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DEVELOPMENT**

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Education of the Pueblo Child: A Study in Arrested Development by Frank Clarence Spencer

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A STUDY IN ARRESTED DEVELOPMENT

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INTRODUCTION

A RETROSPECTIVE view of the evolution of culture as revealed in the history of ancient nations which have left written records, and the ethnical remains of others which have disappeared, show a constantly recurring struggle in the progress of the adjustment of the individual to a group or social unit. The tragedy of nations has been involved in this adjustment. States have flourished, decayed or disintegrated in accordance with their success in meeting and solving this problem of individual freedom and social welfare. Extreme emphasis either on one or the other of these factors has proved disastrous to progress. On the one hand, it has led to national disintegration, and on the other, to intellectual stagnation. The problem is not yet solved by the most enlightened nations, but it is in the lower stages of civilization-that the crises are most marked. It appears that in the development of every people or nation emerging from barbarism there has been a time when these factors have been weighed in the balance, and the direction in which the beam has tipped has largely determined the destiny of that nation or people. In Greece it went in one direction, and in India, China and ancient Egypt in the other; and history has recorded the results. In the former is seen a comparatively short-lived but brilliant nation; in the latter, a stable, long-existing state, but at the expense of intellectual progress.

It is with the latter of these conditions that this study is chiefly concerned; for the forces which bring about this condition as elements in the history of culture must ever be

of vital interest to the educator who looks upon his field in its broader aspects.

Other sciences have sought the elements of their respective subjects in their simplest beginnings, in their earliest and elementary forms; because an organization can best be studied when reduced to its simplest elements. The essential elements in political and social institutions become much clearer when studied in their primitive beginnings and traced to their emergence in more complex forms. In the same way it would seem that valuable results may arise from a careful study of the primitive ideals of humanity and the means they consciously or unconsciously adopted to realize these ideals.

The Pueblo Indians of the south-west offer an interesting field from this point of view; as they exemplify a people which attained a civilization in advance of all the Indians surrounding them. Then, by conditions which it is the purpose of this dissertation to discuss, their development was arrested, and their civilization has since stood practically still. For three hundred and fifty years their history is known, and the record of their ruins carries us back much further. A careful study of their condition, their ideals and means of attaining them, may reasonably be expected to throw some light, not alone upon primitive aims and methods, but upon the question of the adjustment of the individual to the social whole and its relation to the larger problem of national progress.

The advantage of studying a type such as the Pueblos is that the forces and methods which tend to arrest progress may be studied in operation. They are living the conditions, so to speak, which are the object of our research.

It was with this point of view that the writer entered upon the investigation. A somewhat extended personal contact with these Indians, in which their customs—social, industrial

and religious—and their method of education were studied, forms the basis for this essay. The description of their mode of life is not intended to be complete, and only so much of their history, physical and social environment and customs, is given as is directly related to the subject in hand, and serves to illustrate the prevailing tendencies of their civilization.

The writer desires especially to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor James E. Russell for many kindly suggestions and other assistance, and to Dr. Livingston Farrand for his helpful interest; but he holds himself entirely responsible for the subject matter of the dissertation.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF THE LAND OF THE PUEBLOS

THE region included in the following study comprises the territories of New Mexico and Arizona in the United States and the States of Sonora and Chihuahua pertaining to the Republic of Mexico. These four regions are connected very closely geographically and historically, although the living Pueblos are confined for the most part to the territories of the United States and may be grouped in three regions: Those residing along the Rio Grande River and its tributaries, the Zuñi on the Colorado Chiquito in western New Mexico and the Tusayan or Hopi on the mesas of north-eastern Arizona. To these are sometimes added the Havasupai, dwelling in the bottom of Cataract Canon near its junction with the Grand Canon of the Colorado. The Navajos, also, have many of the traits of the Pueblos; but they have not yet adopted fixed habitations, although they are farmers and herders.

The country is a part of the Rocky Mountain region and has an average elevation of about 7,000 feet. Several ranges traverse it, while between them are deep valleys and elevated plateaus. There are numerous gorges, canons, mesas and high peaks, which in the clear dry air of this land stand out in wonderful relief, while the dazzling sunshine gives this rugged, picturesque land a weird effect not found in other parts of our country. The region is an arid, but not a barren one. The soil is fertile, and when supplied with water, produces abundantly; but water must be sup-

plied artificially, as the rain-fall is not sufficient to grow crops successfully. The climate is healthful and invigorating, the air dry and bracing, and where a proper food supply is assured the country is so attractive that after a short residence one is loath to leave it, even for the greater material advantages of other lands. This, in part, explains why the Indians, and after them the Spanish, have clung to it so tenaciously after once gaining a foothold. Even the disappointed Spanish gold-hunters longed to return to the country.¹

Game animals are not found in sufficient abundance to sustain more than a meager population. He who would live in this land must perforce turn to the soil for means of subsistence. Nature herself, indicates the method of procedure; along each stream, about each spring, or wherever sufficient moisture is found, vegetation springs up in luxurious abundance, where before was only barrenness and apparent sterility. Even the weakest intellect would be led to see that it was only necessary to find some means of conducting the water from the streams and springs over wider areas in order to increase its usefulness.

In the above conditions is found a partial explanation for the seemingly wide difference between the civilization of the aboriginal inhabitants of this region and that of other parts of North America. It is only within recent years that the relations between the Pueblos and other less civilized Indians have been understood. The ruins of their ancient communal dwellings, canals and reservoirs were of such great size and displayed such a considerable degree of architectural and engineering skill, that among early investigators the theory arose that these structures must have been built by a race much superior to the Indians, and that this race, in some mysterious way, had disappeared from the land. Some held

¹ See *Castañeda Relacions de Cibola*, Preface.