

## History Carved in Stone

MEMORIALIZING PO'PAY AND OÑATE, OR RECASTING RACIALIZED  
REGIMES OF REPRESENTATION?

*Elizabeth Archuleta*

The U.S. landscape contains histories embedded in topography, place names, and the meanings diverse groups have attached to significant locations. Markers, monuments, and historic sites also tell stories, valorizing or memorializing important people and events. But who or what gets remembered or forgotten? Stone memorials and monuments promote narratives of national glory, while the conflicts or controversies tied to certain historical events or individuals are forgotten.

For instance Mount Rushmore and the tourist guides and textbooks that explain its origins fail to acknowledge narratives of violent conquest, creating contradictory historical visions attached to the monument. For non-Indians the granite faces of Presidents George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Abraham Lincoln symbolize independence, the nation's birth, territorial expansion, national unity and "equality"

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for all citizens, and the expanding power of the United States in the international arena.<sup>1</sup> For the Lakota Sioux, the faces symbolize a history of stolen land, the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890, and a historical memorial dedicated to U.S. leaders whose ideas about independence, equality, and strong government have typically excluded Indians. Mount Rushmore's celebration of American progress and development becomes more odious when one realizes that the faces are carved into hills sacred to the Lakotas and created by an artist, Gutzon Borglum, associated with the newly re-formed Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s.<sup>2</sup> Mount Rushmore's conflicting memories present two versions of history: one sanitizes and serves the dominant culture's collective memories and experiences, while the other refuses to validate histories that interpret theft as "expansion and development" and violence against those who opposed expansion as "justified."

Mount Rushmore helps to shed light on local and national racialized practices and ideologies that play out in the realm of culture. The site also illustrates how stories contained in monuments and memorials are partial, and many people would prefer places like Mount Rushmore emphasize nationalism above past injustices and violence. Ernest Renan explains why: "Forgetting is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation . . . [for] historical enquiry brings to light deeds of violence which took place at the origin of all political formations, even of those whose consequences have been altogether beneficial. Unity is always effected by means of brutality."<sup>3</sup> Silence about the level of violence perpetrated against Indians hints at the power and pain history contains.

Silence also points toward social forgetting as an organizing principle. If historical amnesia about U.S. violence against indigenous peoples is necessary to foster pride and patriotism in Americans, then how do Indians commemorate events and individuals as noteworthy as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 led by San Juan Pueblo Indian Po'pay? Po'pay's story involves multiple cultures and communities in both the past and the present. In 1997 the New Mexico State Legislature passed Senate Bill 404, which formally nominated Po'pay as the second historical figure to represent New Mexico at the National Statuary Hall in Washington, D.C.<sup>4</sup> Capitol Complex art, like other segments of the heritage industry, overwhelmingly presents a white point of view, normalizing and validating a single image of the United States, obscuring minority perspectives, and rendering other viewpoints superfluous and marginal.<sup>5</sup> The majority of Capitol Complex art celebrates elite white males and ignores or minimizes the presence of non-whites, portraying their lives,

labors, and contributions as incidental to the nation's growth. The inclusion of Po'pay and other indigenous figures in the National Statuary Hall questions an idealized myth of the United States, a democratic nation where all men and women are created equal, perpetuated by previous art. Challenges and debates over the meaning of art also take place at the local level.

This article turns to local debates over two pieces of New Mexican statuary, those of don Juan de Oñate and Po'pay, as a way to explore two themes. The first theme concerns the strategic rhetoric and practices used when supporters of the Oñate statuary declared their positions on the memorialization of a man whose violent actions have generated historical controversy. A vocal minority of New Mexico's residents portray Oñate as a great man who should be honored for his good deeds, such as leading the first Spanish colony into New Mexico. Yet, those opposed to his memorialization point to his cruelty and to Spanish settlers' appropriation of Native land and labor and tyrannical rule of indigenous peoples.

After the United States took over New Mexico and California in 1848, Mexican Americans' claim to political power was tenuous at best, even when Americans racially categorized them as white based on a Spanish American identity fabricated in the early twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> Their racial status remained fragile. Anglo Americans continued to regard them as racially inferior; that attitude prompted Mexican American elites to distance themselves further from groups they perceived as lower on the racial hierarchy than themselves—Pueblo Indians, blacks, and nomadic/seminomadic Indians.<sup>7</sup> This battle for social, economic, and political status was connected to whiteness. An imagined pure Spanish American bloodline seems to surface in the Southwest when individuals or events threaten the veracity of their so-called *limpieza de sangre* (racial purity) or challenge stories of Spanish ancestors who brought the Indians "civilization" yet suffered great loss of life during the Pueblo Revolt.

The second theme is the Po'pay statuary's contestation of dominant narratives of Spanish colonization and the means by which it brings together stories of indigenous struggle, resilience, injustice, and contributions to New Mexico during the Spanish, Mexican, and American occupations. This article explores how the long-term effects of race relations play out in local debates over the appropriateness of Po'pay's placement in the National Statuary Hall. The rhetoric of Hispanic New Mexican whiteness reproduces Pueblo Indian subordination that mimics racial hierarchies in colonial and territorial periods of New Mexico history.<sup>8</sup>

## The National Statuary Hall Collection

Much of the art placed in the U.S. Capitol Complex engages in building “American” identity, cultural memory, and community. The pieces tell visitors not only about the historical people, places, and events deemed important by the artists but also about the artists’ visions of the world in general. The majority of the statues, portraits, and murals lining the walls and filling the halls of the Capitol and the House and Senate Office Buildings commemorate important individuals and historical moments in U.S. history. The National Statuary Hall, formerly the Old Hall of the House of Representatives, is now the main exhibition space for the National Statuary Hall Collection. The Old Hall of the House lay empty for nearly eight years after the House of Representatives vacated it in 1856 for its new chambers. In 1864 U.S. Rep. Justin S. Morrill of Vermont wrote a proposal to transform the vacant area into a space where states could place statues commemorating significant and deserving individuals.<sup>9</sup> Morrill’s proposal became law on 2 July 1864, making it possible for each state to donate two statues of citizens worthy of recognition, honor, and remembrance.<sup>10</sup> Donated statues have included military and political leaders or individuals associated with religious, educational, scientific, and medical institutions—historical figures the citizenry wants to associate with their state’s narratives of progress. In 1870 Rhode Island erected the first statue, one of Nathanael Greene.<sup>11</sup> With New Mexico’s placement of Po’pay in September 2005, every state has contributed its allotted two. Po’pay symbolically and historically challenges the optimistic story told in the National Statuary Hall.

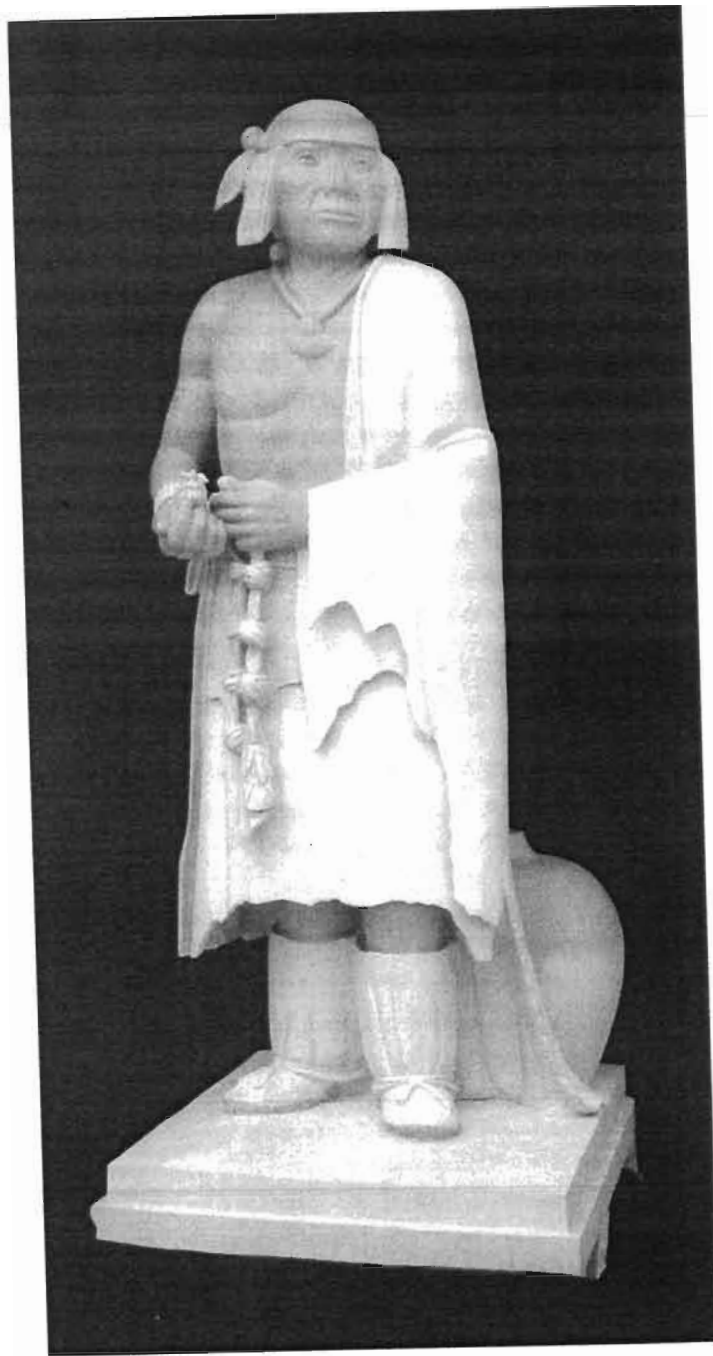
Oklahoma was the first state to nominate American Indians to the National Statuary Hall Collection. In 1917 and 1939, the state donated statues of Cherokee leader Sequoyah and Cherokee humorist William Penn Adair “Will” Rogers, respectively.<sup>12</sup> Since then four additional statues of Indians and one of a Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) have been added to the collection.<sup>13</sup> While government and international affairs scholar Steven Johnston claims that “patriotic space is sacred space in America” and that Capitol Complex art calls on visitors to “recognize, remember, [and] revivify the nation’s much-vaunted ideals, accomplishments, and sacrifices” symbolized by these people and events, the racialized practices and ideologies of the United States also ask visitors to forget the dark past of the nation’s relationship with Indians.<sup>14</sup> We are asked to remember Sequoyah’s syllabary, for example, but not Pres. Andrew Jackson’s forced removal of the Cherokees

from Georgia to Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma.<sup>15</sup> Wyoming’s donation, Chief Washakie, is characterized by his concern for the peace and welfare of his people rather than as someone who also vehemently criticized Euroamerican settlers and the U.S. government for the injustice and corruption that literally drove the Eastern Shoshone to the brink of starvation by 1885. Likewise, images of Sakakawea or Winnemucca do not acknowledge the history of white sexual violence against American Indian women.<sup>16</sup> Official histories describe both of these women in the same way as Washakie: translators, bridges between Indians and settlers, and messengers of peace.<sup>17</sup>

The national narrative reduces the significance of Indians to their relationship to whites and whether their historical actions have helped or hindered an agenda of national growth.<sup>18</sup> The success of U.S. heritage sites, like the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol building, depends on connecting visitors with the glory rather than the gory in U.S. history. This history valorizes—often in reverential terms—the heroism, hard work, and contributions of mostly white males. Text, tours, and videos accompanying Capitol Complex art teach almost nothing of real substance about U.S.-Indian relations or the historic connection between Native disempowerment and dispossession and the accumulated wealth of the United States. As Indian figures in the National Statuary Hall demonstrate, cultural production is never power-neutral; it always embodies and constructs meaning and power. The don Juan de Oñate and Po’pay statuary helps to demonstrate how racialization is a prime force in the construction of historic representations both nationally and locally.

### Po’pay and the First Pueblo Revolt

Until recently recorded histories of the Pueblo Revolt have come from a Spanish vantage that ignores other voices or perspectives. Pueblo historians have begun publishing narratives that, until now, their communities have passed down orally.<sup>19</sup> When Oñate arrived in the province in 1598, the Tiwas were already familiar with the Spanish through their encounters with conquistador don Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, who came looking for riches in 1540, and merchant Antonio de Espejo, who entered the Rio Grande Valley in 1582.<sup>20</sup> The violence of the newcomers made the Tiwas leery of further Spanish intrusion. In 1598 Oñate’s party included soldiers, their families, Franciscan missionaries, and livestock. They settled across from San



Juan Pueblo near the confluence of the Ríos Grande and Chama. Subsequent settlement and increased missionary work had dire consequences for the surrounding Pueblos. The grazing of Spanish cattle in the semiarid region led to soil erosion, destruction of Pueblo farmland, and crop failures, all conditions that did not exist prior to Spanish settlement.<sup>21</sup> Geographer Elinore M. Barrett describes the decades between 1600 and 1680 as the most devastating period in the history of the Rio Grande Pueblos. In addition to population losses, the Pueblo society contracted by about fifty pueblos, a loss of 62 percent of their total number prior to Spanish colonization, and the Pueblos abandoned large parts of their traditional territory.<sup>22</sup>

Barrett identifies several factors that led to the decline in Pueblo settlements and population count. First, the Spanish tribute system disrupted the Pueblos' subsistence activities and greatly reduced their ability to sustain themselves and Spanish settlements. Spanish civil and religious officials used legal—the *encomienda*—and extralegal means to extract goods and labor from Pueblo peoples. This system diverted resources from Native peoples living in a desert environment, making it impossible to set aside a surplus for drought years. Another Spanish-colonial factor was forced labor. Although the Spanish crown had outlawed tribute labor as early as 1549, it did not forbid forced labor. Spanish officials and clergy used Pueblos' labor on their public and private projects and to work their fields and tend livestock. Other factors that led to the Pueblos' decline were tied to land. Generally, Spanish claims to fields and pasturelands diminished the Pueblos' land base. Spanish law presumably protected Native lands, but the settlers living in or adjacent to pueblos often encroached on Pueblo lands, which were near water, well suited for agriculture, and had a source of Indian labor close at hand. Still another factor influenced by Spanish colonization was the disruption of trade with other indigenous groups and the redistribution of food and other items among the Pueblos. Finally, Apache incursions further weakened the Pueblos.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, some Pueblos still allied with the Apaches to rid the area of the Spanish. Gov. Fernando de Arguello Caravajal hanged twenty-nine Jemez men who were allegedly in league with the Apaches.<sup>24</sup>

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Facing page STATUE OF PO'PAY

(*Photograph by Marcia Keegan. Reproduced by permission of photographer from Po'Pay: Leader of the First American Revolution, Clear Light Publishing, 2005*)

The Pueblos responded to the deprivations and violence with several uprisings. In late 1598, Acoma Pueblo fought back, killing twelve Spanish soldiers. Oñate's soldiers retaliated by storming the Pueblo, killing hundreds of Acomas, and capturing and enslaving almost six hundred Acoma men, women, and children.<sup>25</sup> He formally tried and punished many of them and decreed that all males over twenty-five years of age lose their right foot and sentenced them to twenty years of personal servitude. He also bound men and women over twelve years of age to twenty years of personal servitude. Oñate ordered the severing of the right hands of two Hopis present during the uprising and freed them so they could spread the news about the Acomas' defeat and punishment. Franciscan missionaries also retaliated. With the support of the Spanish colony's civil leaders, the friars destroyed Acoma's kivas and important sacred ceremonial objects and publicly whipped and jailed religious leaders and their followers. The Spanish assaults on Acoma planted seeds of Pueblo resentment and rage that would sprout into rebellion in the late seventeenth century.<sup>26</sup>

Farther north, in 1675 the Spanish civil authorities arrested and tried forty-seven Pueblo medicine men whom the Franciscans accused of practicing witchcraft. The court convicted and hanged three; a fourth committed suicide; the other forty-three were publicly whipped and then released. One of the survivors, Po'pay, retreated to Taos Pueblo, where he began orchestrating a massive indigenous revolt against the Spaniards.<sup>27</sup>

Prior to the Pueblo Revolt, each pueblo was an autonomous political unit. The villages had never combined into a force for any cause.<sup>28</sup> After three generations of economic and religious oppression, the Pueblos, led by Po'pay, rebelled to overthrow Spanish rule in the upper Rio Grande Valley. Po'pay united "over two dozen communities speaking six different languages and sprawled out over a distance of nearly four hundred miles, from Taos at one end to the Hopi villages at the other."<sup>29</sup> During the uprising in August 1680, the Pueblos and their Apache allies killed over four hundred Spanish and forced some two thousand survivors back to El Paso. The Pueblos rid their lands of most things Spanish and won twelve years of independence from Spanish rule. Although the Spanish later returned under don Diego de Vargas in 1692, the revolt had humbled them and led to political and cultural concessions that allowed for a more peaceful coexistence with the Pueblos. The Spaniards realized they could no longer remain religiously and culturally arrogant and intolerant of others who lived and believed differently.<sup>30</sup>

Today, "official" narratives ask us to forget past violence, but American Indians cannot overlook the historical events that forever transformed their lives. Native peoples are aware of their lack of inclusion in national narratives, even those told in the realm of cultural production displayed in the Capitol. In 1976 Herman Agoyo, then director of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblo Council, and his family visited the National Statuary Hall.<sup>31</sup> Agoyo's wife, Rachele, noticed that U.S. Sen. Dennis Chavez was New Mexico's only statue and asked why Po'pay should not become the state's second representative sculpture.<sup>32</sup> Four years after the Agoyo family's trip to Washington, D.C., the Pueblos commemorated the revolt's tricentennial. Organizers initially planned the event for Pueblo peoples, but the celebration grew to include Indian delegates from the Southern Utes, Oklahoma tribes, Navajo Nation, and the Hopis, as well as international and local dignitaries including Spain's ambassador José Lladó, Mexico's counselor of ministries Alberto Campino, and a select group of New Mexico's judges, politicians, and historians.<sup>33</sup>

Everyone in attendance at the event in 1980 recognized the significance of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Therefore, after the celebration, the Pueblos nominated Po'pay to be the second figure representing New Mexico in the National Statuary Hall. In November 1996, San Juan Pueblo's Tribal Council made their nomination of Po'pay official with Resolution 96-66. They requested that Rep. Nick Salazar and Sen. Manny Aragon introduce Senate Bill 404 in the New Mexico Legislature, nominating Po'pay and establishing a statuary hall commission.<sup>34</sup> Salazar and Aragon submitted this legislation in early 1997, and once the bill passed, Gov. Gary E. Johnson signed it into law on 10 April.<sup>35</sup> The National Statuary Hall Commission, set up as a nonprofit 501(c)(3) corporation, initially met on 6 July 1998. Estimating the project would cost between two hundred thousand and two hundred-fifty thousand dollars, commission members created a Statuary Hall Foundation to collect tax-free donations, and the New Mexico State Legislature approved one hundred thousand dollars in state appropriations for the foundation.<sup>36</sup>

Opposition to Po'pay's nomination surfaced when the National Statuary Hall Commission moved to select a sculptor, an act that ironically coincided with Indian protests against the creation of a statue memorializing Oñate in New Mexico. The dispute over the Pueblo leader's statue clarifies how a minor segment of New Mexico's Hispanic population has reflected

on, created, and contributed to racialized ways of understanding and organizing their world. New Mexico's racial ideologies and constructions operate in educational systems and mass media, but they also overlap in various locations, attempting to replicate inequality and oppression to maintain a New Mexican Spanish/Hispanic identity predicated on whiteness and differences from the state's Indians and Mexican immigrants.

According to anthropologist Sylvia Rodriguez, as early as 1967, ethnographer John Bodine referred to race relations in New Mexico as a "tri-ethnic trap." He coined this concept to describe "a dilemma in which Hispanos are confronted on the one hand with the devastating consequences of their land loss and subordinate status, and on the other with the Anglo glorification, advocacy, and imitation of Indian culture."<sup>37</sup> Scholar Cyd Strickland notes that during a research interview, "one Hispanic cultural informant was angry that the Hispanic traditions and events do not bring in tourism like those of the Pueblos."<sup>38</sup> Resentment over the political power, economic power, and opportunities now available to the Pueblos has resulted in both groups fighting over vital resources, some within the context of a tourist economy and others in the realm of culture.

### Po'pay and the Second Pueblo Revolt

The rhetoric of individuals who opposed Po'pay's nomination, while enthusiastically supporting Oñate, teaches us about contemporary racialization, its links with the past, and how such groups materially and discursively represent it. Clearly, discourse opposing Po'pay is tied to contemporary struggles for power and status in New Mexico. The state's indigenous populations have increased their political activity and clout. Many Pueblos use casino revenue to strengthen their communities and build much-needed infrastructure and social programs. They are creating jobs and educating their peoples, meaning more remain or return home. This phenomenon translates into human and material resources that yield increased political power to compete with Hispanics for the first time. In the early 1900s, Hispanics worked to differentiate themselves from their Indian neighbors by increasing their social status, and thus political capital, through claims of whiteness. Now, portions of New Mexico's Hispanic community compete with Indians for the state's limited economic, educational, and cultural resources.

New Mexico's investment in and celebration of its Spanish heritage began with Anglo American settlement, particularly in the late nineteenth

century.<sup>39</sup> Both groups found rhetorical common ground in a colonial Spanish past but for different reasons, and both gleaned different results. White settlers who had moved into New Mexico Territory found that Spanish-speaking New Mexicans vastly outnumbered them. For that reason, whites realized they needed to accommodate Mexican American power to meet their own needs, which included elevating the territory's reputation in a bid for statehood by increasing the white population. Immediately following U.S. conquest, outsiders perceived New Mexico as a commercial backwater based in large part on its vast population of poor Mexicans and Indians. To achieve the goal of "whitening" up the territory, Anglo Americans and Hispanic elites, through a play of language and imagination, transformed "Mexicans" into "Spanish Americans" and fashioned a complex of symbols, traditions, and celebrations designed to represent a rich colonial *Spanish* past. When Spanish-speaking elites and powerful Anglos joined forces to "whiten" up New Mexico's population, they also created an idiom of shared status designed to include both rich and poor as inheritors of a Spanish colonial civilization.<sup>40</sup> According to legal scholar Laura E. Gómez, "Mexicans received a kind of collective psychological boost by being allowed to claim whiteness within the American context of white supremacy." However, she asks readers to consider that "in order for the boost to be meaningful, Indians"—Pueblo Indians in particular—had to be excluded. A major reason American colonizers wanted to form a power-sharing relationship with elite Mexicans, while excluding Pueblo Indians from whiteness, was to disrupt an earlier alliance forged between the two groups designed to resist American occupation in the mid- to late-1800s.<sup>41</sup>

This historical construction of whiteness emerged again in the late twentieth century. The strategic practices and rhetoric among Oñate supporters reveal a racialized regime of representation that portrays Spanish colonists, including Oñate, as benevolent, honorable, and noble. Surfacing with Po'pay's nomination for placement in a nationally prominent location, New Mexico Hispanics struggled to preserve the social, economic, and political power presumably attached to whiteness and an imagined Spanish American bloodline. Po'pay's selection threatened stories of benevolent Spanish colonizers who brought "civilization" to New Mexico's Indians and a rich Spanish heritage in which their descendants take pride.

Clearly, two separate Oñate statues commissioned by Texas and New Mexico were meant to celebrate exclusively the Southwest's Spanish heritage. Texas's Oñate statue, a thirty-six-foot equestrian sculpture erected in

El Paso, is the largest in the nation, and opposition to this statue resulted in its eventually being renamed *The Equestrian*. When the director of the Oñate Monument and Visitors Center in Alcalde, New Mexico, Estevan Arellano, responded to Indian objections that prompted the name change, he demonstrated a double standard for interpreting historical events that would also play out in New Mexico's Oñate controversy. "Give me a break," declared Arellano, "it [Oñate's order to amputate Acoma Pueblo members' feet] was 400 years ago. It's OK to hold a grudge, but for 400 years?" In the same interview, Arellano offers reasons for his opposition to the Po'pay statue: he "tortured and killed 20 priests, and murdered countless numbers of women and children." While the Pueblo Revolt to which Arellano refers also took place four centuries ago, many in the Hispanic community, as evidenced by Arellano, still bitterly remember the event, holding their own ancient grudge.<sup>42</sup> Arellano neglects to say that in addition to Oñate's role as military and political executive in New Mexico, his comfort and wealth were also tied to the enslavement of indigenous people in Mexico. Native peoples worked his silver mine in Zacatecas and made him one of the richest men in the Americas. He expected the same level of obedience from the Pueblos when he arrived in New Mexico.<sup>43</sup> Arellano's interpretation of the stories of Oñate and Po'pay exemplifies New Mexico's struggle over the meaning of Spanish conquest, Po'pay, and the Pueblo Revolt.

Similar to Arellano's discursive moves, New Mexico's Oñate proponents, many of whom are Po'pay opponents, also rely on the rhetorical strategies of erasure and minimization to interpret the effects and experiences of Spanish colonization. Erasure as an organizing strategy is designed either to ignore the negative experiences connected with Spanish colonization or to treat it in a perfunctory way. This strategy suggests that the Spanish treatment of indigenous peoples, as well as their presence, struggles, and contributions, do not warrant acknowledgment. Evidence of erasure surfaced in 1991 when Millie Santillanes lobbied for U.S. Senate Resolution 148, which would designate 1998 as the year of the "Oñate Cuatrocenario," commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of the founding of the first permanent Spanish settlement in New Mexico.<sup>44</sup> In addition to religious, educational, and social events planned by the city of Albuquerque to commemorate this anniversary, Santillanes and others called for the creation of a public art memorial dedicated to Oñate. Santillanes's supporters included the Hispano Chamber of Commerce, the New Mexico Genealogical Association, and the New Mexican Hispanic Culture Preservation League (NMHCPL). Plans for the me-

memorial generated heated opposition and public debates over the spending of tax dollars on a historical figure whom many, including Anglos, American Indians, and Hispanics, found offensive.

During debates about the memorial in 1999, Santillanes, who traces her ancestry to the original Spanish colonists, argued that a memorial to Oñate should not disclose the fact that he had ordered the amputation of the feet of Acoma survivors: "If they start talking about cutting off the feet and the hands, how is it going to look? Is it going to look good? . . . Let us have some illusions." She declared, "Let us honor the people for their good deeds and forgive them for their trespasses."<sup>45</sup> For Santillanes the Oñate memorial was supposed to depict the Spanish arrival in New Mexico and therefore was excused from referring to the devastating experiences of American Indians. Speaking of her ancestors, Santillanes claimed, "We founded this city," then cataloged the many items they brought with them to New Mexico. She continued to devalue the Acomas' experience under the Spanish when she argued, "It was supposed to be a celebration of 'our courageous ancestors.'"<sup>46</sup> She remarked, "Acoma has no business in our memorial."<sup>47</sup> Erasure as a representational strategy denies the crucial role the Pueblos played in the function, economy, and life of the Spanish. In spite of the fight to keep Oñate as the memorial's central figure, the Albuquerque Arts Board voted in November 1997 to downplay him and emphasize *Los Pobladores* (the settlers) instead.

That descendants of Spanish settlers want to emphasize their ancestors' virtue presents a dilemma that opposition to an Oñate memorial exposes—how to protect any perceived racial advantage Hispanics might achieve while maintaining the belief that the outcome is racially neutral and morally just. To do this in the context of a history of obvious Spanish cruelty against and exploitation of Pueblo Indians requires that individuals and organizations develop strategies to minimize or erase the presence, labor, and lives of Pueblo Indians. This tactic bolsters a grand Spanish narrative that presents Pueblo Indians as incidental to local history. Evidence of minimization is in the NMHCPL goal to popularize readings of the state's Spanish past as part of children's education. Indeed, it is revealing to trace what the NMHCPL deems worthy of remembrance by researching the "featured articles" that members write and post on their website, which exclusively present a Spanish perspective.<sup>48</sup>

Whether Spanish settlers improved the lives of Pueblo Indians or brought them Christianity is beside the point. The Spanish aim was to civilize a

region for a kingdom or nation (Spain) predicated on the inferiority of American Indians; the fabrication of a Spanish American identity in the early 1900s helped to reinforce racial boundaries that the colonists had imposed to elevate the Spanish while subordinating Indians and mixed-blood peoples. Ironically, the Spanish blood Hispanics claim as pure was indigenized centuries earlier by the very man to whom many attach their claims of whiteness. Oñate was married to Isabel Tolosa Cortés Montezuma, the great-granddaughter of Montezuma, granddaughter of Cortés, and daughter of Juan de Tolosa—the discoverer of the silver mines of Zacatecas—and Leonor Cortés de Montezuma. That lineage made Oñate's descendents mestizos.<sup>49</sup>

Hispanics were not the only ones engaging in a strategy of erasure and minimization. Some Anglo politicians also judged Po'pay and his contributions to New Mexico as unworthy of historical acknowledgment. In 1999 Republican senator Rod Adair sought the repeal of Senate Bill 404 in the New Mexico State Legislature. Adair proclaimed, "Po'pay didn't do enough, and what he did do was of questionable value," although the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was the only American Indian uprising to successfully drive out a foreign power. In 1999 he also introduced a bill proposing that Po'pay be replaced with one of several other candidates, such as Miguel H. Trujillo, an Isleta Pueblo man who secured the right to vote for Indians of New Mexico, and Miguel Antonio Otero, territorial governor and author. In addition Adair suggested that an image of a World War II Navajo Code Talker would have more universal appeal than Po'pay because the Code Talkers contributed more to the state than did the Pueblo rebels and their leader. Democratic representative Ray Begaye, a Navajo, opposed this suggestion. Begaye felt Adair's bill would do nothing but promote divisiveness between Navajos and Pueblos.<sup>50</sup>

Adair's critique suggested that public history should celebrate those people whose acts have advanced the historic agenda of European powers or the United States. Po'pay opponents also gained Democratic representative Patsy Trujillo-Knauer's support in 2000. Trujillo-Knauer introduced House Bill 850 to create a commission that would suggest new individuals to represent New Mexico.<sup>51</sup>

While the Po'pay statue enabled healing in some communities, it has kept alive and inflamed old wounds in others. Lou Gallegos, chief of staff for former governor Gary Johnson, received calls opposing Po'pay's nomination.<sup>52</sup> The number of Spanish deaths that resulted from the revolt and



JEMEZ PUEBLO EAGLE DANCERS, SAN JUAN PUEBLO, 21 MAY 2005.

(*Photograph by Marcia Keegan. Reproduced by permission of photographer from Po'Pay: Leader of the First American Revolution, Clear Light Publishing, 2005*)

the fact that too little is known about Po'pay were the sources of the critics' suggestions.<sup>53</sup> Rhetoric used by the descendants of the Hispanic elite like Santillanes and Samuel Delgado shape a racialized regime of representation that valorizes their ancestors while expunging or diminishing the Pueblos' experiences during Spanish colonization. To accomplish this end, Delgado orchestrated a strategy to dehumanize Po'pay and the Pueblos and thus to distort the meaning of Po'pay and the Pueblo Revolt. He claimed Po'pay's statue belonged in San Juan Pueblo, not Washington, D.C.<sup>54</sup> Delgado contributed several editorials to local newspapers opposing the statue, directing his arguments toward a like-minded audience whose sense of identity has also relied on a heroic Spanish past, which a commemoration of Po'pay complicates.

Delgado's editorials adopt a divisive tone, and his well-chosen words portray Po'pay as a murderer. He refers to the killing of Spanish settlers as a "massive slaughter" and calls Spanish survivors "refugees."<sup>55</sup> An editorial written in 2004 reflects similar yet more offensive sentiments. Delgado compares the Pueblo Revolt to a scene in *Barbarians*, a program he watched on

the History Channel. His description of this show suggests the Pueblos' efforts to regain their independence were similarly barbaric:

The graphic depictions on television showing the killing of helpless men, women, children, even animals—the victims with slashes and arrows all over their bodies—makes me think of how our ancestors, both Indian and the Spanish settlers, must have suffered during the 1680 Pueblo Revolt (massacre).<sup>56</sup>

A segment of New Mexico's Hispanic population has a vested interest in shaping a sense of themselves as victims. Like Arellano, Delgado narrates a one-sided story that portrays the Spanish as victims and the Pueblos as aggressors. He dehumanizes the Pueblos by resorting to the one-dimensional stereotype of the savage Indian, while at the same time he humanizes the Spanish killed during the revolt by presenting them as human agents with emotions.

Several opinion pieces on the NMHCPL website likewise depict the Spanish as victims. Max de Aragon argues that Hispanics “have been the victims of malicious attacks for centuries and now the ugly head of the serpent has risen again.” The author ties the past with the present, noting “the resurgence of anti-Hispanic sentiment,” which he links to “a perpetuation of the Spanish black Legend . . . in which anti-Spanish propaganda promoted and ingrained long ago stereotyped Hispanics as uniquely cruel, bigoted, tyrannical, lazy, violent, treacherous, and depraved.”<sup>57</sup> The NMHCPL website posted this piece after a celebration in 1998 of what they call the “First Thanksgiving Dinner.” NMHCPL members believe that the state ignores their version of what happened, while the Pueblos' story receives undivided attention.

Again, Hispanics see themselves as victims when the revolt is not labeled a massacre. Conchita Lucero asks, “Why are the Indian abuses and cruelty to each other ignored as well as their cruelty to the Spanish either disregarded or glorified?” Like other NMHCPL members, Lucero reminds her readers that the Spanish have repeatedly been victimized:

Twenty-one Franciscan priests were not just killed[;] they were tortured. Have you ever asked yourself how our ancestors died or who they were? Have you never thought what it would have been like to be alive at that time? Imagine the terror that was struck in their hearts?

[sic] They came to this New World to build a better life for themselves and future generations, yet the memory of their efforts has been lost. We haven't even asked what they endured.<sup>58</sup>

Rubén Sáenz Márquez, also on the NMHCPL website, refers to the revolt as the St. Lawrence Day Massacre, a name with sinister undertones. He characterizes the revolt as “a surprise uprising that had genocidal intentions because it targeted non-combatants along with everybody else,” and continues: “Three out of every four dead were innocent women and children. Yet the bloody affair is publicized as a blow against *oppression*.”<sup>59</sup> By portraying the Spanish as victims of genocide, the NMHCPL erases the revolt's racialized location. Like Arellano, NMHCPL members mask Spanish participation in violence and killing. In attempting to fabricate historical meaning and influence the allocation of public resources, they racialize Po'pay and Pueblo Indians while activating and constructing narratives of whiteness that valorize, normalize, and moralize the Spanish. Their rhetoric makes apparent that a segment of the Hispanic population has a personal, political, and social investment in silencing Pueblo interpretations of the revolt and its causes.

Rhetorical and representational strategies calculated to challenge Pueblo historical narratives disturb a racialized regime of representation common to a segment of New Mexico's Hispanic population. What maintains this regime is a discursive framework that activates and constructs New Mexico's Spanish heritage as romantic, noble, and honorable; that constructs whiteness narratives celebrating Spanish colonial behaviors; and that masks their involvement in violence against American Indians. Indeed, those narratives portray the Spanish conquistadors as moral and generous leaders who brought civilization to New Mexico's Indians. The rhetoric developed to oppose Po'pay tells a story that centers on Spanish males and the Spanish upper class. Proponents of that Spanish history then create heritage sites that either erase or minimize the presence, history, contributions, and experiences of American Indians and mestizos. These sites produce and preserve white, male-dominated racial identities.

### The Commemoration of Po'pay

The oppression of Indian peoples was foundational for the Spanish population's economic and social life, and contemporary rhetorical strategies for interpreting this past indicate who or what is deemed worthy of

discussing or eligible for omission. People who interpret history make rhetorical choices about the language they use to describe the past. Evidence of these choices exists in the social reproduction of imagery and ideology that has appeared in debates over monuments commemorating Oñate, who launched events in 1598–1599 that, ironically, propelled Po'pay into New Mexico's historical narrative in 1680. Many of the most vocal supporters of statues commemorating Spanish colonizers derive their identity from feelings of pride connected with their ancestors. This vocal minority refers to Oñate as a great man. Yet, this view changes when opponents to his memorialization examine the larger meaning of Spanish colonization rather than elevating the man who initiated settlement in New Mexico. Stories that accompanied Po'pay's nomination offer counternarratives that complicate Spanish versions of history, because Pueblo stories focus on different issues. Rather than celebrate Po'pay or any power he may or may not have exercised after the revolt, they focus on what the rebellion accomplished for Pueblo peoples in the past and present. Pueblo interpretations emphasize the human mechanisms on which their ancestors relied to survive the brutality and hardships of Spanish colonization: unity, spirituality, and a sense of dignity that made them resilient in the face of and resistant to efforts at Hispanicization.

On 3 November 2005, the University of New Mexico held a Po'pay Commemoration Symposium to celebrate the dedication of Cliff Fragua's sculpture in the National Statuary Hall. Invited Pueblo scholars discussed the history and significance of Po'pay and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Elena Ortiz-Junes, vice chair of the Alfonso Ortiz Center for Intercultural Studies, reiterated the significance of the revolt by comparing it to other events in U.S. history. She pointed out that Po'pay acted on principles later articulated in the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation. American ideals like life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness were principles by which the Pueblos lived, principles that they did not need to write down. She described the uprising as an act of cultural restoration, meaning that it helped the Pueblos to reinstitute and maintain their ancient teachings of living in peace with one another.<sup>60</sup>

Using the revolt as an example, New Mexico state historian Dr. Estevan Rael-Gálvez spoke about the promise that the past holds in the way the public chooses to remember history. He stated that history should be more than heroics and dates; it should also include everyday acts of courage like the Pueblos' bravery in engaging the Spanish enemy, an act that offers a

lesson for today. Before people can heal from historical wounds, they must reflect. This exercise allows them to rejuvenate contemporary traditions, even to reinvent them, something Rael-Gálvez claimed that people have always done. Indeed, he reminded people that history is not a material piece under glass in a museum but something that lives and adapts to contemporary events. The Pueblos' remembrance of Po'pay and the revolt is an example of how interpretation can better reflect diverse perspectives and experiences and contest dominant narratives that erase the contributions of marginalized and powerless groups.

Pueblo peoples believe that Po'pay accomplished a great deal and describe the revolt's outcome as priceless, because it created an environment where, according to Alfonso Ortiz, the Spanish realized "they could not remain absolutely 'Spanish' if they were to learn to live in peace . . . in New Mexico. . . . [T]hey had to give up their arrogance toward nature and toward indigenous life forms and cultures, and they had to give up their absolute intolerance toward religious beliefs and practices other than their variant of Roman Catholicism."<sup>61</sup>

Read symptomatically, Po'pay brought to the surface fissures among Pueblo Indians and Hispanics that reveal New Mexico's complicated social and political past and present. His statue is the first image created of a local Pueblo hero who opposed Spanish authority. Po'pay's story lives on in oral history, but the possibilities of his life became more real when he was materialized in marble. The statue commemorates and memorializes the sacrifices made in service of what the Pueblo peoples are today. The choice to honor Po'pay asserts an event that generates Pueblo Indian pride and demonstrates their historical agency. The revolt's aftermath reveals the Pueblos' demand that guests in their homeland respect their beliefs and ways of life. Pueblo discussions of Po'pay are important, for they provide alternatives to dominant modes of interpretation. Pueblo stories demonstrate that New Mexico's Spanish history is also Pueblo history.

## Conclusion

As the Oñate and Po'pay sculptures suggest, the Spanish conquest still shapes local public statuary and informs the public discourse on New Mexico's Hispanic–Pueblo Indian relations. If viewers equate the thirty-six-foot Oñate statue with the awesome power its size suggests, then Pueblo Indians remain dwarfed and easily defeated by Spain. The survival of the Pueblos



HERMAN AGOYO (LEFT) AND JOE S. SANDO, THE AUTHORS OF *PO'PAY: LEADER OF THE FIRST AMERICAN REVOLUTION*, SAN JUAN PUEBLO, 21 MAY 2005.

(Photograph by Marcia Keegan. Reproduced by permission of photographer from *Po'Pay: Leader of the First American Revolution*, Clear Light Publishing, 2005)

proves otherwise. Public sculptures, such as *The Equestrian*, become tools to communicate the terms under which people perceive the Spanish colonial project in or Spanish-influenced space of the Southwest. Narratives that historical sculptures represent function on collective levels, allowing individuals to share stories intended to unite people and facilitate the celebration of past accomplishments and sacrifices. More significantly these shared stories imply that everyone adheres to the same beliefs and values, making it possible to display history carved in stone. But the debates over Po'pay and Oñate demonstrate that historical sculptures can and often do inflame old wounds caused to some extent by losses suffered on both sides.

Po'pay and the Pueblo history that his statue conveys refuse erasure. Like the revered actions of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln committed on behalf of the American Revolution or the United States, Po'pay fought to free Pueblo communities from Spanish tyranny and to keep Indian nations united. Many American Indians celebrate Po'pay as the principal organizer of the first American Revolution in 1680. Comparatively, Po'pay stands alongside celebrated non-Indians who held similar convictions, and the placement of his statue in the seat of the nation will help incorporate the Pueblo Indians' story into the larger national narrative. Whether one interprets the revolt as harming or benefiting the Pueblos in the long run probably depends on what is personally at stake with each version of history. According to Pueblo historian Joe S. Sando, Po'pay "represents a concept far more significant than just one historical figure."<sup>62</sup> The stories of Po'pay provide the Pueblos with a sense of place and purpose. Under his leadership, the revolt ended the persecutions and secured the future of the Pueblo peoples—their culture, their land rights, and their religious freedom. In Washington, D.C., Po'pay becomes a national symbol and a catalyst for the formation and maintenance of Pueblo identity. In the end, Po'pay opponents have asked Native peoples to reinvest in a strictly Hispanic point of view through a strategy of "disidentification." That proposition presents an impasse in terms of how all New Mexicans should approach the problem of the representation of racial subordination and equality. The fate of the statue is part of a wider historical debate in New Mexico over whether history accurately reflects Pueblo Indians and their resurgence and reemergence as an influence on the region's future.

## Notes

1. Gregory L. Ulmer, "Metaphoric Rocks: A Psychogeography of Tourism and Monumentality (Hypermedia)," *Postmodern Culture* 4 (May 1994): 1.
2. Jesse Larner, *Mount Rushmore: An Icon Reconsidered* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press / Nation Books, 2002).
3. Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?" in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (New York: Routledge, 1990), 11.
4. For the complete text of New Mexico State Legislature Senate Bill 404, see Joe S. Sando and Herman Agoyo, eds., *Po'pay: Leader of the First American Revolution* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishing, 2005), 196–98. For a history of the collection, see Architect of the Capitol, "The Origin of the National Statuary Hall Collection," [http://www.aoc.gov/cc/art/nsh/nsh\\_coll\\_origin.cfm](http://www.aoc.gov/cc/art/nsh/nsh_coll_origin.cfm).
5. The United States Capitol Complex includes the Capitol, the House and Senate Office Buildings, the U.S. Botanic Garden, the Library of Congress buildings, and the Supreme Court Building. For more on Capitol Complex art, see Architect of the Capitol, "Works of Art in the Capitol Complex," <http://www.aoc.gov/cc/art/index.cfm>.
6. Laura E. Gómez makes this argument in "Off-White in an Age of White Supremacy: Mexican Elites and the Rights of Indians and Blacks in Nineteenth-Century New Mexico," *Chicano-Latino Law Review* 25 (spring 2005), 12.
7. Ibid.
8. For more on racial power sharing between Anglos and Hispanics, see Charles H. Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption: Heritage, Power, and Loss on New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); John M. Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s–1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004); Gómez, "Off-White in an Age of White Supremacy"; and Laura E. Gómez, "Race, Colonialism, and Criminal Law: Mexicans and the American Criminal Justice System in Territorial New Mexico," *Law & Society Review* 34, no. 4 (2000): 1129–1202.
9. Office of the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, "History of Statuary Hall," [http://clerk.house.gov/histHigh/Virtual\\_Tours/Statuary\\_Hall/index.html](http://clerk.house.gov/histHigh/Virtual_Tours/Statuary_Hall/index.html).
10. Architect of the Capitol, "Procedures for the Placement of Statues Guidelines," [http://www.aoc.gov/cc/art/nsh/upload/statue\\_replacement\\_guidelines\\_1.pdf](http://www.aoc.gov/cc/art/nsh/upload/statue_replacement_guidelines_1.pdf). The law creating National Statuary Hall is the *Civil Expenses Appropriation*, 38th Cong., 1st sess. (2 July 1864), 347. This law was modified by the *Consolidated Appropriations Act*, Public Law 106-554, 106th Cong., 2d sess. (21 December 2000), which states, "Any state may request the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress to approve the replacement of a statue the State has provided for display in Statuary Hall in the Capitol of the United States." Supervision and direction of the collection are assigned to the Architect of the Capitol.
11. For Nathanael Greene's biography, see Architect of the Capitol, "Nathanael Greene," <http://www.aoc.gov/cc/art/nsh/greene.cfm>.
12. For Sequoyah's biography, see Architect of the Capitol, "Sequoyah (Sequoya)," <http://www.aoc.gov/cc/art/nsh/Sequoyah.cfm>. For Rogers's biography, see Architect of the Capitol, "Will Rogers," <http://www.aoc.gov/cc/art/nsh/rogers.cfm>.
13. Hawaii's King Kamehameha I (1969), Wyoming's Chief Washakie (2000), North Dakota's Sakakawea/Sacajawea (2003), and Nevada's Sarah Winnemucca (2005) occupy the same space as other non-Indian citizens both recognized and honored through their placement in the National Statuary Hall. For their biographies, see Architect of the Capitol, "The National Statuary Hall Collection," <http://www.aoc.gov/cc/art/nsh/>.
14. Steven Johnston, "Political Not Patriotic: Democracy, Civic Space, and the American Memorial/Monument Complex," *Theory & Event* 5, no. 2 (2001): 7.
15. Architect of the Capitol, "Sequoyah (Sequoya)," <http://www.aoc.gov/cc/art/nsh/Sequoyah.cfm>.
16. Among the many depredations her people suffered, Winnemucca describes the sexual violence against American Indian women in *Life among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (1883; repr., Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1994). Also see Margo Lukens, "Her 'Wrongs and Claims': Sarah Winnemucca's Strategic Narratives of Abuse," *Wicazo Sa Review* 13 (spring 1998): 97–100; and Clara Sue Kidwell, "Indian Women as Cultural Mediators," *Ethnohistory* 39 (spring 1992): 97–107.
17. Ryan Pearson, "Two American Indian Women to be Added to Hall of Statues at U.S. Capitol," *Reno (Nev.) Gazette-Journal*, 30 April 2003, <http://www.rgi.com/news/printstory.php?id=40833>; Gerald Miller, "Statue Honors Paiute Woman Who Led Fight for Equal Rights," *Reno (Nev.) Gazette-Journal*, 9 March 2005, <http://www.rgi.com/news/printstory.php?id=94097>; and David C. Henley, "Sarah Winnemucca [sic] Statue Installed Today in D.C.," *Lahontan Valley News and Fallon (Nev.) Eagle Standard*, 9 March 2005, <http://www.lahontanvalleynews.com/article/20050309/News/103090006>.
18. Native American scholar Rayna Green describes one aspect of this relationship in "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *Massachusetts Review* 16 (autumn 1975): 698–714. The Nevada Women's History Project website states that Winnemucca was "born a Paiute princess," perpetuating the stereotype of the Indian princess and recalling Pocahontas who risked her own life to ensure the well being of a white man. Susan Paslov, "Sarah Winnemucca's Greatness Nationally Recognized," *Nevada Women's History Project News* 10 (spring 2005): 1. Article available at <http://www.unr.edu/wrc/nwhp/newsletter/spring.pdf>.
19. Pueblo historians include Joe S. Sando, Alfonso Ortiz, and Theodore S. Jojola. Examples of their work are in Sando and Agoyo, *Po'pay*.
20. Among today's nineteen Pueblos, there are three distinct language families: Keresan, Tanoan, and Zunian. Acoma, Laguna, Cochiti, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, and Zia Pueblos speak Keresan. Tanoan is divided into Tewa, Tiwa, and Towa. Nambé, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara, and Tesuque Pueblos speak Tewa. Tiwa has four dialects spoken at Taos and Picuris Pueblos in the north and Isleta and Sandia Pueblos in the south. Only Jemez Pueblo speaks Towa, and Zuni Pueblo speaks Zunian. For more on Antonio de Espejo, see J. Lloyd

- Mecham, "Antonio de Espejo and His Journey to New Mexico," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 30 (October 1926): 114–38.
21. Theodore S. Jojola, "The Legacy of the Pueblo Revolt and the Tiquex Province," in Sando and Agoyo, *Po'pay*, 54.
  22. Elinore M. Barrett, "The Geography of the Rio Grande Pueblos in the Seventeenth Century," *Ethnohistory* 49 (winter 2002): 123–69.
  23. *Ibid.*, 141–47.
  24. Joe S. Sando, "The Pueblo Revolt," in Sando and Agoyo, *Po'pay*, 12.
  25. *Ibid.*, 11.
  26. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds. and trans., "Trial of the Indians of Acoma, 1598," in *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595–1628*, 2 vols., vols. 5–6 of Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540–1940, 12 vols., ed. George P. Hammond (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953), 1: 477. Online facsimile edition at [www.americanjourneys.org/aj-104/](http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-104/).
  27. Jojola, "The Legacy," in Sando and Agoyo, *Po'pay*, 62; and John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 118–19.
  28. Joseph H. Suina, "Underestimation of Pueblo Power," in Sando and Agoyo, *Po'pay*, 72.
  29. Alfonso Ortiz, "Po'pay's Leadership: A Pueblo Perspective," *El Palacio* 86 (winter 1980–1981): 20.
  30. For more detailed histories on the revolt, see David J. Weber, *What Caused the Pueblo Revolt of 1680?* (Boston: Bedford / St. Martin's, 1999); Joe S. Sando, "The Pueblo Revolt," in *Southwest*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz, vol. 9 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, 13 vols., ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 194–97; Neal Salisbury, "Embracing Ambiguity: Native Peoples and Christianity in Seventeenth-Century North America," *Ethnohistory* 50 (spring 2003): 251–59; and Andrew L. Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth Century New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).
  31. Agoyo (San Juan Pueblo), a lifetime member of the San Juan Pueblo Tribal Council and currently its Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act representative, served as San Juan Pueblo's lieutenant governor four times and was governor in 1992. He served as chairman of the All Indian Pueblo Council from 1987 through 1990 and as executive director of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblo Council from 1970 to 1979 and in 1991 and 1993. He was also cochairman of the New Mexican Statuary Hall Commission and is a former president of the New Mexico Statuary Hall Foundation. Sando and Agoyo, *Po'pay*, 253.
  32. Agoyo credits his wife for the idea of nominating Po'pay. Sando and Agoyo, *Po'pay*, xii–xiii. For Chavez's biography, see Architect of the Capitol, "Dennis Chavez," <http://www.aoc.gov/cc/art/nsh/chavez.cfm>.
  33. For more on the Tricentennial Commemoration, see Herman Agoyo, "The Tricentennial Commemoration," in Sando and Agoyo, *Po'pay*, 93–106.
  34. The All Indian Pueblo Council, the Rio Arriba Board of County Commissioners, and the Northern Pueblo Regional Planning Organization (NPRPO) supported this legislation. The NPRPO is composed of eight northern Pueblos, cities, municipalities, counties, and villages of northern New Mexico.
  35. Sando and Agoyo, *Po'pay*, 123.
  36. *Ibid.*, 131.
  37. John Bodine quoted in Sylvia Rodriguez, "Ethnic Reconstruction in Contemporary Taos," *Journal of the Southwest* 32 (winter 1990), University of Arizona's Digital Library Website, <http://digital.library.arizona.edu/jsw/3204/ethnic.html>.
  38. Cyd Strickland, "Aspects of Diversity, Access and Community Networks," in C. Ess and F. Sudweeks, eds., *Conference Proceedings of Cultural Attitudes towards Communication and Technology 1998* (Sydney: University of Sydney, 1998), 140.
  39. For more on the construction of race and identity among New Mexico's Hispanic population, see Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption*; Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood*; Gómez, "Off-White in an Age of White Supremacy"; and Gómez, "Race, Colonialism, and Criminal Law."
  40. By *elite*, I am referring to that group identified by Gómez in "Off-White in an Age of White Supremacy" as "Mexican men who were the majority of elected officials at the county and territorial levels in New Mexico during this period [1846–1869]" (p. 21). Gómez also notes, "the American objective was to co-opt elite Mexicans, rather than all Mexicans." Charles H. Montgomery, "The Trap of Race and Memory: The Language of Spanish Civility on the Upper Rio Grande," *American Quarterly* 52 (September 2000): 480.
  41. Gómez defines Navajos, Apaches, Comanches, and Utes as nomadic and semi-nomadic in "Off-White in an Age of White Supremacy," 25–27. For more on earlier alliances, see *ibid.*, 29–34.
  42. James Brooke, "Conquistador Statue Stirs Hispanic Pride and Indian Rage," *New York Times*, 9 February 1998, late edition, p. A10.
  43. George P. Hammond, "Oñate's Effort to Gain Political Autonomy for New Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 32 (August 1952): 321–22.
  44. Millie Santillanes is former Albuquerque city clerk, former head of Albuquerque's Cuartocentenario Committee, and a member of the Founder's Day Board, a nonprofit organization formed in 1991 to celebrate the founding of Albuquerque in 1706. For the three versions of S. Res. 148 designating 1998 as the year of the "Oñate Cuartocentenario," see <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c105:S.+Res.+148>.
  45. Anthony DellaFlora, "Oñate Statue Triggers Debate on Arts Board," *Albuquerque Journal*, 30 November 1997, p. F1.
  46. Katy June-Friesen, "Recasting New Mexico History: A Hispanic View," *Weekly Alibi (Albuquerque)*, 20–26 October 2005.
  47. Anthony DellaFlora, "Oñate Proposal Endorsed," *Albuquerque Journal*, 14 January 1998, p. C1.
  48. The NMHCPL's article archive can be found at <http://www.nmhcl.com/articles.html>.

49. Hammond, "Oñate's Effort to Gain Political Autonomy for New Mexico," 322; and Mark Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).
50. Karen Peterson, "Po'pay Not Worthy to Represent N.M., State Senator Says," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 12 January 1999, p. A1; and Sando and Agoyo, *Po'pay*, 133–40.
51. Karen Peterson, "Lawmaker Gives Statue of Po'pay an Indian Rival," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 11 February 1999, p. A1; and Marissa Stone, "Bill Disputing Popé Statue Dies," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 14 March 2001, p. B1.
52. Gallegos "declined to identify Popé's detractors." Tom Sharpe, "A Simple Man," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 9 November 2000, p. B1.
53. Ibid.
54. Marissa Stone, "Group Wants to Keep Po'pay out of Washington," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 22 February 2001, p. B1; Morgan Lee, "Movement Pushes Dialogue on Po'pay," *Albuquerque Journal*, 26 February 2001, B1; and Morgan Lee, "Panel Doesn't Back Bill on Po'pay Statue," *Albuquerque Journal*, 4 March 2001, p. B1. See also Suzanne Westerly, "Statue of Pueblo Leader Po'pay Destined for D.C.," *News from Indian Country*, 15 April 2001, p. A14.
55. Samuel Delgado, "My View: Statuary Hall Shouldn't Harbor Violent Po'pay," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 12 November 2000, p. F7.
56. Samuel Delgado, "Commentary: Po'pay Isn't Proper Occupant of Statuary Hall," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 7 February 2004, p. A9.
57. Aragon, "Statement on Membership in NMHCPL for First Thanksgiving Day Dinner 1998," [http://www.nmhcp.org/uploads/Statement\\_on\\_Membership.pdf](http://www.nmhcp.org/uploads/Statement_on_Membership.pdf).
58. Conchita Lucero, "What's In A Name?," [http://www.nmhcp.org/uploads/What\\_s\\_in\\_a\\_name.pdf](http://www.nmhcp.org/uploads/What_s_in_a_name.pdf).
59. Rubén Sáñez Márquez, "Indian Affairs," <http://www.nmhcp.org/Indianaffairs.htm>.
60. For more about the event, see University of New Mexico press release at <http://www.unm.edu/news/OctoberReleases/05-10-17popay.htm> and the Native American Studies Website at <http://www.unm.edu/%7enasinfo/events/popay.htm>. Comments come from notes I took during the event.
61. Ortiz, "Po'pay's Leadership," 22.
62. Monica Soto, "Popé Statue Destined for U.S. Capitol," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 27 April 1997, p. A1.