

D. SANTA CLARA PUEBLO

1. *Historical and Cultural Background*a. *Pueblo History*

(1) *Early Times.*—In examining the impact of the "War on Poverty" on the Santa Clara Pueblos⁷ and their response to CAP operations, historical continuities stand out as significant determinants of present-day realities. The high degree of intra-community cooperation engendered by centuries-long experience in an economy of scarcity and the closely guarded retention of religious and cultural values in the face of repeated attempts to replace these with various Western-world substitutes has given the Pueblos considerable unity and organizational strength in exploiting the opportunities afforded by CAP. Since this is not a usual circumstance in the Indian world today, a rather comprehensive survey of Pueblo history and culture is relevant to this study.

For more than two millennia agriculture has formed the basis of Pueblo subsistence, and compact villages have been characteristic. The pueblos are usually adobe construction, and the houses are either connected to form one or more plazas or, as at Taos, are consolidated as a single multi-story apartment house. One or more *kivas* (secret ceremonial chambers) are found in each village.

The people of the pueblos reside in the semi-arid regions of the Southwest, supporting themselves by subsistence agriculture based, most importantly, on cultivation of maize, but also on native foods such as beans and squash, and some plants introduced by the Spanish. Hunting has always been secondary to agriculture and no domesticated animals other than the dog were kept in early times. Rain has always been important for subsistence, particularly in the West (i.e., Arizona), and occupies an important place in ceremonial activities and religious beliefs. In the East (i.e., New Mexico), where agriculture was dependent upon irrigation, water is sacred, but of less ritual importance than in the West.

The Pueblos have been the object of anthropological research for decades and a vast literature has been assembled. In this brief sketch only an outline of the most significant characteristics can be noted. Many of the recent social and cultural changes will be considered in the sections of this report dealing with social and political organization, particularly as Santa Clara is involved. It may be noted that Santa Clara, as one of the most progressive of the Rio Grande Pueblos, may indicate the path that more conservative villages will follow.

The Pueblo way-of-life is highly distinctive and uniform throughout the territory occupied—the Colorado Plateau of northern Arizona and New Mexico—though varying in certain important aspects of social structure and in large part related to ecological differences. Similarity among Pueblo patterns is manifested not only in obvious and external characteristics, but in the manner in which the institutions are integrated and in the distinctive ethos or world view that has been in part described by Ruth Benedict in *Patterns of Culture*.

The pueblo of Santa Clara is one of six Tewa-speaking pueblos in the Espanola Valley of the northern Rio Grande in northern New Mexico, the others being Nambe, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, San Juan, and Tesuque. The Tewa share the major cultural features of the Pueblos in general and the eastern Pueblos in particular, the latter manifesting differences in kinship, social structure, and religious emphasis that are related to the somewhat different ecological setting.

The history of the Pueblos may, for present purposes, be considered a single history until recent times when specific incidents and situations become relevant to understanding of the existing social system.

In the post-glacial period the region to which the term Greater Southwest Culture Area has been applied became the home of the people of the Desert Culture, a culture adapted to the gathering of edible plants and small game animals of this arid and semi-arid environment. With domestication of plants and increasing command over the limited resources of their ecological niche, distinctive cultures began to emerge.

The Pueblos, including the Tewa, belong to that tradition known as the Anasazi, divided into the Basket Maker and six stages of Pueblo culture. Widespread and catastrophic droughts were common, the Great Drought of A.D. 1276–1299 being responsible for the evacuation of large areas and widespread readjustments of population.

⁷ Pueblo (capitalized) refers to the people; pueblo refers to the community dwelling.