert regions outside of the major drainages. Along the northern edge of the Pimería Alta, Gileños and Cocomaricopas were living along the Gila River, essentially beyond the influence of Spanish missions and settlement. As we discuss below, colonial transformations of social landscapes in the Pimería Alta were not met passively by their native inhabitants, but rather occurred, in part, through a series of repeated acts of resistance and rebellion against colonial powers. At the same time, there were uneasy, yet seemingly positive, relationships between some native groups and colonists (see Thiel, chapter 12 in this volume). In comparison to Pueblos or Seris and Yumas, Pimas, for example, more readily converted to Christianity, allowing Spaniards more access to labor required for mission and nonmission pursuits than in other colonial situations. In return, Pimas had access to goods of Spanish origin, such as horses and wheat, which were important in the colonial economy and became especially important in native economies in the Pimería Alta at a time when traditional subsistence practices were rapidly transforming (Ezell 1961:45; 1983:152–56). While alliances between native groups and Spaniards ebbed and flowed continuously during this era, Pimas were generally viewed by Spaniards as allies against their mutual enemies, the Apaches and Seris (Doyel 1989:148; Sheridan 1999). As a result, Spaniards were able to turn one native group against another based upon traditional (or more recent) animosities.

Native Revolts and Resistance in Sonora and the Pimería Alta

Much like the New Mexico Colony, there was resistance to and revolts against the colonizing powers in this northwestern section of New Spain. Unlike the New Mexico Colony, however, revolts in Sonora were less unified and were generally of smaller scale. To the southeast of the Pimería Alta in Sonora, news of the Pueblo Revolt came relatively quickly, and settlers were concerned that a similar type of uprising could occur along the northern frontier of New Spain (Yetman 2012). Although the Jesuits had by this time established missions as far north as the upper Río Sonora valley, and were just beginning their missionizing efforts in the Pimería Alta, missionaries and colonists were under the constant threat of attack by various native groups, including Apaches. As David Yetman (2012:75) points out, the Apache had been helpful to Pueblo groups in accumulating information used in the revolt, and there was concern among Spanish colonists in Sonora that they could conduct similar activities in the south to aid in a rebellion. In addition, groups in Sonora and the Pimería Alta were generally perceived by colonists as more nomadic compared to the more permanently occupied Pueblo villages and therefore were viewed as members of potential insurrections (Yetman 2012:77). Yetman (2012:118–21) has suggested that many native groups in Sonora were inspired by the success of the Pueblo Revolt and

strove to create their own unified attack against the colonists, but that there was no unified plan across the many different language and cultural groups in the region. Despite this lack of more widespread unification, alliances of Janos, Jocomes, Sumas, Apaches, and Chinarras attacked and raided native and European Christianized settlements during the 1680s and 1690s.

Significant uprisings and acts of resistance by native groups also occurred in the Pimería Alta after Kino's program of missionization was underway. Robert Jackson (1999:89–95) concludes that in the Pimería Alta there were two generalized patterns of resistance among indigenous inhabitants: resistance by northern Pimas associated with missions, and raids by Apaches and Seris on Spanish settlements (Jackson 1999:89; see also Jackson 1998). Two significant revolts by baptized northern Pimas occurred in 1695 and 1751 (Fontana 1994:97–98). To the south, the Seri had two significant revolts in 1748 and 1750 (Mirafuentes Galvan 1994). In the 1695 Pima uprising, a native Ópata overseer and his assistants were killed at the mission of Tubutama, as were the newly stationed Jesuit priest and his assistants at Caborca. The subsequent killing of Pimas by Spanish soldiers led to an even larger Pima uprising, resulting in the destruction of several missions in the area (Polzer and Burrus 1971; Spicer 1962:124–25). The second revolt, in 1751, resulted in the deaths of more than 100 people at the hands of the Pimas—including colonists, Spanish sympathizers, and two missionaries (Ewing 1934:72–88). There were also subsequent and repeated raids by Pima, Seri, and Apache groups against missions and other colonial settlements in the region. The Spanish response to these revolts (including the establishment of the presidio at Tubac [see Polzer and Sheridan 1997]) may have inadvertently led to increased raiding on colonial settlements, as these native groups remembered the brutal retaliation of the Spanish, such as the Spanish *matanzas* (mass killings) of native groups after the 1695 uprising (Fontana 1994:153). As Jackson (1999:91) points out, these raids, while not unified like the 1680 revolt in the New Mexico Colony, were “a serious challenge to the Spanish in Sonora [and the Pimería Alta] as well and threatened the stability of the colonial order being created on the frontier.”

However, as Jackson (1999:92) also points out, while raiding and the two Pima rebellions in 1695 and 1751 were significant, Apache raiding across the northern frontier, including the Pimería Alta, proved to be a much more constant and serious threat to Spanish colonial establishment efforts. While there were relatively small numbers of colonists killed by Apache attacks compared to overall deaths due to disease and other ailments, Apache raiding took significant economic and emotional tolls on the native and nonnative residents of missions and other colonial settlements (Jackson 1999). Livestock raiding also led to significant economic losses for colonial settlements. In response, by the mid- to late 1700s, Spanish military units were more strongly positioned in the Pimería Alta to repel

these native attacks, with an increased reliance on establishing more presidios (see Polzer and Sheridan, 1997; see also Thiel, chapter 12 in this volume).

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE VOLUME

This volume presents varied views and voices on the colonization of the Southwest. Scholars demonstrate the intertwined relationships between cultural continuity and change during a time of immense upheaval in the region. Chapters address aspects of everyday life and practices, and the interactions and relations between colonists and Native Americans.

The volume is divided into three parts and is primarily organized around geographic regions with chapters ordered roughly chronologically. After this introductory chapter, Part I of the volume focuses on the New Mexico Colony. Chapters in Part I discuss issues of factionalism and alliances; perspectives on landscapes and mobility; social memory; the strategy of abandonment; production and consumption; indigenous and Spanish imperialism; warfare and military strategies; and ethnogenesis, identity, and demography. In chapter 2, Matthew Schmader focuses on the initial Spanish expedition by Coronado into New Mexico. Here, he details the expedition itself, including description of the hundreds of *indios amigos* from central Mexico who accompanied Spanish soldiers on this first large expedition to the American Southwest and Great Plains. In addition, Schmader provides details of an important siege and battle Coronado undertook at a Tiwa village site called Piedras Marcadas Pueblo to offer a sketch of the types of brutality early native groups faced when encountering Spanish expeditionary forces. Next, in chapter 3, Philip O. Leckman explores the interplay between Puebloan and Spanish conceptions of landscape and their potential impacts on the early New Mexico Colony through a consideration of seventeenth-century spatial organization and land use practices at Paako, a large village and *visita* site. Here, Leckman discusses and analyzes the transformation of the cultural and physical landscape in both Pueblo and Spanish settlements and concludes there was a lack of penetration of Spanish religious beliefs and customs among Pueblo groups. Hopi weaving traditions prior to, during, and after the Pueblo Revolt is the topic Laurie D. Webster details in chapter 4. While Hopi technology and materials involved in weaving changed during the colonial era, Webster documents how this evolution is connected to Hopi long-term histories and how, even as it was transformed by colonial encounters, a weaving tradition persisted.

In chapter 5, Matthew Liebmann and his colleagues discuss northern Rio Grande Pueblo communities during the period immediately after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Many Spanish records gloss over the complexities of the Pueblos' alliances and factionalism; however, archaeological evidence documents enduring alliances among communities. Their contribution offers important insight

into internal and external Pueblo alliances, rifts, and negotiations based on fluid political and economic needs before and after the Pueblo Revolt. In chapter 6, Severin Fowles and colleagues delve into the Comanche presence in New Mexico during the era of Spanish colonialism. Beginning in the 1740s, and lasting over a decade, Comanche “imperialism” plays an important role in understanding the dynamic and complex multiethnic landscape the Spanish encountered in the New Mexico Colony as well as the quick adoption and incorporation of new technologies (such as equestrianism) into native cultural traditions. J. Andrew Darling and B. Sunday Eiselt (chapter 7) and Kelly L. Jenks (chapter 8) explore the concept of Spanish colonists in New Mexico becoming *Vecinos*, building on the initial work done by Ross Frank (2000) on the concept (see also Trigg 2005). This transformation of colonist identity in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century New Mexico has its origins in the late seventeenth century, when the concept of *vecino* (a civic status) overshadowed caste and race. Both chapters discuss the integrative processes and social transformation of late colonial New Mexico related to becoming *vecino*. As Jenks (this volume) states, the ethnogenesis of becoming *vecino* indicates that “the most salient aspect of Spanish colonial identity in late colonial New Mexico was not Spanish identity but one’s residence and accepted membership in a Spanish colonial community.” Interestingly, similar types of transformation took place in Alta California in the late eighteenth century with the creation of a *Californio* identity (see, e.g., Lightfoot 2005; Voss 2008a), which provided important integrative privileges to colonists on the furthest edge of the Spanish frontier. Finally, Thomas E. Sheridan and Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa in chapter 9 provide a unique perspective on past and present understandings of the interactions between the Hopi and Franciscan missionaries during the seventeenth century. These scholars compare and contrast Spanish historical records of Franciscan abuses at Hopi with recorded Hopi oral traditions of the same events to explore and better understand what they call “intergenerational memory of colonial trauma.” Their use and comparison of both Hopi oral traditions and Spanish ethnohistoric documents offer new insight into the connection between the colonial past and the present.

Part II of this volume details the colonial encounter in the Pimería Alta. Topics discussed in this section include Native American population dynamics of the region, military settlements and colonial strategies, ranching economies and influences, and indigenous agricultural responses to colonialism. In chapter 10, Lauren E. Jelinek and Dale S. Brenneman focus on the Native American demographic landscape during the early colonial era to provide insight into native population diversity and interaction. Analysis of ethnohistoric and archaeological data suggest that during the early period of Spanish contact, there was an extremely diverse and varied cultural landscape and that different groups in the Pimería Alta interacted with each other a great deal. Next,

Barnet Pavao-Zuckerman in chapter 11 focuses on the economic transformation of the Pimería Alta during the colonial era. Part of her discussion delves into the gradual, and patchy, transformation of native everyday life and activities through missionization and other colonial structures. Overall, based on both archaeological and ethnohistorical research, she argues that the introduction of livestock into the area led to deleterious effects on the sustainability of traditional native subsistence strategies, and the co-option of native labor led to profound effects on the daily life of the native populations. J. Homer Thiel in chapter 12 offers insight into the everyday life and experiences of soldiers and settlers at the Tucson presidio. Far removed from the comforts of home in what is now Mexico, by the late eighteenth century, these colonists and settlers slowly transformed their identities from those associated with race and caste, which created distinctions among them, to other identities, which integrated them as community members, much like similar processes in both California and New Mexico during the same time period. Finally, in chapter 13, Colleen Strawhacker explores the dynamic responses of the O’odham to colonialism through the nineteenth century. Specifically, Strawhacker argues that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the O’odham intensified their use of irrigation agriculture to meet demands of missions and, later, market demands, both resulting in relatively positive economic outcomes. Strawhacker also suggests that, like Fowles and colleagues do for the Comanche (chapter 6), the adoption of new innovations also led to changes in social structure. In the case of the O’odham, it appears that centralization of leadership may have aided in the adoption of intensive agricultural practices.

Finally, in the last Part III of the volume, Kent Lightfoot (chapter 14) and David Hurst Thomas (chapter 15) provide discussion and commentary on the other contributed chapters. Lightfoot and Thomas also compare the colonial encounters in the American Southwest to, respectively, Alta California and La Florida (the American Southeast). These two discussants offer valuable comparative perspectives with which to meaningfully contextualize the colonial process in the American Southwest and further our understanding of this transformative historical process that has created the Southwestern world as we know it today.

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