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**Author**

Whiteley, Peter M.

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Although Wounded Knee reeks of controversy, serious accounts support a more balanced interpretation. The standard analysis, anthropologist James Mooney's *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, should be consulted. Mooney's sympathy for the American Indian was beyond dispute. He visited Pine Ridge shortly after the massacre and his book has become the event's best reference. It has been updated by much subsequent research, including Robert Itley's *The Last Days of the Sioux* (1963) and Michael Sievers' "The Historiography of the 'Bloody Field ... that kept the Everlasting Word': Wounded Knee" (*South Dakota History* [Winter, 1975]).

Gonzalez and Cook-Lynn include 132 pages of appendices and forty-one pages of notes that greatly complement their work. The notes in particular furnish fresh and incisive insights. My thanks and appreciation to them for writing a most enjoyable and profitable book. More contributions like this from the American Indian community should be welcomed by all.

*Rolland Dewing*  
Chadron State College

**Pueblo Profiles: Cultural Identity through Centuries of Change.** By Joe S. Sando. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1998.

*Until the generation of scholars that reached maturity in the late 1960s, there was no tradition in American biography of writing about any Indian people who were not artists, colorful war chiefs, or another kind of highly visible leader. It seemed as if both scholars of the American Indian and professional biographers were unable to grasp the modest idea that Indian people had heroes, role models, and other people of importance by their own lights and standards of evaluation who were not artists or war chiefs. At that, such artists as were selected for biographical attention were chosen because they were regarded as important enough by white canons of judgment to merit this kind of attention....*

*It is against this background that Joe Sando's achievement must be seen for it to be fully appreciated. Sando's profiles are concerned, first and foremost, with serving the Pueblo people, to ensure their survival and well-being. All are people who were and are important in the eyes of Pueblo people; many are even important in the eyes of the national Indian community. Yet, all are important as well by the canons of achievement established by the larger society.*

—Alfonso Ortiz (pp. 305–306)

In what must have been some of his last written words, Alfonso Ortiz encapsulates the content and value of this book with his customary humanist sensibility, considered activism, and analytical insight.

As Ortiz and others have argued, stereotypes of Native Americans evolved historically as "the frontier" shifted. The war-bonneted, teepee-dwelling, buffalo-hunting icon was a product of the nineteenth century. By the late twentieth century, Ortiz suggests, that image was gradually being supplanted by a

Pueblo-esque model of the peaceful horticulturalist living in an “ancient,” secretive culture in harmony with the adobe earth, making pots and jewelry, and participating in colorful rituals. Pueblo people were increasingly becoming the new Natives of choice in Euramerica’s romantic-racist imaginary of indigenous alterity.

Stereotypes are mythological in the Lévi-Straussian sense: although motivated in temporal experience, they are intrinsically timeless once configured, suppressing both history and agency. The Native icon is defined by absences—*sans roi, sans loi, sans foi*—to which we might now add *sans voix*, or without voice, for the subaltern cannot speak. Perhaps the key absence demanded by this mythological consciousness is that of conjuncture. The Pueblos are congenial Others—for New Age types, for example—so long as they remain conceptually and practically segregated from “mainstream” America. Aldous Huxley predicted this *jouissance* of Pueblo savagism in *Brave New World* more than six decades ago. Mystical old caciques, manta-clad potters making storytellers, and artistically arranged Corn Dancers—all stoically resistant to the world system, persistent replicas of pre-Columbian autochthony—are what white folks and, these days some Natives too, seem to want. But when Pueblos take the lead in civil rights or economic development, or make good on land claims, the mythical stereotypes—and those who traffic them—become as deer caught in the headlights of historical reality. The book humanizes Pueblo subjects, deflates stereotypes, and opens a space for real Pueblo voices that have in fact been actively speaking for a long time.

The work is organized in sequential biographical portraits, from the late nineteenth century to the present, of individual Pueblo leaders in politics, education, and the arts. Though there is a brief introduction that considers the Pueblo Revolt and its aftermath, the subtitle’s *Centuries* is something of a misnomer. The portraits are often based on the author’s personal knowledge and on direct interviews. Each of the nineteen New Mexico Pueblos is represented. In the process, Sando includes well-focused thumbnail sketches of individual Pueblos, particularly detailing demography and political economy.

Sando has to be selective: some Pueblos inevitably receive more coverage than others, and there is a certain repetitiveness in the biographical format. Sometimes there is detail that could scarcely be of interest to anyone not in the immediate family. One wishes for more female voices, though in the predominant emphasis on public politicians, the exclusion of Pueblo women conforms to cultural reality. There are five women among the twenty-nine portraits, all a part of the culture, arts, and education section, and all of an older generation; Maria Martínez and Pablita Velarde are included, but Leslie Marmon Silko, Verna Williamson, Paula Gunn Allen, and Tessie Naranjo, to name a few, are not portrayed. Sando’s style is direct and unvarnished, and occasionally comes off as rather flat. But with these few caveats, and given that this is not a work probing theoretical questions of Native biography à la Arnold Krupat, Greg Sarris, or Gerald Vizenor, *Pueblo Profiles* is an absolute treasure trove of historical and social detail on Pueblo life in the twentieth century.

With some notable exceptions, including Pablo Abeita of Isleta, Pueblo

peoples have largely shunned publicity, even in entirely conjunctural contexts. While the contributions of the Navajo code talkers in World War II are widely known, for example, how many know the extent of Pueblo participation? The infamous Bataan death march (see the Tony Reyna profile) included ten men from Taos Pueblo, when its total population was only 830, and fourteen other Pueblo men. Four years in a notorious prison camp followed—all at a time when the men did not have the right to vote. When in 1948 Indians in New Mexico finally were enfranchised, it was the result of direct Pueblo action. Miguel Trujillo of Isleta attempted to register to vote and was refused, resulting in a case, partly prosecuted by Felix Cohen, that led to voting rights. Sando's perspective here is typically clear, evenhanded, and straightforward:

To understand Trujillo's contribution to Indian civil rights, it is necessary to gain understanding of the historic background of his times. Many magazine articles and books have been written about the African-American struggle for civil rights that has earned honored places for the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks and others. But the American media have always relegated American Indians and their struggles to the social periphery, except for famous Indian leaders of the past or the modern Indian leaders of much-publicized confrontations with the United States government. In his effort to gain civil rights for Indians Trujillo confronted bias and prejudice from both Indians and non-Indians who discouraged Indian participation in the larger system of federal politics. At that time Indians had reason to fear losing their sovereignty as well as their lands if they voted. (p. 59)

No one but Joe Sando could have assembled a text with the depth and breadth of information contained in this book. As a long-time member of the All Indian Pueblo Council from Jemez, as well as an eminent Pueblo historian and activist in education, economic development, and sovereignty, his personal knowledge is unsurpassed. Moreover, he is typically a wise and judicious editor, including some highly illuminating accounts within the individual profiles, which sometimes contain extended verbatim passages from interviews. The eloquent detailing by Regis Pecos of the serial devastation of Cochiti land and livelihood by the Cochiti Lake and Dam project is very persuasive, simultaneously impassioned and understated. Outsiders interested in the Pueblos' response to Cochiti Lake, a resort settlement and favorite sailing location in New Mexico, frequently find obfuscation or simply no information. Now, thanks to Sando's inclusion of Pecos's account, there is a concise, authoritative source. And though Sando makes no comment on the difference of opinion, his portrait of Joe Herrera, also of Cochiti, who was involved in the Pueblo's original development concessions, nicely illustrates the inclusion of differing perspectives, unmediated by excessive editorial streamlining.

Similarly, Sando's account of Taos' long-term attempt to regain Blue Lake presents a simply excellent capsule history, informed by insider and outsider perspectives. Numerous other key events or institutions are nicely summarized and effectively interwoven with the individual portraits. Among these are the *Joseph* case of 1876, which seriously threatened Pueblo sovereignty; the

*Sandoval* case of 1913, which finally reversed *Joseph* after much damage had occurred; the fight against the 1923 Bursum Bill, which would have expropriated 90 percent of irrigated Pueblo lands; the All (later All Indian) Pueblo Council; the Pueblo Lands Board Act of 1924, the precursor to the Indian Claims Commission; the Trujillo voting rights case mentioned, and so on. Again, the individual portraits are often filled with marvelous insights. That of Alfonso Ortiz, for example, recounts details of personal history, his engagement with anthropology, and his fascinating and little-known actions in national politics on behalf of Native causes.

Sando's selections reflect a political stance presented unapologetically and with typical candor. The majority of the profiles are of those who have been active as chairman or secretary of the All (Indian) Pueblo Council, among other regional or national political or professional offices. In effect, this means that the individuals in question were or are on the cutting edge of political negotiations with the national society, and their portraits correspondingly illuminate those processes. For those in the ivory tower who think Indian politics is meaningful only when it is overtly radical, Sando's position or those of his subjects may seem accommodationist. Describing John Rainer, Sr. of Taos, who served as chairman of the All Pueblo Council, executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, and executive director of the New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs, Sando refers to an ornament Rainer keeps on his wall:

a red apple, courtesy, he says, of the militant American Indian Movement (AIM), given to him at a time when the organization was very active. The apple, he explains, is to indicate that the recipient is red on the outside, white on the inside. According to Rainer, AIM discriminated against Indian people who were not in favor of the type of activism they engaged in. Despite this, it is clear that Rainer is 100 per cent Indian. He was initiated as a young boy, and most Pueblo Indians were not considered completely Indian unless they had been initiated according to their particular pueblo's rituals. By contrast, many of the AIM members during that period of controversy were "born again Indians" from the urban communities and had never been initiated. (p. 126)

This is not a passage designed to ingratiate Sando with the academic left, and a non-Native author making similar statements would likely fall prey to political correction. But this is Sando's view, and he calls it as he sees it. This illustrates too the kind of individuals Sando is interested in promoting as role models for Native youth: genuine local leaders with firm roots in their reservation communities. His subjects are seasoned and worldly individuals who have persistently negotiated their way through acculturative pressures. They are unafraid of controversy and willing to stick their necks out for the long-term interests of the people they represent. Again Agnes Shattuck Dill (Isleta) represents this viewpoint regarding BIA education:

"The BIA schools have been criticized for many reasons.... But I ... say if it weren't for those schools I might not be what I am today, as well

as many other Indians throughout the country. I am the oldest of seven children. How hard it would have been for my parents to educate all of us if we had had to go elsewhere.

"It's usually the young activists who damn Indian schools and government programs. They don't understand how much those programs have helped Indians. Most of the militants are urban Indians. They haven't lived the hardships of reservation life." (p. 199)

*Pueblo Profiles* is marked by social and political nuances that display a subtle, sophisticated, and refreshing realism informed by a profound local familiarity. There is an overriding trenchant awareness of the larger forces encompassing Pueblo life in the twentieth century, and the conjunctural nature of contemporary Pueblo existence. Sando is frankly optimistic about this: "Most American Indians today are the product of two cultures, and in many situations they have the option of using the best aspects of each" (p. 132). But along with hard-headed pragmatism, there are fine touches of Pueblo cultural sensibility. Pablita Velarde's profile, for example, elegiacally recounts youthful summers spent at her father's mountain hunting cabin:

The game he sought included mountain lions, fox, and eagles; the pelts and feathers were used by his people during their dances and ceremonials.... Sometimes [the girls] drew outlines of their bare feet in the sand of the riverbank so the kachinas, who were watching the girls from the clouds and mountaintops, could see the size of their feet and make them moccasins. (p. 203)

Lastly, the book is illustrated with numerous excellent, well-chosen photographs that contribute nicely to its overall humanistic mission. This is an indispensable work for anyone with more than a passing interest in the realities of Pueblo people and life. It may well be the most important book on twentieth-century Pueblo political and economic history there is, but with the added bonus of a very human face. The Pueblo myth will be harder to sustain against the fine portraits of real agents and historic voices that Sando has so vividly conveyed to his readers.

*Peter M. Whiteley*  
Sarah Lawrence College

**Teaching the Native American.** Fourth Edition. Edited by Hap Gilliland. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1999. 306 pages. \$22.95 paper.

For the most part, the history of mainstream involvement in Native American children's education has been a calamitous chapter in American education. For over one hundred years, the US government's educational policies actively cut Native parents and tribal communities out of their children's education and consequently sought to eliminate continuation of their cultural traditions. The institutions, especially the early off-reservation boarding schools