## 2. Recent Conditions and Present Context

## a. Eastern Pueblos

The following brief description of the socio-economic and political organization of the Eastern Pueblos pertains to the Tewa in general. Following the general description is a section indicating recent changes that have occurred in Santa Clara.

The Tewa kinship system has become bilateral: Except for the ceremonial patrilineal moieties, there is no other indication of a lineage principle in which the maternal or paternal descent line is emphasized. The kin group includes equally, or on the basis of preference, the relatives of the father and of the mother. The household is an extended household, the members of which reside in one house or in several adjoining smaller houses. A male adult, preferably, of prestige and influence, is the head of the household, and the members tend to display solidarity on most issues.

Tewa Pueblos are marked by a dual division into Winter and Summer moieties. According to Dozier (1966:173) the moiety function originally included: (1) the maintenance of a ceremonial calendar, (2) organization of ceremonial activities, (3) the coordination of purificatory and cleansing rites conducted by the medicine societies, (4) the coordination of communal hunts, (5) the coordination of warfare ceremonials, (6) the organization and direction of planting and harvesting activities, (7) the cleaning and construction of irrigation ditches, (8) the repair and construction of ceremonial kivas and the cleaning of the plaza, (9) the nomination of secular officials for ordering the community and to be the officials of the civil government system. It is clear that religious, political, and economic activities are inextricably linked.

The moieties consisted of a chief or priest, the *cacique*, two assistants who were also the War Captains, and others. In the past, the moieties each bore responsibility for ceremonial activity and government for the appropriate half of the year. It remains true today, as noted earlier, that in all of the Tewa Pueblos, other than Santa Clara, that the *caciques* appoint the officers and council of the government.

In the early 17th Century the Spanish system of civil government was imposed, as noted earlier, requiring appointment of a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Sheriff, and other officers. The constitutions adopted by the Tewa Pueblos under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 continue this pattern, with some variation. In general, in the 20th Century as in the 17th, the officials and council members are overtly responsible for civil authority, but as appointive officials designated by the native priests they may also continue to exact obedience to the native traditions. As Dozier (1966:174) puts it:

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"Although the Governor is considered by non-Indian neighbors, tourists, and representatives of the United States Indian Bureau to be the head of pueblo, in actual fact he and the other civil officials function as executive officers of the native priests, carrying out publicly the orders of the latter. The Spanish imposed system thus became a useful tool which masks the activities of the native priests and serves their interests rather than furthering the goals of outside administrators."

## b. Santa Clara

(1) General Background.—The reservation of Santa Clara Pueblo consists now of some 45,000 acres, indicating that another 45,000 acres have been expropriated in some manner, since the original Spanish grant of 1627 assigned 90,000 acres. Other lands are claimed by Santa Clara, but it is expected that years will elapse before disposition of the claims. The pueblo is located on a mesa, near the mountain bearing the name of the pueblo. As far as can be ascertained, the population lives entirely within the town, there being no known individuals or families living in separate homesteads outside of the town. The current resident population is about 550, with an additional 150–200 enrolled tribal members living in other communities. The figure of 550 compares to an estimated 440 in 1934, 354 in 1926, and 187 in 1889. The rapid growth in population is shared by the other Tewa Pueblos, while local employment opportunities remain small.

The original Santa Clara Pueblo settlement pattern of linked or adjoining households surrounding a central plaza has changed since last century, due to the end of the raids by Apaches and Navajos and to the increase of population. The plaza remains, but with portions of the oldest buildings in disrepair. The